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Commentaries on the Laws of England : in Four Books

William Blackstone

Thomas M. Cooley

University of Michigan Law School

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COMMENTARIES
ON THE
LAWS OF ENGLAND;

IN FOUR BOOKS.

By SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE, Knight,
ONE OF THE JUSTICES OF HIS MAJESTY'S COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

TOGETHER WITH

SUCH NOTES OF ENDURING VALUE AS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN
THE SEVERAL ENGLISH EDITIONS.

AND ALSO

A COPIOUS ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS;

And Additional Notes with References to English and American Decisions and Statutes,
to date, which Illustrate or Change the Law of the Text; also, a
Full Table of Abbreviations, and

SOME CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE STUDY OF THE LAW.

By THOMAS M. COOLEY,

JAY PROFESSOR OF LAW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, AND AUTHOR OF
"CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS."

VOL. 1. INCLUDING BOOKS I & II.

SECOND EDITION—REVISED.

CHICAGO.
CALLAGHAN AND COMPANY.
1872.

R

TO THE
ALUMNI
OF THE

LAW DEPARTMENT OF MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

THIS EDITION OF A WORK WHOSE CAREFUL AND FREQUENT PERUSAL
CANNOT FAIL TO STRENGTHEN THEIR LOVE OF THE LAW AS A
SCIENCE, AND TO STIMULATE A GENEROUS AMBITION
FOR PROFESSIONAL SUCCESS, IS MOST
RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING THE STUDY OF THE LAW.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Commentaries of Mr. Justice Blackstone have now for more than a century been the wonder and delight of persons whose curiosity or interest have led them to investigate the constitution and laws of Great Britain, the condition of things from which they grew, and the reasons upon which they rest. Lapse of time does not seem to diminish the attractions, or to lessen materially the practical value of these Commentaries. Large as is the proportion of the rules and usages here defined and described which have been modified by statute, or have become obsolete in the changes and habits and modes of thought among the people, the best book in which to take a comprehensive view of the rudiments of English and American law is still the work now before us of this eminent jurist. It is true that of late many short and easy highways to a knowledge of the law have been planned by different writers, along which the student might saunter with little hard labor and less hard thought, arriving at his goal at last with a vague impression of having surveyed a vast field of curious and irreconcilable contradictions, where confusion was the leading principle, and chance the arbiter of controversy; but the thoughtful student, the earnest seeker after knowledge, ambitious to fit himself for the practical duties of life, and for the stations to which the partiality or discernment of his fellows might summon him, has shunned these deceptive ways, and by the aid of vigorous thinkers, like the author before us, has delighted to trace the plain law running through the apparent confusion, and to discover and contemplate the sound reasons out of which rules apparently arbitrary have sprung. Such minds soon perceive that the field of legal knowledge is too vast and diversified to be understood from a superficial survey of its principal objects and features, and that it must be carefully explored through all its mazes and intricacies, and with the aid of the men who, having studied the law with an intimate knowledge of the habits and customs of the people over whom it was established, were prepared to say why this rule was prescribed, and how and under what circumstances that custom sprung up. And so it happens, that while year by year hundreds of superficial workers are preparing themselves to glean in the fields of legal controversy, the true laborers in that field, the men who are to reap its substantial harvests, and to bear away its tempting prizes, do not spare themselves the labor of an intimate acquaintance with the work of this great jurist, nor fail to explore the abundant stores of legal learning to which he gives us such agreeable introduction.

Nor, although there are many things in Blackstone which have ceased to be important in the practical administration of the law, can we with prudence or propriety omit to make ourselves acquainted with them. Things which are abolished or obsolete may, nevertheless, have furnished the reasons for the things which remain: and to study rules while ignoring their reasons would be like studying the animal anatomy while ignoring the principle of life which animated it. And it is noticeable, also, that though in England, where the

Common law and the statutes mentioned by this author have been so greatly changed by recent legislation, new works adapted to the present condition of things may, to a considerable extent, supersede the one before us, in America where many of these changes have never been made, and where much of the recent English legislation has no importance, even by way of explanation or illustration, the original work of Blackstone is much the most useful, as presenting us the law in something near the condition in which our ancestors brought it to America, leaving us to trace in our statutes and decisions its subsequent changes here, unembarrassed by irrelevant information about parliamentary legislation which in no way concerns us.

In the preparation of the present edition it has not been thought unimportant to call attention from time to time to the differences which exist between the constitutions of Great Britain and of the United States. Some of those differences, however, are too subtle to be put upon paper, and spring from differences in society which are sensibly felt but difficult of description or explanation. To speak of the one government as monarchical and the other as republican is naturally to convey the idea that in the one the element of executive strength and power is predominant, while in the other the influence of the people in the government is more direct and controlling; and the student of politics, who comes to this subject without previous familiarity with English constitutional history, is apt to be surprised when he finds that the personal influence and authority of the American Executive are much the more potent, and that while the popular branch of the American legislature is at most but the peer of the upper, the commons house of parliament lays down the law for both the monarch and the house of lords, permitting neither of those branches of the legislative department to oppose its settled determinations. But it would be idle from thence to draw general conclusions, unless we go beyond the theory of the British constitution, and take into consideration the aristocratic nature of British society, and that strong conservative sentiment and tendency which preserves to the privileged classes the real control of the government, notwithstanding the house of the legislature, which nominally represents them, has been stripped in a measure of its power, and the government brought into more intimate sympathy with the prevailing popular sentiment. We cannot understand a political system, and judge of its value and probable influence and permanency, without a knowledge of the people who have adopted it, and of the manner in which they are likely to give its theories practical effect; for nothing is more evident than that what will conduct one people to ruin, may lead another, which has had a different history and training, and whose natural and acquired tendencies are different, on the high road to national greatness and prosperity. The necessity of checks and balances in government, and of a careful distribution of governmental functions, is obviously greatest where the conservative sentiment is weakest, and it is consequently entirely possible that a concentration of power in a single house of the legislature may be safe and even useful in one country, while justly condemned by all thinking men as likely to lead to commotions, anarchy and revolutions in another. All history teaches us that different peoples, or even the same people in different stages of advancement, are not to be governed by the like modes and forms; and while we all concede this as a general rule, we are too apt, perhaps, when we compare with our own the

system which prevails in the country from which we have mainly derived our ideas of government and law, to forget that we erected our structure on foundation ideas of democracy which never pervaded the governing classes in Great Britain, and that the aristocratic sentiment, which is there controlling, is here in a political point of view, insignificant.

We have tried in America the system of setting bounds to the authority of government, by written constitutions which prescribe limits and furnish the means of restraint when a disposition is evinced to overstep them. It is possible that, while we have thus the letter of the law in black and white before us, we become less regardful of its spirit than we should be if its maxims were left to the watchful care and reverential guardianship of the people. It is very likely that those who frame the laws would be more careful at all times to keep within due bounds, if the responsibility of final decision upon questions regarding their own power was to rest with them rather than with some other authority. It is quite certain that enactments of doubtful constitutional validity are sometimes adopted by legislators who waive the question of doubt, and leave it to be settled by the courts when the true theory of our government requires that they should consider it carefully and conscientiously, and make their action depend upon its solution. But, on the other hand, there are advantages in our system which more than compensate for the drawbacks referred to; and the evident tendency in this country is to add to constitutional restrictions rather than to diminish their number. We discover this in the proceedings of every constitutional convention which is held; in the restraint imposed upon private and class legislation; in the increased particularity in the specification of personal rights; and in the securities devised to prevent hasty and improvident action in legislative bodies. This tendency cannot be overlooked in our consideration of the constitutional system of the American states, and, whether we regard it as wise or unwise, we have only to bow to the popular will, expressed as it is in the most solemn and authoritative manner that could possibly be devised.

It scarcely seems necessary to remark that the student of American law ought to be well grounded in English history, and to have studied the development of constitutional principles in the struggles and revolutions of the English people. It is idle to come to an examination of American constitutions without some familiarity with that from which they have sprung, and impossible to understand the full force and meaning of the maxims of personal liberty, which are so important a part of our law, without first learning how and why it was that they became incorporated in the legal system. An abstract consideration of rights may answer the purpose of the mere theorist, but it is not sufficient for the lawyer; he must deal with principles as they have found recognition in the legal system, with all the limitations which state necessity or policy may have imposed. A recent thoughtful and philosophical writer has well said that "rights are and can be real, only as they are established in the civil and political organization. They are slowly and only with toil and endeavor enacted in laws and moulded in institutions. It is only with care and steadiness and tenacity of purpose that those guaranties are forged which are the securance of freedom, and they are to be clinched and riveted to be strong for defence and against assault. The rhetoric which holds the loftier abstract conception avails nothing, until in the constructive grasp

and tentative skill of those who apprehend the conditions of positive rights, it is shaped and formed in the process of the state. The former is often the quality of some individual thinker, whose ideal is cold also in its distant elevation, and who, regarding in events only the conflict of ideas, is indifferent to the real life of men and nations; and this indifference may become, when his own ideal is unrecognized, the ground only of the scorn of an unsympathizing imagination—not the nobleness but the weakness of disdain: the latter is the work of the statesman who alone knows how patient and vigilant is the toil which is the condition of the institution of rights, and how wary and bitter is the antagonism of the forces from whose selfish grasp the ampler field of rights is wrested, and who forgets in no immediate end the long result to be attained, nor in the exultation of momentary success, or the discouragement of momentary failure, how firmly and how broadly rights, to be secure must be enacted in the laws and moulded in the institutions of the state.” (a)

It is not our meaning that the student should read history with a view alone to the law, or that he should confine his investigations to the history of a single race: in this particular his culture cannot be too broad or too liberal; what we mean is, that to the lawyer English history possesses a value that renders its careful study quite indispensable, and that the student of law must pursue it as the beginning and foundation of his legal course if he aspires to respectable attainments. His particular and careful attention should be directed to the history of the English constitution as traced in the works of writers like Hallam and May; and from the speeches of Burke and Erskine, and other eminent statemen of modern times, as well as from some of the leading state trials, he will derive abundant illustration of a pertinent and forcible character, that will tend to make more vivid and permanent the impression which the facts of the history leave upon the mind. (b)

From these sources he will not only derive increased love of liberty, and strengthened attachment to the institutions under which he lives, but he will be taught, also, to discern in the dry rule of law the principle which underlies and vivifies it, and he will discern how to apply correctly that principle, in

(a) “The Nation,” by E. Mulford, p. 83. As this book has but recently appeared, attention is called to it as a work which nobly fulfills the purpose announced by the author in his preface, “to ascertain and define the being of the nation in its unity and continuity.”

(b) The leading cases on constitutional law, it would be useful to read in the same connection. Those regarded as such have been recently published, with notes, by Mr. Herbert Broom, but his work has not been republished in America. The following are the cases of most interest and importance in this country, with references to the reports or other publications where they may be found: *Sommerset’s Case*, 20 State Trials, 1, and Lofft, 1; the right to personal liberty; slavery the creature of positive law: *Bushnell’s Case*, 6 State Trials, 999; *Vaughan*, 135; *Freeman*, 1; 2 *Jones*, 18; jurors not to be coerced in their verdict, or called to account for it afterwards: *Darnell’s Case*, 3 State Trials, 1; illegality of arrest without cause shown; right to habeas corpus: *The Banker’s Case*, 14 State Trials, 1, and 5 Mod. 29; *Skinner*, 601; 1 *Freeman*, 331; the right to private property: *Leach v. Mooney*, 19 State Trials, 1001; *Burr*, 1692; 1 *W. Bla.* 555; *Wilkes v. Wood*, 19 State Trials, 1153; *Entick v. Carrington*, id. 1080; 2 *Wilson*, 275; illegality of general warrants; right to protection against unreasonable searches and seizures: *Stockdale v. Hansard*, 9 Ad. and El. 1; 11 id. 258; parliamentary privilege of publication; protection of individuals against libellous aspersions in legislative documents; *Barnardiston v. Soame*, 6 State Trials, 1063; 2 *Lev.* 114; *Pollexf.* 470; 1 *Freeman*, 380; 3 *Keb.* 365; legislative powers and privileges. Other cases of historical value, and particularly the great cases of *Shipmoney* and of the *Seven Bishops*, are included in the collection, and all are enriched with copious notes. It may here be mentioned, also, that *Todd’s Parliamentary Government in England*—a recent work—is more full in its collection of facts than the *Constitutional History* by May; and is a convenient and useful work.

new cases as they arise, by noting how it has been applied by the great minds which thus become his preceptors.

He cannot fail, also, to have it fully impressed upon his mind in the course of these investigations, that there are some bounds to the authority of government, which exist in the very nature of our organized society, and do not need to be pointed out by positive law. It is possible that he may sometimes encounter a vague impression that government may *rightfully* do whatever it has the *power* to do; and that whenever a particular department of government, or officer of any department, has not been made responsible to any other for the proper exercise of authority, the determination of such department or officer to do a particular act, must be accepted as satisfactory and conclusive evidence that the act itself is rightful and legal. Such is not the theory of the American constitutions, or of any government where rights are recognized and respected. The sovereignty with us is in the people, and they have delegated to the agencies of their creation only so much of the powers of government as they deemed safe, proper, and expedient. The power exercised must be within the grant made, and if it be not, it is usurpation, whether the means of restraint are provided or not. The people even proceed deliberately and from a conviction of the absolute necessity for such action, to impose restrictions upon their own authority; and they preclude themselves from the exercise of sovereign powers except under the conditions of caution and deliberation, which they have previously, by their written constitution, imposed. It is not, therefore, to be readily inferred that they designed any department of the government to exercise arbitrary authority. It is another common error to which our author gives no countenance, that constitutions in free states are established mainly for the purpose of giving effect to the voice of the majority, and that that voice, whenever expressed in due form, is and should be of absolute force. The student will soon perceive that this is true only in a general sense, and that in various ways the majority are curbed and controlled to restrain passion and prevent injustice. To deal arbitrarily with the rights of the minority, even though that minority be so small as to embrace a single person only, is not within the province of any free government, and the power cannot be rightfully conferred, because on no admissible theory of organized society does the sovereignty itself possess it.(c)

We must discard alike the idea of a divine origin for government, and the theoretical social compact, and acknowledge rightful authority in the physical power of the stronger to subject the weaker to his will, before we can accede to the doctrine that the greater number of voters is necessarily to hold absolute sway, or that the voice of the people is always to be accepted as the voice of Deity. Even when convened to consider what shall be the terms of their compact of government the people are not without law, and are not at liberty to regard themselves as under no restraints. The law of God precedes their action; the immutable principles of right and justice are over and about

(c) "Sovereignty," says Dr. Lieber, (Civil Liberty and Self-government, c. 14) "is not absolutism." And again, he says, speaking of the despotism which is founded upon pre-existing popular absolutism: "the process [by which it is reached] is of no importance; the facts are simply these, the power thus acquired is despotic, and hostile to self-government; the power is claimed on the ground of absolute popular power; and it becomes the more uncompromising because it is claimed on the ground of popular power."—Ibid. c. 31.

them, and cannot rightfully be ignored; the life and the liberty of the individual and the fruits of his labor are not more sacred after they have been declared by a written law to be inviolable than they were before, and the legitimate province of constitutions is to furnish them with due and adequate protection instead of providing the means by which the individual may be robbed by the organized society he enters, of either or all. The eloquent denunciation by Burke of the doctrine of arbitrary power, delivered on the trial of Warren Hastings, is worthy of being repeated often, and thoughtfully dwelt upon by those who frame laws for a free people. "He have arbitrary power! My lords, the East India Company have not arbitrary power to give him; the king has no arbitrary power to give him; your lordships have not; nor the commons; nor the whole legislature. We have no arbitrary power to give, because arbitrary power is a thing which neither any man can hold nor any man can give. No man can lawfully govern himself according to his own will, much less can one person be governed by the will of another. We are all born in subjection, all born equally, high and low, governors and governed, in subjection to one great, immutable, pre-existent law, prior to all our devices, and prior to all our contrivances, paramount to all our ideas and all our sensations, antecedent to our very existence, by which we are knit and connected in the eternal frame of the universe, out of which we cannot stir. This great law does not arise from our conventions or compacts; on the contrary it gives to our conventions and compacts all the force and sanction they can have; it does not arise from our vain institutions. Every good gift is of God; and he who has given the power, and from whom alone it originates, will never suffer the exercise of it to be practiced upon any less solid foundation than the power itself. If, then, all dominion of man over man is the effect of the divine disposition, it is bound by the eternal laws of him that gave it, with which no human authority can dispense; neither he that exercises it, nor those who are subject to it; and if they were mad enough to make an express contract that should release their magistrate from his duty, and should declare their lives, liberties and properties dependent upon, not rules and laws, but his mere capricious will, that covenant would be void. The acceptor of it has not his authority increased, but he has his crime doubled."(d)

What has been said does not at all call in question the correctness of those rules which have been laid down by courts and law writers for the construction of written constitutions, and for the guidance of legislative bodies or judicial tribunals in passing upon the disputes which arise under them. What is right, what is expedient, what is proper, what constitute the inalienable rights of individuals, and what is necessary to be inserted in their constitution of government to protect them, the people who frame it must judge, and not generally he who, under it, is vested with executive or judicial functions. But in all our inquiries concerning what the law is, and how the written constitution affects the rights of individuals, we are in danger of being led to

(d) And again, he says in the same speech: "Law and arbitrary power are in eternal enmity. Name me a magistrate, and I will name *property*; name me power and I will name *protection*. It is a contradiction in terms; it is blasphemy in religion; it is wickedness in politics, to say that any man can have arbitrary power. In every patent of office the duty is included. For what else does a magistrate exist? To suppose for power is an absurdity in idea. Judges are guided and governed by the eternal laws of justice to which we are all subject." See Prior's life of Burke, ch. ix; Works, (Little & Brown's Ed.) ix, 455.

false conclusions if we do not keep in mind the primary and fundamental fact, that "written constitutions sanctify and confirm great principles, but the latter are prior in existence to the former."^(e) Those instruments have for one of their chief ends the protection of the rights of minorities: they seek the establishment of a government of laws which shall be restrained in its operation within the proper sphere of government, and shall protect the pre-existent rights, not take them away.^(f)

The best aid to a proper understanding and interpretation of the law, where one's previous reading has fitted him for its consideration, is a thoughtful and patient examination of the purpose of its enactment. If one shall enter upon the study of the law under the impression that the extent of his advancement must necessarily bear some relation to the number of hours consumed in reading, and the number of pages devoured, and shall, in consequence of that mistaken impression, hurry over ground where he should proceed slowly, cautiously, and with much pains-taking, he must be brought at last face to face with the fact that he is reading to little purpose, and catching but surface views. For it is as true with the mental as it is with the physical life, that, to nourish and strengthen the powers, there must be time and opportunity for digestion; and this process demands consideration, reflection, and patient and laborious thought. "All knowledge," says Sir William Hamilton, "is only for the sake of energy;" and, again, "The paramount end of liberal study is the development of the student's mind; and knowledge is principally useful as a means of determining the faculties to that exercise through which this development is accomplished."^(g) The study of the law must be with active mind and receptive understanding; for otherwise the student, however patient his reading, will be forced to confess in the end that, in the "nice, sharp quilllets of the law," with which his memory is burdened, he is, like Shakespeare's clown, "no wiser than a daw." That lawyer, however able, who rises in court to discuss great questions with no better or more thoughtful preparation than a great collection of precedents, from which he may read what this judge has said, or what deduction that writer has made, has generally no right to expect that he is rendering valuable assistance to the court, or that he is advancing essentially the cause of his client. Every litigated case has an

(e) 2 Webster's works, 392. See also, per Bates, *arguendo*, in *Hamilton v. St. Louis County Court*, 15 Mo. 13, quoted in *Coo. Const. Lim.* 36. "The principal aim of society is to protect individuals in the enjoyment of those absolute rights which were vested in them by the immutable laws of nature, but which could not be preserved in peace without that mutual assistance and intercourse which is gained by the institution of friendly and social communities. Hence it follows that the first and primary end of human laws is to maintain and regulate these absolute rights of individuals." Post, book 1, p. 124.

(f) "All endeavors to throw more and more unarticulated power into the hands of the primary masses, to deprive a country more and more of a gradually evolving character; in one word, to introduce an ever-increasing, direct, unmodified popular power, amount to an abandonment of self-government, and an approach to imperial sovereignty, whether there be actually a Cæsar or not—to popular absolutism, whether the absolutism remain for any length of time in the hands of a sweeping majority, subject of course to a skillful leader, as in Athens after the Peloponnesian war, or whether it rapidly pass over into the hands of a broadly named Cæsar. Imperial sovereignty may be at a certain period more plausible than the sovereignty founded upon divine right, but they are both equally hostile to self-government, and the only means to resist the inroads of power is, under the guidance of Providence and a liberty-wedded people, the same means which in so many cases have withstood the inroads of the barbarians, namely, the institution, the self-sustaining and organic system of laws." Lieber, *Civ. Lib. and Self Gov.* ch. 33.

(g) *Metaphysics*, §§ 1. 2.

aspect of its own, and is supposed to present some new combination which renders it doubtful what principle should be applied, or what circumstance should be controlling; and what the court needs is, to have the principle pointed out, and the why and the how of its applicability explained. Judges may read books and hunt up precedents for themselves; but they have not always the leisure to devote to each case that thought and reflection which the counsel is employed to give, and which may be essential to insure its being grounded on the proper basis. This is the duty of the counsel; and when he has read what he supposes to bear upon the case, and has carefully arranged and digested his learning, he has a right to feel confident in his preparation, and in his ability to present a more forcible and convincing argument to the court—applying it, as he will, to the precise facts of the controversy—than any he can read from the authorities. Indeed, much reading of undigested cases, or even text-books, at the bar, is usually a waste of time, or at best only answers the purpose of directing the attention of the court to a great number of decisions which might, with equal profit, be specified in a written list to be handed up to the judges for their subsequent investigation. For such reading will often leave only a vague and imperfect idea that the authorities read from have some sort of bearing upon the question under consideration, but precisely what, the judge must satisfy himself afterward by making that study of them which the counsel has failed to make.

The caution which involves thorough preparation for practice is more needful in cases regarding fundamental rights, than in any others. The temptation is too great in America for practitioners to open offices and tender their assistance in legal causes without any such examination of the institutions under which they live as will entitle them to be heard on questions of constitutional authority. It is too often—indeed, it is usually—the case, that law reading is directed mainly to preparation for an early entry into practice, in simple cases and in the lower courts, and that works on contracts and on torts are allowed to occupy the attention to the exclusion of the works on government. Something of politics the student will be inclined to learn; and it will not be suprising if the temptations of political life shall beset him early, and lead him away into excitements that are fatal to regular and dispassionate investigations; for, in politics, one reads not so much to form judgments as to gather arguments in support of pre-existing notions; and notoriety in that field is quite consistent with great ignorance on constitutional subjects. The leaders of the political party will be read; while the jurists, whose business it has been to treat constitutional subjects from a judicial stand-point, are overlooked; and the training which one obtains in that way, while it may fit him for making an effective stump speech, goes but a little way in the preparation for undertaking such great questions of government as the lawyer of reputed ability is liable at any time to be called upon to grapple with.

What sort of an argument, for instance, would have been made by Mr. Hargrave in the great case of *Sommersett*, had his reading and reflection been confined within the narrow bounds which many law students of the present day seem willing to accept as furnishing sufficient scope for their powers? Would that eminent judge, who is admitted to have made, with reluctance, a decision, which, in the law of personal liberty, will be a landmark for all time, have been brought to the point of conviction which would insure its being

made at all? Nor are we to suppose that all the great questions regarding individual liberty have been disposed of by the decisions of Lord Mansfield and Lord Camden; or, to pass to questions peculiar to our own country, that all doubts concerning the proper limits of federal authority were settled by the decisions of Chief Justice Marshall, so that nothing is left to the lawyer of to-day but to apply the principles that he laid down to the new cases which from time to time arise. Cases have arisen in our own time quite as important as *McCulloch v. Maryland*, or any of the other great controversies to which Judge Marshall brought his matchless logic and pre-eminent wisdom. The question of the proper bounds of martial law; (*h*) of the right of the federal government to make anything but gold and silver coin a legal tender in the payment of debts; (*i*) of the meaning of the term "bills of attainder," and the power of the states to impose test-oaths in order to exclude from office or professional employment those who may have taken part against the government; (*j*) have recently demanded authoritative decision, and have moved the nation as profoundly as did any of the earlier cases. But there are many questions lying along the border line between federal and state authority which still remain to be discussed and settled. Whether, for instance, the government of the nation may rightfully impose stamp duties upon contracts permitted by the states, and declare the contracts invalid as a penalty for neglect to affix the stamp; (*k*) whether it has constitutional authority to tax the salary or other compensation which a state officer receives from the state for his official services; (*l*) whether the states may constitutionally bargain away the power of taxation in any given case, and whether, if they do, the federal courts are to enforce the bargain under that clause of the constitution of the United States which forbids the states passing any law impairing the obligation of contracts; (*m*) how far the grant of exclusive privileges is enforceable against a state; and many others of the like importance, are not yet transferred beyond the region of controversy, and are to be pondered, perhaps discussed and settled, by the young men who shall hereafter come upon the stage.

And passing beyond the province of the federal power, we do not find that all is plain in the constitutional law of the individual states, and that the functions of government are in every case clearly defined, and its limits definitely marked out. The great question of the right of the state to teach

(*h*) *Ex parte Mulligan*, 4 Wal. 2.

(*i*) *Hepburn v. Griswold*, 8 Wall. 603.

(*j*) *Cummings v. Missouri*, 4 Wal. 277; *Ex parte Garland*, id. 383.

(*k*) The right has been questioned. See *Carpenter v. Snelling*, 97 Mass. 452; *Clemens v. Conrad*, 19 Mich. 170; *Craig v. Dimock*, 47 Ill. 470; *Griffin v. Ranney*, 35 Conn. 239; *Haight v. Grist*, 64 N. C. 789; *Green v. Holway*, 101 Mass. 250; *People v. Gates*, 43 N. Y. 40; *Sporrer v. Elfer*, 1 Heiskell; *Hunter v. Cobb*, 1 Bush, 239; *Sammons v. Halloway*, 21 Mich. 162.

(*l*) This question must now be regarded as put at rest by the denial of the power by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Buffington v. Day*, 11 Wal.

(*m*) On this subject see the cases collected in *Cooley's Constitutional Limitations*, p. 280, note. See also the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Miller, concurred in by the chief justice and Mr. Justice Field, in *Washington University v. Rouse*, 8 Wall. 441. One must be convinced, on reading this case, that the law upon the subject must still receive further examination in the tribunal of last resort, and that the doctrine of previous decisions is not entirely satisfactory.

In illustration of another question lying along the border line between federal and state authority, and threatening to breed difficulty and danger, the reader is referred to the case of *Fenton v. Farley*, 9 Am. Law Reg. N. S. 401, and the forcible note of Judge Redfield appended thereto.

religion in its schools, or of its duty to abstain from such teaching, and what precisely is meant by the doctrine of religious liberty and equality as we have engrafted it in our constitution, are still, it appears, open questions, and threaten violent and angry controversy.(n)

The limits of local self-government—what it properly embraces, in what directions and how far it may be extended, and in what degree the state may limit and control it—are still demanding the attention of both the lawyer and the legislator, and questions concerning them become at times of universal importance.(o)

Not less difficult and important are the questions regarding the proper division of governmental powers between the three departments created for their exercise. We have endeavored so to frame our constitutions that “the legislative department shall never exercise the executive or judicial powers, or either of them; the executive shall never exercise the legislative or judicial powers, or either of them; the judicial shall never exercise the legislative or executive powers, or either of them; *to the end that it may be a government of laws, and not of men.*”(p) But what is legislative and what is executive, and what is judicial power, and who shall say when either is seized into usurping hands?

The attention of the student is called to a few of these questions for the purpose of indicating the broad fields which still await the laborer who shall fit himself to enter them. The foundation for due preparation must be laid in student life if ever, and he who lays it broad and deep may find himself called upon to take part in the struggles of the giants which some day will be had over these questions. No small share of this preparation will be made when

(n) Attention is directed to the thorough examination which this general subject underwent in the case of *Minor v. The Board of Education*, in the superior court of Cincinnati (published by R. Clarke & Co., Cincinnati), and to the masterly arguments made at the bar. The case shows how important it is that the investigations of a lawyer, especially on constitutional questions, should take a wide and liberal range, and that he should make himself thoroughly familiar with the fundamental principles of the government under which he lives. The arguments of counsel are deserving, for their ability and research, as well as for the importance of the subject discussed, of the most careful and thoughtful examination. It is well with any lawyer when he is so full of his subject that he can truthfully say, as was said by the honorable Stanley Mathews, at the close of a long and masterly argument, replete with learning, and glowing with apt illustration: “There is a world of things crowding upon me to say; but I must forbear.”

(o) The question of the right of a state to require or empower its municipalities to aid, by loans or donations, the private corporations who are engaged in constructing works of internal improvement, is certainly one of the most important now before the American people. There are many who question the right, on the same ground, substantially, on which patents of monopoly were declared unlawful in the time of Queen Elizabeth. “*For the end of all these monopolies is for the private gain of the patentees:*” not for the benefit of the public. *Darcy v. Allain*, 11 Rep. 84. Of late there has been a decided disposition in some states for the legislature to take to itself a large share in the government of its cities, and even the appointment of municipal officers. This is supposed to be justified by local abuses and to be within that supreme control which the state is said to have of its municipal subdivisions when not restrained by positive provisions of its constitution. But it is worthy of some reflection whether the people in enacting their constitution ever understand that they are conferring such supreme power. Local self-government is the most conspicuous and important fact in our political history; and it cannot be doubted that every state constitution has been framed in the expectation that such government is to continue as an unquestioned right. It may be seriously questioned whether the power to take away or seriously abridge this right can be considered as fairly within any general grant of legislative power, and whether express constitutional guaranties can be needed to secure that which has always been enjoyed from the very earliest history of the country, and which is understood to be the birthright of American citizens.

(p) This is an extract from the constitution of Massachusetts.

the author before us is carefully read and understood, but the standard American writers on government ought also to be familiar, and what is peculiar in our system should be made the subject of special study and examination. In this field of his inquiries the student will meet with much that is crude, and with many decisions made under circumstances precluding due deliberation, and perhaps presenting to the mind only vague and indefinite notions of constitutional right; but it is not essential that he should follow blindly the leading of any man or any court; the light is always attainable if he will but strive for it, and the greater the confusion of authority, the greater is his credit if he can succeed in pointing out clearly the principle that should govern.(q)

The admirable lectures of Chancellor Kent every student is expected to master after he has made himself familiar with the Commentaries of Mr. Justice Blackstone. Those lectures give us a pleasant, though very much condensed, view of the general principles of the law of nations; of American constitutional law, of the sources of the municipal law of the several states, and of the absolute and relative rights of individuals. The law of corporations next engages attention. Students who read by themselves usually complete the reading of this work before passing to any other, but if, instead of so doing, they should adopt the course, after mastering the lecture upon a particular subject—as for instance the subject of corporations—of taking up one or more of the leading treatises upon the same subject, they would make more sure of their ground as they progressed, and be likely to acquire a knowledge more precise and accurate. The clear and lucid presentations of the leading principles of all these subjects made by Kent will prepare one to master the details of the more extended work.(r) Passing then to the law of personal property and of contracts in Kent the student will find it useful in like manner to follow with the works of text writers devoted to these branches of the law.(s) Works upon particular divisions of the law of contracts, such as bailments, agency, partnership, and mercantile law generally may usefully be read in immediate sequence. Upon all these extended and exhaustive treatises will be met with, and as the subjects are of every-day importance in the lawyer's practice, it is likely that these treatises, or others of equal value, will be presented in new editions from time to time as accumulating decisions or new circumstances shall render important, so that the student may at any

(q) Upon the subject of the federal constitution, no work as yet supersedes the elaborate treatise of Mr. Justice Story; though if it were re-written in view of recent events and authorities, it might be made much more valuable, and be largely increased in interest to those who shall hereafter read it. Some very convenient little hand-books, presenting analyses of the constitution, and some of them giving the decisions of the courts under its several clauses, are readily attainable. The foundations of federal constitutional law may be traced very satisfactorily in the pages of the *Federalist*, and *Elliot's Debates* will be useful for reference. Upon International law Mr. Wheaton's treatise still retains the first rank.

(r) Upon corporations, the best now in use is the treatise by Angell & Ames. It seems, however, to prove repulsive to students, though almost indispensable to the practicing lawyer. Grant on Corporations is also a good work, and the law on the same subject is also set forth very fully and clearly by Mr. Redfield in his work on railways.

(s) Williams on Personal Property is an excellent work. Metcalf's Principles of the Law of Contracts is a good introduction to this subject, but the student must not content himself with that. There are several elaborate treatises on contracts now in use; that by Mr. Parsons being the general favorite. Browne on the Statute of Frauds is valuable in the same connection.

time have in some one or more of them a satisfactory and reliable view of the existing law. (t)

When the student, in pursuing this course, shall reach the law of real estate, it would be well for him to pause for a moment, to consider some of the circumstances which are apt to render its study superficial. There is no lack here of abundant and safe guides, for the works upon real estate law are numerous, profound and exhaustive; but that they do not prove attractive must be confessed, and that they fail to receive that attention which the importance of the subject demands is evident. The student who has studied the law of contracts faithfully and with interest will not unfrequently suppose he may safely slight the law of real estate, and, after acquainting himself with the ordinary forms of conveyancing, and a few of its familiar rules, will pass on to other subjects in which his interest is more readily engaged.

Upon no other branch of the law has so much patient thought and so much profound learning been expended as upon the law of real estate. Some of the treatises in this department have been the admiration and delight of the ablest cotemporary lawyers, and are never read without leaving profoundly impressed upon the mind their wonderful erudition and thoroughness. For this very reason, and because their proper study tasks the mind so severely, they have been shunned by the student. Works like Littleton's Tenures, Fearn's on Contingent Remainders, Saunders on Uses and Trusts, and Sugden on Powers, will not willingly be selected by the beginner as his text-books, if he can make himself believe that, after reading Blackstone and Kent, he will attain the same practical end by familiarizing himself with the common forms of conveyancing, and with the questions which most often arise between vendor and purchaser. And the whole tendency of modern legislation concerning real estate has been to lull the student into a false security, and to incline him more and more to rely upon such superficial knowledge as might answer the purpose of the conveyancer, but which fails to embrace the questions of nicety and difficulty. In both England and America the attention of some of the ablest minds has been directed to a reform in the law of real estate, with a view to relieving it of unnecessary and cumbrous forms, useless technicalities, and fictions which answer no useful purpose. The changes they have introduced have been great; in some respects very radical: and their influence has been to impress us with the belief that the ancient learning in real estate law has become obsolete and useless, and that time can be more profitably spent in acquiring a practical knowledge of the manner in which business is now done, than in poring over the musty books which were the vade mecums of a past age, but which have now become mainly matters of antiquarian interest. Other important circumstances, which have operated mainly in the newer states, have had a tendency in the same direction. Real estate has been cheap; we have been near the source of title; conveyances of any particular parcel have not generally been numerous, nor the title complicated; the modes of transfer have been tolerably uniform and well understood; we have a general

(t) Edwards on Bailments, and the work by the same author on Bills and Notes are careful and judicious treatises, and are always read with satisfaction. The works by Mr. Parsons on Notes and Bills, and on Partnership are also valuable. Collyer on Partnership is preferable to Story. Mr. Smith's treatise on Mercantile Law is an excellent one, and Mr. Parsons has written acceptably on the same subject.

system of registry designed to give purchasers information concerning the conveyances which have been made; and, as every man of plain common sense is able to understand all these, one naturally comes to think that the nearest justice of the peace is competent to transact the business connected with his purchases and sales, and that his own good sense is sufficient to protect him against flaws in titles, or against being entrapped through the means of inadequate conveyances of the land he buys. Unfortunately he sometimes discovers, when too late, that unaided good sense is not always an infallible guide in matters of law, and that one who relies upon it implicitly is in the proper condition of mind to be made the victim of misplaced confidence. Many a man has lost his all by assuming the sufficiency of his own knowledge and judgment in real estate matters, and by resting satisfied with his own examination, or that of his county register of deeds, where he ought to have called in the best legal advice that was attainable. Sharp schemers do not overlook this fact, and many of them thrive by it; but we should be obliged to confess, if interrogated on that point, that many legal practitioners also do not properly appreciate the nature of their task when called upon to advise regarding titles, and that the assistance they assume to render is admirably calculated to lead astray.(u)

(u) Of this there could not possibly be a better illustration than the implicit reliance which is apt to be placed upon the county records of deeds as a means of ascertaining precisely the situation of the title to a particular parcel of land. A little reflection will convince us that these records cannot give all the information requisite: that it is entirely possible for perfect titles not to appear upon them at all, and that often they will indicate an indefeasible right in one who, in fact, has no title whatever. Indeed, in many cases, the nature of perfect titles is such that they cannot be spread upon the records, and in all cases there are important facts concerning which the record is silent, and which must necessarily be determined by extrinsic inquiries.

To illustrate this, let us suppose that a lawyer's client brings him an abstract from the county recorder's office, and requests his opinion as to the title which it describes. Let this abstract be in the following form:

"Southwest quarter of section 12, town 9 south, range 2 east, Ohio.

1. Entered by John Hemingway and patented by U. S. to him August 1, 1836.

2. John Hemingway to William Jackson, warranty deed; dated September 10, 1836; recorded March 18, 1838, in liber B of deeds, page 80. Duly witnessed and acknowledged.

3. William Jackson to Richard Benson, warranty deed; dated March 18, 1838; recorded same day in liber B of deeds, page 81. Duly witnessed and acknowledged.

4. Richard Benson and Harriet, his wife, to James Byles; quitclaim deed; dated October 1, 1862; recorded same day in liber Y of deeds, page 292. Executed in the state of New York and properly certified.

5. James Byles, by William Smith, his attorney in fact, to Edgar Bennett; warranty deed; dated July 15, 1868; recorded October 12, 1868. In due form of law.

The records of this office show no mortgages or other liens upon the land, and the title appears to be perfect in Edgar Bennett. John Doe, register of deeds."

Nothing apparently could be more straightforward and business-like than this document, and one is probably safe in saying that the majority of purchasers would rely upon it implicitly, and would receive and pay for Mr. Bennett's conveyance without suspicion that it could possibly prove defective. But a prudent conveyancer would feel no such reliance, but would treat this document as an assistance merely in the necessary investigations; as a guide in his inquiries, and not as in and of itself presenting the needed information. He would, therefore, inform his client that further investigation would be necessary; that a register of deeds could not make a title good by certifying to its correctness, and, indeed, could not properly give such a certificate at all, and that all the facts which are stated in this abstract are not inconsistent with a worthless claim in the party here stated to have a perfect title. And he would thereupon proceed to obtain from other sources the information which the record could not give.

1. By inquiries of his client, of the present claimant, and of other sources, he would endeavor to ascertain as much as possible concerning the several grantors mentioned in the abstract of title, where they lived, and what was their connection with the possession of the land, and their identity with the grantees of the same name. Also, whether other parties have

There are not many things in the old law of real estate which the lawyer will find it without importance to know, and his knowledge will sometimes be called into requisition under circumstances which preclude a resort to the

at any time been in possession of the land, and if so, for how long and under what claim of right. All these inquiries may be of the utmost importance, as we shall soon perceive, and aided by them he will proceed to consider the successive steps in the chain of conveyances.

2. The patent by the United States to any one may generally be assumed to convey the title, the United States having been the original owner of all the region in which this land is situated. Still, it is possible for such a patent to be void. The government may, previously, have patented the same lands, and the second patent may have issued through mistake, in which case it would of course be void. Or the government after having once parted with its title may have acquired some right again—as sometimes happens in enforcing its demands against public debtors—and, in this case, its subsequent conveyance could give no better title than the government had acquired by its purchase. It would be necessary, therefore, in such a case to scrutinize the title of the government with the same care that would be requisite in the case of any other proprietor.

3. Coming to the conveyance by Hemingway, the first inquiry which suggests itself is, whether he be the same person to whom the government conveyed? Identity of name is no more than *prima facie* evidence of this fact, and may not be even so much, if his residence, as given in his conveyance, appears to be different. Let us say here, once for all, that a *record can never identify parties*: outside inquiries are absolutely essential for this purpose, and when it is so easy for one man to personate another, and when besides there are often many persons of the same name, these inquiries cannot be too particular. A conveyance by any other John Hemingway than the one to whom the government conveyed, or by any person falsely assuming his name, would of course be void; and no title apparently good of record could protect a purchaser against the claim of the real patentee.

4. Suppose the inquirer to have satisfied himself of the identity of the patentee with the grantor of Jackson, a further question is, whether he had made any other conveyance, or any mortgage of the lands previous to the recording of the deed to Jackson. And this brings us to notice the principal object of the registry laws, which is, to *give notice to purchasers of any previous conveyances or liens by the person of whom they buy*. A purchaser who examines the records and finds no conveyance by his vendor has a right to assume that none exists; and if he then receives a conveyance in good faith and for value paid, and places it upon record at once, he is protected by it, even though there be a prior conveyance also obtained for value. As between two *bona fide* purchasers, the registry law gives protection to him who was sufficiently diligent and prudent to have his deed immediately recorded, and the deed of the other, even though prior in point of time, is void as to him, provided he had no notice of it when he bought, received the conveyance and paid the consideration.

5. As no wife appears to have joined in Hemingway's deed, it will be necessary to inquire whether he was at the time a married man, and if so, whether his wife is still living. If she is, she has or may have a right of dower; and the facts regarding this will need investigation.

6. In the case of this and also every subsequent deed, it is important not to be satisfied with the simple statement that it is a "warranty deed," but to examine its terms and see what the covenants are, and also whether it gives any intimation of any fact which qualifies in any way the title of the grantor to the possible prejudice of a purchaser. Although there are no mortgages of record, there may be some in existence, and the deeds may give information concerning them. Such information the purchaser is bound by, for it is a general rule that *a man is regarded as notified of whatever appears in the instruments which constitute his chain of title*; and whether he actually reads them or not he is equally chargeable with knowledge of their contents. Jackson v. Neely, 10 Johns. 374; Brush v. Ware, 15 Pet. 93. Daughaday v. Paine, 6 Minn. 452; Reeder v. Barr, 4 Ohio, 446. If therefore a deed refers to an unrecorded mortgage, or to any other outstanding claim, it becomes necessary to ascertain its present condition and validity; for a purchaser will take subject to the rights under it of which he is constructively notified. It is important also to see that the deeds contain the proper words of inheritance. See *post*, book 2, page 107, and notes.

7. The attestation and acknowledgment of the deed are to be compared with the statute in force at the date of execution, to see if they constitute a compliance. And it is always to be borne in mind that the record of a deed not executed as required by the recording laws is a mere nullity, and cannot be used as an instrument of evidence. Clark v. Graham, 6 Wheat. 577; Choteau v. Jones, 11 Ill. 300; Pope v. Henry, 24 Vt. 560; Galpin v. Abbott, 6 Mich. 17; Work v. Harper, 24 Miss. 517; Patterson v. Pease, 5 Ohio, 190. If there is any defect in this particular, the original deed should be obtained for the purposes of having the proper correction and a new record made.

8. Coming to the deed from Jackson to Benson, the same questions regarding identity are to be asked, and the same precautions observed in other respects which have already been pointed out.

books for careful investigation. The man who *in extremis* sends for his legal adviser to draft a complicated will may be blamable for delaying so important a business until the immediate urgency is so great, but in this regard he is only equally negligent with a great many of his fellows, and the lawyer must

9. The deed from Benson to Byles is by quitclaim. A deed without covenants is as effectual to convey the vendor's title as any other, but the fact that the vendor declines to insert covenants in his deed when his title is apparently perfect, is a circumstance which always suggests doubt in respect to the title, and renders additional caution important. Generally the vendor who has no doubt regarding his title will not hesitate to give the ordinary deed of warranty, and the purchaser, if he is buying for full value, will insist upon having it. It is a reasonable inference when a mere quitclaim is given, that both parties supposed the title might prove defective, and that the purchaser has bought at a discount in consideration of the risk he assumed. And it may prove, on inquiry in this case, that the William Jackson who conveys was not the purchaser from Hemingway, but only one of several heirs at law who had sold and quitclaimed his undivided interest. In such case the interest of the other heirs would not be affected by his conveyance, and the right which could be claimed by his grantee, though apparently good to the whole land, would in reality be valid for his undivided interest only.

10. And this leads us to remark, that the title derived by descent or devise from a deceased person does not usually appear on the records of the office of the recorder of deeds, and in some states there is no provision of law by which it can be made to appear. When a person dies leaving no will, the title to his real property vests at once in his heirs at law, subject to be divested in case it should become necessary, in the course of administration, to resort to it as assets for the payment of debts. The heirs may sell their right, and no other steps are essential for the purpose than would be required if their title had come by purchase. One who should buy of them must take subject to the following contingencies:

A will of the ancestor may be discovered and probated, which shall devise the estate to other parties.

Administration may be taken on the estate, and debts proved to an amount exceeding the personal assets, and then it may be necessary to sell the real estate in order to pay them.

Each heir can convey his undivided interest only, and the purchaser at his peril must ascertain the number and identity of the heirs, and the extent of their respective interests. Even where an estate is being duly settled under the statute, the probate records are not conclusive upon these subjects, at least before the final decree of distribution. The purchaser must also, at his peril, ascertain that the heirs from whom he buys are of the proper age to make conveyances.

11. As the Benson deed appears to have been executed in the state of New York, it is important to ascertain what provision was made by the law of Ohio for the record of such deeds. The law of the jurisdiction where the land is—the *lex rei sitæ*—is the law which must govern such conveyances; and a deed, perfectly good in New York, where it is executed, may prove insufficient, under the law of Ohio, where the land lies. The statutes of the several states will be found to provide in what manner deeds of lands therein, when made abroad, shall be executed; and the deed must, therefore, be compared with the statute, to see if there has been a compliance. And, as there is no common law on this subject to help out a defective conveyance, nothing short of a substantial compliance with the statute will avail. A defective deed may amount to a valid *contract of sale*, the specific performance of which may be enforced; but a purchaser wants the *title*, and not a lawsuit.

12. Benson's deed to Byles appears to have been executed more than twenty years after he obtained his title. It is possible that in this interval his right may have been extinguished by an adverse possession. This consideration is, of itself, sufficient to demonstrate the importance of making inquiries regarding the occupation of the land; but they would also be important, though in a less degree, where sufficient time had not elapsed for the statute of limitations to attach. It is a rule, generally, though not universally, recognized, that, *where one buys land in the possession of another, he takes it subject to the rights of the possessor, whatever they may be.* *Lea v. Polk Copper Co.*, 21 How. 493; *Hughes v. United States*, 4 Wal. 232; *Morrison v. Kelly*, 22 Ill. 610; *Coleman v. Barklew*, 3 Dutch. 357; *Helms v. May*, 29 Geo. 121; *McKee v. Wilcox*, 11 Mich. 358. The exception to this principle is where the possessor sets up a claim in opposition to his own conveyance. *Scott v. Gallagher*, 14 S. and R. 333; *Newhall v. Pierce*, 5 Pick. 450; *Bloomer v. Henderson*, 8 Mich. 395. Or where possession by him is consistent with the title appearing of record: *Patten v. Moore*, 32 N. H. 384; *Truesdale v. Ford*, 37 Ill. 210; *Elly v. Wilcox*, 24 Wis. 531. See further, *McKinzie v. Perrill*, 15 Ohio St. 168; *Crassen v. Swoveland*, 22 Ind. 434. A man, therefore, who is in possession under a lease or an unrecorded deed is protected by his possession, and other persons cannot acquire equities as against him, where they buy without taking the trouble to inquire into the nature of his claims.

13. Benson's wife appears to have united in his deed, for the purpose of releasing her right of dower. As to this, it is important to know.

be prepared for calls of this character, and ready to respond to them. The most difficult and intricate questions he is ever compelled to grapple with will sometimes present themselves when the proposed testator states his wishes regarding the settlement of his property, and in many cases they must be met promptly and settled without delay. To enable a lawyer to enter upon such a task without misgivings, he must have fitted himself by a thorough study of the elementary rules as presented and discussed in the leading treatises; and if he has contented himself with a smattering of real estate law—such as may enable him to buy and sell real estate and draft common conveyances, he has no right to jeopard the interests of those he assumes to aid, by drafting an

Whether the execution and acknowledgment of the deed by her were in due form, as required by the statute; for, if not, they are void. A married woman has no general power to release her contingent right of dower during coverture; and can only do so in the manner the statute has prescribed. The strictness with which statutory forms are required to be observed may be seen in some of the cases which Mr. Washburne has collected. 1 Washb. Real Prop. 200, et seq.

Also whether the wife was of lawful age at the time of executing the release. The statute which authorizes the wife to release her contingent right of dower does not relieve her of any other disability which she may be under, besides coverture; and, therefore, if she be, in law, an infant, her deed is void. *Hughes v. Watson*, 10 Ohio, 127; *Priest v. Cummings*, 16 Wend. 617, and 20 id. 338; *Jones v. Todd*, 2 J. J. Marsh. 359. Some of the states, however, it is believed, have changed this rule.

14. The deed from Byles to Bennett appears to have been executed by attorney. Was this attorney duly authorized? To answer this question intelligently, we must have the power of attorney before us. It must be under seal, and its terms must be such as to empower this particular deed to be executed. If the examination is satisfactory on this point, the purchaser would need to go still farther, and ascertain whether or not it remained unrevoked when the deed was made. Byles, in the mean time, may have died or gone into bankruptcy, or he may have expressly revoked his letter of attorney by an instrument for the purpose, duly executed and recorded. If satisfied that the power remained in force, the next question is, whether it has been duly executed. The deed made under it should be executed and acknowledged in the name and as the deed of the principal by William Smith, his attorney, and not in the name and as the deed of the attorney himself. *Elwell v. Shaw*, 16 Mass. 42; *Barger v. Miller*, 4 Wash. C. C. 280; *Thurman v. Cameron*, 24 Wend. 90; *Harper v. Hampton*, 1 Harr. and J. 709. If defective in this particular, extrinsic evidence cannot be resorted to for the purpose of showing that the attorney designed to make the proper conveyance which he had failed to execute. *Wilkinson v. Getty*, 13 Iowa, 157.

15. As James Byles executes the deed alone, inquiry must be made whether at the time he was a married man, and if so, whether his wife is still living. And this may be important for a further purpose than to ascertain whether a dower right exists. The land may have been the *homestead* of Byles; and if occupied as such, it may be found that, at the date of this deed, the statute of the state forbade its alienation except by a deed in which the wife joined.

16. When satisfied upon all these points there are still others which present themselves for investigation. There may be tax titles upon the land; it may have been sold in judicial proceedings against any of the several owners; any of them may have gone into bankruptcy and lost his title thereby; any of the deeds in the chain of title may be forged, and therefore void; any one of the grantors may have been an infant, insane or idiotic; there may be suits pending in chancery which affect the land; and the prudent lawyer who is employed to investigate the title will never rest satisfied until he has made his inquiries cover all these points.

The title here supposed is one of the most simple character, and presents none of the abstruse or difficult questions which are constantly arising in real estate transactions. If one link in the chain of title happens to be a will, new and more difficult questions will arise. It may then become important to know whether the rule in *Shelley's case* is in force in the state or not; for the nature of a devisee's estate, whether a fee or not, may depend upon it. And in any case of a devise it will be important to ascertain whether the will has been duly probated and the estate duly settled; for until then, the title of the devisee is subject to contingencies. If one link is a judicial sale, or a sale by executor, administrator or guardian, or a tax title, the lawyer ought to examine every step in the proceedings carefully; to take nothing for granted, but satisfy himself from his own inspection that every thing is substantially correct and regular.

If an examination is being made for the purposes of a suit, it ought to be equally particular and careful, and the lawyer ought to see not only that the title is good, but that it is capable of being proved. Sometimes he may be convinced by his inquiries, and yet not supplied with the means of proof. He should remember that it is one thing to satisfy himself, and another to

instrument, the legal effect of which he can only guess at. A layman would be even less likely to mislead, for he would generally abstain from the use of technical language, which, in the hands of persons who are employing it without sufficient knowledge, is always liable to express a meaning which is not in the mind of him who uses it. It is impossible to urge too strongly upon the young men who are hereafter to come to the bar, the importance of thorough preparation in the law of real estate; and it may tend to their encouragement in so doing to add, that as lands become more valuable and wealth increases, in no other branch of the law is real preparation and genuine attainment likely to be better appreciated or better rewarded.(v)

There is a class of real estate questions which is peculiar to this country, and in handling which the student will not be greatly aided by the old text-books or old decisions. They are, nevertheless, questions which arise often, and which, hereafter, there will from year to year be still more frequent occasion to deal with. We refer to those which relate to the validity of sales of lands for the non-payment of the taxes assessed upon them. We do not know how the lawyer, who is disposed both to labor and to think, could well be called into a more tempting field than the examination of these questions. Large as has been the number of decisions regarding these sales, and varied as have been the questions passed upon, almost every new case that now arises presents some unusual combination of facts and circumstances which enables some new and perhaps difficult question to be raised. The difficulties are enhanced by the different views which different classes of minds are disposed to take of this species of title, and of the maxims of law by which they should be governed. If we look only to the interest of the state, and regard the collection of the tax at all hazards as the prime object to be attained, we may be disposed to press governmental power to an extreme which would deprive the individual of the benefit of those principles which have been shields for the protection of private property from before the time of Magna Charta. If, on the other hand, we look mainly to the interest of the individual, bearing in mind the great variety of causes which prevent the prompt payment of taxes—causes most often operating in the cases of minors and other persons incapable or unaccustomed to business, and remembering also the merely nominal price usually paid for lands at tax sales, we may be disposed to look upon these sales as a species of state robbery, to disappoint and defeat which, the courts should be vigilant to seize upon every reasonable

supply legal evidence which can be laid before a jury. The memorandum of his investigations which he makes, as they progress, ought to give full information, not only for his own present use, but for the purposes of a trial if any should be had, or for the information of any subsequent purchaser from his client who may have occasion to go over the same ground. A lawyer is inexcusable who trusts the results of such investigations to memory alone.

These few hints will suffice to show how utterly insufficient and misleading are the ordinary abstracts of title upon which so many purchasers rely; how impossible it is that the records should give completely the information regarding the true state of titles, and how important that one who would examine titles should not only have some knowledge of law, but should make his investigations with his mind awake to all the numerous and diversified circumstances which may affect the title, even in the cases which upon the surface appear the simplest. And this note is inserted, not as indicating all the points to be borne in mind in these cases, but as illustrating the necessity of caution and thoughtful vigilance.

(v) Mr. Williams's little work on Real Property is an admirable assistant to the student, and an agreeable introduction to the Digest of Cruise. Our appreciation of Mr. Washburn's Treatise is shown by the frequent references to it in the following work. No book is more reliable; and the same may be said of the treatise by the same author on Easements. Jarman on Wills, is the best English work on that subject at the present time, but is nearly superseded in this country by the treatise of Judge Redfield.

pretext. These diverse views find able representatives in the legal profession, who press them upon all occasions; but the lawyer who is ready to accept them as extreme views, and to examine tax titles with the same unbiased mind which he would bring to the consideration of a mortgage or of a conveyance by bargain and sale, will not fail to find that there is ample opportunity for the display of legal ingenuity and acumen, and for the satisfactory application of fundamental legal maxims as the new and peculiar circumstances, which these cases so often exhibit, present themselves. The thoughtful lawyer cannot doubt that the old and well-settled principles of law are to be applied in these as in all other cases, nor that they are sufficient, if rightly applied, for the protection alike of the interest of the state and of the individual rights of the citizen; and if he enters upon his investigations with these points conceded in his own mind, much of the difficulty supposed to be inseparable from this species of conveyance will disappear, as he comes fully prepared to encounter it. The maxims of individual right are all limited, restrained and qualified by others which regard public duty and state necessity; each and all, when properly understood, supply light for the guidance of the lawyer in his examination of the numerous and often informal and imperfect records which constitute the evidences of title in these cases, and if he possesses the necessary industry and perseverance to make a complete and careful examination of each case in which his services may be required, the questions of law involved will not often fail of a satisfactory solution under his intelligent and persevering attempts to master them. (*w*)

If the law of real estate proves generally unattractive, criminal law, on the other hand, is likely to excite the imagination and enlist the interest of the student, who will look forward to its practice as the field of his most striking and inspiring triumphs. Yet as these triumphs are popularly supposed to be achieved mainly by the power of eloquence, and by appeals to the sympathies

(*w*) To illustrate the manner in which the principles of law which are applicable to these cases affect and qualify each other, the following may be mentioned:

That the state has an undoubted right to compel every species of property within its limits to sustain its proper proportion of the burden of supporting the government, and to that end, if necessary, to divest the owner's title by a public sale.

That the owner has an equal right to have the proceedings for levying a tax upon his property prescribed in advance by law, so that he may understand what is his duty regarding its payment, and how he may comply with that duty: and he is not to be dispossessed of his property until he is in default for failure to perform his obligations to the state.

That statutes for the assessment and collection of taxes are to be construed like other statutes; not with a strictness that shall defeat their purpose, nor with a liberality that shall enlarge their terms; the object to be attained being to ascertain the meaning of the legislature in their several provisions, and then to give them effect.

That whatever securities the legislature has provided for the protection of the interest of the taxpayer, are to be understood as thrown around his property to prevent its being appropriated improperly, and they therefore constitute walls of protection which the other departments of the government cannot throw down or leap over.

That the letter of the law is not to be regarded rather than its spirit: and as a strict and literal compliance with provisions which are unimportant to the individual assessed is extremely improbable in proceedings of this description, where the steps to be taken are numerous and the persons who are to take them generally unlearned in the law, the legislature, it is to be assumed, did not intend to make such literal compliance a condition precedent to the collection of the public revenue, and the immaterial variations may be disregarded or cured retrospectively.

Other rules might be specified, but it is not important to our present purpose; the chief difficulty in these cases being after all in the proper application of these, and in determining what regulations of statute are to be regarded as directory, and what, being prescribed for the protection of the rights of the citizen, are to be treated as imperative. Mr. Blackwell's *Treatise on Tax Titles* is a very useful one, to both the student and the practicing lawyer.

and the passions of men rather than by the force of dry legal logic, or the careful mastery of the rules of law, the embryo advocate needs to guard his inclinations carefully, lest he may find himself in his preparation relying too exclusively upon showy attainments, and neglecting that solid foundation in the law without which the most shining natural abilities, and the most careful and elaborate training in elocution, will at times prove of no avail.

If the leading principles of criminal law are plain and easily mastered, if the pleadings are simple and the practice without complication, there is nevertheless a continual possibility that some unexpected and difficult question may arise for which the works on criminal law state no precedent and furnish no solution. What criminal lawyer in large practice can tell whether the fate of his client in the next case in which his services may be demanded is to turn upon mere questions of fact, or on the other hand to depend upon some important principle of constitutional right, some difficult question regarding the right to property, or some point in medical jurisprudence, involving not only some knowledge of medicine and of physiology, but an intimate acquaintance, also, with human nature, and with the peculiarities and vagaries of the human mind?

Lord Erskine, in building up that splendid reputation as an advocate of which he was justly so proud, did not shrink from any labor or spare himself any exertion which could make more complete and ample his ability to grapple with the questions of law and of fact which he could anticipate as likely to arise in the cases he was to undertake. At this distance of time, and when it cannot be expected that our feelings should be enlisted to any considerable degree, in the questions he discussed, we read his speeches with delight, and study them as models of forensic eloquence. But we discover that they are very far from being mere appeals to the sympathies, the feelings or the passions of the men to whom they were addressed. On the contrary they were pervaded with such knowledge of the laws and constitution of his country, and he discussed the questions involved with such fullness and readiness of information, and such force of logic, that our wonder is as we read them, not that their effect was so powerful and their force of conviction so great, but that, in cases where he made the right appear so clear, it should ever have been seriously contested. We take up, for instance, the trial of Hardy, and note in what a masterly manner he handled the successive questions as they arose, and we are irresistibly impressed that the great advocate was an orator in the highest and best sense, whose aim was to come to the discussion of such great causes with his mind well stored with all the materials of attack and defense which study or labor could gather, and who so far accomplished the end sought, that he was enabled to teach a government then tending strongly toward despotic authority, a salutary and much needed lesson regarding the freedom of thought and freedom of discussion, and one which will never be unlearned while free institutions continue to be the heritage of the people of England. (x)

(x) Lord Campbell said of Erskine's speech in support of the right of juries in the Dean of Asaph's case, that it displayed, "beyond all comparison, the most perfect union of argument and eloquence ever exhibited in Westminster hall. So thoroughly had he mastered the subject, and so clear did he make it, that he captivated, alike, old black letter lawyers and statesmen of taste and refinement."

Quintilian, who lived in an age and under a system of forensic pleading, in which oratorical powers, without solid attainments, might be made much more available than now under our sys-

It will be interesting to quote in this connection what was said of Alexander Hamilton by one of his gifted cotemporaries: "It is rare that a man, who owes so much to nature, descends to seek more from industry; but he seemed to depend on industry, as if nature had done nothing for him. His habits of investigation were very remarkable; his mind seemed to cling to his subject till he had exhausted it. Hence the uncommon superiority of his reasoning powers, a superiority that seemed to be augmented from every source, and to be fortified by every auxiliary; learning, taste, wit, imagination and eloquence. These were embellished and enforced by his temper and manners, by his fame and his virtues. It is difficult, in the midst of such various excellence, to say in what particular the effect of his greatness was most manifest. No man more promptly discerned truth; no man more clearly displayed it; it was not merely made visible, it seemed to come bright with illumination from his lips. But prompt and clear as he was, fervid as Demosthenes, like Cicero, full of resource, he was not less remarkable for the copiousness and completeness of his argument, that left little for cavil and nothing for doubt. Some men take their strongest argument as a weapon, and use no other; but he left nothing to be inquired for more, nothing to be answered. He not only disarmed his adversaries of their pretexts and objections, but he stripped them of all excuse for having urged them; he confounded and subdued as well as convinced. He indemnified them, however, by making his discussion a complete map of his subject, so that his opponents might indeed, feel ashamed of their mistakes, but they could not repeat them. In fact it was no common effort that could preserve a really able antagonist from becoming his convert; for the truth, which his researches so distinctly presented to the understanding of others, was rendered almost irresistibly commanding and impressive by

tem, justly ranks thorough preparation among the first and highest requisites of the advocate; or, as he expresses it, as "constituting the foundation of pleading." "Very few orators," he truly remarks, "take sufficient trouble in this respect; for, to say nothing of those who are utterly careless, and who give themselves no concern on what the success of a cause depends, if there be but points which, though wholly unconnected with the case, but relating to characters involved in it, and leading to the usual flourishes on common-place topics, may afford them an opportunity for noisy declamation; there are some also whom vanity perverts, and who (partly pretending that they are constantly occupied, and have always something which they must first dispatch, tell their client to come to them the day or the very morning before the trial, and sometimes even boast that they received their instructions while the court was sitting; or, partly assuming a show of extraordinary ability, that they may be thought to understand things in a moment, making believe that they conceive and comprehend almost before they hear), after they have chanted forth, with wonderful eloquence, and the loudest clamors of applause from their partisans, much that has no reference either to the judge or to their client, are conducted back in a thorough perspiration, and with long train of attendants, through the forum." How vivid is this picture of some advocates, still to be met with, whose endeavor is to try the parties and witnesses rather than the cause, and to display themselves rather than exhibit the rights of their clients! The applause of an unthinking crowd may be easily and cheaply excited in this manner, but sensible men estimate such advocates at their true value, and juries are seldom much influenced by them, while courts only endure them. On the other hand, commendation like that which Lord Mansfield gave the counsel in *Sommersett's case* is worth striving for; not for the compliment merely, but because he who has once earned it may rely afterward upon having the ear of the court, and upon being looked to by the judges for instruction and assistance when the mere declaimer would be heard but not heeded. "I cannot omit," said he, "to express particular happiness in seeing young men, just called to the bar, have been able to profit so much by their reading." It was a different class of practitioners that Chief Justice Gibson was listening to when he congratulated himself on having achieved a great judicial triumph, inasmuch as he was able to keep his eye upon a dull advocate while his mind was occupied with more agreeable objects!

the, love and reverence which, it was ever apparent, he profoundly cherished for it in his own."(*y*)

In America we meet with few cases of lawyers of high standing and eminent ability who give themselves exclusively to the defense of criminal cases, and few of that class would find employment sufficiently steady and remunerative if they desired to do so. The criminal lawyer is too apt to be a man who is tainted somewhat by his associations, and who fits himself for defending vile characters by imbibing more or less of their vicious tastes and habits. But the ablest counsel may be called sometimes to step from the highest tribunal in the land into the criminal court; as Daniel Webster was called in to assist in bringing a criminal to justice, and William H. Seward to save a demented negro from the punishment of a criminal. And while we say of the preparation for such cases, that it must be begun early, on broad and deep foundations, we should add also, that mere rhetoric, in the lower and more common acceptation of that term,—the power to control the voice, to use readily beautiful or ingenious figures of speech, and to accompany them with appropriate gestures—constitutes but a small part of this preparation. The most perfect address in point of oratorical accuracy may fall dead and lifeless, or even be the subject of ridicule, in an important criminal cause, when a plain and straight-forward argument, made upon full preparation, but without attempt at display, will lead the minds of court and jury irresistibly to the advocate's conclusions. (*z*) The caution above all others which the student needs, when he feels himself gifted with fine oratorical ability, is to beware lest he find himself relying upon it too exclusively, and neglecting that hard labor which the less gifted would be compelled to perform, but the benefit of which is always in proportion to the natural powers which it supplements. (*a*)

The innovations which have been made in criminal procedure in modern times have been so great that a trial on a charge of crime now bears as little resemblance to one in the time of the Stuarts, as the service in a Christian church does to the heathen sacrifice to idols. We have at last, we think, so moulded and shaped the criminal practice as to give the prisoner the full benefit of the maxim that he shall be presumed innocent until proved guilty; which in former times was but a mockery. But some of the new protections devised for innocence need to be carefully guarded to prevent their proving delusive

(*y*) Works of Fisher Ames, vol. 2, p. 260.

(*z*) Luther specifies among the requisites for a good preacher: "First, he should teach systematically; secondly, he should have a ready wit; thirdly, he should be eloquent; fourthly, he should have a good voice; fifthly, a good memory; sixthly, he should know when to make an end; seventhly, he should make sure of his doctrine; eighthly, he should venture and engage body and blood, wealth and honor, in the word; ninthly, he should suffer himself to be mocked and jeered of every one." Every one of these is equally important in the criminal lawyer, and some of them are indispensable. He must "make sure of his doctrine;" "he should know when to make an end;" he should enlist heart and soul in the cause; and if public opinion runs strong and fierce against his client, he must "suffer himself to be mocked and jeered of every one," rather than allow to be sacrificed the interests of one who has confided reputation, liberty, perhaps life, to his protection. The calm future must be trusted to set him right, and if he never quails before the clamor, the trust will not be disappointed.

(*a*) All of Sheridan's speeches, which so glow and sparkle now as if they were the spontaneous outbursts of genius, were in reality the results of the most persevering labor. The wonderful power of extemporizing on the part of the elder Pitt, is said to have been the result of severe training at Oxford, and after he entered parliament, he was content to delay addressing the house until after he had thoroughly studied it, and understood the audience he was to speak to.

snare. It has been thought—for an instance—that the old practice under which the accuser's story could be heard by the jury, but not that of the prisoner, was unphilosophical and even barbarous, and in some of the states the rule has been established by statute, that whoever possesses knowledge of the facts shall be heard, and the jury shall judge of the reasonableness of his story, and to what extent any interest he may have in the result ought to affect his credibility. This innovation has been opposed on two grounds, 1. As dangerous to public justice, inasmuch as every accused party will exonerate himself by his evidence, however falsely; 2. As dangerous to the prisoner, inasmuch as the permission to give evidence is equivalent to a command, because if he fails to testify his conduct will be subject to the worst construction; and in this way we in effect establish an inquisitorial trial, and deprive accused parties of the benefit of the constitutional maxim that no man shall be compelled to give evidence against himself. (b) To deal properly with such changes, the lawyer ought to be familiar, not only with the old law, and with the reasons on which it rested, but also, with the concurrent principles incidentally affected by the change, that he may know how to administer the new law so as to save to his client all the old rights while giving him the benefit of the new privilege. Suppose—to illustrate again—the accused party takes the stand and makes his statement, and then refuses to be cross-examined upon it; has he a *right* to stop where he pleases, and to claim his constitutional right not to be *coerced* to give evidence against himself? If not, what remedy has the prosecution? Shall the court strike out the evidence given, or punish the party as it might an ordinary witness, for refusing to testify further? Upon such a question precedents might be of little service, but one man rising to discuss it would be full of valuable thoughts and suggestions tending to lead the court to a correct conclusion, when another who, however much he might have read, had never troubled himself with thoughtful preparation for such questions, might flounder through a long speech, the only effect of which would be to make that darker which was dark enough before.

The criminal lawyer needs to be specially familiar with the rules of evidence. In criminal cases, much more than in civil, it is important that he prevent improper evidence being put in against his client. The party defeated in a civil suit, through an erroneous ruling of the judge, has generally his full remedy when a new trial is awarded him; but a new trial to one who has unjustly been subjected to the stigma of conviction of crime is far from being a complete vindication; while to the prosecution after a wrongful acquittal, though brought about by a mistake in law on the part of the judge, there is generally no remedy. Fortunately there are good treatises on the rules of evidence, and their main and leading principles can easily be made familiar. (c)

(b) This view has been put forth in one of the magazines by Mr. Francis Wharton. It is believed, however, that, where the new law has been tried, the result has generally proved satisfactory, and that many men, wrongfully or mistakenly accused, have been enabled under these statutes to give to the jury such explanations as removed all suspicions, when, had their mouths been closed, their condemnation would have been inevitable. There are unquestionably some difficulties in the case; but the rule of the common law, which permitted the accuser to be heard but not the defendant, resulted sometimes, beyond any question, in the conviction and punishment of the wrong party, because the party really guilty had been allowed, or been able, to make the first complaint.

(c) There is, of course, much upon the subject of evidence in the treatises on criminal law, and Roscoe's *Criminal Evidence* is a useful work. Of the treatises on evidence, Greenleaf is,

Equity law is a great stumbling block to many students, and there are not wanting those who have supposed it might be legislated out of existence. But although the division lines between law and equity have been broken down in some states, so far as concerns procedure, yet the codes which abolish distinctions of form do not do away with the principles, for the administration of which the old forms were designed; and consequently works like Jeremy on Equity, Spence's Equitable Jurisdiction, Adams's Doctrine of Equity, and Story's Equity Jurisprudence, are as important and indispensable now, in all the states, as they ever were. Whether or not, therefore, he expects to practice in a state where the old forms are retained, the student must read equity, and if he finds it prove unattractive, there is all the greater reason why he should attack it with energy and perseverance. But if approached in that manner it will not prove unattractive. On the contrary, the student will soon find himself reading, with admiration and pleasure, what at first appeared a confused collection of arbitrary rules, as he perceives how admirably equity supplements the law, and how peculiar is the adaptation of its remedies to the wrongs to be prevented, or the evils to be redressed.

Nor are the works on common law pleading superseded by the new codes which have been introduced in so many of the states. (d) A careful study of those works is the very best preparation for the pleader, as well where a code is in force as where the old common law forms are still adhered to. Any expectation which may have existed, that the code was to banish technicality and substitute such simplicity that any man of common understanding was to be competent, without legal training, to present his case in due form of law, has not been realized. After a trial of the code system for many years, its friends must confess that there is something more than form in the old system of pleading, and that the lawyer who has learned to state his case in logical manner, after the rules laid down by Stephen and Gould, is better prepared to draw a pleading under the code which will stand the test on demurrer, than the man who, without that training, undertakes to tell his story to the court as he might tell it to a neighbor, but who, never having accustomed himself to a strict and logical presentation of the precise facts which constitute the legal cause of action or the legal defense, is in danger of stating so much or so little, or of presenting the facts so inaccurately, as to leave his rights in doubt on his own showing. Let the common-law rules be mastered, and the work under the code will prove easy and simple, and it will speedily be seen that no time has been lost or labor wasted in coming to the new practice by the old road.

A large and increasing proportion of those who come to the bar in America do so by way of the law schools. There is an advantage in that course in the fact that an *esprit du corps* is cultivated among those who gather there, which tends to a high code of professional ethics, and at the same time to a more careful study of the law as a science than is apt to be made in the law offices,

perhaps, most used, the first volume being especially valuable. Starkie's is also an excellent work, and a new edition of the first volume, which gives the general principles, has recently been issued in this country. Phillips's Evidence, including the notes by Cowen, Hill, and Edwards, is much more full in its references to cases than either of the others, though not so satisfactory for the student.

(d) An excellent discussion of the science of pleading, not less practical than philosophical, will be found in the introduction to the new edition of Stephen on Pleading by Prof. Samuel Tyler.

where each particular question is investigated with some reference to the compensation which should follow. The advice of Gridley to John Adams was, "to pursue the study of the law rather than the gain of it: pursue the gain of it enough to keep out of the briers, but give your main attention to the study of it."^(e) Fisher Ames said of Hamilton: "As a lawyer, his comprehensive genius reached the principles of his profession; he compassed its extent, he fathomed its profound, perhaps even more familiarly and easily than the ordinary, rules of its practice. With most men law is a trade; with him it was a science."^(f) The same was true also of Pinkney and of Choate; the two greatest advocates perhaps that America has yet known. The industry of Choate was wonderful, but it was directed, not to the acquisition of money, but to the mastery of the law; and of Pinkney it was said that his speeches always "smelled of the lamp," but, nevertheless, they were a perpetual delight to those who heard them. The learned man cannot well be dull when speaking of the science he has mastered. All men, said Socrates, are eloquent in that which they understand. Another advantage derived from the law schools is, that students are enabled to form themselves into clubs for the discussion of moot cases. Such clubs, well managed, afford the best possible school for the cultivation of forensic eloquence. Some experience in extempore speaking every young man ought to have before coming to the bar, and if he begins his practice without the discipline it would give, he cannot be certain that timidity and embarrassment will not overcome him at the outset of his career. Few men are Erskines and Patrick Henrys, gifted with powers which make their first essay a triumph; the first efforts are, almost necessarily, mortifying failures, and unless they are made in these little societies, and the difficulties mastered before the public become the audience, a man must have great native strength of purpose and power to endure scoffing and ridicule, or shame and mortification may draw their veil around him, and shut off forever his ambitious hopes and bright visions of professional eminence. Now and then a Demosthenes or a Curran will come, who will brave the ridicule and endure the mortification until repeated efforts have enabled him to conquer his natural defects and natural timidity; but every young man is not enabled to feel with the same confidence that they did, "it is in me, and it shall come out;" and one mortifying failure, not in the presence of a select company of friends, but before a public audience, a part of which is adversary in feeling, and includes rivals interested to make the most of the embarrassment, is sometimes sufficient to destroy the hopes of a life. Self-confidence the advocate must acquire; and, in order that he may possess it, he must first have the necessary knowledge, and secondly, he must have tried his powers until he is certain of them.

There is also an advantage in these societies, in that they enable their members to practice in the preparation of pleadings. The discussion of moot cases ought to be preceded by as careful an issue as would be formed in an actual suit at law; and the benefit of this discipline is so great that it should never be

(e) Works of John Adams, II, 46. "His advice," says Mr. Adams, "made so deep an impression on my mind, that I believe no lawyer in America ever did so much business as I did afterward, in the seventeen years that I passed in the practice at the bar for so little profit." *Pecuniary* profit he means; for this study and practice were the foundation of his immortality.

(f) Works of Fisher Ames, vol. 2. page 260.

neglected. It accustoms one to a critical and accurate use of language; and it gives one an insight into the application of the rules of pleading not easily acquired except by practice. The same care which one would expend in the preparation of the brief, ought to be employed on this preliminary proceeding; the purpose being the same in both cases—to give the mind a needful discipline. The briefs draw up for the argument ought to receive an equally conscientious attention. They ought to be logical and accurate, neat and lawyer-like. It is impossible to make a logical argument based upon a brief in which the points are stated with a slovenly want of precision, and the authorities arranged without logical order. Slovenly habits, whether pertaining to person, to study or to practice, are most dangerous in student life, because they tend to grow upon one until they obtain the mastery. In the argument of these cases, precision of language, especially in the statement of legal definitions and principles, is of far more importance than beautiful figures of speech, and is to be cultivated rather than a showy style. A legal point well-stated is half argued. These societies are useful, also, as inducing a taste for investigations in fields a little aside from technical law, and yet having an important purpose in connection with its study. Political and international questions enlarge the mind and open the understanding of the lawyer, and fit him for the discussion of the great questions with which it will be his ambition afterward to become connected. What a field was opened before the student in the new questions of law and government growing out of the recent civil war! What questions in domestic politics, as well as in international law, still remain to be discussed, sifted, tested and settled! We do not mean the questions of party politics, which are so often questions of low political strategy; for these, to the young lawyer, are a delusion and a snare, when he allows his mind to be possessed by them, and his taste to be perverted to a longing for party positions and honors. John Adams has well said that party is a tyrant. “At the bar * * is the scene of independence. Integrity and skill at the bar are better supporters of independence than any fortune, talents or eloquence elsewhere. A man of genius, talents, eloquence, integrity and judgment, at the bar, is the most independent man in society. Presidents, governors, senators, judges, have not so much honest liberty; but it ought always to be regulated by prudence, and never abused.” (g) High attainments are essential to this independence; and political positions are never of real honor, and always contemptible when, instead of being an award to eminent fitness, they are acquired by self-seeking, by becoming a party hack, and by imbibing and displaying all the party bigotry and party animosities of the day. This bigotry and these animosities are not generally strong in such societies; and, with proper views of the true province and value of parties, they will be frowned upon and discouraged, and the feelings kept under control, so that questions can be discussed upon their merits, instead of being viewed from the stand-point of prejudice. These societies, also, become associations of friends, who, if chosen with prudence, and with due regard to their acquirements, habits and tastes, are able to be of service to each other in many ways, besides the drill they give in the contact of mind with mind in these set discussions. Mr. Warren, in his *Law Studies*, (h) has emphasized the importance to a student of being prudent in the selec-

(g) Works of John Adams, X, 21.

(h) A new edition of this work, adapted to the needs of the law student in America, has

tion of his associates, and quotes Roger North, that "a student of the law hath more than ordinary reason to be curious in his conversation, and to get such as are of his own pretension, that is, to study and improvement; and I will be bold to say, that *they shall improve one another by discourse as much as all their other study without it could improve them.*" This may be thought somewhat extravagant; but the statement could be easily fortified by the opinions of many other men of eminence, if space would admit, and if examples were deemed necessary to impress upon the mind the importance of suitable and intelligent associates. But, whatever may be his associations, or wherever he may pursue his studies—whether in the law school or in the office of the practitioner—the great fact to be borne in mind by the student is, that he is to become a lawyer, if at all, not so much by committing to memory the technical terms and rules of the science, as by mastering its philosophy, whereby alone he can fit himself to give its principles practical application.

It has not been our purpose in these preliminary pages to mark out a full course of law reading, or to prescribe a list of law books which should or should not be read by the student. There are difficulties in doing so which seem to render the attempt, in a work of this character, undesirable. New treatises upon different branches of the law are being constantly published, and the latest, if prepared with equal ability, is generally the best, because it gives us the result of the latest cases, and the changes in the common law which new inventions and new modes of transacting business are constantly introducing. A list of books to be read soon becomes imperfect, and needs revision. Moreover, a full course of law reading is one which cannot be completed in the time usually taken by the student before admission to the bar, and to present him with such a course without indicating which portion he must read while a student, and which he may postpone till he comes to the bar, is to render him but little assistance. Every student is supposed to have some preceptor who is competent to give the proper information regarding text-books, and upon whose advice he can depend in their selection. In these prefatory remarks, our aim has been only, *first*, to impress upon the mind of the young gentleman about to enter this noble but very laborious profession, the importance of thoroughly mastering the rudiments of the law before he undertakes to assist in its administration, and *second*, to give him a few hints that shall induce him to employ properly his reason and reflection, and not make useless expenditure of time and energies in his pursuit of legal attainments. (i)

Any advice which prescribes a course of labor for students is imperfect if it

recently been published under the editorship of I. G. Thompson, Esq. In the same connection, attention is called to the *First Book of the Law*, by Mr. Bishop, and to lectures on the study of the law, recently published by Prof. Washburn.

(i) Mr. Jefferson marked out a course of reading for students of the law, which is worthy of attention, as the result of the reflections of a great mind. and because, also, it was the course followed by his two distinguished friends, Madison and Monroe. Having laid the proper groundwork—in which he included a knowledge of mathematics and the natural sciences—he says to the student: "You may enter regularly on the study of the law, taking with it such of the kindred sciences as will contribute to eminence in its attainment. The principal of these are physics, ethics, religion, natural law, belle lettres, criticism, rhetoric and oratory. The carrying on several studies at a time is attended with advantage. Variety relieves the mind as well as the eye, palled with too long attention to a single object, but with both, transitions from one object to another may be so frequent and transitory as to leave no impression. The mean is therefore to be steered, and a competent space of time allotted to each branch of study.

fails to inculcate the importance of seasonable rest. The rest is equally needful with the labor, and it is not uncommon to find it more difficult to convince the person requiring it of his need. It is a law of nature not less than of revelation that for a seventh part of the time the ordinary avocations of life shall be suspended, and no man is more certain to be visited with the penalties for a breach of this law than he who is engaged in intellectual pursuits. Every man is held in "the manacles of this all-binding law." If he persists in his labors for seven days in the week instead of taking the commanded rest, he is doubly punished; first in the weariness and loss of physical and intellectual strength and vigor which must follow; and second, in discovering at length that the seven days labor are not so productive as the six would have been with the proper rest. But constant attention for six days in the week to a single pursuit will soon prove exhausting. We have seen that Mr. Jefferson advised that only four hours a day should be given to technical law, and that the remaining hours should be devoted to other studies calculated to improve and strengthen the understanding. Mr. Choate recommended students to give six hours each day to the law; four to reading, and two to thought and reflection. It is easy to injure the health by incessant application, and easier still to keep the mind in that state of jaded and listless indifference in which half the labor of study will be expended in fixing the attention. History and belle lettres learning, and the natural and abstract sciences are an agreeable and healthful relief from the continuous study and contemplation of the principles, proceedings and forms of law, and they become a relaxation and an enjoyment, at the same time that their pursuit is storing the mind with abundant and available resources for the great occasions which now and then will test to the full the advocate's capacity. The best industry is that which divides most judiciously the time to be appropriated, so that the labor in each portion will be performed with alacrity and ardor, and without any waste of energy. But even a variety of studies should not occupy the attention beyond reason. Physical exercise and physical and mental rest must be provided, if one would have either physical or mental strength. A due allowance for sleep, a due attention to social intercourse and current intelligence, are as needful to round out and complete the perfect lawyer as the patient labor which he must devote to the sages of his profession.

And in all his studies the law student must not forget that he is fitting himself to be a minister of justice; and that he owes it to himself, to those who shall be his clients, to the courts he shall practice in, and to society at large, that he cultivate carefully his moral nature to fit it for the high and responsible trust he is to assume. The temptations of dishonest gain and the allurements of dissipation are all the time leading to shame and ruin, from the

Again, a great inequality is observable in the vigor of the mind at different periods of the day. Its powers at these periods should therefore be attended to, in marshaling the business of the day." He therefore recommended that the student appropriate his time each day as follows:

Till eight o'clock to the natural sciences, ethics, religion and natural law.

From eight to twelve to technical law.

From twelve to one to government, general politics, and political economy.

In the afternoon to history.

From dark to bed time to belle lettres, criticism, rhetoric and oratory. [Randall's Life of Jefferson, I, 58.]

An admirable course in its general outlines, though the books he recommends are in great part superseded now by later publications.

ranks of our profession, a long and melancholy train of men once hopeful, perhaps gifted; but the true lawyer is pure in life, courteous to his associates, faithful to his clients, just to all; and the student must keep this true ideal before him, observe temperance, be master of his actions, and seek in all things the approval of his own conscience, if he would attain the highest possible benefit from the STUDY OF THE LAW.

The main purpose in giving to the public a new edition of the Commentaries of Blackstone, was to present the changes in the law which had taken place since the last preceding edition appeared, that the reader, while informing himself concerning the law of England of a century since, might not be misled in respect to its present condition. With this object before him, while avoiding the detail which might be useful to the English practitioner, but which would merely cumber the pages for American use, the editor has sought to indicate the statutory changes sufficiently to give a general idea of the advancement made in the English law since our commentator's time, and also to enable the American student to compare the law of his own country with the system from which it was derived, as modified by the experience of another land enjoying free institutions under circumstances and with a state of society considerably differing from our own.

How far it was desirable to preserve the notes to the previous English editions, or to add thereto, was a question not easy of proper solution. The editor is fully aware that in some previous editions the proper province of an editor was exceeded, and that the additions made, instead of being suitable notes to the text, were in the nature of digests of the law upon very many of the questions which the text had discussed or alluded to. This was especially the case with the edition of that voluminous and industrious writer, Mr. Chitty, some of whose notes are a mine of information, almost making the work a library in itself, and which, nevertheless, were not more peculiarly appropriate to these Commentaries than they would have been to any other legal treatise which made general reference to the same subject-matter. Some of these notes, moreover, have wholly, or in part, become obsolete, and others related to branches of the law, or to questions, with which the lawyer in America has no occasion to deal.

The editor was of opinion, however, that there was too much in Mr. Chitty's annotations of substantial and permanent value to warrant their being entirely discarded, and that while the student, or the gentleman who reads only for general or political information, may have little occasion to employ himself with them, the practicing lawyer, who shall make use of the work, will be gratified to find so much retained that is convenient and useful in his practice. But whatever has become obsolete, whatever, like most of the notes upon the law of tithes and of copyholds, is unimportant in America, has been cut away with unsparing hand, that time and attention might not be uselessly occupied in exploring it. The quantity of matter thus rejected was very large, and those who have occasion to make much use of the work will be thankful to get rid of it.

What is new in this edition has been added in the same spirit that has governed the selections from the English notes. As students make more use

of the work than practicing lawyers, their information and benefit have been kept mainly in view, but references have been made to the judicial decisions on many practical questions, and it is hoped they will be found not without their convenience to the profession generally.

The English notes which have been retained are inclosed in brackets to distinguish them from the new additions. The names of their authors are given in some cases where individual opinions are expressed, but generally it has not been thought important to distinguish their sources, and in some cases where editors have combined with their own the labors of their predecessors, it would have been difficult to do so.

The analysis given of the contents is a considerable enlargement of that of Baron Field, and it is believed that, if judiciously used, it will answer the purpose for interrogating students better than the lists of questions sometimes given, which require the memory to be burdened equally with matter important and unimportant.

The table of abbreviations embraces the legal authorities, and also other books which the reader might possibly desire to refer to, and which are not sufficiently described or indicated by the context.

THOMAS M. COOLEY.

ANN ARBOR, *Sept.*, 1870.

A new edition of this work having become necessary, the editor has made some changes and additions, but not such as will call for special notice here. They consist in the main of references to new cases, though some new notes have been added which may prove of practical value.

T. M. COOLEY.

ANN ARBOR, *Jan.*, 1872.

Vol. I.—5.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE following sheets contain the substance of a course of lectures on the Laws of England, which were read by the author in the university of OXFORD. His original plan took its rise in the year 1753; and, notwithstanding the novelty of such an attempt in this age and country, and the prejudices usually conceived against any innovations in the established mode of education, he had the satisfaction to find, and he acknowledges it with a mixture of pride and gratitude, that his endeavours were encouraged and patronised by those, both in the university and out of it, whose good opinion and esteem he was principally desirous to obtain.

The death of Mr. VINER in 1756, and his ample benefaction to the university for promoting the study of the law, produced about two years afterwards a regular and public establishment of what the author had privately undertaken. The knowledge of our laws and constitution was adopted as a liberal science by general academical authority; competent endowments were decreed for the support of a lecturer, and the perpetual encouragement of students; and the compiler of the ensuing Commentaries had the honor to be elected the first Vinerian professor.

In this situation he was led, both by duty and inclination, to investigate the elements of the law, and the grounds of our civil polity, with greater assiduity and attention than many have thought it necessary to do. And yet all, who of late years have attended the public administration of justice, must be sensible that a masterly acquaintance with the general spirit of laws and principles of universal jurisprudence, combined with an accurate knowledge of our own municipal constitutions, their original, reason, and history, hath given a beauty and energy to many modern judicial decisions, with which our ancestors were wholly unacquainted. If, in the pursuit of these inquiries, the author hath been able to rectify any errors which either himself or others may have heretofore imbibed, his pains will be sufficiently answered: and if in some points he is still mistaken, the candid and judicious reader will make due allowances for the difficulties of a search so new, so extensive, and so laborious.

Nov 2 1765.

POSTSCRIPT.

NOTWITHSTANDING the diffidence expressed in the foregoing Preface, no sooner was the work completed, but many of its positions were vehemently attacked by zealots of all (even opposite) denominations, religious as well as civil; by some with a greater, by others with a less degree of acrimony. To such of these animadvertisers as have fallen within the author's notice (for he doubts not but some have escaped it), he owes at least this obligation: that they have occasioned him from time to time to revise his work, in respect to the particulars objected to; to retract or expunge from it what appeared to be really erroneous; to amend or supply it when inaccurate or defective; to illustrate and explain it when obscure. But, where he thought the objections ill-founded, he hath left and shall leave the book to defend itself: being fully of opinion, that, if his principles be false and his doctrines unwarrantable, no apology from himself can make them right; if founded in truth and rectitude, no censure from others can make them wrong.

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- No. 3. An obligation or bond, with condition for the payment of money.
- No. 4. A fine of lands sur cognizance de droit, come ceo, &c.
- No. 5. A common recovery of lands with double voucher.
- No. 6. A modern mortgage in fee, by appointment and release, with power of sale.

A TABLE OF THE REIGNS OF ENGLISH MONARCHS.

Sovereigns.	Commencement of Reign.	Length of Reign.
William I.,.....	October 14, 1066,(a).....	21 years.
William II.,.....	September 26, 1087,(b).....	13
Henry I.,.....	August 5, 1100,(b).....	36
Stephen,.....	December 26, 1135,(b).....	19
Henry II.,.....	December 19, 1154,(b).....	35
Richard I.,.....	September 3, 1189,(b).....	10
John.....	May 27, 1199,(b).....	18
Henry III.,.....	October 28, 1216,(b).....	57
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Edward II.,.....	July 8, 1307,(c).....	20
Edward III.,.....	January 20, 1327,(c).....	51
Richard II.,.....	June 22, 1377,(c).....	23
Henry IV.,.....	September 30, 1399,(c).....	14
Henry V.,.....	March 21, 1413,(c).....	10
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Edward IV.,.....	March 4, 1461, (c).....	23
Edward V.,.....	April 9, 1483,(c).....	
Richard III.,.....	June 26, 1483,(c).....	3
Henry VII.,.....	August 22, 1485,(c).....	24
Henry VIII.,.....	April 25, 1509,(c).....	38
Edward VI.,.....	January 28, 1547,(c).....	7
Mary,.....	July 6, 1553,(d).....	6
Elizabeth,.....	November 17, 1558,(c).....	45
James I.,.....	March 24, 1603,(c).....	23
Charles I.,.....	March 27, 1625,(c).....	24
Commonwealth,.....	January 30, 1649,(e).....	
Charles II.,.....	May 27, 1660,(f).....	37
James II.,.....	February 6, 1685,(c).....	4
William and Mary,.....	February 13, 1689,(c).....	14
Anne,.....	March 8, 1702,(c).....	13
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George II.,.....	June 11, 1727,(c).....	34
George III.,.....	October 25, 1760,(c).....	60
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William IV.,.....	June 26, 1830,(c).....	7
Victoria,.....	June 20, 1837,(c).....	

(a) Date of the battle of Hastings.

(b) Date of coronation.

(c) Date of accession.

(d) References to the reign of Mary couple the name of her husband Philip with hers. Their marriage took place July 25, 1554.

(e) The reign of Charles II, in legal contemplation, includes the period of the Commonwealth.

(f) Date of entering London on his return.

TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS.

- A. and A. Corp.** Angell and Ames on Corporations.
A. and E., or Ad. and El. Adolphus and Ellis's Reports.
A. and E., N. S. Adolphus and Ellis's New Series, commonly quoted as Queen's Bench Reports.
A. and F. Fixt. Amos and Ferrard on Fixtures.
Abb. Adm. Abbott's Admiralty Reports, Southern Dist. of N. Y.
Abb. Ins. Abbott on Insurance.
Abb. Pr. Abbott's Practice Reports, N. Y.
Abb. Ship. Abbott on Shipping.
Abr. Cas. Eq. Equity Cases Abridged.
Act. or Acton. Acton's Reports of Prize Cases.
Ad. Eq. Adams's Doctrine of Equity.
Ad. Eject. Adams on Ejectment.
Add. Eccl. Addams's Ecclesiastical Reports.
Add. Rep. or Add. Penn. Addison's Reports, Penn.
Add. Con. Addison on contracts.
Add. Torts. Addison on Torts.
Aik. B. Aiken's Reports, Vt.
A. K. Marsh. A. K. Marshall's Reports, Ky.
Ala. Alabama Reports.
Al. and N. Alcock and Napier's Reports, Irish.
Aleyn. Aleyn's Select Cases, K. B.
Al. Cr. L. Alison's Criminal Law, Scotch.
Al. Cr. Pr. Alison on Criminal Practice, Scotch.
All. Sher. Allen on Sheriffs.
All. or Allen. Allen's Reports, Mass.
Allen N. B. Allen's New Brunswick Reports.
Amb. Ambler's Reports, Chancery.
Am. Jur. American Jurist.
Am. Lead. Cas. American Leading Cases.
Am. Anderson's Reports. C. P.
Andr. Andrew's Reports, K. B.
Ang. Com. Car. Angell on Common Carriers.
Ang. and D. Highw. Angell and Durfee on Highways.
Ang. Ins. Angell on Insurance.
Ang. Lim. Angell on Limitations.
Ang. Tid. Wat. Angell on Tide Waters.
Ang. Watere. Angell on Watercourses.
Anst. Anstruther's Reports, Exch.
Anth. N. P. Anthon's Nisi Prius Cases.
Arch. Cr. L. Archbold's Criminal Pleading and Evidence.
Arch. L. and T. Archbold's Landlord and Tenant.
Arch. N. P. Archbold's Nisi Prius.
Ark. Arkansas Reports.
Arkley. Arkley's Justiciary Reports, Scotch.
Arms. M. and O. Armstrong, Macartney and Ogle's Reports, Irish.
Arn. Ins. Arnold's Insurance.
Ashm. Ashmead's Reports, Penn.
Atk. Atkyn's Reports, Chancery.
Aus. Jur. Austin on the Province of Jurisprudence.
B. and Ad. Barnewell and Adolphus's Reports.
B. and A. or B. and Ald. Barnewell and Alderson's Reports.
B. and C. or Barn. and Cr. Barnewell and Creswell's Reports.
B. N. P. Buller's Nisi Prius.
B. and P. or Bos. and P. Bosanquet and Puller's Reports.
Bab. Set-off. Babington on Set-off.
Bac. Ab. Bacon's Abridgement.
Bailey. Bailey's Reports, S. C.
Bald. Baldwin's Reports, 3d Circuit, U. S.
Ball and B. Ball and Beatty's Reports, Irish Chancery.
Bal. Lim. Ballantine on Statute of Limitations.
Barb. Barbour's Reports, N. Y.
Barb. Ch. Barbour's Chancery Reports, N. Y.
Barb. Ch. P. Barbour's Chancery Practice.
Barb. Part. Barbour on Parties.
Barn. Barnardiston's Reports, K. B.
Barn. Ch. Barnardiston's Chancery Reports.
Bar. Stat., or Bar. Obs. Stat. Barrington's Observations on the more ancient statutes.
Bart. Eq. Barton's Suit in Equity.
Bat. Com. L. Bateman's Commercial Law.
Batt. Batty's Reports, Irish.
Bay. Bay's Reports, S. C.
Bayl. Bills. Bayley on Bills.
Beas. Beasley's Chancery Reports, N. J.
Beatt. Beatty's Reports, Irish Chancery.
Beav. Beavan's Chancery Reports.
Beck Med. Juris. Beck's Medical Jurisprudence.
Bee. Bee's Reports, U. S. Dist. of S. C.
Bell. Com. Bell's Commentaries, Scotch.
Bell. Ap. Cas. Bell's Appeal Cases, House of Lords.
Bell C. C. Bell's Crown Cases Reserved.
Bel. or Bellewe. Bellewe's Cases temp. Rich. II.
Benj. Sales. Benjamin on Sales.
Bened. Adm. Benedict's Admiralty.
Benl. Benloe's Reports.
Best and S. Best and Smith's Reports.
Betts Adm. Pr. Betts's Admiralty Practice.
Bibb. Bibb's Reports, Ky.
Bing. Bingham's Reports, C. P.
Bing. N. C. Bingham's New Cases.
Bing. Inf. Bingham on Infancy.
Binn. Binney's Reports, Penn.
Bish. Cr. L. Bishop's Criminal Law.
Bish. Cr. Pro. Bishop's Criminal Procedure.
Bish. M. and D. Bishop on Marriage and Divorce.
Bis. Part. Bissett on Partnership.
Bl. Com. Blackstone's Commentaries.
Bl. R. Blackstone's (Wm.) Reports.
Black. Black's Reports, U. S. Sup. Court.
Black. T. T. Blackwell on Tax Titles.
Blackb. Blackburn on Sales.
Blackf. Blackford's Reports, Ind.
Blake Corp. Blake on Corporations.
Bland Ch. Bland's Chancery Reports, Md.
Blatchf. Blatchford's Reports, U. S. 2d Circuit.
Blatchf. Pr. Cas. Blatchford's Prize Cases, U. S.
Blatchf. and H. Blatchford and Howland's Reports, U. S. Admiralty.
Bl. or Bligh. Bligh's Reports, House of Lords.
Bl. N. S. Bligh's Reports, New Series.
Bos. and Pul. Bosanquet and Puller's Reports.
Bosw. Bosworth's Reports, N. Y. Superior Court.
Bouv. L. Dic. Bouvier's Law Dictionary.
Bouv. Ins. Bouvier's Institutes.
Brac. Bracton de legibus et consuetudinibus Anglie.
Bradf. Bradford's Surrogate Reports, N. Y.
Brayt. Brayton's Reports, Vt.
Breese. Breese's Reports, Ill.
Brev. Brevard's Reports, S. C.
Bridg. Bridgman's Reports, C. P.
Bridg. O. O. Bridgman's Reports, C. P.
Bright Hus. & W. Bright on Husband and Wife.
Bro. Abr. Brooke's Abridgment.
Brock. Brockenbrough's Reports, 4th Circuit, U. S.
Bro. N. C. Brooke's New Cases.
Broom Const. L. Broom's Constitutional Law.
Broom Leg. Max. Broom's Legal Maxims.
Bro. or Br. C. C. Brown's Chancery Cases.
Bro. P. C. Brown's Parliamentary Cases.
Bro. and B., or B. and B. Broderip and Bingham's Reports, C. P.
Browne. Browne's Reports, Penn.
Browne St. Fr. Browne on Statute of Frauds.
Brownl. Brownlow's Reports.
Brownl. & G. Brownlow and Goldesborough's Reports.
Buck. Buck's Bankruptcy Cases.
Bul. N. P. or B. N. P. Buller's Nisi Prius.
Bulst. Bulstrode's Reports, K. B.

TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS.

IXV

- Bunb. Bunbury's Reports, Exch.
 Burg. Sur. Burge on Suretyship.
 Burlm. Burlamaqui's Natural and Politic Law.
 Burn Just. or Burn J. Burn's Justice of the Peace.
 Burn Ec. Law. Burn's Ecclesiastical Law.
 Burnett. Burnett's Reports, Wis. Ter.
 Burr. Assign. Burrill on Voluntary Assignments.
 Burr. Cir. Ev. Burrill on Circumstantial Evidence.
 Burr. L. Dict. Burrill's Law Dictionary.
 Burr. Burrow's Reports, K. B.
 Busb. Busbee's Law Reports, N. C.
 Busb. Eq. Busbee's Equity Reports, N. C.
 Bynk. Bynkershoek's Observations Juris Roman.
 C. B. Common Bench Reports (the first eight by Manning, Granger and Scott; the ninth by Manning and Scott; the rest by Scott).
 C. B. N. S. Common Bench Reports, New Series.
 C. and K. or Car. and K. Carrington and Kirwan's Reports.
 C. and M. or Car. and M. Carrington and Marshall's Reports.
 C. and P. or Car. and P. Carrington and Payne's Reports.
 C. Rob. Adm. C. Robinson's Admiralty Reports.
 Cal. or Calnes. Calnes's Reports, N. Y.
 Cal. or Cas. Calnes's Cases in Error, N. Y.
 Cal. California Reports.
 Cald. Arb. Caldwell on Arbitration.
 Call. Call's Reports, Va.
 Calv. Part. Calvert on Parties.
 Campb. Campbell's Reports.
 Camp. Ld. Ch. Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors.
 Car. or Cart. Carter's Reports.
 Carth. Carthew's Reports.
 Cary. Cary's Reports, Chancery.
 Cas. Ch. Cases in Chancery.
 Cas. Temp. Hardw. Cases *tempore* Hardwick.
 Cas. Temp. Talb. Cases *tempore* Talbot.
 Cas. Temp. Sugd. Cases *tempore* Sugden.
 Chal. Op. Chalmers's Opinions.
 Chand. Wis. Chaudler's Wisconsin Reports.
 Chev. Cheve's Reports, S. C.
 Cheves Eq. Cheve's Chancery Cases, S. C.
 Chip. Con. Chipman on Contracts.
 Chip. Chipman's Reports, Vt.
 Chit. Car. Chitty on Carriers.
 Chit. Com. L. Chitty on Commercial Law.
 Chit. Con. Chitty on Contracts.
 Chit. Cr. L. Chitty's Criminal Law.
 Chit. Med. Juris. Chitty's Medical Jurisprudence.
 Chit. Pl. Chitty's Pleasings.
 Chit. Pr. Chitty's General Practices.
 Chit. R. Chitty's Reports.
 Clan. Hus. and W. Clancy on Husband and Wife.
 Cl. and Fin. Clark and Minnelly, House of Lords Reports.
 Clarke. Clarke's Chancery Reports, N. Y.
 Co. Cop. Coke's Copyholder.
 Co. Ent. Coke's Entries.
 Co. Lit. Coke upon Littleton, or Coke's 1st Institute.
 Co. Coke's Reports.
 Cod. or Cod. Jur. Civ. Codex Juris Civilis.
 Col. Cas. Coleman's Cases, N. Y.
 Col. and C. Coleman and Calnes's Cases, N. Y.
 Coll. Part. Collier on Partnership.
 Coll. or Coll. C. C. Collyer's Reports, Chancery.
 Collec. Colles's Cases in Parliament.
 Com. Cont. Comyn on Contracts.
 Com. Dig. Comyn's Digest.
 Com. or Comyn. Comyn's Reports.
 Comb. Comberbach's Reports.
 Comst. Comstock's Reports (1-4 N. Y.)
 Conk. Pr. Conkling's Practice in U. S. Courts.
 Conk. Adm. Juris. Conkling's Admiralty Jurisdiction.
 Conn. Connecticut Reports.
 Con. and L. Connor and Lawson's Reports, Chancery.
 Const. Rep. Reports of Constitutional Court, S. C.
 Cooke, Tenn. Cooke's Tennessee Reports.
 Coe. Const. Lim. Cooley's Constitutional Limitations.
 Coop. Ch. Cooper's Reports, Chancery.
 Coop. Temp. Broug. Cooper's Reports *tempore* Brougham.
 Coop. Temp. Cott. Cooper's Reports *tempore* Cottonham.
 Coop. Just. or Coop. Inst. Cooper's Institutes of Justinian.
 Coe. Mort. Coote on Mortgages.
 Cord Mar. W. Cord on Rights of Married Women.
 Corp. Jur. Civ. Corpus Juris Civilis.
 Cow. Cowen's Reports, N. Y.
 Cowp. Cowper's Reports, K. B.
 Cox Ch. Cox's Reports, Chancery.
 Cox C. C. Cox's Crown Cases.
 Coxe. Coxe's Reports, N. J.
 Crabbe. Crabbe's Reports, U. S., East Dist. Penn.
 Cr. and Phil. Craig and Phillip's Reports, Chancery.
 Cr. and St. Craige and Stewart's Reports, House of Lords.
 Cr. or Cranch. Cranch's Reports, U. S. Supreme Court.
 Cr. C. C. or Cranch C. C. Cranch's Circuit Court Reports, U. S.
 Cro. Car. Croke's Reports, time of Charles I.
 Cro. Eliz. Croke's Reports, time of Elizabeth.
 Cro. Jac. Croke's Reports, time of James I.
 Crock. Sher. Crocker ou Sheriffs.
 Crompt. and J. or C. and J. Crompton and Jervis's Reports, Exch.
 Crompt. and Me. or C. and M. Crompton and Meeson's Reports, Exch.
 Crom. M. and R. or C. M. and R. Crompton, Meeson and Roscoe's Reports, Exch.
 Cruise Dig. Cruise's Digest.
 Curt. Ecc. Curties's Ecclesiastical Reports.
 Curt. C. C. Curtis's Circuit Court Reports, U. S.
 Curt. Eq. Prec. Curtis's Equity Precedents.
 Curt. Pat. Curtis on Patents.
 Cush. Cushing's Reports, Mass.
 Cush. Leg. As. Cushing's Legislative Assemblies.
 D. Chip. D. Chipman's Reports, Vt.
 Dal. Dalison's Reports, English.
 Dall. Dallas's Reports, U. S. and Penn.
 Dalt. Jus. or Dalt. J. Dalton's Justice.
 Dalr. Ent. Dalrymple on Entails.
 Dalr. F. L. Dalrymple on Feudal Law.
 Dan. Ch. Pr. Daniell's Chancery Practice.
 Dana. Dana's Reports, Ky.
 Dane Abr. Dane's Abridgment.
 Dart. V. & P. Dart on Vendors and Purchasers.
 Davies. Davies's Reports, U. S. Dist. Courts.
 Dav. and Mer. Davison and Merivale's Reports, Eng. Q. B.
 Day. Day's Reports, Conn.
 Dayt. Sur. Dayton's Surrogate.
 Deac. Deacon's Reports, English Bankruptcy.
 Deac. and C. Deacon and Chitty's Reports, English Bankruptcy.
 Dean Med. Juris. Dean's Medical Jurisprudence.
 Dears. Dearsley's Crown Cases Reserved.
 Dears. and B. Dearsley and Bell's Crown Cases Reserved.
 De G. Bankr. De Gex's Bankruptcy Cases.
 De G., F. and J. Ch. De Gex, Fisher and Jones's Chancery Reports.
 De G. and J. Ch. De Gex and Jones's Chancery Reports.
 De G., J. and S. Bankr. De Gex, Jones and Smith's Bankruptcy Cases.
 De G., J. and S. Ch. De Gex, Jones and Smith's Chancery Reports.
 De G., M. and G. Bankr. De Gex, Macnaughton and Gordon's Bankruptcy Cases.
 De G., M. and G. Ch. De Gex, Macnaughton and Gordon's Chancery Reports.
 De G. and Sm. De Gex and Smale's Chancery Reports.
 Dea. and Sw. Deane and Swabey's Reports, Probate and Divorce.
 Den. or Denio. Denio's Reports, N. Y.
 Den. C. C. Denison's Crown Cases.
 Des. or Desausa. Desausure's Equity Reports, S. C.
 Dev. Devereux's Law Reports, N. C.
 Dev. Eq. Devereux's Equity Reports, N. C.
 Dev. and Bat. Devereux and Battle's Reports, N. C.
 Dev. and Bat. Eq. Devereux and Battle's Equity Reports, N. C.
 Dick. Dicken's Reports, Chancery.
 Doc. and Stu. Doctor and Student.
 Dods. Dodson's Admiralty Reports.
 Dom. Civ. L. Domat's Civil Law.
 Dom. Proc. Domini Proctor; Cases House of Lords.
 Doug. Douglas's Reports, K. B.
 Doug. Mich. Douglas's Michigan Reports.
 Dow or Dow P. C. Dow's Reports in Parliament.
 Dow and C. Dow and Clark, House of Lords Cases.
 Dow and Ry. or D. and R. Dowling and Ryland's Reports, K. B.

- Dow. and Ry. N. P. Dowling and Ryland's Nisi Prius.
 Dowl. P. C. Dowling's Practice Cases.
 Dr. and St. Doctor and Student.
 Drake Attach. Drake on Attachments.
 Dr. and Wal. Drury and Walsh's Chancery Reports, Ireland.
 Dr. and War. Drury and Warren's Chancery Reports, Ireland.
 Drew. Drewry's Reports, Chancery.
 Drew. and Sm. Drewry and Smale's Reports, Chancery.
 Drury. Drury's Reports, Chancery, Ireland.
 Dudley. Dudley's Reports, Ga.
 Dudley, S. C. Dudley's Reports, S. C.
 Duer. Duer's Reports, N. Y.
 Duer Ins. Duer on Insurance.
 Dug. Orig. Dugdale's Origines.
 Duk. Duke's Law of Uses.
 Dunlap Adm. Pr. Dunlap's Admiralty Practice.
 Du Ponceau Juris. Du Ponceau on Jurisdiction of United States Courts.
 Durn. and East. Same as Term Reports.
 Dutch. Dutcher's Reports, N. J.
 Duv. Duvall's Reports, Ky.
 Dwar. Stat. Dwaris on Statutes.
 Dy. or Dyer. Dyer's Reports.
 East. East's Reports, K. B.
 East P. C. East's Pleas of the Crown.
 Eden. Eden's Reports, English Ch.
 Eden Injct. Eden on Injunctions.
 Edw. Ch. Edwards's Chancery Reports, N. Y.
 Edw. Bail. Edwards on Bailments.
 Edw. Bills. Edwards on Bills.
 Edw. Rec. Edwards on Receivers in Equity.
 El., B. and S. Ellis, Best and Smith's Reports, Q. B.
 El. and Bl. Ellis and Blackburn Reports, Q. B.
 El. B. and E. Ellis, Blackburn and Ellis's Reports, Q. B.
 El. and El. Ellis and Ellis's Reports, Q. B.
 Emer. Ins. Emerigon on Insurance.
 Eng. L. and E. English Law and Equity Reports.
 Eq. Ca. Abr. Equity Cases Abridged.
 Esp. or Esp. N. P. Espinasse's Reports.
 E. T. Easter Term.
 Exch. Welsby, Hurlstone and Gordon's Reports.
 F. and F. Foster and Finlayson's Reports, Nisi Prius.
 F. N. B. Fitzherbert's Natura Brevium.
 Fearne. Fearne on Contingent Remainders.
 Fell Guar. Fell on Guaranties.
 Ferg. Ferguson's Reports, Scotch.
 Fl. Pandectæ (Juris Civilis).
 Finch Ch. Finch's Chancery.
 Finch or Finch L. Finch's Law.
 Fitzg. Fitzgibbon's Reports.
 Fl. or Flct. Flctæ.
 Fla. Florida Reports.
 Fonbl. Fonblanque on Equity.
 For. Forrest's Reports, Ex.
 Fort. de Laud. Fortescue de laudibus Angliæ Legum.
 Fort. or Fortes. Fortescue's Reports, K. B.
 Fost. or Fost. C. L. Foster's Crown Law.
 Fost. N. H. Foster's New Hampshire Reports.
 Fost. and F. Foster and Finlayson's Reports, English.
 Free. Chy. Freeman's Chancery Reports.
 Freem. Freeman's Reports, K. B.
 Freem. Miss. Freeman's Mississippi Reports, Chancery.
 Fry Spec. Perf. Fry on Specific Performance.
 G. and J. Glyn and Jameson's Bankruptcy Reports.
 Gal. and Dav. Gale and Davison's Reports, K. B.
 Gal. and W. Eas. Gale and Wheatley on Easements.
 Gall. or Gallia. Gallison's Reports, 1st Circuit, U. S.
 Geo. or Ga. Georgia Reports.
 Geo. Dec. Georgia Decisions.
 Giff. Giffard's Reports, Chancery.
 Gilb. C. P. Gilbert's Common Pleas.
 Gilb. K. B. Gilbert's King's Bench.
 Gilb. Ch. Gilbert's Chancery Reports.
 Gilb. Rem. Gilbert on Remainders.
 Gilb. Us. Gilbert on Uses.
 Gill. Gill's Reports, Md.
 Gill and J. or G. and J. Gill and Johnson's Reports, Md.
 Gilm. Gilman's Reports, Ill.
 Gilmer. Gilmer's Reports, Va.
 Gilpin. Gilpin's Reports, U. S. Dist. Penn.
 Glanv. Glanville de Legibus.
 Godb. Godbolt's Reports, K. B.
 Golds. Goldesborough's Reports, K. B.
 Gould Pl. Gould on Pleading.
 Gow N. P. C. Gow's Nisi Prius Cases.
 Grant Corp. Grant on Corporations.
 Grant. Grant's Penn. Reports.
 Grat. Grattan's Reports, Va.
 Gray. Gray's Reports, Mass.
 Green, N. J. Green's Reports, N. J.
 Green Ch. Green's Chancery Reports, N. J.
 Greene, Iowa. Greene's Iowa Reports.
 Greenl. Greenleaf's Reports, Me.
 Greenl. Ev. Greenleaf on Evidence.
 Gro. de J. B. Grotius de Jure Belli.
 H. Bl. Henry Blackstone's Reports.
 H. and C. Hurlstone and Colman's Reports, Exch.
 H. and G. or Har. and G. Harris and Gill's Reports, Md.
 H. and J. or Har. and J. Harris and Johnson's Reports, Md.
 H. and McH. Harris and McHenry's Reports, Md.
 H. and N. Hurlstone and Norman's Reports, Exch.
 H. P. C. or Hale P. C. Hale's Pleas of the Crown.
 H. T. or Hil. T. Hilary Term.
 H. and Tw. Hall and Twell's Chancery Reports.
 Hag. Ec. or Hagg. Haggard's Ecclesiastical Reports.
 Hag. Con. Haggard's Consistory Reports.
 Hag. Adm. Haggard's Admiralty Reports.
 Hal. Int. L. Halleck's International Law.
 Hale C. L. Hale's Common Law.
 Hale P. C. Hale's Pleas of the Crown.
 Hall. Hall's Reports, N. Y.
 Halst. Halstead's Reports, N. J.
 Halet. Ch. Halstead's Chancery Reports, N. J.
 Hardin. Hardin's Reports, Ky.
 Hardr. or Hard. Hardres's Reports, Exch.
 Hare. Hare's Reports, Chancery.
 Harg. St. Tr. Hargrave's State Trials.
 Harper. Harper's Reports, S. C.
 Harr. Harrington's Reports, Del.
 Harr. Ch. Harrington's Chancery Reports, Mich.
 Harr. N. J. Harrison's Reports, N. J.
 Hawk. P. C. Hawkins's Pleas of the Crown.
 Hawks. Hawks's Reports, N. C.
 Hayw. Haywood's Reports, N. C. and Tenn.
 Head. Head's Reports, Tenn.
 Heard L. and S. Heard on Libel and Slander.
 Hem. and M. Hemming and Miller, Chancery.
 Hen. and Mumf. Henning and Mumford's Reports, Va.
 Het. Hetley's Reports, C. P.
 Hill. Hill's Reports, N. Y.
 Hill S. C. Hill's South Carolina Reports.
 Hill Ch. Hill's Chancery Reports, S. C.
 Hill. Mort. Hilliard on Mortgages.
 Hill. Sales. Hilliard on Sales.
 Hill. Torts. Hilliard on Torts.
 Hill Trust. Hill on Trustees.
 Hilt. Hilton's Reports, N. Y.
 Hob. Hobart's Reports, K. B.
 Hoff. Hoffman's Chancery Reports, N. Y.
 Hoff. Ch. Pr. Hoffman's Chancery Practice.
 Holt. Holt's Reports, K. B.
 Holt N. P. Holt's Nisi Prius Reports.
 Hopk. Hopkin's Reports, N. Y. Ch.
 Hou. L. Cas. House of Lords Cases.
 Hov. Suppl. Howenden's Supplement to Vesey, Jr.
 How. Howard's Reports, U. S.
 How. Miss. Howard's Mississippi Reports.
 How. Pr. Howard's Practice Cases, N. Y.
 How. St. Tr. Howell's State Trials.
 Hughes. Hughes's Reports, Ky.
 Humph. Humphrey's Reports, Tenn.
 Hurd H. C. Hurd on Habeas Corpus.
 Hut. Hutton's Reports, C. P.
 Ill. Illinois Reports.
 Imp. K. B. Impey's Practice, K. B.
 Imp. C. P. Impey's Practice, C. P.
 Imp. Sh. Impey's Sheriff.
 Imp. Pl. Impey's Pleader.
 Ind. Indiana Reports.
 1. 2, Inst. (1, 2,) Coke's Institutes.
 Inst. 1. 2. 3, Justinian's Institutes, lib. 1, tit. 2, sec. 3.
 Iowa. Iowa Reports.
 J. and W. or Jac. and W. Jacob and Walker's Reports, Chancery.
 Jac. The reign of King James.
 Jac. or Jacob. Jacob's Reports, Chancery.
 Jac. L. D. Jacob's Law Dictionary.
 James. Const. Con. Jameson on Constitutional Conventions.

- Jeff. Jefferson's Reports, Va.
 Jer. Eq. Jeremy's Equity Jurisdiction.
 Jenk. Jenkins's Reports, Exch.
 Johns. Johnson's Reports, N. Y.
 Johns. Ch. Johnson's Chancery Reports, N. Y.
 Johns. Cas. Johnson's Cases, N. Y.
 Johns. Ch. Eng. Johnson's Chancery Reports, English.
 Johns. and H. Johnson and Heming's Reports, English Chancery.
 Jones L. Jones's Law Reports, N. C.
 Jones Eq. Jones's Equity Reports, N. C.
 Jones, T. Sir T. Jones's Reports, K. B.
 Jones, W. Sir W. Jones's Reports, K. B.
 Jur. The Jurist.
 Jur. N. S. Jurist. New Series.
 Just. Inst. Justinian's Institutes.
 Kay. Kay's Reports. Chancery.
 Kay and J. Kay and Johnson's Reports, Chancery.
 Keb. Keble's Reports, K. B.
 Keen. Keen's Reports, Rolls Court.
 Kellw. or Kell. Kellway's Reports, K. B.
 Kel. Sir John Kelynge's Reports, K. B.
 Kelly. Kelly's Reports, Ga.
 Kent. Kent's Commentaries on the Laws of the United States.
 Kern. Kernan's Reports (10-14 N. Y.)
 Kirby. Kirby's Reports, Conn.
 L. J. B. Law Journal Reports.
 La. Lane's Reports, Exchequer.
 La. An. Louisiana Annual Reports.
 Lat. Latch's Reports, K. B.
 Law Juris. Law on Jurisdiction of the United States Courts.
 Lal. Ken. Kenyon's Reports, K. B.
 Ld. Raym. Lord Raymond's Reports, K. B.
 Leach. Leach's Crown Law.
 Lead. Cas. Eq. Leading Cases in Equity.
 Lee. Lee's Consistory Reports.
 Leigh. Leigh's Reports, Va.
 Leon. Leonard's Reports, K. B.
 Lev. Levinz's Reports, K. B.
 Lew. C. C. Lewin's Crown Cases.
 Lew. Tr. Lewin on Trusts and Trustees.
 Ley. Ley's Reports, K. B.
 Litt. Littell's Reports, Ky. or Littleton.
 Litt. Sel. Cas. Littell's Select Cases, Ky.
 Lind. Part. Lindley on Partnership.
 Loft. Loft's Reports, K. B.
 Lube Eq. Pl. Lube's Equity Pleading.
 Lush. Lushington's Admiralty Reports.
 Lut. Lutwyche's Reports, C. P.
 M. D. and D. Montague, Deacon and DeGex's Reports, Bankruptcy.
 M. and McA. Montague and McArthur's Reports, Bankruptcy.
 M. and Ayr. R. Montague and Ayrton's Reports, Bankruptcy.
 M. and S. or Mau. and S. Maule and Selwyn's Reports, K. B.
 M. and W. or Mee. and W. Meeson and Wellsby's Reports, Ex.
 McCle. McClelland's Reports, Ex.
 McCle. and Yo. McClelland and Younge's Reports, Ex.
 McLean. McLean's Reports, U. S.
 Mac. and G. Macnaghten and Gordon's Reports, Chancery.
 Mack. R. L. Mackenzie's Roman Law.
 MacI. and B. Maclean and Robinson's Scotch Appeals.
 Macq. H. L. C. Macqueen's Scotch Appeal Cases.
 Mudd. Maddock's Reports, Chancery.
 Madd. Ch. Maddock's Chancery Practice.
 Man. and G. Manning and Granger's Reports, C. P.
 Man. and R. Manning and Ryland's Reports, K. B.
 Manw. Manwood's Forest Laws.
 Mar. March's Reports, K. B.
 Marsh. Marshall's Reports, C. P.
 Marsh. In. Marshall on Insurance.
 Mart. N. C. Martin's Reports, N. C.
 Mart. La. Martin's Reports, La.
 Mart. and Yerg. Martin and Yerger's Reports, Tenn.
 Mas. Mason's Reports, 1st Circuit, U. S.
 Mass. Massachusetts Reports.
 Mau. and Pol. Sh. Maude and Pollock's Law of Shipping.
 Md. Maryland Reports.
 Md. Ch. Maryland Chancery Reports.
 Me. Maine Reports.
 Meigs. Meigs's Reports, Tenn.
 Mer. or Meriv. Merivale's Reports Chancery.
 Met. Con. Metcalf on Contracts.
 Met. or Metc. Metcalf's Reports, Mass.
 Met. Ky. Metcalf's Reports, Ky.
 Mich. Michigan Reports.
 Mich. T. Michaelmas Term.
 Miles. Miles's Reports, Pa.
 Minn. Minnesota Reports.
 Mis. or Mo. Missouri Reports.
 Miss. Mississippi Reports.
 Mitf. or Mitf. Pl. Mitford's Pleadings.
 Mo. Missouri Reports.
 Mod. Modern Reports, K. B.
 Moore. Moore's Reports, K. B.
 Mont. B. C. Montague's Bankruptcy Cases.
 Mont. and B. Montague and Bligh's Reports, Bankruptcy.
 Mont. and Chit. Montague and Chitty's Reports, Bankruptcy.
 Montesq. Montesquien, *Esprit de Lois*.
 Moo. C. C. Moody's Crown Cases.
 Moo. and M. or M. and M. Moody and Malkin's Reports, N. P.
 Moo. and R. or M. and R. Moody and Robinson's Reports, N. P.
 Moo. J. B. J. B. Moore's Reports, C. P.
 Moo. and P. Moore and Payne's Reports, C. P.
 Moo. and S. Moore and Scott's Reports, C. P.
 Moore C. P. Moore's Common Pleas Reports.
 Morris. Morris's Iowa Reports.
 Mos. Moseley's Reports, Chancery.
 Munf. Munford's Reports, Va.
 Murph. Murphy's Reports, N. C.
 Myl. and Cr. Mylne and Craig's Reports, Chancery.
 Myl. and K. Mylne and Keene's Reports, Chancery.
 N. Benl. New Benloe, K. B. Reports.
 N. Chip. N. Chipman's Reports, Vt.
 N. H. New Hampshire Reports.
 N. J. New Jersey Reports.
 N. S. New Series.
 N. Y. New York Reports.
 Neb. Nebraska Reports.
 Nels. Nelson's Reports, Chancery.
 N. and McC. Nott and McCord's Reports.
 Nev. and M. Neville and Manning's Reports, K. B.
 Nev. and P. Neville and Perry's Reports, K. B.
 Newb. Newberry's Admiralty Reports, U. S.
 North. Northington's Reports, by Eden, Chancery.
 Noy. Noy's Reports, K. B.
 Noy Max. Noy's Maxims.
 O. Benl. Old Benloe, C. P.
 Ohio. Ohio Reports.
 Ohio N. S. or Ohio St. Ohio Reports New Series.
 Olcott. Olcott's Reports, Dist. of N. Y.
 Off. Br. Officina Brevium.
 Op. Att.-Gen. Official Opinions of Attorney-General of U. S.
 Ord. Med. Juris. Ordonaux's Medical Jurisprudence.
 Orl. Bridgman. Orlando Bridgman's Reports, C. P.
 Overt. Overton's Reports, Tenn.
 Ow. Owen's Reports, K. B.
 P. C. Pleas of the Crown.
 P. and D. or Per. and Dav. Perry and Davison's Reports, K. B.
 P. Wms. Peere Williams's Reports, Chancery.
 Paige. Paige's Reports, N. Y., Chancery.
 Paine. Paine's Reports, U. S., 2d Circuit.
 Pal. or Paln. Palmer's Reports, K. B.
 Pal. Ag. Paley on Agency.
 Par. or Park. Parker's Reports, Exchequer.
 Park Ins. Park on Insurance.
 Park. Cr. Parker's Criminal Reports, N. Y.
 Pars. Con. Parsons on Contracts.
 Pars. Mer. L. Parsons on Mercantile Law.
 Pars. Mar. L. Parsons on Maritime Law.
 Pars. N. and B. Parsons on Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes.
 Pat. and H. Patton and Heath's Reports, Va.
 Pea. N. P. C. Peak's Nisi Prius Cases.
 Peck. Peck's Reports, Tenn.
 Penn. Pennsylvania Reports.
 Penn. St. Pennsylvania State Reports.
 Penn. N. J. Pennington's New Jersey Reports.
 Pet. Peters's Reports, U. S.
 Pet. C. C. Peters's Circuit Court Reports.
 Phil. Phillips's Reports, Chancery.
 Phil. and M. or P. and M. The reign of Phillip and Mary.
 Ph. Ev. or Phil. Ev. Phillips's Evidence.

- Phil. Ins. Phillips on Insurance.
 Phill. Int. L. Phillimore on International Law.
 Phillim. or Phill. Ec. Phillimore's Reports, Ecclesiastical.
 Pick. Pickering's Reports, Mass.
 Plowd. Plowden's Reports, K. B.
 Pol. Pollexfen's Reports, K. B.
 Pol. L. N. Polson's Law of Nations.
 Poph. Popham's Reports, K. B.
 Port. Ala. or Port. Porter's Alabama Reports.
 Poth. Ob. Pothier on Obligations.
 Poth. Part. Pothier on Partnership.
 Pr. Ch. Precedents in Chancery. (Finch.)
 Pres. Conv. Preston's Conveyancing.
 Pres. Est. Preston's Estates.
 Pres. Shep. T. Sheppard's Touchstone, by Preston.
 Price or Pr. Price's Reports, Exchequer.
 Q. B. Adolphus and Ellis's Reports, New Series.
 Q. B. Upp. C. Queen's Bench Reports, Upper Canada.
 R. I. Rhode Island Reports.
 Rand. Randolph's Reports, Va.
 Rawle. Rawle's Reports, Pa.
 Rawle Cov. Rawle on Covenants for Title.
 Ray. T. Sir Thos. Raymond's Reports, K. B.
 Ray Med. Jur. Ins. Ray's Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity.
 Redf. Ex. Redfield on Executors and Administrators.
 Redf. Railw. Redfield on Railways.
 Redf. Sur. Redfield's Surrogate Reports, N. Y.
 Redf. Wills. Redfield on Wills.
 Reev. Hist. E. L. Reeves's History of English Law.
 Reeve Dom. Rel. Reeve's Domestic Relations.
 Reg. Brev. Register of Writs.
 Rep. Coke's Reports.
 Rep. Con. Ct. Reports of Constitutional Court, S. C.
 Rep. Temp. Finch. Finch's Reports, Chancery.
 Rice. Rice's Reports, S. C.
 Rich. Richardson's Reports, S. C.
 Rich. Eq. Richardson's Equity Reports, S. C.
 Riley. Riley's Reports, S. C.
 Rob. Adm. Robinson's Reports, Admiralty. (See "C. Rob. Adm." and "W. Rob. Adm.")
 Rob. Ap. Robertson's Reports of Appeals.
 Rob. Ecc. Robertson's Ecclesiastical Reports.
 Rob. Fr. Roberts on Frauds.
 Rob. La. Robinson's Louisiana Reports.
 Rob. Va. Robinson's Virginia Reports.
 Roll. Rolle's Reports.
 Roll. Abr. Rolle's Abridgment.
 Rop. Leg. Roper on Legacies.
 Root. Root's Reports, Conn.
 Ros. Cr. Ev. Roscoe's Criminal Evidence.
 Run. Eject. Runnington's Ejectment.
 Rush. Rushworth's Collection.
 Russ. Russell's Reports, Chancery.
 Russ. Cr. L. Russell on Crimes.
 Russ. and R. or R. and R. C. C. Russell and Ryan's Crown Cases.
 Ry. F. or Rym. Foed. Rymer's Foedera.
 Ry. and M. or R. and Moo. Ryan and Moody's Nisi Prius Reports.
 S. C. Same Case.
 S. C. C. Select Chancery Cases.
 S. P. Same Point or Principle.
 S. and M. or Smedes and M. Smedes and Marshall's Reports, Miss.
 S. and R. or Serg. and R. Sergeant and Rawle's Reports, Pa.
 S. and S. or Sim. and St. Simons and Stuart's Reports, Chancery.
 S. and Sm. Searle and Smith's Reports, Probate and Divorce.
 Salk. Salkeld's Reports, K. B.
 Sandf. Sandford Superior Court Reports, N. Y.
 Sandf. Ch. Sandford's Chancery Reports.
 Saund. Saunders's Reports, K. B.
 Saund. U. and T. Saunders on Uses and Trusts.
 Sav. Saville's Reports, C. P.
 Say. Sayer's Reports, K. B.
 Saxton or Sax. Ch. Saxton's Chancery Reports, N. J.
 Scam. Scammon's Reports, Ill.
 Sch. and Lef. Schoales and Lefroy's Reports, Chancery, Ireland.
 Scrib. Dow. Scribner on Dower.
 Scriv. Cop. Scriven on the Law of Copyhold.
 Sedg. Dam. Sedgwick on the Measure of Damages.
 Sedg. St. and Cons. L. Sedgwick on Statutory and Constitutional Law.
 Seld. Selden's Reports, (5-10 N. Y.)
 Selw. N. P. Selwyn's Nisi Prius.
 Sel. Ca. Select Cases, Chancery.
 Seld. Selden.
 Sergt. Comst. L. Sergeant on Constitutional Law.
 Sess. Cas. Sessions Cases.
 Scas. Cas. Sc. Scotch Sessions Cases.
 Shaw App. Shaw's Reports, House of Lords.
 Sh. and McL. Shaw and McLean's Reports, House of Lords.
 Shaw, W. and S. Shaw, Wilson and Shaw's Reports, House of Lords.
 Shear. and R. Neg. Shearman and Redfield on Negligence.
 Shep. Touch. Shepard's Touchstone.
 Show. Shower's Reports, K. B.
 Show. P. C. Shower's Parliamentary Cases.
 Sid. Skierfin's Reports, K. B.
 Sim. Simons's Reports, Chancery.
 Sim. and S. Simons and Stewart's Reports, Chancery.
 Skin. Skinner's Reports, K. B.
 Sm. and G. Smale and Giffard's Reports, Chancery.
 Sm. Con. Smith on Contracts.
 Sm. Lead. Cas. or Smith Lead. Cas. Smith's Leading Cases.
 Sm. Merc. Law. Smith's Mercantile Law.
 Smith. Smith's Reports, K. B.
 Sneed. Sneed's Reports, Tenn.
 South. Southard's Reports, N. J.
 Sp. L. Montesquien, *Esprit des Loix*.
 Speers. Speers's Reports, S. C.
 Speers Eq. Speers's Equity Reports, S. C.
 Spence Eq. Spence's Equitable Jurisdiction.
 Spencer. Spencer's Reports, N. J.
 Spel. or Spelman's Glossary.
 Sprague. Sprague's Admiralty Decisions, U. S. Tr. State Trials.
 Stark. C. L. Starkie's Criminal Law.
 Stark. Ev. Starkie's Evidence.
 Stark. N. P. Starkie's Nisi Prius Reports.
 Stat. at Large. United States Statutes at Large.
 Steph. Com. Stephen's Commentaries.
 Steph. Pl. Stephen on Pleading.
 Stew. Stewart's Reports, Ala.
 Stew. Adm. L. C. Stewart's Admiralty, Lower Canada.
 Stew. and P. Stewart and Porter's Reports, Ala.
 Stock. Stockton's Reports, N. J.
 Story. Story's Reports, 1st Circuit, U. S.
 Story Ag. Story on Agency.
 Story Bail. Story on Bailments.
 Story Conf. L. Story's Conflict of Laws.
 Story Const. Story on the Constitution.
 Story Eq. Juris. Story's Equity Jurisprudence.
 Story Eq. Pl. Story's Equity Pleading.
 Story Pr. N. Story's Promissory Notes.
 Str. or Stra. Strange's Reports, K. B.
 Strob. Strobhart's Reports, S. C.
 Strob. Eq. Strobhart's Equity Reports, S. C.
 Sty. Style's Reports, K. B.
 Sug. V. and P. Sugden on Vendors and Purchasers.
 Sug. P. Sugden on Powers.
 Sumn. Sumner's Reports, 1st Circuit, U. S.
 Swa. Ad. Swabey's Admiralty Reports.
 Swa. and Tr. Swabey and Tristram's Reports, Probate and Divorce.
 Swan. Swan's Reports, Tenn.
 Swans. Swanston's Reports, Chancery.
 Swin. Swinburne on Wills.
 T. B. Mour. T. B. Monroe's Reports, Ky.
 T. and M. Temple and Mew's Criminal Appeal Cases.
 T. R. Term Reports, (Durnford and East), K. B.
 T. Raym. Sir T. Raymond's Reports.
 Talb. Talbot's Reports.
 Taml. Tamlyn's Reports, Rolls.
 Tapp. O. Tappan's Reports, O.
 Taun. Taunton's Reports, C. P.
 Tayl. Med. Juris. Taylor's Medical Jurisprudence.
 Tayl. L. and T. Taylor's Landlord and Tenant.
 Temp. and M. Temple and Mew's Crown Cases.
 Tenn. Tennessee Reports.
 Tex. Texas Reports.
 Thach. C. C. Thatcher's Criminal Cases, Mass.
 Thoms. N. S. Thompson's Reports, Nova Scotia.
 Tidd Pr. Tidd's Practice.
 Tif. and B. Tr. Tiffany and Bullard on Trust and Trustees.
 Todd Parl. Gov. Todd's Parliamentary Government in England.

TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS.

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Town. S. and L. Townsend on Slander and Libel.	Wend. Wendell's Reports, N. Y.
Trin. T. or T. T. Trinity Term.	Went. Ex. Wentworth's Executor.
Troub. L. P. Troubat on Limited Partnership.	West H. L. West's Reports House of Lords.
Turn. and R. Turner and Russell's Reports, Chancery.	West and H. West's Reports, Chancery, <i>temp.</i> Hardwick.
Tyler. Tyler's Reports, Vt.	Whart. Cr. L. American Criminal Law, by Wharton.
Tyler Ec. L. Tyler's American Ecclesiastical Law.	Whart. Wharton's Reports, Pa.
Tyl. Inf. and Cov. Tyler on Infancy and Coverture.	Whart. and S. Med. Juris. Wharton and Stille's Medical Jurisprudence.
Tyrw. Tyrwhitt's Reports, Exchequer.	Wheat. Int. L. Wheaton's International Law.
Tyrw. and G. Tyrwhitt and Granger's Reports, Exchequer.	Wheat. Wheaton's Reports, U. S.
V. and B. or Ves. and Bea. Vesey and Beames's Reports, Chancery.	Wilm. Wilmot's Notes and Opinions, K. B.
Va. Cas. Virginia Cases.	Wils. Wilson's Reports.
Vat. L. N. Vattel's Law of Nations.	Wils. Ch. Wilson's Chancery Reports.
Vaugh. Vaughn's Reports, C. P.	Wig. Dis. Wigram on Discovery.
Vent. Ventris's Reports, K. B.	Wight. Wightwick's Reports, Exchequer.
Ves. Sen. Vesey Sen.'s Reports, Chancery.	Wil. Eq. Willard's Equity Jurisprudence.
Ves. J. or Ves. Vesey Jun.'s, Reports, Chancery.	Wil. Exch. Willard on Executors.
Vet. N. Br. Old Natura Breve.	Wils. Ex. Wilson's Exchequer Reports.
Vern. Vernon's Reports, Chancery	Willes. Willes's Reports, K. B. and C. P.
Vern. and S. Vernon and Scriven's Reports, K. B., Ireland.	Wills Cir. Ev. Wills on on Circumstantial Evidence.
Vln. Abr. Viner's Abridgment.	Win. Winch's, Reports, C. B.
Vin. Sup. Viner's Supplement.	Wis. Wisconsin Reports.
Vt. Vermont Reports.	Wms. Williams's Reports, or Peere Williams, Chancery.
W. Bl. Wm. Blackstone's Reports.	Wms. Ex. Williams's Law of Executors.
W. H. and G. Welsby, Hurlstone and Gordon's Reports.	Wms. R. P. Williams on Real Property.
W. Jones. W. Jones's Reports.	Wms. P. P. Williams on Personal Property.
W. R. Weekly Reporter in all the Courts.	Wood and M. Woodbury and Minot's Reports, 1st Circuit, U. S.
W. Rob. Adm. Wm. Robinson's Admiralty Reports.	Woodf. L. and T. Woodfall's Law of Landlord and Tenant.
W. and S. Watts and Sergeant's Reports, Pa.	Wool. Wat. Woolrych on Waters.
W. and S. App. Wilson and Shaw's Reports, House of Lords.	Wright. Wright's Reports, Ohio.
Wal. Wallace's Reports, U. S.	Wythe. Wythe's Reports, Va.
Wal. Ch. Walker's Chancery Reports, Mich.	Y. B. Year Book.
Wal. Miss. Walker's Mississippi Reports.	Y. and Col., or You. and Coll. Younge and Collyer's Exchequer Reports.
Wallis. Wallis's Reports, Chancery, Ireland.	Y. and C. C. C. Younge and Collyer's Chancery Cases.
Wall. C. C. Wallace's Reports, U. S., 3d Circuit.	Y. and J. or You. and Jer. Younge and Jervis's Reports, Exchequer.
Wall. Jr. Wallace Jr.'s, Reports, U. S., 3d Circuit.	Yeates. Yeates's Reports, Pa.
Ware. Ware's Reports, U. S., District of Me.	Yel. Yelverton's Reports, K. B.
Washb. Real Prop. Washburne on Real Property.	Yerg. Yerger's Reports, Tenn.
Washb. Easem. Washburn on Easements.	You. Younge's Reports, Exch.
Wash. C. C. or Wash. Washington's Circuit Court Reports, U. S.	Zab. Zabriskie's Reports, N. J.
Wat. Cop. Watkins on Copyholds.	
Watts. Watts's Reports, Pa.	

INTRODUCTION.

OF THE STUDY, NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE LAWS OF ENGLAND.

SECTION 1.

ON THE STUDY OF THE LAW.*

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND GENTLEMEN OF THE UNIVERSITY:

THE general expectation of so numerous and respectable an audience, the novelty, and (I may add) the importance of the duty required from this chair, must unavoidably be productive of great diffidence and apprehensions in him who has the honour to be placed in it. He must be sensible how much will depend upon his conduct in the infancy of a study, which is now first adopted by public academical authority, which has generally been reputed (however unjustly) of a dry and unfruitful nature, and of which the theoretical, elementary parts have hitherto received a very moderate share of cultivation. He cannot but reflect, that, if either his plan of instruction be crude and injudicious, or the execution of it lame and superficial, it will cast a damp upon the further progress of this most useful and most rational branch of learning, and may defeat for a time the *public-spirited design of our wise and munificent benefactor. And this he must more especially dread, when he feels by [*4] experience how unequal his abilities are (unassisted by preceding examples) to complete, in the manner he could wish, so extensive and arduous a task; since he freely confesses that his former more private attempts have fallen very short of his own ideas of perfection. And yet the candour he has already experienced, and this last transcendent mark of regard, his present nomination by the free and unanimous suffrage of a great and learned university (an honour to be ever remembered with the deepest and most affectionate gratitude), these testimonies of your public judgment must entirely supersede his own, and forbid him to believe himself totally insufficient for the labour at least of this employment. One thing he will venture to hope for—and it certainly shall be his constant aim—by diligence and attention, to atone for his other defects: esteeming that the best return which he can possibly make for your favourable opinion of his capacity will be his unwearied endeavours in some little degree to deserve it.

The science thus committed to his charge, to be cultivated, methodized and explained, in a course of academical lectures, is that of the laws and constitution of our own country—a species of knowledge in which the gentlemen of England have been more remarkably deficient than those of all Europe besides. In most of the nations on the continent, where the civil or imperial law, under different modifications, is closely interwoven with the municipal laws of the land, no gentleman, or at least no scholar, thinks his education is completed till he has attended a course or two of lectures, both upon the Institutes of Justinian

*Read in Oxford at the opening of the Vinerian lectures, 25th of October, 1758. The author had been elected first Vinerian professor the 20th of October previously.

and the local constitutions of his native soil, under the very eminent professors that abound in their several universities. And in the northern parts of our own island, where also the municipal laws are frequently connected with the civil, it is difficult to meet with a person of liberal education, who is destitute of a competent knowledge in that science which is to be the guardian of the natural rights and the rule of his civil conduct.

[*5] *Nor have the imperial laws been totally neglected even in the English nation. A general acquaintance with their decisions has ever been deservedly considered as no small accomplishment of a gentleman; and a fashion has prevailed, especially of late, to transport the growing hopes of this island to foreign universities, in Switzerland, Germany and Holland; which, though infinitely inferior to our own in every other consideration, have been looked upon as better nurseries of the civil, or (which is nearly the same) of their own municipal law. In the mean time, it has been the peculiar lot of our admirable system of laws to be neglected, and even unknown, by all but one practical profession; though built upon the soundest foundations, and approved by the experience of ages.

Far be it from me to derogate from the study of the civil law, considered (apart from any abiding authority) as a collection of written reason. No man is more thoroughly persuaded of the general excellence of its rules and the usual equity of its decisions, nor is better convinced of its use as well as ornament to the scholar, the divine, the statesman, and even the common lawyer. But we must not carry our veneration so far as to sacrifice our Alfred and Edward to the names of Theodosius and Justinian; we must not prefer the edict of the prætor, or the rescript of the Roman emperor, to our own immemorial customs, or the sanctions of an English parliament; unless we can also prefer the despotic monarchy of Rome and Byzantium, for whose meridians the former were calculated, to the free constitution of Britain, which the latter are adapted to perpetuate.

Without detracting, therefore, from the real merits which abound in the imperial law, I hope I may have leave to assert, that if an Englishman must be ignorant of either the one or the other, he had better be a stranger to the Roman than the English institutions. For I think it an undeniable position, [*6] that a competent knowledge of the laws of that society *in which we live, is the proper accomplishment of every gentleman and scholar; a highly useful, I had almost said essential, part of liberal and polite education. And in this I am warranted by the example of ancient Rome; where, as Cicero informs us, (a) the very boys were obliged to learn the twelve tables by heart, as a *carmen necessarium* or indispensable lesson, to imprint on their tender minds an early knowledge of the laws and constitution of their country.

But, as the long and universal neglect of this study with us in England seems in some degree to call in question the truth of this evident position, it shall therefore be the business of this introductory discourse, in the first place to demonstrate the utility of some general acquaintance with the municipal law of the land, by pointing out its particular uses in all considerable situations of life. Some conjectures will then be offered with regard to the causes of neglecting this useful study, to which will be subjoined a few reflections on the peculiar propriety of reviving it in our own universities.

And, first, to demonstrate the utility of some acquaintance with the laws of the land, let us only reflect a moment on the singular frame and polity of that land which is governed by this system of laws; a land, perhaps the only one in the universe, in which political or civil liberty is the very end and scope of the constitution. (b) This liberty, rightly understood, consists in the power (1) of doing whatever the laws permit; (c) which is only to be effected by a general

(a) *De Legg.* 2. 23.

(b) *Montesq. Esp. L. l. 11 c. 5.*

(c) *Facultas ejus, quod cuique facere libet nisi quid vi, aut jure prohibetur. Inst. 1. 3. 1.*

(1) For Mr. Christian's view of this definition of liberty, see note, *post*, 126.

conformity of all orders and degrees to those equitable rules of action by which the meanest individual is protected from the insults and oppression of the greatest. As, therefore, every subject is interested in the preservation of the laws, it is incumbent upon every man to be acquainted with those at least with which he is immediately concerned; lest he incur the censure, as well as inconvenience, of living in society without knowing the obligations which it lays him under. And thus much may suffice for *persons of inferior condition, who have neither time nor capacity to enlarge their views [*7] beyond that contracted sphere in which they are appointed to move. But those, on whom nature and fortune have bestowed more abilities and greater leisure, cannot be so easily excused. These advantages are given them, not for the benefit of themselves only, but also of the public: and yet they cannot, in any scene of life, discharge properly their duty either to the public or themselves, without some degree of knowledge in the laws. To evince this the more clearly, it may not be amiss to descend to a few particulars.

Let us therefore begin with our gentlemen of independent estates and fortune, the most useful as well as considerable body of men in the nation; whom even to suppose ignorant in this branch of learning is treated by Mr. Locke (*d*) as a strange absurdity. It is their landed property, with its long and voluminous train of descents and conveyances, settlements, entails, and incumbrances, that forms the most intricate and most extensive object of legal knowledge. The thorough comprehension of these, in all their minute distinctions, is perhaps too laborious a task for any but a lawyer by profession; yet still the understanding of a few leading principles, relating to estates and conveyancing, may form some check and guard upon a gentleman's inferior agents, and preserve him at least from very gross and notorious imposition.

Again, the policy of all laws has made some forms necessary in the wording of last wills and testaments, and more with regard to their attestation. An ignorance in these must always be of dangerous consequence to such as, by choice or necessity, compile their own testaments without any technical assistance. Those who have attended the courts of justice are the best witnesses of the confusion and distresses that are hereby occasioned in families, and of the difficulties that arise in discerning the true meaning of the testator, or, sometimes, in discovering any meaning at all; so that in the end, his estate *may often be vested quite contrary to these his enigmatical intentions, [*8] because, perhaps, he has omitted one or two formal words, which are necessary to ascertain the sense with indisputable legal precision, or has executed his will in the presence of fewer witnesses than the law requires.

But, to proceed from private concerns to those of a more public consideration. All gentlemen of fortune are, in consequence of their property, liable to be called upon to establish the rights, to estimate the injuries, to weigh the accusations, and sometimes to dispose of the lives, of their fellow-subjects, by serving upon juries. In this situation they have frequently a right to decide, and that upon their oaths, questions of nice importance, in the solution of which some legal skill is requisite; especially where the law and the fact, as it often happens, are intimately blended together. And the general incapacity, even of our best juries, to do this with any tolerable propriety, has greatly debased their authority; and has unavoidably thrown more power into the hands of the judges, to direct, control, and even reverse their verdicts, than perhaps the constitution intended.

But it is not as a juror, only, that the English gentleman is called upon to determine questions of right, and distribute justice to his fellow-subjects: it is principally with this order of men that the commission of the peace is filled. And here a very ample field is opened for a gentleman to exert his talents, by maintaining good order in his neighborhood; by punishing the dissolute and idle; by protecting the peaceable and industrious; and, above all, by healing petty differences, and preventing vexatious prosecutions. But, in order to attain

these desirable ends, it is necessary that the magistrate should understand his business, and have not only the will, but the power also (under which must be included the knowledge), of administering legal and effectual justice. Else, when he has mistaken his authority, through passion, through ignorance, or ab-
 [*9] surdity, he will be the object of *contempt from his inferiors, and of censure from those to whom he is accountable for his conduct.

Yet farther: most gentlemen of considerable property, at some period or other in their lives, are ambitious of representing their country in parliament; and those, who are ambitious of receiving so high a trust, would also do well to remember its nature and importance. They are not thus honorably distinguished from the rest of their fellow-subjects, merely that they may privilege their persons, their estates, or their domestics; that they may list under party banners; may grant or withhold supplies; may vote with or vote against a popular or unpopular administration; but upon considerations far more interesting and important. They are the guardians of the English constitution; the makers, repealers, and interpreters of the English law; delegated to watch, to check, and to avert every dangerous innovation, to propose, to adopt, and to cherish any solid and well-weighed improvement; bound by every tie of nature, of honor, and of religion, to transmit that constitution and those laws to their posterity, amended if possible, at least without any derogation. And how unbecoming must it appear in a member of the legislature to vote for a new law, who is utterly ignorant of the old! what kind of interpretation can he be enabled to give, who is a stranger to the text upon which he comments!

Indeed, it is perfectly amazing that there should be no other state of life, no other occupation, art, or science, in which some method of instruction is not looked upon as requisite, except only the science of legislation, the noblest and most difficult of any. Apprenticeships are held necessary to almost every art, commercial or mechanical: a long course of reading and study must form the divine, the physician, and the practical professor of the laws: but every man of superior fortune thinks himself *born* a legislator. Yet Tully was of a different
 [*10] opinion. "It is *necessary," says he, (e) "for a senator to be thoroughly acquainted with the constitution; and this," he declares, "is a knowledge of the most extensive nature; a matter of science, of diligence, of reflection; without which no senator can possibly be fit for his office."

The mischiefs that have arisen to the public from inconsiderate alterations in our laws, are too obvious to be called in question; and how far they have been owing to the defective education of our senators, is a point well worthy the public attention. The common law of England has fared like other venerable edifices of antiquity, which rash and inexperienced workmen have ventured to new-dress and refine, with all the rage of modern improvement. Hence, frequently its symmetry has been destroyed, its proportions distorted, and its majestic simplicity exchanged for specious embellishments and fantastic novelties. For, to say the truth, almost all the perplexed questions, almost all the niceties, intricacies, and delays (which have sometimes disgraced the English as well as other courts of justice), owe their original not to the common law itself, but to innovations that have been made in it by acts of parliament, "overladen (as Sir Edward Coke expresses it) (f) with provisos and additions, and many times on a sudden penned or corrected by men of none or very little judgment in law." This great and well experienced judge declares, that in all his time he never knew two questions made upon rights merely depending upon the common law; and warmly laments the confusion introduced by ill-judging and unlearned legislators. "But if," he subjoins "acts of parliament were after the old fashion penned, by such only as perfectly knew what the common law was before the making of any act of parliament concerning that matter, as also how far forth former statutes had provided remedy for former mischiefs and defects, discovered by experience; then should very few questions in law

(e) *De Legg.* 3. 18. *Est senatori necessarium nosse rempublicam; idque late patet: — genus hoc omne scientiæ, diligentie, memoriæ est; sine quo paratus esse senator nullo pacto potest.* (f) 2 Rep. Pref.

arise, *and the learned should not so often and so much perplex their [*11] heads to make atonement and peace, by construction of law, between insensible and disagreeing words, sentences, and provisoes, as they now do." And if this inconvenience was so heavily felt in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, you may judge how the evil is increased in later times, when the statute book is swelled to ten times a larger bulk, unless it should be found that the penners of our modern statutes have proportionably better informed themselves in the knowledge of the common law.

What is said of our gentlemen in general, and the propriety of their application to the study of the laws of their country, will hold equally strong or still stronger with regard to the nobility of this realm, except only in the article of serving upon juries. But, instead of this, they have several peculiar provinces of far greater consequence and concern; being not only by birth hereditary counselors of the crown, and judges upon their honour of the lives of their brother peers, but also arbiters of the property of all their fellow-subjects, and that in the last resort. In this, their judicial capacity, they are bound to decide the nicest and most critical points of the law; to examine and correct such errors as have escaped the most experienced sages of the profession, the lord-keeper, and the judges of the courts of Westminster. Their sentence is final, decisive, irrevocable; no appeal, no correction, not even a review can be had; and to their determination, whatever it be, the inferior courts of justice must conform; otherwise the rule of property would no longer be uniform and steady.

Should a judge in the most subordinate jurisdiction be deficient in the knowledge of the law, it would reflect infinite contempt upon himself, and disgrace upon those who employ him. And yet the consequence of his ignorance is comparatively very trifling and small; his judgment may be examined, and his errors rectified by other courts. But how much more serious and affecting is the case of a superior judge, *if, without any skill in the laws, [*12] he will boldly venture to decide a question upon which the welfare and subsistence of whole families may depend; where the chance of his judging right or wrong, is barely equal; and where, if he chances to judge wrong, he does an injury of the most alarming nature, an injury without possibility of redress.

Yet, vast as this trust is, it can nowhere be so properly reposed, as in the noble hands where our excellent constitution has placed it; and therefore placed it, because, from the independence of their fortune and the dignity of their station, they are presumed to employ that leisure, which is the consequence of both, in attaining a more extensive knowledge of the laws than persons of inferior rank, and because the founders of our polity relied upon that delicacy of sentiment so peculiar to noble birth; which, as on the one hand it will prevent either interest or affection from interfering in questions of right, so, on the other, it will bind a peer in honor, an obligation which the law esteems equal to another's oath, to be master of those points upon which it is his birthright to decide. (2)

The Roman pandects will furnish us with a piece of history not inapplicable to our present purpose. Servius Sulpicius, a gentleman of the patrician order, and a celebrated orator, had occasion to take the opinion of Quintus Mutius Scævola, the then oracle of the Roman law; but, for want of some knowledge in that science, could not so much as understand even the technical terms which his friend was obliged to make use of. Upon which, Mutius Scævola could not forbear to upbraid him with this memorable reproof: (g) "that it was a shame for a patrician, a nobleman, and an orator of causes to be ignorant of

(g) *ff. 1. 2. 2. § 43. Turpe esse patricio, et nobili, et causas oranti, jus in quo versaretur ignorare.*

(2) [As a peer of parliament, when that body is sitting judicially, a nobleman's pledge of honour is considered equal to another's oath. The ordinary courts of common law know no distinction of this kind; there, wherever an ordinary subject must swear to speak the truth, a peer must equally be sworn. In courts of equity, peers, peeresses, and lords of parliament answer on their honour only; though persons of inferior degree are required, in like case, to answer on oath. 1 Jacob and Walker's Reports, 524.]

that law in which he was so peculiarly concerned." This reproach made so deep an impression on Sulpicius, that he immediately applied himself to the study of the law, wherein he arrived to that *proficiency, that he left [*13] behind him about an hundred and four-score volumes of his own compiling upon the subject, and became in the opinion of Cicero, (h) a much more complete lawyer than even Mutius Scævola himself.

I would not be thought to recommend to our English nobility and gentry to become as great lawyers as Sulpicius, though he, together with this character, sustained likewise that of an excellent orator, a firm patriot, and a wise, indefatigable senator; but the inference which arises from the story is this: that ignorance of the laws of the land hath ever been esteemed dishonourable in those who are intrusted by their country to maintain, to administer, and to amend them. (3)

But, surely, there is little occasion to enforce this argument any further to persons of rank and distinction, if we, of this place may be allowed to form a general judgment from those who are under our inspection: happy that while we lay down the rule, we can also produce the example. You will therefore permit your professor to indulge both a public and private satisfaction, by bearing this open testimony, that, in the infancy of these studies among us, they were favoured with the most diligent attendance, and pursued with the most unwearied application, by those of the noblest birth and most ample patrimony, some of whom are still the ornaments of this seat of learning, and others, at a greater distance, continue doing honor to its institutions by comparing our polity and laws with those of other kingdoms abroad, or exerting their senatorial abilities in the councils of the nation at home.

Nor will some degree of legal knowledge be found in the least superfluous to persons of inferior rank, especially those of the learned professions. The clergy, in particular, besides the common obligations they are under in proportion to [*14] their rank and fortune, have also abundant reason, considered *merely as clergymen, to be acquainted with many branches of the law, which are almost peculiar and appropriated to themselves alone. Such are the laws relating to advowsons, institutions, and inductions; to simony, and simoniacal contracts; to uniformity, residence, and pluralities; to tithes and other ecclesiastical dues; to marriages, (more especially of late,) and to a variety of other subjects, which are consigned to the care of their order by the provisions of particular statutes. To understand these aright, to discern what is warranted or enjoined, and what is forbidden by law, demands a sort of legal apprehension, which is no otherwise to be acquired than by use and a familiar acquaintance with legal writers.

For the gentlemen of the faculty of physic, I must frankly own that I see no special reason why they, in particular, should apply themselves to the study of

(h) Brut. 41.

(3) "One of the constitutions of our own King Alfred expressly required that his nobility should be instructed in the laws. Without this knowledge, indeed, a man will advance but vain and frivolous pretences to exercise the functions of a statesman or a legislator. It is true he may be *eager* enough to meddle with such matters; he may indeed be "given to change;" he may become, perhaps, a showy declaimer, fluent in the use of common-places—that is, if either house of parliament will tolerate his puerile inanities; he may possibly acquire credit on occasions of minor, of mere temporary or local interest and importance; but on the stirring, grand national, CONSTITUTIONAL questions, which are often so suddenly started, he will be, he needs must be, an inglorious mute; his "vote and influence" may be solicited by the contending parties, but nothing further will be expected or, indeed, permitted. Such information as is required on *these* occasions, however great may be his zeal or talents, or intense his desire of distinction, he neither has nor can get. No *cram* will suffice; nothing but the careful, leisurely acquisition of early years, assiduously kept up—at once generating and justifying confidence and self-reliance—will enable a man to acquit himself on such occasions even creditably. And how often in these pregnant times do such occasions arise; what melancholy exhibitions are sometimes the consequence!" *Warren's Law* *dictes*, 85.

the law unless in common with other gentlemen, and to complete the character of general and extensive knowledge; a character which their profession, beyond others, has remarkably deserved. They will give me leave however to suggest, and that not ludicrously, that it might frequently be of use to families, upon sudden emergencies, if the physician were acquainted with the doctrine of last wills and testaments, at least so far as relates to the formal part of their execution.

But those gentlemen who intend to profess the civil and ecclesiastical laws, in the spiritual and maritime courts of this kingdom, are, of all men (next to common lawyers), the most indispensably obliged to apply themselves seriously to the study of our municipal laws. For the civil and canon laws, considered with respect to any intrinsic obligation, have no force or authority in this kingdom; they are no more binding in England than our laws are binding at Rome. But, as far as these foreign laws, on account of some peculiar propriety, have in some particular cases, and in some particular courts, been introduced and allowed by our laws, so far they oblige, and no farther; their authority being wholly founded upon that permission and adoption. In which we are not singular in our notions; for even in Holland, where the imperial law is [*15] much cultivated, and its decisions pretty generally followed, we are informed by Van Leeuwen, (i) that "it receives its force from custom and the consent of the people, either tacitly or expressly given; for otherwise," he adds, "we should no more be bound by this law than by that of the Almaines, the Franks, the Saxons, the Goths, the Vandals, and other of the ancient nations." Wherefore, in all points in which the different systems depart from each other, the law of the land takes place of the law of Rome, whether ancient or modern, imperial or pontifical. And, in those of our English courts wherein a reception has been allowed to the civil and canon laws, if either they exceed the bounds of that reception, by extending themselves to other matters than are permitted to them, or if such courts proceed according to the decisions of those laws, in cases wherein it is controlled by the law of the land, the common law in either instance both may, and frequently does, prohibit and annul their proceedings; (k) and it will not be a sufficient excuse for them to tell the king's courts at Westminster that their practice is warranted by the laws of Justinian or Gregory, or is conformable to the decrees of the Rota or imperial chamber. For which reason it becomes highly necessary for every civilian and canonist, that would act with safety as a judge, or with prudence and reputation as an advocate, to know in what cases and how far the English laws have given sanction to the Roman; in what points the latter are rejected; and where they are both so intermixed and blended together as to form certain supplemental parts of the common law of England, distinguished by the titles of the king's maritime, the king's military, and the king's ecclesiastical law; the propriety of which inquiry the university of Oxford has for more than a century so thoroughly seen that in her statutes (l) she appoints that one of the three questions to be annually discussed at the act by the jurist-inceptors shall relate to the common law; subjoining this reason, "*quia juris civilis studiosos decet haud imperitos esse juris municipalis, et differentias exteri patrique juris notas habere.*" [*16] And the statutes (m) of the university of Cambridge speak expressly to the same effect.

From the general use and necessity of some acquaintance with the common law, the inferences were extremely easy with regard to the propriety of the present institution, in a place to which gentlemen of all ranks and degrees resort as the fountain of all useful knowledge. But how it has come to pass that a design of this sort has never before taken place in the university, and the reason why the study of our laws has in general fallen into disuse, I shall previously proceed to inquire.

(i) *Dedicatio corporis juris civilis. Edit. 1663.*

(k) Hale Hist. C. L. c. 2. Selden in *Fletam*. 5 Rep. Caudrey's Case. 2 Inst. 599.

(l) Tit. VII. Sect. 2. § 2.

(m) *Doctor legum mox a doctoratu dabit operam legibus Angliæ. ut non sit imperitus earum legum quas habet sua patriæ, et differentias exteri patrique juris noscat. Stat. Eliz. R. c. 14. Cowell. Institut. in præmio.*

Sir John Fortescue, in his panegyric on the laws of England, (which was written in the reign of Henry the Sixth,) puts (*n*) a very obvious question in the mouth of the young prince, whom he is exhorting to apply himself to that branch of learning: "why the laws of England, being so good, so fruitful, and so commodious, are not taught in the universities, as the civil and canon laws are?" In answer to which he gives (*o*) what seems, with due deference be it spoken, a very jejune and unsatisfactory reason; being, in short, that, "as the proceedings at common law were in his time carried on in three different tongues, the English, the Latin, and the French, that science must be necessarily taught in those three several languages; but that, in the universities, all sciences were taught in the Latin tongue only;" and therefore, he concludes, "that they could not be conveniently taught or studied in our universities." But without attempting to examine seriously the validity of this reason, (the very shadow of which, by the wisdom of our late constitutions, is entirely taken away,) we perhaps may find out a better, or at least a more plausible, account, why the study of the municipal laws has been banished from these seats of science, than what the learned chancellor thought it prudent to give to his royal pupil.

*[17] *That ancient collection of unwritten maxims and customs, which is called the common law, however compounded or from whatever fountains derived, had subsisted immemorially in this kingdom; and, though somewhat altered and impaired by the violence of the times, had in great measure weathered the rude shock of the Norman conquest. This had endeared it to the people in general, as well because its decisions were universally known, as because it was found to be excellently adapted to the genius of the English nation. In the knowledge of this law consisted great part of the learning of those dark ages; it was then taught, says Mr. Selden, (*p*) in the monasteries, in the universities, and in the families of the principal nobility. The clergy, in particular, as they then engrossed almost every other branch of learning, so (like their predecessors the British Druids) (*q*) they were peculiarly remarkable for their proficiency in the study of the law. *Nullus clericus nisi causidicus*, is the character given of them soon after the conquest by William of Malmesbury. (*r*) The judges, therefore were usually created out of the sacred order, (*s*) as was likewise the case among the Normans; (*t*) and all the inferior offices were supplied by the lower clergy, which has occasioned their successors to be denominated *clerks* to this day.

But the common law of England, being not committed to writing, but only handed down by tradition, use and experience, was not so heartily relished by the foreign clergy, who came over hither in shoals during the reign of the Conqueror and his two sons, and were utter strangers to our constitution as well as our language. And an accident, which soon after happened, had nearly completed its ruin. A copy of Justinian's pandects, being newly (*u*) discovered at [18] Amalfi, (*4*) *soon brought the civil law into vogue all over the west of Europe, where before it was quite laid aside, (*w*) and in a manner forgotten, though some traces of its authority remained in Italy (*x*) and the eastern provinces of the empire. (*y*) This now became in a particular manner the favourite of the popish clergy, who borrowed the method and many of the maxims of the canon law from this original. The study of it was introduced into several universities abroad, particularly that of Bologna, where exercises

(n) C. 47.

(o) C. 48.

(p) *In Fletam*. 7. 7.

(q) *Cæsar de bello Gal.* 6. 18.

(r) *De Gest. Reg.* l. 4.

(s) *Dugdale Orig. Jurid.* c. 8.

(t) *Les juges sont sages personnes et autentiques, — sicome les archevesques, évesques, les chanoines des eglises cathedraulx, et les autres personnes qui ont dignitez in sainte eglise; les abbez, les prieurs, conventaulx, et les gouverneurs des eglises.* *ffc. Grand Coustumier*, ch. 9.

(u) *Circ. A. D.* 1130.

(w) *LL. Visigoth.* 2, 1. 9.

(x) *Capitular. Hludov. Pp.* 4. 102.

(y) *Selden in Fletam*. 5. 5.

(4) The fact of this discovery, Mr. Hallam says, "though not impossible, seems not to rest upon sufficient evidence." *Hallam's Middle Ages*, chap. 9, pt. 2, citing earlier authors.

were performed, lectures read, and degrees conferred in this faculty, as in other branches of science; and many nations on the continent, just then beginning to recover from the convulsions consequent upon the overthrow of the Roman empire, and settling by degrees into peaceable forms of government, adopted the civil law, (being the best written system then extant,) as the basis of their several constitutions; blending and interweaving it among their own feudal customs, in some places with a more extensive, in others a more confined authority.^(z)

Nor was it long before the prevailing mode of the times reached England. For Theobald, a Norman abbot, being elected to the see of Canterbury, (*a*) and extremely addicted to this new study brought over with him in his retinue many learned proficients therein; and, among the rest, Roger, surnamed Vacarius, whom he placed in the university of Oxford, (*b*) to teach it to the people of this country. But it did not meet with the same easy reception in England, where a mild and rational system of laws had been long established, as it did upon the continent; and though the monkish clergy, devoted to the will of a foreign primate, received it with eagerness and zeal, yet the laity, who were more interested to preserve the old constitution, and had already severely felt the effect of many Norman innovations, continued wedded to the use of the common law. King Stephen immediately *published a proclamation, (*c*) [*19] forbidding the study of laws, then newly imported from Italy, which was treated by the monks (*d*) as a piece of impiety; and, though it might prevent the introduction of the civil law process into our courts of justice, yet did not hinder the clergy from reading and teaching it in their own schools and monasteries.

From this time the nation seems to have been divided into two parties, the bishops and clergy, many of them foreigners, who applied themselves wholly to the study of the civil and canon laws, which now came to be inseparably interwoven with each other; and the nobility and laity, who adhered with equal pertinacity to the old common law; both of them reciprocally jealous of what they were unacquainted with, and neither of them, perhaps, allowing the opposite system that real merit which is abundantly to be found in each. (5) This appears, on the one hand, from the spleen with which the monastic writers (*e*) speak of our municipal laws upon all occasions; and, on the other, from the firm temper which the nobility showed at the famous parliament of Merton, when the prelates endeavoured to procure an act to declare all bastards legitimate in case the parents intermarried at any time afterwards; alleging this only reason, because holy church (that is, the canon law,) declared such children legitimate; but "all the earls and barons (says the parliament roll) (*f*) with one voice answered that they would not change the laws of England, which had hitherto been used and approved." And we find the same jealousy prevailing above a century afterwards, (*g*) when the nobility declared with a kind of prophetic spirit, "that the realm of England hath never been, unto this hour, neither by the consent of our Lord the king and the lords of parliament shall it ever be, *ruled or governed by the civil law." (*h*) And of this temper [*20] between the clergy and laity many more instances might be given.

While things were in this situation, the clergy, finding it impossible to root out the municipal law, began to withdraw themselves by degrees from the tem-

(z) Domat's Treatise of Laws, c. 13. § 9. *Epistol. Innocent IV. in M. Paris ad A. D. 1254.*

(a) *A. D. 1138.* (b) Gervas. Dorobern. *Act. Pontif. Cantuar.* col. 1665.

(c) Rog. Bacon *citat. per Selden in Fletam.* 7. 6. in *Fortesc.* c. 33. and 8 Rep. Pref.

(d) Joan Sarisburiens. *Polykrat.* 8. 22 (e) *Idem. Ibid.* 5. 16. Polydor Virgil. *Hist.* l. 9.

(f) *Stat. Merton.* 20. Hen. III. c. 9. *Et omnes comites et barones una voce responderunt, quod nolunt ieges Angliæ mutare, quæ hucusque usitate sunt et approbate.* (g) 11 Ric. II.

(h) Selden, *Jan. Anglor.* l. 2 § 43. in *Fortesc.* c. 33.

(5) [Though the civil law, in matters of contract and the general commerce of life, may be founded in principles of natural and universal justice, yet the arbitrary and despotic maxims, which recommended it as a favorite to the pope and the Romish clergy, rendered it deservedly odious to the people of England.]

poral courts; and, to that end, very early in the reign of King Henry the Third, episcopal constitutions were published, (i) forbidding all ecclesiastics to appear as advocates *in foro sæculari*: nor did they long continue to act as judges there, not caring to take the oath of office which was then found necessary to be administered, that they should in all things determine according to the law and custom of this realm, (k) though they still kept possession of the high office of chancellor, an office then of little juridical power; and afterwards, as its business increased by degrees, they modelled the process of the court at their own discretion.

But wherever they retired, and wherever their authority extended, they carried with them the same zeal to introduce the rules of the civil, in exclusion of the municipal law. This appears in a particular manner from the spiritual courts of all denominations, from the chancellor's courts in both our universities, and from the high court of chancery before mentioned; in all of which the proceedings are to this day in a course much conformed to the civil law: for which no tolerable reason can be assigned, unless that these courts were all under the immediate direction of the popish ecclesiastics, among whom it was a point of religion to exclude the municipal law; Pope Innocent the Fourth having forbidden (l) the very reading of it by the clergy, because its decisions were not founded on the imperial constitutions, but merely on the customs of the laity. And if it be considered that our universities began about that period to receive their present form of scholastic discipline; that they were then, and [*21] continued to *be till the time of the reformation, entirely under the influence of the Popish clergy; (Sir John Mason, the first protestant, being also the first lay, Chancellor of Oxford;) this will lead us to perceive the reason why the study of the Roman laws was in those days of bigotry (m) pursued with such alacrity in these seats of learning; and why the common law was entirely despised, and esteemed little better than heretical.

And, since the reformation, many causes have conspired to prevent its becoming a part of academical education. As, first, long usage and established custom; which, as in everything else, so especially in the forms of scholastic exercise, have justly great weight and authority. Secondly, the real intrinsic merit of the civil law, considered upon the footing of reason and not of obligation, which was well known to the instructors of our youth; and their total ignorance of the merit of the common law, though its equal, at least, and perhaps an improvement on the other. But the principal reason of all, that has hindered the introduction of this branch of learning, is, that the study of the common law, being banished from hence in the times of popery, has fallen into a quite different channel, and has hitherto been wholly cultivated in another place. But, as the long usage and established custom of ignorance of the laws of the land begin now to be thought unreasonable, and as by these means [*22] the merit of those *laws will probably be more generally known, we may hope that the method of studying them will soon revert to its ancient course, and the foundations at least of that science will be laid in the two universities, without being exclusively confined to the channel which it fell into at the times I have just been describing.

For, being then entirely abandoned by the clergy, a few stragglers excepted, the study and practice of it devolved of course into the hands of laymen: who

(i) Spelman, *Concll. A. D.* 1217. Wilkins, vol. 1 p. 574. 599.

(k) Selden, in *Fletam*. 9. 3.

(l) M. Paris, *A. D.* 1254.

(m) There cannot be a stronger instance of the absurd and superstitious veneration that was paid to these laws, than that the most learned writers of the times thought they could not form a perfect character, even of the Blessed Virgin, without making her a civilian and a canonist; which Albertus Magnus, the renowned Dominican Doctor of the thirteenth century, thus proves in his *Summa de laudibus christifera virginis* (*divinum magis quam humanum opus*) qu. 23. § 5. "Item quod jura civilia. et legis. et decreta, scribit in summo probatur hoc modo: sapientia advocati manifestatur in tribus: unum, quod obtineat omnia contra judicem justum et sapientem; secundo quod contra adversarium astutum et sagacem; tertio, quod in causa desperata; sed beatissima virgo, contra judicem sapientissimum. Dominum; contra adversarium callidissimum dyabolum; in causa nostra desperata; sententiam optatam obtinuit." To which an eminent Franciscan, two centuries afterwards, Bernardinus de Busti (*Mariale*, part. 4, serm. 9.) very gravely subjoins this note: "Nec videtur incongruum mulieres habere peritiam juris. Legitur enim de uxore Joannis Andreæ glossatoris, quod tantam peritiam in utroque jure habuit, ut publice in scholis legere ausa sit."

entertained upon their parts a most hearty aversion to the civil law, (*n*) and made no scruple to profess their contempt, nay even their ignorance (*o*) of it, in the most public manner. But still as the balance of learning was greatly on the side of the clergy, and as the common law was no longer *taught*, as formerly, in any part of the kingdom, it must have been subjected to many inconveniences, and perhaps would have been gradually lost and overrun by the civil, (a suspicion well justified from the frequent transcripts of Justinian to be met with in Bracton and Fleta,) had it not been for a peculiar incident, which happened at a very critical time, and contributed greatly to its support.

The incident which I mean was the fixing the court of common pleas, the grand tribunal for disputes of property, to be held in one certain spot; that the seat of ordinary justice might be permanent and notorious to all the nation. Formerly that, in conjunction with all the other superior* courts, was held before the king's capital justiciary of England, in the *aula regis*, [*23] or such of his palaces wherein his royal person resided; and removed, with his household, from one end of the kingdom to the other. This was found to occasion great inconvenience to the suitors; to remedy which it was made an article of the great charter of liberties, both that of King John and King Henry the Third, (*p*) that "common pleas should no longer follow the king's court, but be held in some certain place:" in consequence of which they have ever since been held (a few necessary removals in times of the plague excepted) in the palace of Westminster only. This brought together the professors of the municipal law, who before were dispersed about the kingdom, and formed them into an aggregate body; whereby a society was established of persons, who, (as Spelman (*q*) observes,) addicting themselves wholly to the study of the laws of the land, and no longer considering it as a mere subordinate science for the amusement of leisure hours, soon raised those laws to that pitch of perfection, which they suddenly attained under the auspices of our English Justinian, King Edward the first.

In consequence of this lucky assemblage, they naturally fell into a kind of collegiate order, and, being excluded from Oxford and Cambridge, found it necessary to establish a new university of their own. This they did by purchasing at various times certain houses (now called the inns of court (6) and of

(*n*) Fortesc. *de Laud.* LL. c. 25.

(*o*) This remarkably appeared in the case of the Abbot of Torun, *M* 22, *Edw.* III. 24. who had caused a certain prior to be summoned to answer at Avignon for erecting an oratory *contra inhibitionem novi operis*; by which words Mr. Selden, (*in Flet.* 3. 5.) very justly understands to be meant the title *de novi operis nuntiatione* both in the civil and canon laws, (*Ff.* 39. l. 1. C. 8. 11. and *Decretal* not *Extrac.* 5. 32.) whereby the erection of any new buildings in prejudice of more ancient ones was prohibited. But Skipwith, the king's serjeant, and afterwards chief baron of the Exchequer, declares them to be flat nonsense; "*in ceux parolz, contra inhibitionem novi operis. ny ad pas entendment*"; and Justice Scardelow mends the matter but little by informing him, that they signify a restitution in their law: for which reason he very sagely resolves to pay no sort of regard to them. "*Ceo n'est que un restitution en leur ley, per que a ceo n'avomus regard, &c.*"

(*p*) C. 11.

(*q*) *Glossar.* 334.

(6) The inns of court are four in number, and are called Lincoln's Inn, Middle Temple, Inner Temple and Gray's Inn. The first and last were named from noble families, and the others were so called from the Knights Templar, who established themselves here in the twelfth century, and called their house the New Temple. After the dissolution of that order, the Temple was granted by King Edward the Third to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, by whom it was soon after leased to professors of the common law, and continued to be so leased until the appropriation of the property of religious houses by the crown in the reign of Henry the Eighth. The inns of court are not corporations, but voluntary societies; and mandamus will not lie to compel them to admit a member to the degree of barrister. *Rex v. Gray's Inn*, Doug. 353; *Rex v. Lincoln's Inn*, 4 B. and C. 855; *Rex v. Barnard's Inn*, 5 A. and E. 17. There are attached to them seven inns of chancery; Clifford's, Clement's and Lyon's belonging to the Inner Temple, New Inn to the Middle Temple, Thavies' to Lincoln's Inn, and Barnard's and Stable's to Gray's Inn. Formerly there were also Furnival's and the Strand inns, which have ceased to exist.

Each of the inns of court is governed by its own benchers, who fill all vacancies in their order, usually from the Queen's Counsel, though any barrister is eligible. The benchers of each inn exercise the power of calling to the bar the members of their own inn, and also of disbarring any they have called, whenever they see sufficient reason. All advocates reach the bar through one of these inns. To "keep a term" in any of them, one must dine in the common hall at least three times. Some of these dinners are grand occasions, in which the

chancery) between the city of Westminster, the place of holding the king's courts, and the city of London; for advantage of ready access to the one, and plenty of provisions in the other. (*r*) Here exercises were performed, lectures read, and degrees were at length conferred in the common law, as at other universities in the canon and civil. The degrees were those of barristers (first styled [*24] apprentices, (*s*) from *apprendre*, to *learn) who answered to our bachelors; as the state and degree of a serjeant, (*t*) *servientis ad legem*, did to that of doctor.

(*r*) Fortesc. c. 48.

(*s*) Apprentices or barristers seem to have been first appointed by an ordinance of King Edward the first in parliament, in the 20th year of his reign. (Spelm. *Gloss.* 37. Dugdale, *Orig. Jurid.* 65.)

(*t*) The first mention which I have met with in our law books of serjeants or counsellors, is in the statute of Westm. 1. 3 Edw. I. c. 29, and in Horn's Mirror. c. 1. § 10. c. 2. § 5. c. 3. § 1. in the same reign. But M. Paris, in his life of John II. Abbot of St. Alban's, which he wrote in 1255, 39 Henry III. speaks of advocates at the common law, or counsellors. (*quos banci narratores vulgariter appellamus.*)—as of an order of men well known. And we have an example of the antiquity of the coil in the same author's History of England, A. D. 1259, in the case of one William de Bussy; who, being called to account for his great knavery and mal-practices, claimed the benefit of his orders or clergy, which till then remained an entire secret; and to that end *voluit ligamenta coiffe sue solvere, ut palam monstraret se tonsuram habere clericalem; sed non est permixtus.*—*Satis tales vero eum arripientes, non per coiffe ligamina sed per guttur eum apprehendens, traxit ad carcerem.* Hence Sir H. Spelman conjectures (*Glossar.* 335,) that coils were introduced to hide the tonsure of such renegade clerks as were still tempted to remain in the secular courts in the quality of advocates or judges, notwithstanding their prohibition by canon.

judges and leading lawyers participate. The inns of chancery are only used as chambers. The following authorities are referred to for further information: Dugdale's *Origines Juridicales*; Herbert's *Antiquities of the Inns of Court and of Chancery*; Pearce's *History of the Inns of Court*, and Ireland's *Inns of Court*, illustrated. Mr. Jefferson in his "Book of Lawyers," has some pleasant information on the same subject.

Doctors' Commons is the college of the civilians in London, and takes its name from the fact that the doctors of the civil law practicing in London diet and lodge there in a collegiate manner, and common together.

For a long time until recently, systematic instruction in the law was discontinued in the inns of court. A curriculum of legal education is however now established by general regulations, and we present here a synopsis of it as given by Messrs. Broom and Hadley.

I. *As to the admission of students.*—Every person, not otherwise disqualified, who has passed a public examination at any of the universities within the British dominions, may be admitted as a student at any inn of court, for the purpose of being called to the bar, or of practicing under the bar, without passing any preliminary examination. But every other person so applying to be admitted is required before admission to pass an examination in the following subjects, viz; The English language; the Latin language, and English history. The benchers of any inn have power however to relax or dispense with this regulation, in whole or in part, in any case in which they may think that special circumstances justify a departure from it.

II. *As to keeping terms.*—Students of the inns of court, being at the same time members of any of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, London, Durham, the Queen's University in Ireland, St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, Glasgow, or Edinburgh, can keep terms by dining in the halls of their respective societies any three days in each term; and students, who are not at the same time members of any of the said universities, may do so by dining in the halls of their respective societies any six days in each term.

III. *As to calling to the bar.*—Every student must have attained the age of twenty-one years before being called to the bar, and must have kept twelve terms before being so called, unless any term or terms shall have been dispensed with as hereinafter mentioned. Further, no student is eligible to be called to the bar who has not attended during one whole year the lectures and private classes of two of the readers, unless he has been a pupil during one whole year, or periods equal to one whole year, in the chambers of some barrister, certified special pleader, conveyancer or draftsman in equity, or two or more of such persons, or has satisfactorily passed a general examination.

Calls to the bar take place during term and on the same day by the several societies, namely, on the sixteenth day of each term, unless such day happen to be Sunday, and in such case on the Monday after.

IV. *As to certificates to practice under the bar.*—No student of any inn of court is allowed to apply for or take out any certificate to practice, either directly or indirectly, as a special pleader, or conveyancer, or draftsman in equity, without the special permission of the benchers of the society of which he is a student, and no such permission will be granted until the student applying has kept twelve terms. Such permission is granted for one year only from the date thereof, but may be renewed annually.

No student can obtain any such certificate unless he shall have attended such lectures and classes, or passed such an examination, or been such pupil, as would be necessary to entitle him to be called to the bar.

The crown seems to have soon taken under its protection this infant seminary of common law; and, the more effectually to foster and cherish it, King Henry the Third, in the nineteenth year of his reign, issued out an order directed to the mayor and sheriffs of London, commanding that no regent of

V. *As to the lectures and examinations.*—These are under the special superintendence of “The Council of Legal Education,” consisting of eight benchers, of whom two are nominated by each of the inns of court, and of whom four are a quorum.

The council has power to grant dispensations to students, who may have been prevented by any reasonable cause from complying with the regulations as to attendance at lectures and classes; and all arrangements touching the number of public lectures to be delivered by the readers, and the hours and extent of private classes, are with the council.

For the purpose of education the legal year is considered as divided into three terms, one commencing on the 1st of November and ending on the 22d of December; the second commencing on the 11th of January and ending on the 30th of March, and the third commencing on the 15th of April and ending on the 31st of July, subject to a deduction of the days intervening between the end of Easter and the beginning of Trinity Term.

For the purpose of affording to the students the means of obtaining instruction and guidance in their legal studies, six readers are appointed, viz.: 1. A reader on jurisprudence and civil and international law; 2. A reader on the law of real property; 3. A reader on the common law; 4. A reader on equity; 5. A reader on constitutional law and legal history, and 6. A reader on Hindu and Mahomedan law, and on the laws in force in British India.

The duties of these readers principally consists in the delivery of lectures in each educational term; of the formation of classes of students, for the purpose of giving instruction in a more detailed and personal form than can be supplied by general lectures; and of affording to students, generally, advice and directions for the conduct of their professional studies.

The readers also assist in conducting the general examinations held twice a year, for the examination of all such students as may be desirous of being examined previously to being called to the bar.

As an inducement to students to propose themselves for such an examination, studentships and exhibitions have been founded of fifty guineas per annum each, and twenty-five guineas per annum each, respectively, to continue for a period of three years. One such studentship is conferred on the most distinguished student at each general examination, and one such exhibition is conferred on the student who obtains the second position; and, further, the examiners select and certify the names of three other students who have passed the next best examinations, and the inns of court to which such students as aforesaid belong may, if desired, dispense with any terms, not exceeding two, that may remain to be kept by such students previously to their being called to the bar. Pass certificates for a call to the bar are also awarded at these examinations; the examiners, however, are not obliged to confer or grant any studentship, exhibition, or certificate, unless they are of opinion that the examination of the students has been such as entitles them thereto.

At every call to the bar those students who have passed a general examination, and either obtained at such examination a studentship, an exhibition, or a certificate of honor, take rank in seniority over all other students who may be called on the same day.

The examination is by printed and oral questions on books and subjects specified in a programme previously issued. Besides the above general examinations, there are, in the month of July, in each year, voluntary examinations of the students upon the subjects of the several courses of lectures, but no student is entitled to go in for examination on any of such subjects, unless he has obtained a certificate from the reader that he has duly attended his lectures and classes upon the subject on which he offers himself for examination. These voluntary examinations are conducted by barristers (not being readers) nominated for that purpose by the Council of Legal Education.

No attorney at law, solicitor, writer to the signet, or writer of the Scotch courts, proctor, notary public, clerk in chancery, parliamentary agent, or agent in court, clerk to any justice of the peace, clerk to any barrister, conveyancer, special pleader, equity draftsman, clerk of the peace, or clerk of or to any officer in any court, is admissible as a student at any inn of court for the purpose of being called to the bar, or of practicing under the bar, until such person shall have ceased to act or practice in any of the said capacities.

Until recently instruction in the law in the United States has been given for the most part in the offices of practicing lawyers. The Litchfield Law School was established in 1784, and was continued about fifty years, attaining much celebrity. Mr. (afterwards Judge) Reeve, of Connecticut, was at first the sole instructor, but Judge Gould was afterwards associated with him, and under them many leading lawyers and statesmen of the country received their legal training. The Harvard Law School was next in point of time, being established in 1817. Law schools are now numerous, and the proportion of students in the law who receive instruction in them increases every year. Most of them confer the degree of Bachelor of Laws, which, however, is not an admission to the bar. The rules of admission are different in the different States, and are established either by statute or by rule of court. In some of the States a diploma from the law school entitles the student to admission on motion, without

any law schools *within* that city should, for the future, teach law therein. (*u*) The word law, or *leges*, being a general term, may create some doubt at this distance of time, whether the teaching of the civil law, or the common or both, is hereby restrained. But in either case it tends to the same end. If the civil law only is prohibited, (which is Mr. Selden's (*w*) opinion,) it is then a retaliation upon the clergy, who had excluded the common law from *their* seats of learning. If the municipal law be also included in the restriction, (as Sir Edward Coke (*x*) understands it, and which the words seem to import, (then the intention is evidently this: by preventing private teachers within the walls of the city, to collect all the common lawyers into the one public university, which was newly instituted in the suburbs.

*In this juridical university (for such it is insisted to have been by Fortescue(*y*) and Sir Edward Coke) (*z*) there are two sorts of collegiate houses; one called inns of chancery, in which the younger students of the law were usually placed, "learning and studying (says Fortescue,) (*a*) the originals, and, as it were, the elements of the law; who profiting therein, as they grew to ripeness, so were they admitted into the greater inns of the same study, called the inns of court." And in these inns of both kinds, he goes on to tell us, the knights and barons, with other grandees and noblemen of the realm, did use to place their children, though they did not desire to have them thoroughly learned in the law, or to get their living by its practice: and that in his time there were about two thousand students at these several inns, all of whom he informs us were *fili nobilium*, or gentlemen born.

Hence it is evident, that (though under the influence of the monks our universities neglected this study, yet) in the time of Henry the Sixth it was thought highly necessary, and was the universal practice, for the young nobility and gentry to be instructed in the originals and elements of the laws. But by degrees this custom has fallen into disuse; so that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Edward Coke (*b*) does not reckon above a thousand students, and the number at present is very considerably less. Which seems principally owing to these reasons: first, because the inns of chancery being now almost totally filled by the inferior branch of the profession, are neither commodious nor proper for the resort of gentlemen of any rank or figure; so that there are very rarely any young students entered at the inns of chancery: secondly, because in the inns of court all sorts of regimen and academical superintendence, either with regard to morals or studies, are found impracticable, and therefore entirely neglected: lastly, because persons of birth and fortune, after having finished their usual

[*26] courses at the universities, have *seldom leisure or resolution sufficient to enter upon a new scheme of study at a new place of instruction. Wherefore few gentlemen now resort to the inns of court, but such for whom the knowledge of practice is absolutely necessary; such, I mean as are intended for the profession: the rest of our gentry (not to say our nobility also) having usually retired to their estates, or visited foreign kingdoms, or entered upon

(*u*) *Ne aliquis scholas regens de legibus in eadem civitate de cetero ibidem leges doceat.*

(*w*) *In Flel.* 3. 2.

(*x*) 2 *Iust. proem.*

(*y*) C. 49.

(*z*) 3 *Rep. pref.*

(*a*) C. 49.

(*b*) 3 *Rep. pref.*

examination. The general rule is that applicants must pass a satisfactory examination; either in open court or before a committee of practitioners appointed by the court. To the federal courts, attorneys and counsellors of the highest courts of the several states are admitted on motion, without further evidence of fitness.

As to the comparative advantages of pursuing the study of the law in the law school and in the office of the practicing lawyer, Mr. Bishop expresses his views in his *First Book of the Law*, chap. 17.

Not the least among the valuable results of the law schools has been the publication, by some of the eminent jurists who have been professors therein, of the lectures delivered by them upon leading subjects. The commentaries of Blackstone and Kent and Story, the lectures of Austin on the Province of Jurisprudence, and the treatises on the Conflict of Laws, by Justice Story, on Domestic Relations, by Judge Reeve, on Pleading, by Judge Gould, on Evidence, by Mr. Greenleaf, on Contracts, by Mr. Parsons, and on Real Property, by Mr. Washburn, will at once occur to the reader.

public life, without any instruction in the laws of the land, and indeed with hardly any opportunity of gaining instruction, unless it can be afforded them in these seats of learning.

And that these are the proper places, for affording assistances of this kind to gentlemen of all stations and degrees, cannot (I think) with any colour of reason be denied. For not one of the objections, which are made to the inns of court and chancery, and which I have just now enumerated, will hold with regard to the universities. Gentlemen may here associate with gentlemen of their own rank and degree. Nor are their conduct and studies left entirely to their own discretion; but regulated by a discipline so wise and exact, yet so liberal, so sensible, and manly, that their conformity to its rules (which does at present so much honour to our youth) is not more the effect of constraint than of their own inclinations and choice. Neither need they apprehend too long an avocation hereby from their private concerns and amusements, or (what is a more noble object) the service of their friends and their country. This study will go hand in hand with their other pursuits: it will obstruct none of them; it will ornament and assist them all.

But if, upon the whole, there are any still wedded to monastic prejudice, that can entertain a doubt how far this study is properly and regularly *academical*, such persons I am afraid either have not considered the constitution and design of an university, or else think very meanly of it. It must be a deplorable narrowness of mind, that would confine these seats of instruction to the limited views of one or two learned professions. To the praise of this age be it spoken a more open *and generous way of thinking begins now universally to [*27] prevail. The attainment of liberal and genteel accomplishments, though not of the intellectual sort, has been thought by our wisest and most affectionate patrons, (c) and very lately by the whole university, (d) no small improvement of our ancient plan of education: and therefore I may safely affirm that nothing (how *unusual* soever) is, under due regulations, improper to be *taught* in this place, which is proper for a gentleman to *learn*. But that a science, which distinguishes the criterions of right and wrong; which teaches to establish the one, and prevent, punish or redress the other; which employs in its theory the noblest faculties of the soul, and exerts in its practice the cardinal virtues of the heart; a science, which is universal in its use and extent, accommodated to each individual, yet comprehending the whole community; that a science, like this should ever have been deemed unnecessary to be studied in a university, is matter of astonishment and concern. Surely, if it were not before an object of academical knowledge, it was high time to make it one: and to those who can doubt the propriety of its reception among us, (if any such there be,) we may return an answer in their own way, that ethics are confessedly a branch of academical learning; and Aristotle *himself has said*, speaking of the laws of his own country, that jurisprudence or the knowledge of those laws, is the principal and most perfect branch of ethics. (e)

From a thorough conviction of this truth, our munificent benefactor, Mr. Viner, having employed above half a century in amassing materials for new-modelling and rendering more commodious the rude study of the laws of the land, consigned *both the plan and execution of these his public-spirited designs [*28] to the wisdom of his parent university. Resolving to dedicate his learned labours "to the benefit of posterity and the perpetual service of his country," (f) he was sensible he could not perform his resolution in a better and more effectual manner, than by extending to the youth of this place, those assistances of which he so well remembered and so heartily regretted the want. And the sense which the university has entertained of this ample and most useful bene-

(c) Lord Chancellor Clarendon, in his dialogue of education, among his tracts, p. 325, appears to have been very solicitous, that it might be made "a part of the ornament of our learned academies, to teach the qualities of riding, dancing and fencing, at those hours when more serious exercises should be intermitted."

(d) By accepting in full convocation the remainder of Lord Clarendon's history from his noble descendants on condition to apply the profits arising from its publication to the establishment of a *manage* in the university. (e) Τελευτα μαλιστα ἀρετην, ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ ἀρετῆς χομασὶς ἐστὶ. *Ethic. ad Nicomach. l. 5. c. 3.*

(f) See the Preface to the 18th volume of his abridgment.

faction must appear beyond a doubt from their gratitude, in receiving it with all possible marks of esteem; (*g*) from their alacrity and unexampled dispatch in carrying it into execution; (*h*) and above all, from the laws and constitutions by which they have effectually guarded it from the neglect and abuse to which such institutions are liable. (*i*) We have seen an universal emulation who best should understand, or most faithfully pursue, the designs of our generous patron: [*30] and with pleasure we recollect, that those who are most distinguished *by their quality, their fortune, their station, their learning, or their experience, have appeared the most zealous to promote the success of Mr. Viner's establishment.

(*g*) Mr. Viner is enrolled among the public benefactors of the university by decree of convocation.

(*A*) Mr. Viner died June 5, 1756. His effects were collected and settled, near a volume of his work printed, almost the whole disposed of, and the accounts made up, in a year and a half from his decease, by the very diligent and worthy administrators, with the will annexed, (Dr. West and Dr. Good, of Magdalene; Dr. Whaley, of Oriel; Mr. Buckler, of All Souls; and Mr. Betts, of University College;) to whom that care was consigned by the University. Another half year was employed in considering and settling a plan of the proposed institution, and in framing the statutes thereupon, which were finally confirmed by convocation, on the 3d of July, 1751. The professor was elected on the 20th October following, and two scholars on the succeeding day. And lastly, it was agreed at the annual audit in 1761 to establish a fellowship; and a fellow was accordingly elected in January following. The residue of this fund, arising from the sale of Mr. Viner's abridgement, will probably be sufficient hereafter to found another fellowship and scholarship, or three more scholarships, as shall be thought most expedient.

(*i*) The statutes are in substance as follows:

1. That the accounts of this benefaction be separately kept, and annually audited by the delegates of accounts and professor, and afterwards reported to convocation.

2. That a professorship of the laws of England be established, with a salary of two hundred pounds per annum; the professor to be elected by convocation, and to be at the time of his election at least a master of arts or bachelor of civil law in the University of Oxford, of ten years standing from his matriculation; and also a barrister at law of four years standing at the bar.

3. That such professor (by himself, or by deputy to be previously approved by convocation) do read one solemn public lecture on the laws of England, and in the English language in every academical term, at certain stated times previous to the commencement of the common law term; or forfeit twenty pounds for every omission to Mr. Viner's general fund; and also (by himself, or by deputy to be approved, if occasional, by the vice-chancellor and proctors; or, if permanent, both the cause and the deputy to be annually approved by convocation,) do yearly read one complete course of lectures on the laws of England, and in the English language, consisting of sixty lectures at the least, to be read during the university term time, with such proper intervals that not more than four lectures may fall within any single week; that the professor do give a month's notice of the time when the course is to begin, and do read *gratis* to the scholars of Mr. Viner's foundation; but may demand of other auditors such gratuity as shall be settled from time to time by decree of convocation, and that for every of the said sixty lectures omitted, the professor on complaint made to the vice-chancellor within the year, do forfeit forty shillings to Mr. Viner's general fund, the proof of having performed his duty to lie upon the said professor.

4. That every professor do continue in his office during life, unless in case of such misbehavior as shall amount to banishment by the university statutes, or unless he deserts the profession of the law by betaking himself to another profession; or unless, after one admonition by the vice-chancellor and proctors for notorious neglect, he is guilty of another flagrant omission; in any of which cases he be deprived by the vice-chancellor, with consent of the house of convocation.

5. That such a number of fellowships, with a stipend of fifty pounds per annum, and scholarships with a stipend of thirty pounds, be established, as the convocation shall from time to time ordain, according to the state of Mr. Viner's revenues.

6. That every fellow be elected by convocation, and at the time of election be unmarried, and at least a master of arts or a bachelor of civil law, and a member of some college or hall in the university of Oxford; the scholars of this foundation, or such as have been scholars (if qualified and approved of by convocation) to have the preference; that if not a barrister when chosen, he be called to the bar within one year after his election; but do reside in the university two months in every year, or, in case of non-residence, do forfeit the stipend of that year to Mr. Viner's general fund.

7. That every scholar be elected by convocation, and, at the time of election be unmarried, and a member of some college or hall in the university of Oxford, who shall have been matriculated twenty-four calendar months at the least; that he do take the degree of bachelor of civil law with all convenient speed (either proceeding in arts or otherwise); and previous to his taking the same, between the second and eighth year from his matriculation, be bound to attend two courses of the professor's lectures, to be certified under the professor's hand; and within one year after taking the same to be called to the bar; that he do annually reside six months, till he is of four years' standing, and four months from that time till he is master of arts or bachelor of civil law; after which he be bound to reside two months in every year; or, in case of non-residence, do forfeit the stipend of that year to Mr. Viner's general fund.

8. That the scholarships do become void in case of non-attendance on the professor, or not taking the degree of bachelor of civil law, being duly admonished so to do by the vice-chancellor and proctors; and that both fellowships and scholarships do expire at the end of ten years after each respective election; and become void in case of gross misbehavior, non-residence for two years together, marriage, not being called to the bar within the time before limited (being duly admonished so to be by the vice-chancellor and proctors,) or deserting the profession of the law by following any other profession; and that in any of these cases the vice-chancellor, with consent of convocation do declare the place actually void.

9. That in case of any vacancy of the professorship, fellowships or scholarships, the profits of the current year be ratably divided between the predecessor, or his representatives, and the successor; and that a new election be had within one month afterwards, unless by that means the time of election shall fall within any vacation in which case it be deferred to the first week in the next full term. And that before any convocation shall be held for such election, or for any other matter relating to Mr. Viner's benefaction, ten days public notice be given to each college and hall of the convocation, and the cause of convoking it. (1)

(1). It must not be supposed that instruction in the law is entirely wanting in the other great English university. There are two professors of law at Cambridge, one of whom lectures upon Roman law, and its influence upon modern systems, and especially upon international law, and the other upon English law and English constitutional history. Three law degrees are conferred; those of B. L., M. L., and LL. D. For the first and last there are examinations; the second is conferred without examination, three years after the first.

The advantages that might result to the science of the law itself, when a little more attended to in these seats of knowledge, perhaps, would be very considerable. The leisure and abilities of the learned in these retirements might either suggest expedients, or execute those dictated by wiser heads, (*k*) for improving its method, retrenching its superfluities, and reconciling the little contrarieties, which the practice of many centuries will necessarily create in any human system; a task which those who are deeply employed in business, and the more active scenes of the profession, can hardly condescend to engage in. And as to the interest, or (which is the same) the reputation of the universities themselves, I may venture to pronounce, that if ever this study should arrive to any tolerable perfection, either here or at Cambridge, the nobility and gentry of this kingdom would not shorten their residence upon this account, nor perhaps entertain a worse opinion of the benefits of academical education. Neither should it be considered as a matter of light importance, that while we thus extend the *pomæria* of university learning, and adopt a new tribe of citizens within these philosophical walls, we interest a very *numerous and very powerful profession in the preservation of our rights and revenues. [*31]

For I think it past dispute that those gentlemen, who resort to the inns of court with a view to pursue the profession, will find it expedient, whenever it is practicable, to lay the previous foundations of this, as well as every other science, in one of our learned universities. We may appeal to the experience of every sensible lawyer, whether any thing can be more hazardous or discouraging, than the usual entrance on the study of the law. A raw and unexperienced youth, in the most dangerous season of life, is transplanted on a sudden into the midst of allurements to pleasure, without any restraint or check but what his own prudence can suggest; with no public direction in what course to pursue his inquiries; no private assistance to remove the distresses and difficulties which will always embarrass a beginner. In this situation he is expected to sequester himself from the world, and, by a tedious lonely process, to extract the theory of law from a mass of undigested learning; or else, by an assiduous attendance on the courts, to pick up theory and practice together, sufficient to qualify him for the ordinary run of business. How little, therefore, is it to be wondered at, that we hear of so frequent miscarriages; that so many gentlemen of bright imaginations grow weary of so unpromising a search, (*l*) and addict themselves wholly to amusements, or other less innocent pursuits; and that so many persons of moderate capacity confuse themselves at first setting out, and continue ever dark and puzzled during the remainder of their lives.

The evident want of some assistance in the rudiments of legal knowledge has given birth to a practice, which, if ever it had grown to be general, must have proved of extremely *pernicious consequence. I mean the custom, by [*32] some so very warmly recommended, of dropping all liberal education, as of no use to students in the law, and placing them, in its stead, at the desk of some skilful attorney, in order to initiate them early in all the depths of practice, and render them more dextrous in the mechanical part of business. A few instances of particular persons, (men of excellent learning and unblemished integrity,) who, in spite of this method of education, have shone in the foremost ranks of the bar, have afforded some kind of sanction to this illiberal path to the profession, and biassed many parents, of shortsighted judgment, in its favour; not considering that there are some geniuses formed to overcome all disadvantages, and that, from such particular instances, no general rules can be formed; nor observing that those very persons have frequently recommended, by the most forcible of all examples, the disposal of their own offspring, a very different foundation of legal studies, a regular academical education. Perhaps too, in return, I could now direct their eyes to our principal seats of justice, and suggest a few hints in

(k) See Lord Bacon's proposals and offer of a digest.

(l) Sir Henry Spelman, in the preface to his glossary, has given us a very lively picture of his own distress upon this occasion: "*Emisit me mater Londinum, juris nostri capessendi gratia: cujus cum vestibulum salutarem, reperissemque linguam peregrinam, dialectum barbarum, methodum inconcinnam molem non ingentem solum sed perpetuis humeris sustinendam, excidit mihi (fateor) animus, &c.*"

favour of university learning: (m) but in these, all who hear me, I know, have already prevented me.

Making, therefore, due allowance for one or two shining exceptions, experience may teach us to foretell that a lawyer, thus educated to the bar, in subservience to attorneys and solicitors. (n) will find that he has begun at the wrong end. If practice be the whole he is taught, practice must also be the whole he will ever know: if he be uninstructed in the elements and first principles upon which the rule of practice is founded, the least variation from established precedents will totally distract and bewilder him: *ita lex scripta est* (o) is the utmost his knowledge will arrive at; he must never aspire to form, and seldom expect to comprehend, any arguments drawn, *a priori*, from the spirit of the laws and the natural foundations of justice.

[*33] *Nor is this all; for, (as few persons of birth or fortune, or even of scholastic education, will submit to the drudgery of servitude and the manual labour of copying the trash of an office,) should this infatuation prevail to any considerable degree, we must rarely expect to see a gentleman of distinction or learning at the bar. And what the consequence may be, to have the interpretation and enforcement of the laws (which include the entire disposal of our properties, liberties, and lives,) fall wholly into the hands of obscure or illiterate men, is matter of very public concern.

The inconveniences here pointed out can never be effectually prevented, but by making academical education a previous step to the profession of the common law, and at the same time making the rudiments of the law a part of academical education. For sciences are of a sociable disposition, and flourish best in the neighbourhood of each other; nor is there any branch of learning but may be helped and improved by assistances drawn from other arts. If, therefore, the student in our laws hath formed both his sentiments and style by perusal and imitation of the purest classical writers, among whom the historians and orators will best deserve his regard; if he can reason with precision, and separate argument from fallacy, by the clear, simple rules of pure, unsophisticated logic; if he can fix his attention, and steadily pursue truth thorough any, the most intricate deduction, by the use of mathematical demonstrations; if he has enlarged his conceptions of nature and art, by a view of the several branches of genuine experimental philosophy; if he has impressed on his mind the sound maxims of the law of nature, the best and most authentic foundation of human laws; if, lastly, he has contemplated those maxims reduced to a practical system in the laws of imperial Rome; if he has done this, or any part of it, (though all may be easily done under as able instructors as ever graced any seats of learning,) a student thus qualified may enter upon the study of the law with incredible [*34] advantage and reputation. And if, at the conclusion, or during *the acquisition of these accomplishments, he will afford himself here a year or two's further leisure, to lay the foundation of his future labours in a solid scientific method, without thirsting too early to attend that practice which it is impossible he should rightly comprehend, he will afterwards proceed with the greatest ease, and will unfold the most intricate points with an intuitive rapidity and clearness.

I shall not insist upon such motives as might be drawn from principles of economy, and are applicable to particulars only: I reason upon more general topics. And therefore to the qualities of the head, which I have just enumerated, I cannot but add those of the heart; affectionate loyalty to the king, a zeal for liberty and the constitution, a sense of real honour, and well grounded principles of religion, as necessary to form a truly valuable English lawyer, a Hyde,

(m) The four highest judicial offices were at that time filled by gentlemen, two of whom had been fellows of All Souls College; another, student of Christ Church; and the fourth, a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (7)

(n) See Kennet's Life of Somner, p. 67.

(o) *Ff.* 40. 9. 12.

(7) [The two first were, Lord Northington and Lord Chief Justice Willes; the third, Lord Mansfield; and the fourth, Sir Thomas Sewell, Master of the Rolls.]

a Hale, or a Talbot. And, whatever the ignorance of some, or unkindness of others, may have heretofore untruly suggested, experience will warrant us to affirm, that these endowments of loyalty and public spirit, of honour and religion, are no where to be found in more high perfection than in the two universities of this kingdom.

Before I conclude, it may perhaps be expected that I lay before you a short and general account of the method I propose to follow, in endeavouring to execute the trust you have been pleased to repose in my hands. And in these solemn lectures, which are ordained to be read at the entrance of every term, (more perhaps to do public honour to this laudable institution, than for the private instruction of individuals,) (*p*) I presume it will best answer the intent of our benefactor, and the expectation of this learned body, if I attempt to illustrate at times such detached titles of the law as are the most easy to be understood, and most capable of historical or oritcal ornament. But in reading the complete course, which is annually consigned to my care, a more regular method will be necessary; and, till a better is proposed, I *shall take the liberty to follow [*35] the same that I have already submitted to the public. (*q*) To fill up and finish that outline with propriety and correctness, and to render the whole intelligible to the uninformed minds of beginners, (whom we are too apt to suppose acquainted with terms and ideas, which they never had opportunity to learn,) this must be my ardent endeavour, though by no means my promise, to accomplish. You will permit me, however, very briefly to describe rather what I conceive an academical expounder of the laws should do, than what I have ever known to be done.

He should consider his course as a general map of the law, marking out the shape of the country, its connexions and boundaries, its greater divisions and principal cities; it is not his business to describe minutely the subordinate limits, or to fix the longitude and latitude of every inconsiderable hamlet. His attention should be engaged, like that of the readers in Fortescue's inns of chancery, "in tracing out the originals and as it were the elements of the law." For if, as Justinian (*r*) has observed, the tender understanding of the student be loaded at the first with a multitude and variety of matter, it will either occasion him to desert his studies, or will carry him heavily through them, with much labour, delay, and despondence. These originals should be traced to their fountains, as well as our distance will permit; to the customs of the Britons and Germans, as recorded by Cæsar and Tacitus; to the codes of the northern nations on the continent, and more especially to those of our own Saxon princes; to the rules of the Roman law either left here in the days of Papinian, or imported by Vacarius and his *followers; but above all, to that inexhaustible reservoir [*36] of legal antiquities and learning, the feudal law, or, as Spelman (*s*) has entitled it, the law of nations in our western orb. These primary rules and fundamental principles should be weighed and compared with the precepts of the law of nature, and the practice of other countries; should be explained by reasons, illustrated by examples, and confirmed by undoubted authorities; their history should be deduced, their changes and revolutions observed, and it should be shewn how far they are connected with, or have at any time been affected by, the civil transactions of the kingdom.

A plan of this nature, if executed with care and ability, cannot fail of administering a most useful and rational entertainment to students of all ranks and professions; and yet it must be confessed that the study of the laws is not merely a matter of amusement; for, as a very judicious writer (*t*) has observed

(*p*) See Lowth's *Oratio Crevlana*. p. 365.

(*q*) The Analysis of the Laws of England, first published A. D. 1756, and exhibiting the order and principal divisions of the ensuing *Commentaries*, which were originally submitted to the university in a private course of lectures, A. D. 1753.

(*r*) *Incipientibus nobis exponere jura populi Romani, ita videntur tradi posse commodissime, ut primo levi ac simplici via singula tradantur; alioqui, si statim ab initio rudem adhuc et infirmum animum studiosi multitudine ac varietate rerum oneramus, duorum alterum, aut desertorem studiorum efficiemus, aut cum magno labore, sæpe etiam cum diffidentia (quæ plerumque juvenes advertit) serius ad id perducemus, ad quod, leviori via ductus, sine magno labore, et sine ulla diffidentia maturius perducti potuisset.* Inst. l. 1. 2.

(*s*) Of parliaments, 57.

(*t*) Dr. Taylor's Pref. to Elem. of Civil Law.

upon a similar occasion, the learner "will be considerably disappointed, if he looks for entertainment without the expense of attention." An attention, however, not greater than is usually bestowed in mastering the rudiments of other sciences, or sometimes in pursuing a favourite recreation or exercise. And this attention is not equally necessary to be exerted by every student upon every occasion. Some branches of the law, as the formal process of civil suits, and the subtle distinctions incident to landed property, which are the most difficult, to be thoroughly understood, are the least worth the pains of understanding except to such gentlemen as intend to pursue the profession. To others I may venture to apply, with a slight alteration, the words of Sir John Fortescue (*u*) when first his royal pupil determines to engage in this study: "It will not be necessary for a gentleman as such, to examine with a close application the critical niceties of the law. It will fully be sufficient, and he may well enough be denominated a lawyer, if under the instruction of a master he traces up the [*37] principles and grounds of the *law, even to their original elements. Therefore, in a very short period, and with very little labour, he may be sufficiently informed in the laws of his country, if he will but apply his mind in good earnest to receive and apprehend them. For, though such knowledge as is necessary for a judge is hardly to be acquired by the lucubrations of twenty years, yet, with a genius of tolerable perspicacity, that knowledge which is fit for a person of birth or condition may be learned in a single year, without neglecting his other improvements."

To the few therefore (the very few I am persuaded,) that entertain such unworthy notions of an university, as to suppose it intended for mere dissipation of thought; to such as mean only to while away the awkward interval from childhood to twenty-one, between the restraints of the school and the licentiousness of politer life, in a calm middle state of mental and of moral inactivity; to these Mr. Viner gives no invitation to an entertainment which they never can relish. But to the long and illustrious train of noble and ingenuous youth, who are not more distinguished among us by their birth and possessions, than by the regularity of their conduct and their thirst after useful knowledge, to these our benefactor has consecrated the fruits of a long and laborious life, worn out in the duties of his calling; and will joyfully reflect (if such reflections can be now the employment of his thoughts,) that he could not more effectually have benefited posterity, or contributed to the service of the public, than by founding an institution which may instruct the rising generation in the wisdom of our civil polity, and inspire them with a desire to be still better acquainted with the laws and constitution of their country. (8)

(*u*) *De Laud. Leg.* c. 8.

(8) [It is remarkable that the celebrated historian, Mr. Gibbon, animadverting freely upon the lectures and institutions of Oxford, speaks only of the Vinerian professorship with respect; for, after noticing the establishment of the riding school, he adds: "The Vinerian professorship is of far more serious importance. The laws of his country are the first science of an Englishman of rank and fortune who is called to be a magistrate, and may hope to be a legislator. This judicious institution was coldly entertained by the graver doctors, who complained (I have heard the complaint) that it would take the young people from their books; but Mr. Viner's benefaction is not unprofitable, since it has at least produced the excellent commentaries of Sir William Blackstone." *Gibbon's Life*, p. 53. And in another part, having stated his inducements for bestowing attention upon new publications of merit, he tells us, "A more respectable motive may be assigned for the third perusal of Blackstone's Commentaries, and a copious and critical abstract of that English work was my first serious production in my native language." *Ib.* p. 141. Such, it may be observed, are even the remote consequences of every liberal and literary institution, that Viner's Abridgment may have contributed in no inconsiderable degree to the elegance and perspicuity of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.]

SECTION II. OF THE NATURE OF LAWS IN GENERAL.

LAW, in its most general and comprehensive sense, signifies a rule of action, and is applied indiscriminately to all kinds of action, whether animate or inanimate, rational or irrational. Thus we say, the laws of motion, of gravitation, of optics, or mechanics, as well as the laws of nature and of nations. And it is that rule of action which is prescribed by some superior, and which the inferior is bound to obey.

Thus, when the Supreme Being formed the universe, and created matter out of nothing, he impressed certain principles upon that matter, from which it can never depart, and without which it would cease to be. When he put that matter into motion, he established certain laws of motion, to which all moveable bodies must conform. And, to descend from the greatest operations to the smallest, when a workman forms a clock, or other piece of mechanism, he establishes, at his own pleasure, certain arbitrary laws for its direction,—as that the hand shall describe a given space in a given time, to which law as long as the work conforms, so long it continues in perfection, and answers the end of its formation.

If we farther advance, from mere inactive matter to vegetable and animal life, we shall find them still governed by laws, more numerous indeed, but equally fixed and invariable. The whole progress of plants, from the seed to the root, and from thence to the seed again; the method of animal *nutrition, [*39] digestion, secretion, and all other branches of vital economy; are not left to chance, or the will of the creature itself, but are performed in a wondrous involuntary manner, and guided by unerring rules laid down by the great Creator.

This, then, is the general signification of law, a rule of action dictated by some superior being; and, in those creatures that have neither the power to think, nor to will, such laws must be invariably obeyed, so long as the creature itself subsists, for its existence depends on that obedience. But laws, in their more confined sense, and in which it is our present business to consider them, denote the rules, not of action in general, but of *human* action or conduct; that is, the precepts by which man, the noblest of all sublunary beings, a creature endowed with both reason and freewill, is commanded to make use of those faculties in the general regulation of his behaviour.

Man, considered as a creature, must necessarily be subject to the laws of his Creator, for he is entirely a dependent being. A being, independent of any other, has no rule to pursue, but such as he prescribes to himself; but a state of dependence will inevitably oblige the inferior to take the will of him on whom he depends as the rule of his conduct; not, indeed, in every particular, but in all those points wherein his dependence consists. This principle, therefore, has more or less extent and effect, in proportion as the superiority of the one and the dependence of the other is greater or less, absolute or limited. And consequently, as man depends absolutely upon his Maker for every thing, it is necessary that he should, in all points, conform to his Maker's will.

This will of his Maker is called the law of nature. (1) For as God, when he created matter, and endued it with a principle of mobility, established certain

(1) [The "Law of Nature" is a supreme, invariable and uncontrollable rule of conduct to all men; and it is so called because its general precepts are essentially adapted to promote the happiness of man, as long as he remains a being of the same nature with which he is, at present endowed, or, in other words, as long as he continues to be man, in all the variety of times, places and circumstances in which he has been known, or can be imagined to exist; because it is discoverable by natural reason, and suitable to our own natural constitutions; because its fitness and wisdom are founded on the general nature of human beings, and not on any of those temporary and accidental situations in which they may be placed; and, lastly, because its violation is avenged by natural punishments which necessarily flow from the constitution of things, and are as fixed and inevitable as the order of nature, as by shame,

rules for the perpetual direction of that motion, so, when he created man, and [40] *endued him with freewill to conduct himself in all parts of *life, he laid down certain immutable laws of human nature, whereby that freewill is in some degree regulated and restrained, and gave him also the faculty of reason to discover the purport of those laws.

Considering the Creator only as a being of infinite *power*, he was able unquestionably to have prescribed whatever laws he pleased to his creature, man, however unjust or severe. But, as he is also a being of infinite *wisdom*, he has laid down only such laws as were founded in those relations of justice that existed in the nature of things antecedent to any positive precept. These are the eternal immutable laws of good and evil, to which the Creator himself, in all his dispensations, conforms; and which he has enabled human reason to discover, so far as they are necessary for the conduct of human actions. Such, among others, are these principles: that we should live honestly, should hurt nobody, and should render to every one his due; to which three general precepts Justinian (a) has reduced the whole doctrine of law.

But if the discovery of these first principles of the law of nature depended only upon the due exertion of right reason, and could not otherwise be obtained than by a chain of metaphysical disquisitions, mankind would have wanted some inducement to have quickened their inquiries, and the greater part of the world would have rested content in mental indolence, and ignorance, its inseparable companion. As, therefore, the Creator is a being not only of infinite *power*, and *wisdom*, but also of infinite *goodness*, he has been pleased so to contrive the constitution and frame of humanity, that we should want no other prompter to inquire after and pursue the rule of right, but only our own self-love, that universal principle of action. For he has so intimately connected, so inseparably interwoven the laws of eternal justice with the happiness of each individual, that the latter cannot be attained but by observing the former; and, if the former be punctually obeyed, it cannot but induce the latter. In consequence [41] of which mutual connexion of justice and human felicity, he *has not perplexed the law of nature with a multitude of abstracted rules and precepts, referring merely to the fitness or unfitness of things, as some have vainly surmised, but has graciously reduced the rule of obedience to this one paternal precept, "that man should pursue his own true and substantial happiness." This is the foundation of what we call ethics, or natural law; for the several articles into which it is branched in our systems, amount to no more than demonstrating that this or that action tends to man's real happiness, and therefore very justly concluding that the performance of it is a part of the law of nature; or, on the other hand, that this or that action is destructive of man's real happiness, and therefore that the law of nature forbids it.

This law of nature, being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times: no human laws are of any validity, if contrary to this; (2) and such of them as are valid derive all their force, and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original. (3)

(a) *Juris præcepta sunt hæc, honeste vivere, alterum non ledere suum cuique tribuere. Inst. I. 1. 2.*

remorse, infamy and misery, and still further enforced by reasonable expectation of still more awful penalties in a future and more permanent state of existence.—MACKINTOSH.]

(2) [Lord Chief Justice Hobart has also advanced, that even an act of parliament made against natural justice, as to make a man a judge in his own cause, is void in itself, for *jura naturæ sunt immutabilia*, and they are *leges legum*. Hob. 87. With deference to these high authorities, I should conceive that in no case whatever can a judge oppose his own opinion and authority to the clear will and declaration of the legislature. His province is to interpret and obey the mandates of the supreme power of the state. And if an act of parliament, if we could suppose such a case, should, like the edict of Herod, command all the children under a certain age to be slain, the judge ought to resign his office rather than be auxiliary to its execution; but it could only be declared void by the high authority by which it was ordained. The learned judge himself is also of this opinion in p. 91.—CHRISTIAN.]

(3) [By this sentence, though somewhat strongly expressed, I understand the author to mean merely, that a human law against the law of nature has no binding force on the con-

But, in order to apply this to the particular exigencies of each individual, it is still necessary to have recourse to reason, whose office it is to discover, as was before observed, what the law of nature directs in every circumstance of life, by considering what method will tend the most effectually to our own substantial happiness. And if our reason were always, as in our first ancestor before his transgression, clear and perfect, unruffled by passions, unclouded by prejudice, unimpaired by disease or intemperance, the task would be pleasant and easy; we should need no other guide but this. But every man now finds the contrary in his own experience; that his reason is corrupt, and his understanding full of ignorance and error.

This has given manifold occasion for the benign interposition of divine Providence, which, in compassion to the frailty, the imperfection, and the blindness of human reason, *hath been pleased, at sundry times and in divers manners, to discover and enforce its laws by an immediate and direct revelation. [*42] The doctrines thus delivered we call the revealed or divine law, and they are to be found only in the holy scriptures. These precepts, when revealed, are found upon comparison to be really a part of the original law of nature, as they tend in all their consequences to man's felicity. But we are not from thence to conclude that the knowledge of these truths was attainable by reason, in its present corrupted state; since we find that, until they were revealed, they were hid from the wisdom of ages. As then the moral precepts of this law are indeed of the same original with those of the law of nature, so their intrinsic obligation is of equal strength and perpetuity. Yet undoubtedly the revealed law is of infinitely more authenticity than that moral system which is framed by ethical writers, and denominated the natural law; because one is the law of nature, expressly declared so to be by God himself; the other is only what, by the assistance of human reason, we imagine to be that law. If we could be as certain of the latter as we are of the former, both would have an equal authority; but, till then, they can never be put in any competition together.

Upon these two foundations, the law of nature and the law of revelation, depend all human laws; that is to say, no human laws should be suffered to contradict these. There are, it is true, a great number of indifferent points in which both the divine law and the natural leave a man at his own liberty, but which are found necessary, for the benefit of society, to be restrained within certain limits. And herein it is that human laws have their greatest force and efficacy; for, with regard to such points as are not indifferent, human laws are only declaratory of, and act in subordination to, the former. To instance in the case of murder: this is expressly forbidden by the divine, and demonstrably by the natural law; and, from these prohibitions, arises the true unlawfulness of this crime. Those human laws that annex a punishment to it do not at all increase its moral guilt, or *superadd any fresh obligation, *in foro conscientiæ*, [*43] to abstain from its perpetration. Nay, if any human law should allow or enjoin us to commit it, we are bound to transgress that human law, or else we must offend both the natural and the divine. But, with regard to matters that are in themselves indifferent, and are not commanded or forbidden by those superior laws,—such, for instance, as exporting of wool into foreign countries,—here the inferior legislature has scope and opportunity to interpose, and to make that action unlawful which before was not so.

If man were to live in a state of nature, unconnected with other individuals, there would be no occasion for any other laws than the law of nature and the law of God. Neither could any other law possibly exist: for a law always supposes some superior who is to make it; and, in a state of nature, we are all equal, without any other superior but Him who is the author of our being. But man was formed for society; and, as is demonstrated by the writers on this subject, (b) is neither capable of living alone, nor indeed has the courage to do

(b) Puffendorf, l. 7, c. 1. compared with Barbeyrac's Commentary.

science; and that if a man submits to the penalty of disobedience, he stands acquitted. In this sense the position seems unquestionable.—COLERIDGE.] But see note, p. 57.

it. However, as it is impossible for the whole race of mankind to be united in one great society, they must necessarily divide into many, and form separate states, commonwealths, and nations entirely independent of each other, and yet liable to a mutual intercourse. Hence arises a third kind of law to regulate this mutual intercourse, called "the law of nations," which, as none of these states will acknowledge a superiority in the other, cannot be dictated by any, but depends entirely upon the rules of natural law, or upon mutual compacts, treaties, leagues, and agreements between these several communities; in the construction also of which compacts we have no other rule to resort to, but the law of nature; being the only one to which all the communities are equally subject: and therefore the civil law (c) very justly observes, that *quod naturalis ratio inter omnes homines constituit, vocatur jus gentium*.

[*44] *Thus much I thought it necessary to premise concerning the law of nature, the revealed law, and the law of nations, before I proceeded to treat more fully of the principal subject of this section, municipal or civil law; that is, the rule by which particular districts, communities or nations, are governed; being thus defined by Justinian, (d) "*jus civile est quod quisque sibi populus constituit*." I call it *municipal* law, in compliance with common speech; for, though strictly that expression denotes the particular customs of one single *municipium* or free town, yet it may with sufficient propriety be applied to any one state or nation, which is governed by the same laws and customs.

Municipal law, thus understood, is properly defined to be "a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in a state, commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong." (4) Let us endeavour to explain its several properties, as they arise out of this definition. And, first, it is a *rule*: not a

(c) *Ff. l. 1. 9.*

(d) *Inst. l. 2. 1.*

(4) [Though the learned judge treats this as a favorite definition; yet when it is examined, it will not perhaps appear so satisfactory as the definition of civil or municipal law, or the law of the land, cited above from Justinian's Institutes, viz: *Quod quisque populus ipse sibi jus constituit, id ipsius proprium civitatis est, vocaturque jus civile, quasi jus proprium ipsius civitatis*.

A municipal law is completely expressed by the first branch of the definition: "A rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in a state." And the latter branch, "commanding what is right, and prohibiting what is wrong," must either be superfluous, or convey a defective idea of a municipal law; for if right and wrong are referred to the municipal law itself, then whatever it commands is right, and whatever it prohibits is wrong, and the clause would be insignificant tautology. But if right and wrong are to be referred to the law of nature, then the definition will become deficient or erroneous; for though the municipal law may seldom or never command what is wrong, yet in ten thousand instances it forbids what is right. It forbids an unqualified person to kill a hare or a partridge; it forbids a man to exercise a trade without having served seven years as an apprentice; it forbids a man to keep a horse or a servant without paying the tax. Now all these acts were perfectly right before the prohibition of the municipal law. The latter clause of this definition seems to have been taken from Cicero's definition of a law of nature, though perhaps it is there free from the objections here suggested: *Lex est summa ratio insita a natura quæ jubet ea, quæ faciendæ sunt prohibetque contraria*. Cic. de Leg. lib. i. c. 6.

The description of law given by Demosthenes is perhaps the most perfect and satisfactory that can either be found or conceived: "The design and object of laws is to ascertain what is just, honorable and expedient; and, when that is discovered, it is proclaimed as a general ordinance, equal and impartial to all. This is the origin of law, which, for various reasons, all are under an obligation to obey, but especially because all law is the invention and gift of heaven, the resolution of wise men, the correction of every offence, and the general compact of the state; to live in conformity with which is the duty of every individual in society." Orat. 1. Cont. Aristogit.]

Those things which the supreme authority forbids, however innocent in themselves, abstractly considered, must be understood as inhibited, because, in view of the relations of the citizen to the state, or to some one or more of his fellow citizens, it is not proper, right or best that they should be done. The laws which forbade unqualified persons to destroy game, were based upon an assumed superior right in the privileged classes; and the regulation of trades has its foundation in the legislative judgment of what is best and most expedient for society at large. Viewed relatively, therefore, the acts forbidden are not perfectly right, but, in some of their relations, incidents or consequences, would work a wrong, which, assuming the premises to be correct, the legislative authority may properly prevent. See pp. 55 and 58, *post*

transient sudden order from a superior to or concerning a particular person; but something permanent, uniform, and universal. Therefore a particular act of the legislature to confiscate the goods of Titius, or to attain him of high treason, does not enter into the idea of a municipal law: for the operation of this act is spent upon Titius only, and has no relation to the community in general; it is rather a sentence than a law. But an act to declare that the crime of which Titius is accused shall be deemed high treason: this has permanency, uniformity, and universality, and therefore is properly a *rule*. It is also called a *rule*, to distinguish it from *advice* or *counsel*, which we are at liberty to follow or not, as we see proper, and to judge upon the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the thing advised: whereas our obedience to the *law* depends not upon *our approbation*, but upon the *maker's will*. Counsel is only matter of persuasion, law is matter of injunction; counsel acts only upon the willing, law upon the unwilling also.

*It is also called a *rule* to distinguish it from a *compact* or *agreement*; [*45] for a compact is a promise proceeding *from us*, law is a command directed *to us*. The language of a compact is, "I will, or will not, do this;" that of a law is, "thou shalt, or shalt not, do it." It is true there is an obligation which a compact carries with it, equal in point of conscience to that of a law; but then the original of the obligation is different. In compacts, we ourselves determine and promise what shall be done, before we are obliged to do it; in laws, we are obliged to act without ourselves determining or promising any thing at all. Upon these accounts law is defined to be "*a rule*."

Municipal law is also "*a rule of civil conduct*." This distinguishes municipal law from the natural, or revealed; the former of which is the rule of *moral* conduct, and the latter not only the rule of moral conduct, but also the rule of faith. These regard man as a creature, and point out his duty to God, to himself, and to his neighbour, considered in the light of an individual. But municipal or civil law regards him also as a citizen, and bound to other duties towards his neighbour than those of mere nature and religion; duties, which he has engaged in by enjoying the benefits of the common union; and which amount to no more than that he do contribute, on his part, to the subsistence and peace of the society.

It is likewise "*a rule prescribed*." Because a bare resolution, confined in the breast of the legislator, without manifesting itself by some external sign, can never be properly a law. It is requisite that this resolution be notified to the people who are to obey it. But the manner in which this notification is to be made, is matter of very great indifference. It may be notified by universal tradition and long practice, which supposes a previous publication, and is the case of the common law of England. It may be notified *viva voce*, by officers appointed for that purpose, as is done with regard to proclamations, and such acts of parliament as are appointed* to be publicly read in churches and [*46] other assemblies. It may lastly be notified by writing, printing, or the like; which is the general course taken with all our acts of parliament. Yet, whatever way is made use of, it is incumbent on the promulgators to do it in the most public and perspicuous manner; not like Caligula, who (according to Dio Cassius) wrote his laws in a very small character, and hung them upon high pillars, the more effectually to ensnare the people. There is still a more unreasonable method than this, which is called making of laws *ex post facto*; when after an action (indifferent in itself) is committed, the legislator then for the first time declares it to have been a crime, and inflicts a punishment upon the person who has committed it. Here it is impossible that the party could foresee that an action innocent when it was done, should be afterwards converted to guilt by a subsequent law; he had therefore no cause to abstain from it; and all punishment for not abstaining must of consequence be cruel and unjust. (e) All laws should be therefore made to commence *in futuro*, and be

(e) Such laws among the Romans were denominated *privilegia*, or private laws, of which Cicero (*de leg. 3. 19.* and in his oration *pro domo*, 17.) thus speaks: "*Vetant leges sacrata vetant duodecim tabulae, leges privatae*"

notified before their commencement; which is implied in the term "*prescribed*." But when this rule is in the usual manner notified or prescribed, it is then the subject's business to be thoroughly acquainted therewith; for if ignorance, of what he *might* know, were admitted as a legitimate excuse, the laws would be of no effect, but might always be eluded with impunity. (5)

But farther: municipal law is "*a rule of civil conduct proscribed by the supreme power in a state.*" For legislature, as was before observed, is the greatest act of superiority that can be exercised by one being over another. Wherefore it is requisite to the very essence of a law, that it be made by the supreme power. Sovereignty and legislature are indeed convertible terms; one cannot subsist without the other.

[*47] *This will naturally lead us into a short inquiry concerning the nature of society and civil government; and the natural inherent right that belongs to the sovereignty of a state, wherever that sovereignty be lodged, of making and enforcing laws.

The only true and natural foundations of society are the wants and the fears of individuals. Not that we can believe, with some theoretical writers, that there ever was a time when there was no such thing as society either natural or civil; and that, from the impulse of reason, and through a sense of their wants and weaknesses, individuals met together in a large plain, entered into an original contract, and chose the tallest man present to be their governor. This notion of an actually existing unconnected state of nature, is too wild to be seriously admitted: and besides it is plainly contradictory to the revealed accounts of the primitive origin of mankind, and their preservation two thousand years afterwards; both which were effected by the means of single families. These formed the first natural society among themselves; which, every day extending its limits, laid the first though imperfect rudiments of civil or political society: and when it grew too large to subsist with convenience in that pastoral state, wherein the patriarchs appear to have lived, it necessarily subdivided itself by various migrations into more. Afterwards, as agriculture increased, which employs and can maintain a much greater number of hands, migrations became less frequent: and various tribes, which had formerly separated, reunited again; sometimes by compulsion and conquest, sometimes

hominibus irrogari; id enim est privilegium. Nemo unquam tulit, nihil est crudelius, nihil perniciosius, nihil quod minus hæc civitas ferre possit "

(5) By statute 33 Geo. III, c. 13, it is now provided, that acts of parliament shall take effect on the day of their passage, except when otherwise provided therein. In the American states there are commonly constitutional or statutory provisions fixing the time for statutes to take effect on some future day after their passage. Thus: In Illinois, in sixty days from the end of the session at which they are passed. Const. art. 3, § 23. In Michigan, at the expiration of ninety days from the end of the session. Const. art. 4, § 20. In Mississippi, not until sixty days from the passage thereof. Const. art. 7, § 6. In Indiana, not until the same shall have been published and circulated in the several counties of the state by authority. Const. art. 4, § 28. In Wisconsin, not until "published." Const. art. 7, § 21. In Iowa, those passed at a regular session of the legislature, not until the fourth day of July thereafter, and those passed at a special session, ninety days after the adjournment. Const. art. 3, § 26.

The statutes of the United States take effect from their approval. 1 Kent, 426. See *Gardner v. The Collector*, 6 Wal. 499.

The constitution forbids congress to pass *ex post facto* laws, but it is well settled that this phrase has no reference to any other laws of a retrospective character than those relating to criminal matters. Mr. Justice Chase, in *Calder v. Bull*, 3 Dal. 386, has classified *ex post facto* laws as follows: 1. Every law that makes an action, done before the passing of the law, and which was innocent when done, criminal, and punishes such action. 2. Every law that aggravates a crime, or makes it greater than it was when committed. 3. Every law that changes the punishment, and inflicts a greater punishment than the law annexed to the crime when committed. 4. Every law that alters the legal rules of evidence, and receives less or different testimony than the law required at the time of the commission of the offence, in order to convict the offender. This definition and classification have been generally accepted since. See *Fletcher v. Peck*, 3 Cranch, 87; *Ogden v. Saunders*, 12 Wheat. 266; *Satterlee v. Matthewson*, 2 Pet. 380; *Watson v. Mercer*, 8 Pet. 110; *Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge*, 11 Pet. 421; *Carpenter v. Pennsylvania*, 17 How. 463; *Cummings v. Missouri*, 4 Wal. 277; *Ex parte Garland*, *ibid*, 333.

by accident, and sometimes perhaps by compact. But though society had not its formal beginning from any convention of individuals, actuated by their wants and their fears; yet it is the *sense* of their weakness and imperfection that *keeps* mankind together; that demonstrates the necessity of this union; and that therefore is the solid and natural foundation, as well as the cement of civil society. And this is what we mean by the original contract of society; which, though perhaps in no instance it has ever been formally expressed at the first institution of a state, yet in nature and reason must always be understood and implied, *in the very act of associating together: namely, that the whole [*48] should protect all its parts, and that every part should pay obedience to the will of the whole, or, in other words, that the community should guard the rights of each individual member, and that (in return for this protection) each individual should submit to the laws of the community; without which submission of all it was impossible that protection could be certainly extended to any.

For when civil society is once formed, government at the same time results of course, as necessary to preserve and to keep that society in order. Unless some superior be constituted, whose commands and decisions all the members are bound to obey, they would still remain as in a state of nature, without any judge upon earth to define their several rights, and redress their several wrongs. But, as all the members which compose this society were naturally equal, it may be asked, in whose hands are the reins of government to be entrusted? To this the general answer is easy: but the application of it to particular cases has occasioned one-half of those mischiefs, which are apt to proceed from misguided political zeal. In general, all mankind will agree that government should be reposed in such persons, in whom those qualities are most likely to be found, the perfection of which is among the attributes of him who is emphatically styled the Supreme Being; the three grand requisites, I mean of wisdom, of goodness, and of power: wisdom, to discern the real interest of the community; goodness, to endeavour always to pursue that real interest; and strength, or power, to carry this knowledge and intention into action. These are the natural foundations of sovereignty, and these are the requisites that ought to be found in every well constituted frame of government.

How the several forms of government we now see in the world at first actually began, is matter of great uncertainty, and has occasioned infinite disputes. It is not my business or intention to enter into any of them. However they began, or by *what right soever they subsist, there is and must be in all of them a supreme, irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority, in which [*49] the *jura summi imperii*, or the rights of sovereignty, reside. And this authority is placed in those hands, wherein (according to the opinion of the founders of such respective states, either expressly given, or collected from their tacit approbation) the qualities requisite for supremacy, wisdom, goodness, and power, are the most likely to be found.

The political writers of antiquity will not allow more than three regular forms of government; the first, when the sovereign power is lodged in an aggregate assembly consisting of all the free members of a community, which is called a democracy; the second, when it is lodged in a council, composed of select members, and then it is styled an aristocracy; the last, when it is entrusted in the hands of a single person, and then it takes the name of a monarchy. All other species of government, they say, are either corruptions of, or reducible to, these three.

By the sovereign power, as was before observed, is meant the making of laws; for wherever that power resides, all others must conform to and be directed by it, whatever appearance the outward form and administration of the government may put on. For it is at any time in the option of the legislature to alter that form and administration by a new edict or rule, and to put the execution of the laws into whatever hands it pleases; by constituting one or a few, or many executive magistrates: and all the other powers of the state must obey the legis-

lative power in the discharge of their several functions, or else the constitution is at an end. (6)

In a democracy, where the right of making laws resides in the people at large, public virtue, or goodness of intention, is more likely to be found, than either of the other qualities of government. Popular assemblies are frequently foolish in their contrivance, and weak in their execution; but generally mean to do the thing that is right and just, and have always a degree of patriotism or public spirit. In *aristocracies there is more wisdom to be found, than in the [50] other frames of government; being composed, or intended to be composed, of the most experienced citizens: but there is less honesty than in a republic, and less strength than in a monarchy. A monarchy is indeed the most powerful of any; for, by the entire conjunction of the legislative and executive powers, all the sinews of government are knit together, and united in the hand of the prince: but then there is imminent danger of his employing that strength to improvident or oppressive purposes.

Thus these three species of government have, all of them, their several perfections and imperfections. Democracies are usually the best calculated to direct the end of a law; aristocracies to invent the means by which that end shall be obtained; and monarchies to carry those means into execution. And the ancients, as was observed, had in general no idea of any other permanent form of government but these three: for though Cicero (f) declares himself of opinion, "*esse optime constitutam rempublicam quæ ex tribus generibus illis, regali, optimo, et populari, sit modice confusa*;" yet Tacitus treats this notion of a mixed government, formed out of them all, and partaking of the advantages of each, as a visionary whim, and one that, if effected, could never be lasting or secure. (g)

But, happily for us of this island, the British constitution has long remained, and I trust will long continue, a standing exception to the truth of this observation. For, as with us the executive power of the laws is lodged in a single person, they have all the advantages of strength and dispatch, that are to be found in the most absolute monarchy: and as the legislature of the kingdom is entrusted to three distinct powers, entirely independent of each other; first, the

(f) In his fragments. *de rep. l. 2.*

(g) *Cunctas nationes et urbes populus aut primores, aut singuli regunt; delecta ex his et constituta republicæ forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel, si evenit, haud diuturna esse potest.* Ann. l. 4.

(6) The constitution of England may be said to consist of the unwritten rules and usages in accordance with which the powers of government are habitually exercised. By the theory of the British government, the exercise of sovereign powers rests in the parliament, which is so far supreme in action that by a strong figure of speech it is sometimes said to be "omnipotent." By this is to be understood that no other human power is placed over or made superior to it, or can question that what parliament declares to be law is law. From this theory of its powers it must follow that parliament is superior to the constitution itself, and may modify it at pleasure, as indeed has often been done. A very different theory prevails in America. According to the fundamental principles of both the Federal and State constitutions, the government, the supreme power or *jura summi imperii*, resides in the people, and it follows that it is the right of the people to make laws. But as the exercise of that right by the people at large would be equally inconvenient and impracticable, the constitution reposes the exercise of that power in a body of representatives of the people, but at the same time imposes upon them such restrictions as are deemed important for the general welfare or for the protection of individual rights. Whenever this body of representatives exceed the limits prescribed to their action by the fundamental law from which their whole authority is derived, or whenever they exercise their powers in a manner which the people, by the constitution, have not thought proper to allow, their action is not only censurable, but in point of law is void, and must not only be so declared by the courts where the point arises in litigation, but may be disregarded and disobeyed by any citizen. From this it will appear how broad is the difference between the constitution of Britain and those of the American states; the courts of the former country not venturing to declare that there are any legal limits to the legislative authority, except such as rest in the legislative will and discretion; while in America a considerable portion of the time of the courts is occupied with a discussion of questions respecting the constitutional limitations upon the power of the several departments of the government. See 1 Tucker's Blackstone, appendix A.; Cooley, Const. Lim. cc. 1 and 7.

king; secondly, the lords spiritual and temporal, which is an aristocratical assembly of persons selected for their piety, *their birth, their wisdom, [51] their valour, or their property; and, thirdly, the House of Commons, *freely chosen by the people from among themselves*, which makes it a kind of democracy: as this aggregate body, actuated by different springs, and attentive to different interests, composes the British parliament, and has the supreme disposal of every thing; there can no inconvenience be attempted by either of the three branches, but will be withstood by one of the other two; each branch being armed with a negative power, sufficient to repel any innovation which it shall think inexpedient or dangerous.

Here then is lodged the sovereignty of the British constitution; and lodged as beneficially as is possible for society. For in no other shape could we be so certain of finding the three great qualities of government so well and so happily united. If the supreme power were lodged in any one of the three branches separately, we must be exposed to the inconveniences of either absolute monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy; and so want two of the three principal ingredients of good polity; either virtue, wisdom, or power. If it were lodged in any two of the branches; for instance, in the king and house of lords, our laws might be providently made, and well executed, but they might not always have the good of the people in view; if lodged in the king and commons, we should want that circumspection and mediatory caution, which the wisdom of the peers is to afford: if the supreme rights of legislature were lodged in the two houses only, and the king had no negative upon their proceedings, they might be tempted to encroach upon the royal prerogative, or perhaps to abolish the kingly office, and thereby weaken (if not totally destroy) the strength of the executive power. But the constitutional government of this island is so admirably tempered and compounded, that nothing can endanger or hurt it, but destroying the equilibrium of power between one branch of the legislature and the rest. For if ever it should happen that the independence of any one of the three should be lost, or that it should become subservient to the views of either of the other two, there would *soon be an end of our constitution. (7) The legislature [52] would be changed from that, which (upon the supposition of an original contract, either actual or implied) is presumed to have been originally set up by the general consent and fundamental act of the society; and such a change, however effected, is, according to Mr. Locke, (h) (who perhaps carries his theory too far,) at once an entire dissolution of the bands of government; and the people are thereby reduced to a state of anarchy, with liberty to constitute to themselves a new legislative power.

Having thus cursorily considered the usual three species of government, and our own singular constitution, selected and compounded from them all, I proceed to observe, that, as the power of making laws constitutes the supreme

(A) On government, part 2. sec. 212.

(7) [If it be true that there would be an end of the constitution if at any time any one of the three should become subordinate to the views of the other branches, then assuredly the constitution is at an end; for it would be difficult to contend that in the times of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth, the two houses of parliament were not subservient to the crown, or that before the reform act the house of lords had not the ascendancy, or that since that act the house of commons have not had it. Indeed, it does not seem easy to name any eventful period of our constitutional history when the exact equilibrium of power, referred to by Blackstone, existed. That this supposed theory of our constitution is now denied by political writers of different parties, is at any rate indisputable.—STEWART.]

The fact here pointed out is made still more prominent by the circumstances attending the passage of the bill for the disestablishment of the Irish church, when the lords were, a second time, from fear of the consequences to their own order induced to surrender their will to that of the house of commons, and to assent to a bill which, to a large majority of their number, was exceedingly distasteful and obnoxious. And as now the executive department, that is to say, the cabinet or ministry, must be in accord with the majority of the commons on all leading measures, it is difficult to say that there is any longer, even in theory, an equilibrium of powers in the British government. See May, Const. Hist. ch. 5, Todd, Parl. Gov. vol. 1, pp. 30, 66.

authority, so wherever the supreme authority in any state resides, it is the right of that authority to make laws; that is, in the words of our definition, *to prescribe the rule of civil action*. (8) And this may be discovered from the very end and institution of civil states. For a state is a collective body, composed of a multitude of individuals, united for their safety and convenience, and intending to act together as one man. If it therefore is to act as one man, it ought to act by one uniform will. But, inasmuch as political communities are made up of many natural persons, each of whom has his particular will and inclination, these several wills cannot by any *natural* union be joined together, or tempered and disposed into a lasting harmony, so as to constitute and produce that one uniform will of the whole. It can therefore be no otherwise produced than by a *political* union; by the consent of all persons to submit their own private wills to the will of one man, or of one or more assemblies of men, to whom the supreme authority is entrusted; and this will of that one man, or assemblage of men, is in different states, according to their different constitutions, understood to be *law*.

Thus far as to the *right* of the supreme power to make laws; but farther, it [*53] is its *duty* likewise. (9) For since the *respective members are bound to conform themselves to the will of the state, it is expedient that they receive directions from the state declaratory of that its will. But, as it is impossible, in so great a multitude, to give injunctions to every particular man, relative to each particular action, it is therefore incumbent on the state to establish general rules, for the perpetual information and direction of all persons in all points, whether of positive or negative duty. And this, in order that every man may know what to look upon as his own, what as another's; what absolute and what relative duties are required at his hands; what is to be esteemed honest, dishonest, or indifferent; what degree every man retains of his natural liberty; what he has given up as the price of the benefits of society; and after what manner each person is to moderate the use and exercise of those rights which the state assigns him, in order to promote and secure the public tranquility.

From what has been advanced, the truth of the former branch of our definition, is (I trust) sufficiently evident; that "*municipal law is a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in a state.*" I proceed now to the latter branch of it; that it is a rule so prescribed, "*commanding what is right, and prohibiting what is wrong.*"

Now in order to do this completely, it is first of all necessary that the boundaries of right and wrong be established and ascertained by law. And when this is once done, it will follow of course that it is likewise the business of the law, considered as a rule of civil conduct, to enforce these rights, and to restrain or redress these wrongs. It remains therefore only to consider in what manner the law is said to ascertain the boundaries of right and wrong; and the methods which it takes to command the one and prohibit the other.

(8) But in America the supreme authority—the people—only make the fundamental law or constitution of the state, and create a department to which they intrust the exercise of the ordinary powers of legislation. The law making power, therefore, in the popular sense, is not the supreme authority, but exercises a trust within prescribed limits.

(9) From the performance of this duty the legislative department cannot relieve itself by devolving it upon any other authority, nor even by referring it back to the people themselves. The legislature has no power to submit a proposed law to the people, nor have the people power to bind each other by acting upon it. They voluntarily surrendered that power when they adopted the constitution. Per Ruggles, Ch. J., in *Barto v. Himrod*, 8 N. Y. 489. And see *Rice v. Foster*, 4 Harr. 479; *Parker v. Commonwealth*, 6 Penn. St. 507; *Commonwealth v. McWilliams*, 11 Penn. St. 61; *Thorne v. Cramer*, 15 Barb. 112; *Bradley v. Baxter*, *ibid.* 122; *People v. Stout*, 23 Barb. 349; *Sauto v. State*, 2 Iowa, 165; *Gebrick v. State*, 5 Iowa, 491; *State v. Beneke*, 9 Iowa, 203; *Maine v. State*, 4 Ind. 342; *Meshmeier v. State*, 11 Ind. 482; *State v. Parker*, 26 Vt. 362; *State v. Copeland*, 3 R. I. 33; *State v. Swisher*, 17 Texas, 441; *State v. Wilcox*, 45 Mo. 458. For qualifications or seeming exceptions to this principle, see *Cooley*, *Const. Lim.* 117 to 122, and cases cited.

For this purpose every law may be said to consist of several parts: one *declaratory*; whereby the rights to be observed, and the wrongs to be eschewed, are clearly defined and *laid down: another, *directory*; whereby the subject is instructed and enjoined to observe those rights, and to abstain [*54] from the commission of those wrongs: a third, *remedial*; whereby a method is pointed out to recover a man's private rights, or redress his private wrongs: to which may be added a fourth, usually termed the *sanction* or *vindictory* branch of the law; whereby it is signified what evil or penalty shall be incurred by such as commit any public wrongs, and transgress or neglect their duty.

With regard to the first of these, the *declaratory* part of the municipal law, this depends not so much upon the law of revelation or of nature, as upon the wisdom and will of the legislator. This doctrine, which before was slightly touched, deserves a more particular explication. Those rights then which God and nature have established, and are therefore called natural rights, such as are life and liberty, need not the aid of human laws to be more effectually invested in every man than they are; neither do they receive any additional strength when declared by the municipal laws to be inviolable. On the contrary, no human legislature has power to abridge or destroy them, unless the owner shall himself commit some act that amounts to a forfeiture. Neither do divine or natural *duties* (such as, for instance, the worship of God, the maintenance of children, and the like) receive any stronger sanction from being also declared to be duties by the law of the land. The case is the same as to crimes and misdemeanors, that are forbidden by the superior laws, and therefore styled *mala in se*, such as murder, theft, and perjury; which contract no additional turpitude from being declared unlawful by the inferior legislature. For that legislature in all these cases acts only, as was before observed, in subordination to the great lawgiver, transcribing and publishing his precepts. So that, upon the whole, the declaratory part of the municipal law has no force or operation at all, with regard to actions that are naturally and intrinsically right or wrong. *But, with regard to things in themselves indifferent, the case is entirely altered. These become either right or wrong, just or unjust, duties or [*55] misdemeanors, according as the municipal legislator sees proper, for promoting the welfare of the society, and more effectually carrying on the purposes of civil life. Thus our own common law has declared, that the goods of the wife do instantly upon marriage become the property and right of the husband; (10) and our statute law has declared all monopolies a public offence: yet that right, and this offence, have no foundation in nature, but are merely created by the law, for the purpose of civil society. And sometimes, where the thing itself has its rise from the law of nature, the particular circumstances and mode of doing it becomes right or wrong, as the laws of the land shall direct. Thus, for instance, in civil duties; obedience to superiors is the doctrine of revealed as well as natural religion: but who those superiors shall be, and in what circumstances, or to what degrees they shall be obeyed, it is the province of human laws to determine. And so, as to injuries or crimes, it must be left to our own legislature to decide, in what cases the seizing another's cattle shall amount to a trespass or a theft; and where it shall be a justifiable action, as when a landlord takes them by way of distress for rent.

Thus much for the *declaratory* part of the municipal law: and the *directory* stands much upon the same footing; for this virtually includes the former, the declaration being usually collected from the direction. The law that says, "thou shalt not steal," implies a declaration that stealing is a crime. And we have

(10) This rule is very generally abrogated in American law by statutory or constitutional provisions, under which the real and personal property of the wife, possessed by her at the time of the marriage, or acquired afterwards by gift, grant, devise or otherwise, remains her property to the same extent as if she were unmarried, with restrictions, however, in some of the states, upon the control which she may exercise over it, or her power to dispose of it. Many of these provisions are collected in 1 Pars. on Cont. 370.

seen (i) that, in things naturally indifferent, the very essence of right and wrong depends upon the direction of the laws to do or omit them.

The *remedial* part of a law is so necessary a consequence of the former two, that laws must be very vague and imperfect *without it. For in vain [*56] would rights be declared, in vain directed to be observed, if there were no method of recovering and asserting those rights, when wrongfully withheld or invaded. This is what we mean properly, when we speak of the protection of the law. When, for instance, the *declaratory* part of the law has said, "that the field or inheritance, which belonged to Titius's father, is vested by his death in Titius;" and the *directory* part has "forbidden any one to enter on another's property, without the leave of the owner:" if Gaius after this will presume to take possession of the land, the *remedial* part of the law will then interpose its office; will make Gaius restore the possession to Titius, and also pay him damages for the invasion.

With regard to the *sanction* of laws, or the evil that may attend the breach of public duties, it is observed, that human legislators have for the most part chosen to make the sanction of their laws rather *vindictory* than *remuneratory*, or to consist rather in punishments, than in actual particular rewards. Because, in the first place, the quiet enjoyment and protection of all our civil rights and liberties, which are the sure and general consequence of obedience to the municipal law, are in themselves the best and most valuable of all rewards. Because also, were the exercise of every virtue to be enforced by the proposal of particular rewards, it were impossible for any state to furnish stock enough for so profuse a bounty. And farther, because the dread of evil is a much more forcible principle of human actions than the prospect of good. (k) For which reasons, though a prudent bestowing of rewards is sometimes of exquisite use, yet we find that those civil laws, which enforce and enjoin our duty, do seldom, if ever, propose any privilege or gift to such as obey the law; but do constantly come armed with a penalty denounced against transgressors, either expressly defining the nature and quantity of the punishment, or else leaving it to the discretion of the judges, and those who are entrusted with the care of putting the laws in execution.

*Of all the parts of a law the most effectual is the *vindictory*. For it [*57] is but lost labour to say, "do this, or avoid that," unless we also declare, "this shall be the consequence of your non-compliance." We must therefore observe, that the main strength and force of a law consists in the penalty annexed to it. Herein is to be found the principal obligation of human laws.

Legislators and their laws are said to *compel* and *oblige*: not that by any natural violence they so constrain a man, as to render it impossible for him to act otherwise than as they direct, which is the strict sense of obligation; but because, by declaring and exhibiting a penalty against offenders, they bring it to pass that no man can easily choose to transgress the law; since, by reason of the impending correction, compliance is in a high degree preferable to disobedience. And, even where rewards are proposed as well as punishments threatened, the obligation of the law seems chiefly to consist in the penalty; for rewards, in their nature, can only *persuade* and *allure*; nothing is *compulsory* but punishment.

It is true, it hath been holden, and very justly, by the principal of our ethical writers, that human laws are binding upon men's consciences. But if that were the only or most forcible obligation, the good only would regard the laws, and the bad would set them at defiance. And, true as this principle is, it must still be understood with some restriction. It holds, I apprehend, as to *rights*; and that, when the law has determined the field to belong to Titius, it is matter of conscience no longer to withhold or to invade it. So also in regard to *natural duties*, and such offences as are *mala in se*: here we are bound in conscience; because we are bound by superior laws, before those human laws were in being, to perform the one and abstain from the other. But in relation to those laws, which

(i) See page 43.

(k) Locke, *Hum. Und.* b. 2. c. 21,

enjoin only *positive duties*, and forbid only such things as are not *mala in se*, but *mala prohibita* merely, without any intermixture of moral guilt, *annexing [*58] a penalty to non-compliance, (1) here I apprehend conscience is no farther concerned, than by directing a submission to the penalty, in case of our breach of those laws: for otherwise the multitude of penal laws in a state would not only be looked upon as an impolitic, but would also be a very wicked thing; if every such law were a snare for the conscience of the subject. But in these cases the alternative is offered to every man; "either abstain from this, or submit to such a penalty:" and his conscience will be clear, which ever side of the alternative he thinks proper to embrace. Thus, by the statutes for preserving the game, a penalty is denounced against every unqualified person that kills a hare, and against every person who possesses a partridge in August. And so too, by other statutes, pecuniary penalties are inflicted for exercising trades without serving an apprenticeship thereto, (11) for not burying the dead in woollen, for not performing the statute-work on the public roads, and for innumerable other positive misdemeanors. Now these prohibitory laws do not make the transgression a moral offence, or sin: the only obligation in conscience is to submit to the penalty, if levied. It must however be observed, that we are here speaking of laws that are simply and purely penal, where the thing forbidden or enjoined is wholly a matter of indifference, and where the penalty inflicted is an adequate compensation for the civil inconvenience supposed to arise from the offence. But where disobedience to the law involves in it also any degree of public mischief or private injury, there it falls within our former distinction, and is also an offence against conscience. (m) (12)

(1) See Book II, p. 420.

(m) *Lex pure penalis obligat tantum ad pœnam, non item ad culpam: lex penalis mixta et ad culpam obligat, et ad pœnam.* (Sanderson de conscient, obligat, prael. viii. § 17. 24.)

(11) [By stat. 54 Geo. III, c. 96, this law, and, by stat. 54 Geo. III, c. 108, that for not burying in woollen, are repealed.]

(12) In a note upon this passage Mr. Christian has shown, that it is implied in every case in which an act is forbidden under a penalty, that "some degree of public mischief or private injury" is involved in it, and is the occasion of the prohibition.

"I perfectly agree," says Mr. Justice Rooke, "with my brother Heath in reprobating any distinction between *malum prohibitum* and *malum in se*, and consider it as pregnant with mischief. Every man is as much bound to obey the civil law of the land as the law of nature." *Aubert v. Maze*, 2 B. and P. 375. "It is contended," says Gilchrist, J., "that there is a distinction between *malum prohibitum* and *malum in se*; between things intrinsically and morally wrong, and things which are made so merely by legislation. The inference [of counsel] from this distinction is, that when an act is merely *malum prohibitum*, it may conscientiously be done, provided only the party is willing to incur the penalty. He considers it optional with the party to do or to refrain from doing the act in question, and that the alternative is presented him by the legislature to abstain from the act, or to do it and pay the penalty. If these premises and this reasoning be correct, the courts, he says, cannot declare the act to be illegal, for that would be the infliction of a penalty beyond that imposed by the statute. But any person who should attempt to put this theory into practice, and to regulate his conduct by it, would find his path filled with difficulties. In the first place he must assume to judge for himself what is right and what is wrong, irrespective of the law. He must test his obligation to obey the law by a standard which exists in his own bosom. His moral sense must be so acute that he would never be in danger of mistaking his duty, and of sacrificing it to considerations of private advantage. Men differ in their views of right and wrong; the moral sense of one man is more acute than that of another. And just in proportion to his obtuseness will he be liable to overstep the line that separates right from wrong, and his reasoning may lead him into the commission of a felony when he fancies himself to be merely a trespasser, and that the payment of a fine which the statute might impose in a given case would make the balance even. The subtle casuistry which self interest teaches us is a most unsafe guide in questions of morals, and particularly so in relation to those things which have been called duties of imperfect obligation, and whose performance might be enforced by penalties. The law would be extremely unequal in its operation if its prohibitions were imperative on those only who should choose to be bound by it. If obedience to the law should depend entirely on the conscience of the individual, all legal restraints would soon be abolished." *Lewis v. Welch*, 14 N. H. 296.

The doctrine of some early cases, that where a statute merely inflicts a penalty for doing a particular act, or making a particular contract, without also prohibiting the act or contract,

I have now gone through the definition laid down of a municipal law; and have shown that it is "a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in a state, commanding what is right, and prohibiting what is wrong;" in the explication of which I have endeavoured to interweave a few useful principles concerning the nature of civil government, and the obligation of human laws. Before I conclude this section, it may not be amiss to add a few observations concerning the *interpretation* of laws.

When any doubt arose upon the construction of the Roman laws, the usage was to state the case to the emperor in writing, and take his opinion upon it. This was certainly a bad method of interpretation. (13). To interrogate the legislature to decide particular disputes is not only endless, but affords great room for partiality and oppression. The answers of the emperor were called his rescripts, and these had in succeeding cases the force of perpetual laws; though they ought to be carefully distinguished by every rational civilian from those general constitutions which had only the nature of things for their guide. The emperor Macrinus, as his historian Capitolinus informs us, had once [*59] resolved to *abolish these rescripts, and retain only the general edicts: he could not bear that the hasty and crude answers of such princes as Commodus and Caracalla should be revered as laws. But Justinian thought otherwise, (n) and he has preserved them all. In like manner the canon laws, or decretal epistles of the popes are all of them rescripts in the strictest sense. Contrary to all true forms of reasoning, they argue from particulars to generals.

The fairest and most rational method to interpret the will of the legislator is by exploring his intentions at the time when the law was made, by *signs* the most natural and probable. And these signs are either the words, the context, the subject matter, the effects and consequence, or the spirit and reason of the law. (14) Let us take a short view of them all:—

(n) *Inst.* 1. 2. 6.

the payment of the penalty is the only legal consequence of a violation of the statute: *Comyns v. Boyer*, Cro. Eliz. 485; *Gremaire v. Valon*, 2 Camp. 144; is now repudiated both in England and in this country, and it is now well settled that the obligations the parties assume in consideration of the forbidden act, will not be enforced. See *Drury v. Defontaine*, 1 Taunt. 136; *De Begins v. Armistead*, 10 Bing. 107, and 3 M. and Scott, 516; *Bensley v. Bignold*, 5 B. and Ald. 335; *Cope v. Rowlands*, 2 M. and W. 149; *Wheeler v. Russell*, 17 Mass. 258; *Mitchell v. Smith*, 1 Binn. 118; *Eberman v. Reitzell*, 1 W. and S. 181; *Hale v. Henderson*, 4 Humph. 199; *Brackett v. Hoyt*, 9 Post. 264; *Nichols v. Ruggles*, 3 Day, 145; *Tyson v. Thomas*, McClel. and Y. 119; *Elkins v. Parkhurst*, 17 Vt. 105; *Territt v. Bartlett*, 21 Vt. 184; *Bancroft v. Dumas*, ib. 456; *Griffith v. Wells*, 3 Denio, 226; *Coombs v. Emery*, 14 Me. 404; *Sharp v. Teese*, 4 Halst. 352. Statutes passed solely for the security of the revenue have been supposed to be exceptions to this rule. *Cundell v. Dawson*, 4 C. B. 398, per Wilde, Ch. J. And see *Smith v. Mawhood*, 14 M. and W. 452; *Forster v. Taylor*, 5 B. and Ad. 887; *Taylor v. Crowland Gas Co.*, 10 Exch. 293; *Hill v. Smith*, Morris, 70. But certainly no such distinction can be recognized where the penalty is imposed with a view to prohibition. *Smith v. Mawhood*, *supra*.

(13) The legislature may interpret the law by a declaratory statute, but in America where the legislative and judicial functions are separated and confided to different departments, the declaratory statute will have the effect to determine the meaning of the law in its application to future transactions only, and not to bind the courts in their application of the law to transactions which have taken place previously. To declare what the law is or has been is the province of the judiciary; to prescribe what it shall be in the future belongs to the legislature. *Dash v. Van Kleeck*, 7 Johns. 498; *Greenough v. Greenough*, 11 Penn. St. 494; *Reiser v. Tell Association*, 39 Penn. St. 137.

(14) The intention of the legislature when properly discoverable is always to control in the construction of statutes: *Jackson v. Collins*, 3 Cow. 89; *Jackson v. Vanzandt*, 12 Johns. 176; *People v. Utica Insurance Co.*, 15 Johns. 358; *Crocker v. Crane*, 21 Wend. 211; *Ellis v. Paige*, 1 Pick. 45; *Holbrook v. Holbrook*, ib. 250; *People v. Canal Commissioners*, 3 Scam. 153; *Barker v. Esty*, 19 Vt. 131; *Catlin v. Hull*, 21 Vt. 152. But the intent must be gathered from the language employed to express it: and where the language is clear and explicit, and susceptible of but one meaning, and there is nothing incongruous in the act, a court is bound to suppose the legislature intended what the language imports. *Barstow v. Smith*, Wal. ch. 394; *Bidwell v. Whitaker*, 1 Mich. 469; *People v. Purdy*, 2 Hill, 35; *Spencer v. State*, 5 Ind. 76; *United States v. Fisher*, 2 Cranch, 399; *United States v. Ragsdale*, 1 Hemp. 497; *Ingalls v. Cole*, 47 Me. 530; *Newell v. People*, 7 N. Y. 83; *Alexander v. Worthington*, 5 Md. 476;

1. Words are generally to be understood in their usual and most known signification; not so much regarding the propriety of grammar, as their general and popular use. Thus the law mentioned by Puffendorf (*o*) which forbade a layman to *lay hands* on a priest, was adjudged to extend to him, who had hurt a priest with a weapon. Again, terms of art, or technical terms, must be taken according to the acceptance of the learned in each art, trade, and science. (15) So in the act of settlement, where the crown of England is limited "to the princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being protestants," it becomes necessary to call in the assistance of lawyers, to ascertain the precise idea of the words "*heirs of her body*," which, in a legal sense, comprise only certain of her lineal descendants.

*2. If words happen to be still dubious, we may establish their meaning from the *context*, with which it may be of singular use to compare a word or a sentence, whenever they are ambiguous, equivocal or intricate. Thus the proeme, or preamble, is often called in to help the construction of an act of parliament. (16) Of the same nature and use is the comparison of a law with other laws, that are made by the same legislator, that have some affinity with the subject, or that expressly relate to the same point. (17) Thus, when the law of England declares murder to be felony without benefit of clergy, we must resort to the same law of England to learn what the benefit of clergy is; and, when the common law censures simoniacal contracts, it affords great light to the subject to consider what the canon law has adjudged to be simony. (18)

(*o*) L. of N. and N. 5. 12. 3.

Cantwell v. Owens, 14 Md. 215; Pattison v. Yuba, 12 Cal. 175; Heirs of Ludlow v. Johnson, 3 Ohio, 553; In re Murphy, 3 Zab. 180; Ezekiel v. Dixon, 3 Kelly, 146; McClusky v. Cromwell, 11 N. Y. 593; Holmes v. Curley, 31 N. Y. 289; Steamboat Co. v. Transportation Co., 3 Green, N. J. 13.

(15) See United States v. Magill, 1 Wash. C. C. 463; United States v. Palmer, 3 Wheat. 610; Merchant's Bank v. Cook, 4 Pick. 411; Poole v. Poole, 3 B. and P. 620; Astor v. Union Ins. Co., 7 Cow. 202.

(16) The title of a statute may be a guide to the intent of the law-maker, where the body of the statute appears to be ambiguous or doubtful. United States v. Palmer, 3 Wheat. 610; Burgett v. Burgett, 1 Ohio, 480; Eastman v. McAlpin, 1 Kelly, 157; Bristow v. Barker, 14 Johns. 206; Cohen v. Barrett, 5 Cal. 195. So also may the preamble. Edwards v. People, 3 Scam. 465; Jackson v. Gilchrist, 15 Johns. 89; People v. Utica Insurance Co., ib. 390; Holbrook v. Holbrook, 1 Pick. 250; Halton v. Cove, 1 B. and Ad. 538; Whitmore v. Robertson, 8 M. and W. 472; Flynn v. Abbott, 16 Cal. 358; Constantine v. Van Winkle, 6 Hill, 177. Under the constitutions of some of the American States, which require the object or subject of a statute to be expressed in the title, it is obvious that the title has become more important, and may control the construction. See Cooley Const. Lim. 141.

(17) [It is an established rule of construction that statutes *in pari materia*, or upon the same subject, must be construed with a reference to each other; that is, that what is clear in one statute shall be called in aid to explain what is obscure and ambiguous in another. Thus the qualification act to kill game (22 and 23 Car. II, c. 25,) enacts, "that every person not having lands and tenements, or some other estate of inheritance, of the clear yearly value of 100*l.* or for life, or having lease or leases of ninety-nine years of the clear yearly value of 150*l.*" (except certain persons,) shall not be allowed to kill game. Upon this statute a doubt arose whether the words *or for life* should be referred to the 100*l.* or to the 150*l. per annum*. The court of king's bench having looked into the former qualification acts, and having found that it was clear by the first qualification act; 13 R. I. St. 1, c. 13; that a layman should have 40*s.* a year, and a priest 10*l.* a year, and that, by the 1 Ja. c. 27, the qualifications were clearly an estate of inheritance of 10*l.* a year, and an estate for life of 30*l.* a year, they presumed that it still was the intention of the legislature to make the yearly value of an estate for life greater than that of an estate of inheritance, though the same proportions were not preserved; and thereupon decided that clergymen, and all others possessed of a life estate only must have 150*l.* a year to be qualified to kill game. Lowndes v. Lewis, E. T. 22 Geo. III.

That same rule to discover the intention of a testator is applied to wills, viz., the whole of a will shall be taken under consideration, in order to decipher the meaning of an obscure passage in it.]

The statutes *in pari materia* are to be construed together, see Church v. Crocker, 3 Mass. 17; Mendon v. Worcester Co., 10 Pick. 235; Frink v. King, 3 Scam. 144; M'Cartee v. Orphan Asylum Society, 9 Cow. 507; Isham v. Bennington Iron Co., 19 Vt. 230; Hayes v. Hanson, 12 N. H. 284; Manuel v. Manuel, 13 Ohio St. 458; McLaughlin v. Hoover, 1 Oregon, 31; Rogers v. Bradshaw, 20 Johns. 735; Green v. Commonwealth, 12 Allen, 155; Billingslea v. Baldwin, 23 Md. 85; Robbins v. Railroad Co., 32 Cal. 472.

(18) See United States v. Palmer, 3 Wheat. 610.

3. As to the *subject matter*, words are always to be understood as having a regard thereto, for that is always supposed to be in the eye of the legislator, and all his expressions directed to that end. Thus, when a law of our Edward III. forbids all ecclesiastical persons to purchase *provisions* at Rome, it might seem to prohibit the buying of grain and other victual; but, when we consider that the statute was made to repress the usurpations of the papal see, and that the nominations to benefices by the pope were called *provisions*, we shall see that the restraint is intended to be laid upon such provisions only.

4. As to the *effects* and *consequence*, the rule is, that where words bear either none, or a very absurd signification, if literally understood, we must a little deviate from the received sense of them. Therefore the Bolognian law, mentioned by Puffendorf, (*p*) which enacted "that whoever drew blood in the streets should be punished with the utmost severity," was held after long debate not to extend to the surgeon, who opened the vein of a person that fell down in the street with a fit. (19)

[*61] *5. But, lastly, the most universal and effectual way of discovering the true meaning of a law, when the words are dubious, is by considering the *reason* and *spirit* of it; or the cause which moved the legislator to enact it. (20) For when this reason ceases, the law itself ought likewise to cease with it. An instance of this is given in a case put by Cicero, or whoever was the author of the treatise inscribed to Herennius. (*q*) There was a law, that those who in a storm forsook the ship should forfeit all property therein; and that the ship and lading should belong entirely to those who staid in it. In a dangerous tempest all the mariners forsook the ship, except only one sick passenger, who, by reason of his disease, was unable to get out and escape. By chance the ship came safe to port. The sick man kept possession, and claimed the benefit of the law. Now here all the learned agree, that the sick man is not within the reason of the law; for the reason of making it was, to give encouragement to such as should venture their lives to save the vessel; but this is a merit which he could never pretend to, who neither staid in the ship upon that account, nor contributed any thing to its preservation. (21)

From this method of interpreting laws, by the reason of them, arises what we call *equity*, which is thus defined by Grotius: (*r*) "the corrections of that wherein the law (by reason of its universality,) is deficient." For, since in laws all cases cannot be foreseen or expressed, it is necessary that, when the general decrees of the law come to be applied to particular cases, there should be somewhere a power vested of defining those circumstances, which (had they been foreseen) the legislator himself would have expressed. And these are the cases

(*p*) l. 5. c. 12. § 8.

(*q*) l. 1. c. 11.

(*r*) *De Equitate*, § 3.

(19) See *Langdon v. Potter*, 3 Mass. 220; *Gore v. Brazier*, ib. 523; *Ayres v. Knox*, 7 Mass. 310. *Putnam v. Longley*, 11 Pick. 487; *Dash v. Van Kleeck*, 7 Johns. 502; *Henry v. Tilson*, 17 Vt. 479; The inconveniences resulting from disregarding the practical construction of a statute, and long continued usage under it, will sometimes be allowed great weight in cases of doubt. *Rogers v. Goodwin*, 2 Mass. 478; *State v. Mayhew*, 2 Gill, 487; *Essex Co. v. Pacific Mills*, 14 Allen, 369; *Isaacs v. Steele*, 3 Scam. 97; *Edwards v. Pope*, ib. 465; *Chestnut v. Shane's Lessee*, 16 Ohio, 599; *Union Insurance Co. v. Hoge*, 21 How. 66; *Britton v. Ferry*, 14 Mich. 66; *Plummer v. Plummer*, 37 Miss. 185; *Norris v. Clymer*, 2 Penn. St. 277; *Hedgecock v. Davis*, 64 N. C. 652.

(20) See further, *Dash v. Van Kleeck*, 7 Johns. 486; *People v. Utica Insurance Co.*, 15 Johns. 381; *Miller v. Dobson*, 1 Gilm. 572; *Durousseau v. United States*, 6 Cranch, 307; *People v. Canal Commissioners*, 3 Scam. 153; *Tonele v. Hall*, 4 N. Y. 140. *Henry v. Tilson*, 21 Vt. 485.

(21) A statute is always to be construed so as to render it effectual, if possible, rather than to defeat it. *Watervliet Turnpike Co. v. McKean*, 6 Hill, 616; *Shrewsbury v. Boylston*, 1 Pick. 105. And so as to give effect to all its provisions, if practicable: *People v. Purdy*, 2 Hill, 36; *Parkinson v. State*, 14 Md. 184; *Ryegate v. Wardsboro*, 30 Vt. 746; *Brooks v. School Commissioners*, 31 Ala. 227; *Green v. Weller*, 32 Miss. 650; *Wolcott v. Wigton*, 7 Ind. 49; *People v. Burns*, 5 Mich. 114.

And if a statute is susceptible of two constructions, one of which would render it unconstitutional, and the other not, it is to receive the latter construction as presumptively expressing the legislative intent. *Newland v. Marsh*, 19 Ill. 384; *Dow v. Norris*, 4 N. H. 17; *People v. Supervisors of Orange*, 17 N. Y. 241; *Clark v. Rochester*, 24 Barb. 471.

On interpretation generally, see Rutherford's *Institutes of Natural Law*, B. 2, c. 7, and Lieber's *Hermeneutics*.

which according to Grotius, "*lex non exacte definit, sed arbitrio boni viri permittit.*" (22)

Equity thus depending, essentially, upon the particular circumstances of each individual case, there can be no established *rules and fixed precepts of equity laid down, without destroying its very essence, and reducing it to [*62] a positive law. And, on the other hand, the liberty of considering all cases in an equitable light must not be indulged too far, lest thereby we destroy all law, and leave the decision of every question entirely in the breast of the judge. And law, without equity, though hard and disagreeable, is much more desirable for the public good than equity without law; which would make every judge a legislator, and introduce most infinite confusion; as there would then be almost as many different rules of action laid down in our courts, as there are differences of capacity and sentiment in the human mind. (23)

SECTION III.

OF THE LAWS OF ENGLAND.

The municipal law of England, or the rule of civil conduct prescribed to the inhabitants of this kingdom, may with sufficient propriety be divided into two kinds: The *lex non scripta*, the unwritten, or common law; and the *lex scripta*, the written, or statute law.

The *lex non scripta*, or unwritten law, includes not only *general customs*, or the common law properly so called; but also the *particular customs*, of certain parts of the kingdom; and likewise those *particular laws*, that are by custom observed only in certain courts and jurisdictions.

When I call these parts of our law *leges non scriptæ*, I would not be understood as if all those laws were at present merely *oral*, or communicated from the former ages to the present solely by word of mouth. It is true indeed that, in the profound ignorance of letters which formerly overspread the whole western world, all laws were entirely traditional, for this plain reason, because the nations among which they prevailed had but little idea of writing. Thus the British as well as the Gallic Druids committed all their laws as well as learning to memory; (a) and it is said of the primitive Saxons here, as well as their brethren on the continent, that *leges sola memoria et usu retinebant* (b). But with us at present, the monuments and evidences of our legal customs are

(a) *Caes. de b. G. lib. 6, c. 13.*

(b) *Spelm. Gl. 361.*

(22) [I cannot forbear observing, (said Lord Tenderden), that I think there is always danger in giving effect to what is called "the equity of a statute;" and that it is much safer and better to rely on and abide by the plain words; although the legislature might possibly have provided for other cases had their attention been directed to them. 6 B. and C. 475. And in a recent case in which this rule was much discussed, Mr. Justice Coleridge said, "It is, in my opinion, so important for the court, in construing modern statutes, to act upon the principle of giving full effect to their language, and of declining to mould that language in order to meet either an alleged convenience or an alleged equity, upon doubtful evidence of intention, that nothing will induce me to withdraw a case from the operation of a section which is within its words, but clear and unambiguous evidence that so to do is to fulfill the general intent of the statute; and also to adhere to its literal interpretation, is to decide inconsistently with other overruling provisions of the same statute." 6 A. and E. 7.]

(23) [The only *equity*, according to this description, which exists in our government, either resides in the king, who can prevent the *summum jus* from becoming *summa injuria*, by an absolute or a conditional pardon, or in juries, who determine whether any, or to what extent, damages shall be rendered. But *equity*, as here explained, is by no means applicable to the court of chancery; for the learned judge has elsewhere truly said, that "the system of our courts of equity is a laboured connected system, governed by established rules, and bound down by precedents, from which they do not depart, although the reason of some of them may perhaps be liable to objection." Book iii. 432.]

contained in the records of the several courts of justice, in books of [*64] *reports and judicial decisions, and in the treatises of learned sages of the profession, preserved and handed down to us from the times of highest antiquity. However, I therefore style these parts of our law *leges non scriptæ*, because their original institution and authority are not set down in writing as acts of parliament are, but they receive their binding power and the force of laws by long and immemorial usage, and by their universal reception throughout the kingdom. In like manner as Aulus Gellius defines the *jus non scriptum* to be that, which is "*tacito et illiterato hominum consensu et moribus expressum.*"

Our ancient lawyers, and particularly Fortescue,(c) insist with abundance of warmth that these customs are as old as the primitive Britons, and continued down, through the several mutations of government and inhabitants to the present time, unchanged and unadulterated. This may be the case as to some; but in general, as Mr. Selden in his notes observes, this assertion must be understood with many grains of allowance; and ought only to signify, as the truth seems to be, that there never was any formal exchange of one system of laws for another; though doubtless, by the intermixture of adventitious nations, the Romans, the Picts, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans, they must have insensibly introduced and incorporated many of their own customs with those that were before established; thereby, in all probability, improving the texture and wisdom of the whole by the accumulated wisdom of divers particular countries. Our laws, saith Lord Bacon,(d) are mixed as our language; and, as our language is so much the richer, the laws are the more complete.

And indeed our antiquaries and early historians do all positively assure us, that our body of laws is of this compounded nature. For they tell us that in the time of Alfred the local customs of the several provinces of the kingdom were grown so various, that he found it expedient to compile his *Dome-Book*, or [*65] *Liber Judicialis*, for the general use of the whole kingdom. *This book is said to have been extant so late as the reign of King Edward the Fourth, but is now unfortunately lost.(1) It contained, we may probably suppose, the principal maxims of the common law, the penalties for misdemeanors, and the forms of judicial proceedings. Thus much may at least be collected from that injunction to observe it, which we find in the laws of King Edward the elder, the son of Alfred.(e) "*Omnibus qui republicæ præsumt etiam atque etiam mando, ut omnibus æquos se præbeant iudices, perinde ac in judiciali libro (Saxonice, dom-boc) scriptum habetur: nec quicquam formident quin jus commune (Saxonice, folcrighte) audacter libereque dicant.*"

But the irruption and establishment of the Danes in England, which followed soon after, introduced new customs, and caused this code of Alfred in many provinces to fall into disuse, or at least to be mixed and debased with other laws of a coarser alloy; so that, about the beginning of the eleventh century, there were three principal systems of laws prevailing in different districts: 1. The *Mercen-Lage*, or Mercian laws, which were observed in many of the midland counties, and those bordering on the principality of Wales, the retreat of the ancient Britains; and therefore very probably intermixed with the British or Druidical customs. 2. The *West-Saxon Lage*, or laws of the West Saxons, which obtained in the counties to the south and west of the island, from Kent to Devonshire. These were probably much the same with the laws of Alfred above mentioned, being the municipal law of the far most considerable part of his dominions, and particularly including Berkshire, the seat of his peculiar residence. 3. The *Dane-Lage*, or Danish law, the very name of which speaks its original and composition. This was principally maintained in the rest of

(c) C. 17.

(d) See his proposals for a digest.

(e) C. 1.

(1) [It is a loose report of late writers that Alfred compiled a dom-boc, or general code for the government of his kingdom. Hallam's Mid. Ag. 2,402.]

the midland counties, and also on the eastern coast, the part most exposed to the visits of that piratical people. As for the very northern provinces, they were at that time under a distinct government. (f)

* Out of these three laws, Roger Hoveden (g) and Ranulphus Cestrensis (h) informs us, King Edward the Confessor extracted one uniform law, or digest of laws, to be observed throughout the whole kingdom; though Hoveden, and the author of an old manuscript chronicle (i) assure us likewise that this work was projected and begun by his grandfather King Edgar. And indeed a general digest of the same nature has been constantly found expedient, and therefore put in practice by other great nations, which were formed from an assemblage of little provinces, governed by peculiar customs, as in Portugal, under King Edward, about the beginning of the fifteenth century. (k) In Spain under Alonzo X, who, about the year 1250, executed the plan of his father St. Ferdinand, and collected all the provincial customs into one uniform law, in the celebrated code entitled *Las Partidas*. (l) And in Sweden, about the same era, when a universal body of common law was compiled out of the particular customs established by the laghman of every province, and entitled the *land's lagh*, being analogous to the *common law* of England. (m)

Both these undertakings of King Edgar and Edward the Confessor seem to have been no more than a new edition, or fresh promulgation, of Alfred's code or dome-book, with such additions and improvements as the experience of a century and a half had suggested; for Alfred is generally styled by the same historians the *legum Anglicanarum conditor*, as Edward the Confessor is the *restitutor*. These, however, are the laws which our histories so often mention under the name of the laws of Edward the Confessor, which our ancestors struggled so hardly to maintain, under the first princes of the Norman line; and which subsequent princes so frequently promised to keep and restore, as the most popular act they could do, when pressed by foreign emergencies or domestic discontents. These are the laws that so vigorously withstood *the repeated attacks of the civil law; which established in the twelfth century a new Roman empire over most of the states of the continent: states that have lost, and perhaps upon that account, their political liberties; while the free constitution of England, perhaps upon the same account, has been rather improved than debased. These, in short, are the laws which gave rise and original to that collection of maxims and customs which is now known by the name of the common law; a name either given to it in contradistinction to other laws, as the statute law, the civil law, the law merchant, and the like; or, more probably, as a law common to all the realm, the *jus commune*, or *folcright*, mentioned by king Edward the elder, after the abolition of the several provincial customs and particular laws before mentioned.

But though this is the most likely foundation of this collection of maxims and customs, yet the maxims and customs, so collected, are of higher antiquity than memory or history can reach (2) nothing being more difficult than to ascer-

(f) Hal. Hist. 55.

(g) In Hen. II.

(h) In Edw. Confessor.

(i) In Seld. ad Eadmer, 6.

(k) Mod. Un. Hist. xxii 135.

(l) Ibid. xx. 211.

(m) Ibid. xxxiii. 21, 58.

(2) "Our English lawyers," observes Mr. Hallam, "prone to magnify the antiquity like the other merits of their system, are apt to carry up the date of the common law till, like the pedigree of an illustrious family, it loses itself in the obscurity of ancient times: Sir Matthew Hale not hesitating to say that its origin is as undiscoverable as that of the Nile!" It would be equally perplexing and unsatisfactory to the student, to parade before him the various speculations and controversies on this subject, which lie scattered over some twenty volumes now lying open around the writer of these pages. Suffice it to observe, that if the reader be moderately well acquainted with the early history of his country, proofs will accumulate upon him as he advances in the scientific study of his profession, of the very composite character of the common law. He will find indubitable evidence that some parts of it have been handed down to us from Saxon times; that a far greater portion has been derived from our Norman forefathers; that the Roman law bears a much greater proportion to the other ingredients of the common law than the jealous professors of the latter have been, even in recent times, willing to admit; and that some of its most disfigured portions bear the deep traces of that scholastic philosophy which, at so early a period and for so long a

tain the precise beginning and the first spring of an ancient and long established custom. Whence it is that in our law the goodness of a custom depends upon its having been used time out of mind; or, in the solemnity of our legal phrase, time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. This it is that gives it its weight and authority: and of this nature are the maxims and customs which compose the common law, or *lex non scripta*, of this kingdom.

This unwritten, or common, law is properly distinguishable into three kinds: 1. General customs; which are the universal rule of the whole kingdom, and form the common law, in its stricter and more usual signification. 2. Particular customs; which, for the most part, affect only the inhabitants of particular districts. 3. Certain particular laws; which, by custom, are adopted and used by some particular courts, of pretty general and extensive jurisdiction.

[*68] *1. As to general customs, or the common law, properly so called; this is that law, by which proceedings and determinations in the king's ordinary courts of justice are guided and directed. This, for the most part, settles the course in which lands descend by inheritance; the manner and form of acquiring and transferring property; the solemnities and obligation of contracts; the rules of expounding wills, deeds, and acts of parliament; the respective remedies of civil injuries; the several species of temporal offences; with the manner and degree of punishment; and an infinite number of minuter particulars, which diffuse themselves as extensively as the ordinary distribution of common justice requires. Thus, for example, that there shall be four superior courts of record, the Chancery, the King's Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer;—that the eldest son alone is heir to his ancestor;—that property may be acquired and transferred by writing;—that a deed is of no validity unless sealed and delivered;—that wills shall be construed more favourably, and deeds more strictly;—that money lent upon bond is recoverable by action of debt;—that breaking the public peace is an offence, and punishable by fine and imprisonment;—all these are doctrines that are not set down in any written statute or ordinance, but depend merely upon immemorial usage, that is, upon common law, for their support.

Some have divided the common law into two principal grounds or foundations: 1. Established customs; such as that, where there are three brothers, the eldest brother shall be heir to the second, in exclusion of the youngest: and 2. Established rules and maxims; as “that the king can do no wrong, that no man shall be bound to accuse himself,” and the like. But I take these to be one and the same thing. For the authority of these maxims rests entirely upon general reception and usage: and the only method of proving, that this or that maxim is a rule of the common law, is by shewing that it hath been always the custom to observe it. (3) [*69] *But here a very natural, and very material, question arises: how are these customs and maxims to be known, and by whom is their validity to be determined? The answer is, by the judges in the several

time, retarded the advance of knowledge of every kind. That our ancestors were, under the first princes of the Norman line, engaged in frequent struggles to maintain certain institutions known by the name of the *Laws of Edward the Confessor*, is indisputable, however doubtful may be the origin, form and character of these laws; which, in all probability were little else than a digest by Edward of the Mercien, West Saxon and Danish laws, then existing and in force in different parts of the kingdom. It may upon the whole be received as generally true, that our common law traces its origin to the early usages and customs of the aboriginal Britons, and was necessarily augmented, in different ages, by the admixture of some of the laws and usages of the Romans, the Picts, the Saxons, the Danes and the Normans, who spread themselves over the country: “Our laws,” says Lord Bacon, “becoming as mixed as our language.” Warren's Law Studies, 397.

(3) The common law includes those principles, usages and rules of action applicable to the government and security of person and property, which do not rest for their authority upon any express and positive declaration of the will of the legislature. 1 Kent, 468. The common law of the American States consists of the common law of England as modified by English statutes previous to the colonization of America, so far as it had been found adapted to our altered condition and circumstances. And those English statutes passed afterwards, at any time prior to the revolution, which were practically accepted and adopted in America,

courts of justice. They are the depositaries of the laws; the living oracles, who must decide in all cases of doubt, and who are bound by an oath to decide according to the law of the land. Their knowledge of that law is derived from experience and study; from the "*viginti annorum lucubrationes*," which Fortescue (*n*) mentions; and from being long personally accustomed to the judicial decisions of their predecessors. And indeed these judicial decisions are the principal and most authoritative evidence, that can be given, of the existence of such a custom as shall form a part of the common law. The judgment itself, and all the proceedings previous thereto, are carefully registered and preserved, under the name of *records*, in public repositories set apart for that particular purpose; and to them frequent recourse is had, when any critical question arises, in the determination of which former precedents may give light or assistance. And therefore, even, so early as the conquest, we find the *prætorum memoria eventorum*" reckoned up as one of the chief qualifications of those who were held to be "*legibus patriæ optime instituti*." (*o*) For it is an established rule to abide by former precedents, where the same points come again in litigation: as well to keep the scale of justice even and steady, and not liable to waver with every new judge's opinion; as also because the law in that case being solemnly declared and determined, what before was uncertain, and perhaps indifferent, is now become a permanent rule which it is not in the breast of any subsequent judge to alter or vary from according to his private sentiments; he being sworn to determine, not according to his own private judgment, but according to the known laws and customs of the land; not delegated to pronounce a new law, but to maintain and expound the old one. Yet this rule admits of exception, where the former determination is most evidently contrary to reason; *much more if it be clearly contrary to the divine law. But even in such cases the subsequent judges do not pretend to make a new law, but to vindicate the old one from misrepresentation. For if it be found that the former decision is manifestly absurd or unjust, (4) it is declared, not that such a sentence was *bad law*; but that it was *not law*; that is, that it is not the established custom of the realm, as has been erroneously determined. And hence

(*n*) Cap. 8.

(*o*) Seld. Review of Tith. c. 8.

became also a part of the American common law. See *Van Ness v. Packard*, 2 Pet. 144; *Morgan v. King*, 30 Barb. 9; *May v. Wilson*, 1 N. H. 58; *Houghton v. Page*, 2 N. H. 44; *State v. Rollins*, 8 N. H. 550; *Commonwealth v. Knowlton*, 2 Mass. 534; *Commonwealth v. Hunt*, 4 Met. 122; *Lindsey v. Coats*, 1 Ohio, 245; *State v. Buchanan*, 5 H. and J. 356; *Pratt v. Eads*, 1 Blackf. 81; *Lyle v. Richards*, 9 S. and R. 330; *Simpson v. State*, 5 Yerg. 356; *Stout v. Keyes*, 2 Doug. Mich. 184; *Lorman v. Benson*, 8 Mich. 18; *Norris v. Harris*, 15 Cal. 226; *Pierson v. State*, 12 Ala. 149.

The courts of one state will presume the common law of a sister state to be the same as their own: *Abell v. Douglass*, 4 Denio, 303; *High's Case*, 2 Doug. Mich. 515; but not its statute law. *Kermott v. Ayer*, 11 Mich. 181.

Of the United States, as a nation, there is no common law. "The federal government is composed of sovereign and independent states, each of which may have its local usages, customs and common law. There is no principle which pervades the Union, and has the authority of law, that is not embodied in the constitution or laws of the Union. The common law could be made a part of our federal system only by legislative adoption." *McLean, J.*, in *Wheaton v. Peters*, 8 Pet. 658. And see *United States v. Hudson*, 7 Cranch, 32; *United States v. Coolidge*, 1 Wheat. 415; *United States v. Worrall*, 2 Dall. 384.

(4) But it cannot be dissembled, that both in our law, and in all other laws, there are decisions drawn from established principles and maxims, which are good law, though such decisions may be both manifestly absurd and unjust. But notwithstanding this, they must be religiously adhered to by the judges in all courts, who are not to assume the characters of legislators. It is their province *jus dicere*, and not *jus dare*. Lord Coke, in his enthusiastic fondness for the common law, goes farther than the learned commentator; he lays down, that *argumentum ab inconvenienti plurimum valet in lege*, because *nihil quod est inconveniens est licitum*. Mr. Hargrave's note upon this is well conceived and expressed: "Arguments from inconvenience certainly deserve the greatest attention, and where the weight of other reasoning is nearly on an equipoise, ought to turn the scale. But if the rule of law is clear and explicit, it is in vain to insist upon inconveniences; nor can it be true that nothing, which is inconvenient, is lawful, for that supposes in those who make laws a perfection, which the most exalted human wisdom is incapable of attaining, and would be an invincible argument against ever changing the law." *Harg. Co. Litt.* 66.]

it is that our lawyers are with justice so copious in their encomiums on the reason of the common law; that they tell us, that the law is the perfection of reason, that it always intends to conform thereto, and that what is not reason is not law. Not that the particular reason of every rule in the law can at this distance of time be always precisely assigned; but it is sufficient that there be nothing in the rule flatly contradictory to reason, and then the law will presume it to be well founded. (p) And it hath been an ancient observation in the laws of England, that whenever a standing rule of law, of which the reason perhaps could not be remembered or discerned, hath been wantonly broken in upon by statutes or new resolutions, the wisdom of the rule hath in the end appeared from the inconveniences that have followed the innovation.

The doctrine of the law then is this: that precedents and rules must be followed, unless flatly absurd or unjust: (5) for though their reason be not obvious at first view, yet we owe such a deference to former times as not to suppose that they acted wholly without consideration. To illustrate this doctrine by examples. It has been determined time out of mind, that a brother of the half blood shall never succeed as heir to the estate of his half brother, but it shall rather escheat to the king, or other superior lord. Now this is a positive law, fixed and established by custom, which custom is evidenced by judicial decisions; and therefore can never be departed from by any modern judge [*71] without a breach of his oath and *the law. For herein there is nothing repugnant to natural justice; (6) though the artificial reason of it, drawn from the feudal law, may not be quite obvious to every body. And therefore, though a modern judge, on account of a supposed hardship upon the half brother, might wish it had been otherwise settled, yet it is not in his power to alter it. But if any court were now to determine, that an elder brother of the half blood might enter upon and seize any lands that were purchased by his younger brother, no subsequent judges would scruple to declare that such prior determination was unjust, was unreasonable, and therefore was *not law*. So that *the law*, and the *opinion of the judge*, are not always convertible terms, or one and the same thing; since it sometimes may happen that the judge may *mistake* the law. Upon the whole, however we may take it as a general rule, "that the decisions of courts of justice are the evidence of what is common law:" in the same manner as, in the civil law, what the emperor had once determined was to serve as a guide for the future. (q)

(p) Herein agreeing with the civil law, *Ff. l. 3. 20. 21.* "*Non omnium, quæ a majoribus nostris constituta sunt, ratio reddi potest. Et ideo rationes eorum, quæ constituuntur, inquiri non oportet: alioquin multa ex his, quæ certa sunt, subvertuntur.*"

(q) "*Si imperialis majestas causam cognitionaliter examinaverit, et partibus cominus constitutis sententiam dixerit, omnes omnino iudices, qui sub nostro imperio sunt, sciunt hanc esse legem, non solum illi causæ pro qua producta est, sed et in omnibus similibus.*" *C. l. 14. 12.*

(5) "When a rule has once been deliberately adopted and declared, it ought not to be disturbed unless by a court of appeal or review, and never by the same court, unless for very urgent reasons, and upon a clear manifestation of error; and if the practice were otherwise, it would be leaving us in a perplexing uncertainty as to the law." 1 Kent. 475. See *Nelson v. Allen*, 1 Yerg. 376; *Emerson v. Atwater*, 7 Mich. 12; *Sparrow v. Kingman*, 1 N. Y. 260; *Palmer v. Lawrence*, 5 N. Y. 389; *Boon v. Bowers*, 30 Miss. 246. A judgment rendered by a court is authority, notwithstanding it was one given of necessity, under the law, on an equal division of the court. *Regina v. Mills*, 13 M. and W. 361; *Durant v. Essex Co.*, 7 Wal. 107.

A precedent flatly unreasonable and unjust may be followed if it has been for a long period acquiesced in, or if it has become a rule of property, so that titles have been acquired in reliance upon it, and vested rights will be disturbed by overruling it. In such a case it will be proper to leave the correction of the error to the legislature, which can so shape its action as to make it prospective only, and thus prevent the injurious consequences that must follow from judicially declaring the previous decision unfounded. *Emerson v. Atwater*, 7 Mich. 12; *Pratt v. Brown*, 3 Wis. 609; *Day v. Munson*, 14 Ohio N. S. 488; *Taylor v. French*, 19 Vt. 49; *Bellows v. Parsons*, 13 N. H. 256; *Hannel v. Smith*, 15 Ohio, 134; *Sparrow v. Kingman*, 1 N. Y. 260; *Ram on Legal Judgment*, ch. 14.

(6) [But it is certainly repugnant to natural reason, where a father leaves two sons by two different mothers, and dies intestate, and a large estate descends to his eldest son, who dies a minor or intestate, that this estate should go to the lord of the manor, or to the king, rather than to the younger son. When such a case happens in the family of a nobleman, or a man of great property, this law will then appear so absurd and unreasonable, that it will not be suffered to remain long afterwards to disgrace our books. See book ii. p. 231.]

It has since been repealed by Stat. 3 and 4 William IV., c. 106, § 9.

The decisions therefore of courts are held in the highest regard, and are not only preserved as authentic records in the treasuries of the several courts, but are handed out to public view in the numerous volumes of *reports* which furnish the lawyer's library. These reports are histories of the several cases, with a short summary of the proceedings, which are preserved at large in the record; the arguments on both sides and the reasons the court gave for its judgment; taken down in short notes by persons present at the determination. And these serve as indexes to, and also to explain, the records, which always, in matters of consequence and nicety, the judges direct to be searched. The reports are extant in a regular series from the reign of King Edward the Second inclusive; and, from his time, to that of Henry the *Eighth, were taken by the [72] prothonotaries, or chief scribes of the court, at the expense of the crown, and published *annually*, whence they are known under the denomination of the *year books*. And it is much to be wished that this beneficial custom had, under proper regulations, been continued to this day; for, though King James the First, at the instance of Lord Bacon, appointed two reporters (r) with a handsome stipend for this purpose, yet that wise institution was soon neglected, and from the reign of Henry the Eighth to the present time this task has been executed by many private and contemporary hands; who sometimes through haste and inaccuracy, sometimes through mistake and want of skill, have published very crude and imperfect (perhaps contradictory) accounts of one and the same determination. Some of the most valuable of the ancient reports are those published by Lord Chief-Justice Coke; a man of infinite learning in his profession, though not a little infected with the pedantry and quaintness of the times he lived in, which appear strongly in all his works. However, his writings are so highly esteemed, that they are generally cited without the author's name. (s)

Besides these reporters, there are also other authors, to whom great veneration and respect is paid by the students of the common law. Such are Glanvil and Bracton, Britton and Fleta, Hengham and Littleton, Statham, Brooke, Fitzherbert, and Staundforde, (7) with some others of ancient date; whose treatises are cited as authority, and are evidence that cases have formerly happened in which such and such points were determined, which are now become settled and first principles. One of the last of these methodical writers in point of time, whose works are of any intrinsic authority in the courts of justice, and do not entirely depend on the strength of their quotations from older authors, is the *same learned judge we have just mentioned, Sir Edward Coke; who hath written four volumes of institutes, as he is [73] pleased to call them, though they have little of the institutional method to warrant such a title. The first volume is a very extensive comment upon a little excellent treatise of tenures, compiled by Judge Littleton in the reign of Edward the Fourth. This comment is a rich mine of valuable common law learning, collected and heaped together from the ancient reports and year books, but greatly defective in method. (t) The second volume is a comment upon many old acts of parliament, without any systematical order; the third a more methodical treatise of the pleas of the crown; and the fourth an account of the several species of courts. (u)

And thus much for the first ground and chief corner stone of the laws of England, which is general immemorial custom, or common law, from time to

(r) *Pat. 15 Jac. I. p. 18. 17 Rym. 26.*

(s) His reports, for instance, are styled *κατ' ἐξοχην, the reports*; and, in quoting them, we usually say, 1 or 2 Rep. not 1 or 2 Coke's Rep. as in citing other authors. The reports of Judge Croke are also cited in a peculiar manner, by the names of those princes, in whose reigns the cases reported in his three volumes were determined; viz. Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles the First: as well as by the number of each volume. For sometimes we call them 1, 2, and 3 Cro. but more commonly Cro. Eliz., Cro. Jac. and Cro. Car.

(t) It is usually cited either by the name of Co. Litt. or as 1 Inst.

(u) These are cited as 2, 3, or 4 Inst. without any author's name. An honorary distinction, which, we observed, is paid to the works of no other writer; the generality of reports and other tracts being quoted in the name of the compiler, as 2 Ventris, 4 Leonard, 1 Siderfin, and the like.

(7) Crabbe's and Reeves's Histories of the English Law give some account of the works of these several authors.

time declared in the decisions of the courts of justice; which decisions are preserved among our public records, explained in our reports, and digested for general use in the authoritative writings of the venerable sages of the law.

The Roman law, as practised in the times of its liberty, paid also a great regard to custom; but not so much as our law; it only then adopting it, when the written law was deficient. Though the reasons alleged in the digest (*v*) will fully justify our practice, in making it of equal authority with, when it is not contradicted by, the written law. "For, since (says Julianus,) the written law binds us for no other reason but because it is approved by the judgment of the people, therefore those laws which the people have approved without writing ought also to bind every body. For where is the difference, whether the people [*74] declare their assent to a law by suffrage, or by a uniform course of acting accordingly?" Thus did they reason while Rome had some remains of her freedom; but, when the imperial tyranny came to be fully established, the civil laws speak a very different language. "*Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem, cum populus ei et in eum omne suum imperium et potestatem conferat,*" says Ulpian. (*w*) "*Imperator solus et conditor et interpretis legis existimatur,*" says the code. (*x*) And again, "*sacrilegii instar est rescripto principis obviari.*" (*y*) And indeed it is one of the characteristic marks of English liberty, that our common law depends upon custom; which carries this internal evidence of freedom along with it, that it probably was introduced by the voluntary consent of the people. (8.)

II. The second branch of the unwritten laws of England are particular customs, or laws, which affect only the inhabitants of particular districts.

These particular customs, or some of them, are without doubt the remains of that multitude of local customs before mentioned, out of which the common law, as it now stands, was collected at first by King Alfred, and afterwards by King Edgar and Edward the Confessor: each district mutually sacrificing some of its own special usages, in order that the whole kingdom might enjoy the benefit of one uniform and universal system of laws. But for reasons that have been now long forgotten, particular counties, cities, towns, manors, and lordships, were very early indulged with the privilege of abiding by their own customs, in contradistinction to the rest of the nation at large: which privilege is confirmed to them by several acts of parliament. (*z*.)

Such is the custom of gavelkind in Kent, and some other parts of the kingdom (though perhaps it was also general till the Norman conquest), which [*75] ordains, among other things, *that not the eldest son only of the father shall succeed to his inheritance, but all the sons alike: and that, though the ancestor be attained and hanged, yet the heir shall succeed to his estate, without any escheat to the lord. Such is the custom that prevails in divers ancient boroughs, and therefore called borough-English, that the youngest son shall inherit the estate, in preference to all his elder brothers. Such is the custom in other boroughs that a widow shall be entitled, for her dower, to all

(v) *Ff.* 1. 3. 32.

(w) *Ff.* 1. 4. 1.

(x) *C.* 1. 14. 12.

(y) *C.* 1. 23. 5.

(z) *Mag. Cart.* 9 Hen. III, c. 9. — 1 Edw. III. St. 2. c. 9. — 14 Edw. III St. 1. c. 1. — and 2 Hen. IV. c. 1.

(8) [Lord Chief-Justice Wilmot has said that "the statute law is the will of the legislature in writing; the common law is nothing else but statutes worn out by time. All our law began by consent of the legislature, and whether it is now law by usage or writing is the same thing. 2 Wils. 348. And statute law, and common law, both originally flowed from the same fountain." *Ib.* 350. And to the same effect Lord Hale declares, "that many of those things that we now take for common law, were undoubtedly acts of parliament, though now not to be found of record." *Hist. Com. Law*, 66. Though this is the probable origin of the greatest part of the common law, yet much of it certainly has been introduced by usage, even of modern date, which general convenience has adopted. Of this nature is the law of the road, viz.: that horses and carriages should pass each other on the whip hand. This law has not been enacted by statute, and is so modern, that perhaps this is the first time that it has been noticed in a book of law. But general convenience discovered the necessity of it, and our judges have so far confirmed it, as to declare frequently at nisi prius, that he who disregards this salutary rule is answerable in damages for all the consequences.]

her husband's lands; whereas, at the common law, she shall be endowed of one third part only. Such also are the special and particular customs of manors, of which every one has more or less, and which bind all the copyhold and customary tenants that hold of the said manors. Such likewise is the custom of holding divers inferior courts, with power of trying causes, in cities and trading towns, the right of holding which, when no royal grant can be shewn, depends entirely upon immemorial and established usage. Such, lastly, are many particular customs within the city of London, with regard to trade, apprentices, widows, orphans, and a variety other matters. All these are contrary to the general law of the land, and are good only by special usage; though the customs of London are also confirmed by act of parliament. (a)

To this head may most properly be referred a particular system of customs used only among one set of the king's subjects, called the custom of merchants, or *lex mercatoria*: which, however different from the general rules of the common law, is yet ingrafted into it, and made a part of it; (b) being allowed, for the benefit of trade, to be of the utmost validity in all commercial transactions: for it is a maxim of law, that "*cuiuslibet in sua arte credendum est.*" (9)

The rules relating to particular customs regard either the *proof* of their existence; their *legality* when proved; or their usual method of *allowance*. And first we will consider the rules of *proof*.

*As to gavelkind, and borough-English, the law takes particular [*76] notice of them, (c) and there is no occasion to prove that such customs actually exist, but only that the lands in question are subject thereto. All other private customs must be particularly pleaded, (d) and as well the existence of such customs must be shewn, as that the thing in dispute is within the custom alleged. The trial in both cases (both to shew the existence of the custom, as, "that in the manor of Dale lands shall descend only to the heirs male, and never to the heirs female;" and also to shew "that the lands in question are within that manor") is by a jury of twelve men, and not by the judges; except the same particular custom has been before tried, determined, and recorded in the same court. (e)

The customs of London differ from all others in point of trial: for, if the existence of the custom be brought in question, it shall not be tried by a jury, but by certificate from the lord mayor and aldermen by the mouth of their recorder; (f) unless it be such a custom as the corporation is itself interested in, as a right of taking toll, &c., for then the law permits them not to certify on their own behalf. (g)

When a custom is actually proved to exist, the next inquiry is into the *legality* of it; for, if it is not a good custom, it ought to be no longer used; "*Malus usus abolendus est*" is an established maxim of the law. (h) To make a particular custom good, the following are necessary requisites. (10)

(a) 8 Rep. 126. Cro. Car. 347.
(e) Dr. and St. 1. 10.

(b) Winch. 24.
(f) Cro. Car. 516.

(c) Co. Litt. 175.
(g) Hob. 86.

(d) Litt. § 265.
(h) Litt. § 212. 4 Inst. 274.

(9) The *lex mercatoria*, or custom of merchants, as Mr. Christian observes, is only a great division of the law of England. The laws relating to bills of exchange, insurance, and all mercantile contracts, are as much the general law of the land as the laws relating to marriage or murder. Merchants do not modify them at will, but take the law from the courts like all other classes.

(10) A custom is defined as being such a usage as, by common consent and uniform practice, has become the law of the place, or of the subject matter to which it relates: Bouv. Law. Dic. "custom;" or, as another has it, it is a law not written, established by long usage and the consent of our ancestors. Jacob Law Dic. "custom." A particular custom is distinguished from a rule of the common law in this: that the latter is universal, while the former is particular to this or that place: Broom's Maxims, 3 London Ed. 823-4; and it is distinguished from usage in this, that custom is the rule of which usage is the legal evidence. Read v. Rann, 10 B. and C. 440.

So far as particular customs only go to explain the meaning of terms of art, or words employed in certain occupations, or to prescribe rules for the transaction of particular kinds of business, they are generally, if well established, easily susceptible of proof, and not

1. That it have been used so long, that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. So that, if any one can shew the beginning of it, is no good custom. For which reason no custom can prevail against an express act of [*77] *parliament, since the statute itself is a proof of a time when such a custom did not exist. (i)

(s) Co. Litt. 114.

opposed to sound policy. Every trade, profession and occupation has rules of its own which, those who follow it expect to comply with, and in reference to which they make their contracts; and it is not uncommon that words used by them in reference to their employment are employed by them in a sense quite distinct from that which they bear generally. See *Spartoli v. Benecke*, 10 C. B. 212; *Lucas v. Bristow*, E., B. and E. 907; *Brown v. Byrne*, 3 E. and B. 703; *Robertson v. Money*, Ry. and M. 75. The usages of a particular occupation, if they become general, will be taken notice of as a part of the common law, and require no proof; like the usage in banking that depositors, instead of being compellable to receive all that is owing them at once, like creditors generally, may withdraw their funds in such sums as they may choose. *Munn v. Burch*, 25 Ill. 35. In such a case the parties whose dealings may be affected by the custom, are not at liberty to relieve themselves from its operation by showing their ignorance of it. But particular usages must be collected from evidence *in pais*, and the existence of the custom provable by them is to be found as a fact by the jury. If for a considerable period a certain business has been conducted in a particular way, or if all the persons engaged in a certain occupation in one place have, for a considerable time, used particular words in their contracts in a certain sense only, a jury may fairly infer that any contract made in that business, or at that place, has been made in reference to this usage, and in the expectation that its terms would be controlled by it, and therefore may interpret the contract in the light of the usage. *Coit v. Commercial Ins. Co.*, 7 Johns. 385; *Astor v. Union Insurance Co.*, 7 Cow. 202; *Niagara Fire Ins. Co. v. De Graff*, 12 Mich. 125; *Avery v. Stewart*, 2 Conn. 69; *Gordon v. Little*, 8 S. and R. 533; *Syers v. Jonas*, 2 Exch. 111; *Cuthbert v. Cumming*, 10 Exch. 809, and 11 Exch. 405; *Ford v. Tyrrell*, 9 Gray, 401; *Taylor v. Sonora, &c.*, Co. 17 Cal. 594; *Parker v. Ibbotson*, 4 C. B., N. S. 346; *Field v. Lelean*, 6 H. and N. 617; *Goodenow v. Tyler*, 7 Mass. 37; *Dwight v. Whitney*, 15 Pick. 179; *City Bank v. Cutler*, 3 Pick. 414. The custom in such a case becomes the law of the contract, because it is to be presumed that such was the intention of the parties. See further *Humfrey v. Dale*, 7 E. and B. 266; *Williams v. Gilman*, 3 Greenl. 276; *Gunther v. Atwell*, 19 Md. 157; *Kilgore v. Buckley*, 14 Conn. 363; *Miller v. Tetherington*, 7 H. and N. 954; *Smith v. Wilson*, B. and Ad. 728; *Garrison v. Perrin*, 2 C. B., N. S. 681; *Robertson v. Clark*, 1 Bing. 445; *Jones v. Fales*, 4 Mass. 245; *Thompson v. Hamilton*, 12 Pick. 425; *Macy v. Whaling Ins. Co.*, 9 Mete. 354; *Putnam v. Tillotson*, 13 Mete. 517; *Uhde v. Waters*, 3 Camp. 16; *Grinman v. Walker*, 9 Iowa, 426; *Bank of Washington v. Triplett*, 1 Pet. 25; *Mills v. Bank of U. S.*, 11 Wheat. 431.

These particular usages, however, cannot generally be enforced against a party who was ignorant of them, and whose assent to them, consequently, cannot fairly be implied. A merchant, for instance, cannot charge his customer interest on a running account on the ground of a usage at his store to do so, unless he can bring home to such customer a knowledge of such usage; and even if it were customary for all the merchants of the place to charge interest on such accounts this custom could not bind in the absence of direct proof of knowledge by such customer, unless it was "so well settled, so uniformly acted upon, and of so long a continuance as to raise a fair presumption that it was known to both contracting parties, and that they contracted in reference to conformity with it." *Foye v. Leighton*, 22 N. H. 76. See also *Clayton v. Grigson*, 5 A. and E. 302; *Stevens v. Reeves*, 9 Pick. 108; *Martin v. Maynard*, 16 N. H. 167; *Smith v. Gibbs*, 44 N. H. 348; *Coxe v. Heisley*, 19 Penn. St. 245; *Caldwell v. Dawson*, 4 Met. Ky. 121; *Walker v. Barron*, 6 Minn. 508; *Warnersley v. Dally*, 26 L. J. Exch. 219; *Humphreysville Copper Co. v. Vermont Copper Mining Co.*, 33 Vt. 92; *Bissell v. Ryan*, 23 Ill. 570; *Register v. Spencer*, 24 Md. 520; *Sipperly v. Stewart*, 50 Barb. 62.

One well understood and very definite limitation upon such customs is this: that they will not be allowed to control a written instrument in opposition to its express terms. They are allowed to be proved, not to contradict the contract, but to interpret the meaning of its language, or to ascertain the nature and extent of the contract, in the absence of express stipulations, and where the meaning is equivocal or obscure. *Schooner Reeside*, 2 Sumn. 569; *Cutler v. Powell*, 6 T. R. 320; *Notes to Wigglesworth v. Dallison*, 1 Smith Lead. Cases, 821; *Vallance v. Dewar*, 1 Camp. 503; *Beals v. Terry*, 2 Sandf. 130; *Taylor v. Ketcham*, 5 Rob. 507; *Boardman v. Spooner*, 13 Allen, 359. As they are only enforced upon a presumption that the parties adopted them in their contracts, it is very plain that they are not admissible in any case where the contract by its terms excludes the presumption. *Roberts v. Walker*, 1 C. and M. 808; *Dickinson v. Gray*, 7 Allen, 29; *Martin v. Maynard*, 16 N. H. 165; *Wheeler v. Newbould*, 16 N. Y. 392; *Lewis v. Thatcher*, 15 Mass. 431; *Hooper v. Pound*, 10 Ind. 32; *Macomber v. Parker*, 13 Pick. 175; *Carkin v. Savory*, 14 Gray, 528; *Insurance Cos. v. Wright*, 1 Wal. 470. Decisions on this subject are far too numerous to be all cited; nor is it important, since they only apply to the varying circumstances of particular cases the same general rule.

2. It must have been *continued*. Any interruption would cause a temporary ceasing: the revival gives it a new beginning, which will be within time of memory, and thereupon the custom will be void. But this must be understood with regard to an interruption of the *right*; for an interruption of the *possession* only, for ten or twenty years, will not destroy the custom. (*j*) As if the inhabitants of a parish have a customary right of watering their cattle at a certain pool, the custom is not destroyed, though they do not use it for ten years; it only becomes more difficult to prove: but if the *right* be any how discontinued for a day, the custom is quite at an end.

(*j*) Co. Litt. 114.

Nothing relating to these particular customs is more noticeable in the judicial decisions than the strong repugnance of the courts to sustaining them, when they go to vary the common law obligations of parties, or to subject them to liabilities which depend on the customs alone. This is not to be wondered at when we reflect how often the very existence of the usage depends upon conflicting testimony, so that the court, when a verdict is found sustaining it, cannot feel entire confidence that the parties contracted in reference to the usage, nor that the court is not enforcing as the law of the contract some practice supposed to have been assented to, but of which one of the parties may never have heard. The following cases will illustrate the truth of our statement: *Rogers v. Mechanics Ins. Co.*, 1 Story, 608; *Schooner Reeside*, 2 Sumn. 569; *Dickinson v. Gay*, 7 Allen, 37; *Stoever v. Whitman's Lessee*, 6 Binn. 416; *Caldwell v. Dawson*, 4 Met. Ky. 121; *Howe v. Mutual Safety Ins. Co.*, 2 Sandf. 130. *Coxe v. Heisley*, 19 Penn. St. 245; *Bissell v. Ryan*, 23 Ill. 566.

Mr. Broome says, following Blackstone and the earlier writers, that if one can show its commencement it is no good custom. However true this may be as regards the local customs which establish rights in favor of parties irrespective of contracts, it is clear that it can have no application to the usages which go to interpret the contracts the parties have made. In respect to these it is only necessary that they shall have existed a sufficient length of time without interruption, contention or dispute, to raise a presumption that contracts must have been made in reference to them. *Smith v. Wright*, 1 Caines, 43; *Bartow v. McKelway*, 2 N. J. 165. The usages of a new business may soon become fixed and understood, if but few persons are engaged in it who uniformly transact it in a particular way. See *Nobell v. Kennaway*, Doug. 510; *Dorchester and Milton Bank v. New England Bank*, 1 Cush. 188.

That the usage must be certain, see *Blewett v. Tregoning*, 3 A. and E. 555; *Padwick v. Knight*, 7 Exch. 854; *Strong v. Grand Trunk Railway Co.*, 15 Mich. 221; *Wallace v. Morgan*, 23 Ind. 408; *Wilson v. Willes*, 6 East, 121.

The question of the reasonableness of a usage is a question of law for the court: *Bowen v. Stoddard*, 10 Met. 381; *Bourke v. James*, 4 Mich. 338; and "the court will not enforce it, or give it the sanction of law, unless it be reasonable and convenient, and adapted not only to increase facilities in trade, but to the promoting of just dealing in the intercourse between parties." Per Hubbard, J., in *Macy v. Whaling Ins. Co.*, 9 Met. 363. A custom that the master of a stranded vessel may sell without necessity is unreasonable and void. *Bryant v. Commercial Ins. Co.*, 6 Pick. 131. So is one that makes the owners of vessels responsible as acceptors on bills drawn by the master, and which have been negotiated on the assumption that the funds were needed for supplies and repairs. *Bowen v. Stoddard*, 10 Met. 381. So is one that seamen's advance wages due under shipping articles, shall be paid to the shipping agent, to be paid by him to the boarding house keeper bringing the seamen. *Metcalf v. Weld*, 14 Gray, 210. And see *Sweeting v. Pearce*, 7 C. B., N. S., 449; *Miller v. Pendleton*, 8 Gray, 547; *Holmes v. Johnson*, 42 Penn. St. 159. So is a custom for the inhabitants of a town to take a profit *in alieno solo*. *Grimstead v. Marlowe*, 4 T. R. 717; *Perley v. Langley*, 7 N. H. 233; *Nudd v. Hobbs*, 17 N. H. 527. So is any usage that is opposed to the general law of the state on the subject to which it refers; as, for instance, if it give usurious interest on contracts: *Green v. Tyler*, 39 Penn. St. 361; *Dunham v. Dey*, 13 Johns. 40; *Dunham v. Gould*, 16 Johns. 377; *Bank of Utica v. Wager*, 2 Cow. 712; *Pratt v. Adams*, 7 Paige, 615; *Delaplaine v. Crenshaw*, 15 Gratt. 457; or would defeat the purpose of the state inspection laws. *Tremble v. Crowell*, 17 Mich. 493. And in any case where the statute has defined a word in reference to its use in contracts, usage cannot be allowed to give it a different meaning. *Many v. Beekman Iron Co.*, 9 Paige, 188.

The most serious question pertaining to usages is, whether they are admissible in any case when they oppose or alter a general principle or rule of law, and upon a fixed state of facts would make the legal rights or liabilities of the parties other than they are by the common law. We think we are justified by the authorities in answering this question in the negative. "Nothing," says Ch. J. Gibson, "should be more pertinaciously resisted than those attempts to transfer the functions of the judge to the witnesses' stand, by evidence of customs in derogation of the general law, that would involve the responsibilities of the parties in rules whose existence, perhaps, they had no reason to suspect before they came to be applied to their rights." *Bolton v. Coulter*, 1 Watts. 360; and see *Coxe v. Heisley*, 19 Penn. St. 247; *Weth-*

3. It must have been *peaceable*, and acquiesced in; not subject to contention and dispute. (*k*) For as customs owe their original to common consent, their being immemorially disputed, either at law or otherwise, is a proof that such consent was wanting.

4. Customs must be *reasonable*; (*l*) or rather, taken negatively, they must not be unreasonable. Which is not always, as Sir Edward Coke says, (*m*) to be understood of every unlearned man's reason, but of artificial and legal reason, warranted by authority of law. Upon which account custom may be good, though the particular reason of it cannot be assigned; for it sufficeth, if no good legal reason can be assigned against it. Thus a custom in a parish, that no man shall put his beasts into the common till the third of October, would be good; and yet it would be hard to shew the reason why that day in particular is fixed upon, rather than the day before or after. But a custom, that no cattle shall be put in till the lord of the manor has first put in his, is unreasonable, and therefore bad: for peradventure the lord will never put in his, and then the tenants will lose all their profits. (*n*)

*5. Customs ought to be *certain*. A custom, that lands shall descend [*78] to the most worthy of the owner's blood, is void; for how shall this worth be determined? but a custom to descend to the next male of the blood, exclusive of females, is certain, and therefore good. (*o*) A custom to pay two-pence an acre in lieu of tithes, is good; but to pay sometimes two-pence, and sometimes three-pence, as the occupier of the land pleases, is bad for its uncertainty. Yet a custom, to pay a year's improved value for a fine on a copyhold estate, is good; though the value is a thing uncertain: for the value may at any time be ascertained; and the maxim of law is, *id certum est, quod certum reddi potest*.

6. Customs, though established by consent, must be (when established) *compulsory*; and not left to the option of every man, whether he will use them or no. Therefore a custom, that all the inhabitants shall be rated towards the maintenance of a bridge, will be good; but a custom that every man is to contribute thereto at his own pleasure, is idle and absurd, and indeed no custom at all.

(*k*) *Ibid.*

(*l*) Litt. § 212.

(*m*) 1 Inst. 62.

(*n*) Co. Copyh. § 33.

(*o*) 1 Roll. Abr. 565.

erill v. Neilson, 20 Penn. St. 453. "Though usage," said Ch. J. Kent, "is often resorted to for explanation of commercial instruments, it never is, nor ought to be, received to contradict a settled rule of commercial law." Frith v. Baker, 2 Johns. 335. See further, Thompson v. Ashton, 14 Johns. 317; Woodruff v. Merchants' Bank, 25 Wend. 673; Otsego County Bank v. Warren, 18 Barb. 290; Hunton v. Locke, 5 Hill, 437; Bowen v. Newell, 8 N. Y. 190; Freeman v. Loder, 11 A. and E. 589; Homer v. Dorr, 10 Mass. 29; Eager v. Atlas Ins. Co. 14 Pick. 141; Perkins v. Franklin Bank, 21 Pick. 483; Strong v. Bliss, 6 Met. 393; Richardson v. Copeland, 6 Gray, 536; Brown v. Jackson, 2 Wash. C. C. 24; Steward v. Scudder, 4 Zab. 96; West v. Ball, 12 Ala. 347; Beckwith v. Farnum, 5 R. I. 221; Ripley v. Cooper, 47 Me. 370; Harper v. Pound, 10 Ind. 32; Barlow v. Lambert, 28 Ala. 710. Boardman v. Spooner, 13 Allen, 360. "The proper office of a custom or usage in business is to ascertain and explain the intent of the parties; and it cannot be in opposition to any principle of general policy, nor inconsistent with the terms of the agreement between the parties, nor against the established principles of law." Per Breese, J., in Bissell v. Ryan, 23 Ill. 570. A commercial usage is a long and uniform practice, applied to habits, modes, and courses of dealing. It relates to modes of action, and does not comprehend the mere adoption of certain peculiar doctrines or rules of law. It may operate to give effect to contracts different from that which the common law would have done, but the consequent variation of the legal rights of the parties is only the result of the mode of dealing. The adoption, however, of a mere doctrine as to the rights and obligations of the parties under a contract, which doctrine is contrary to the rule of the common law on the subject, as, for instance, that a warranty should be implied in a sale of chattels where the common law implied none: Coxe v. Heisley, 19 Penn. St. 243; Wetherill v. Neilson, 20 Penn. St. 448; Dickinson v. Gay, 7 Allen, 29; Tremble v. Crowell, 17 Mich. 493; or that a warranty should not exist where the common law implies one: Whitmore v. South Boston Iron Co., 2 Allen, 52; is beyond the province of a commercial usage. The distinction has been well said to be somewhat nice: per Chapman, J., in Dickinson v. Gay, 7 Allen, 37; and it certainly has not always been kept in view; but it is believed to be sound, and, if adhered to, will tend to uniformity in the law, and to protect parties against usages of uncertain character and doubtful propriety.

7. Lastly, customs must be *consistent* with each other: one custom cannot be set up in opposition to another. For if both are really customs, then both are of equal antiquity, and both established by mutual consent: which to say of contradictory customs is absurd. Therefore, if one man prescribes that by custom he has a right to have windows looking into another's garden; the other cannot claim a right by custom to stop up or obstruct those windows: for these two contradictory customs cannot both be good, nor both stand together. He ought rather to deny the existence of the former custom. (*p*)

Next, as to the *allowance* of special customs. Customs, in derogation of the common law, must be construed strictly. Thus, by the custom of gavelkind, an infant of fifteen years *may, by one species of conveyance, called a deed of feoffment,) convey away his lands in fee simple, or forever. Yet this custom [*79] does not empower him to use any other conveyance, or even to lease them for seven years: for the custom must be strictly pursued. (*q*) And, moreover, all special customs must submit to the king's prerogative. Therefore, if the king purchases lands of the nature of gavelkind, where all the sons inherit equally; yet, upon the king's demise, his eldest son shall succeed to those lands alone. (*r*) And thus much for the second part of the *leges non scriptæ*, or those particular customs which affect particular persons or districts only.

III. The third branch of them are those peculiar laws, which by custom are adopted and used only in certain peculiar courts and jurisdictions. And by these I understand the civil and canon laws. (*s*)

It may seem a little improper at first view to rank these laws under the head of *leges non scriptæ*, or unwritten laws, seeing they are set forth by authority in their pandects, their codes, and their institutions; their councils, decrees, and decretals; and enforced by an immense number of expositions, decisions, and treatises of the learned in both branches of the law. But I do this, after the example of Sir Matthew Hale, (*t*) because it is most plain, that it is not on account of their being *written* laws that either the canon law, or the civil law, have any obligation within this kingdom: neither do their force and efficacy depend upon their own intrinsic authority, which is the case of our written laws, or acts of parliament. They bind not the subjects of England, because their materials were collected from popes or emperors; were digested by Justinian, or declared to be authentic by Gregory. These considerations give them no authority here; for the legislature of England doth not, nor ever did, recognize any foreign power as superior or equal to it in this kingdom, or as having the right to give law to any, the meanest, of its subjects. But all the *strength that either the papal or imperial laws have obtained in this [*80] realm, or indeed in any other kingdom in Europe, is only because they have been admitted and received by immemorial usage and custom in some particular cases, and some particular courts; and then they form a branch of the *leges non scriptæ*, or customary laws; or else because they are in some other cases introduced by consent of parliament, and they owe their validity to the *leges scriptæ*, or statute law. This is expressly declared in those remarkable words of the statute 25 Hen. VIII, c. 21, addressed to the king's royal majesty: "This your grace's realm, recognizing no superior under God but only your grace, hath been and is free from subjection to any man's laws, but only to such as have been devised, made, and ordained *within* this realm, for the wealth of the same; or to such other as, by sufferance of your grace and your progenitors, the people of this your realm have taken at their free liberty, by their own consent, to be used among them; and have bound themselves by long use and custom to the observance of the same; not as to the observance of the laws of any foreign prince, potentate, or prelate; but as to the *customed* and ancient laws of this realm, originally established as laws of the same, by the said sufferance, consents, and custom; and none otherwise."

By the civil law, absolutely taken, is generally understood the civil or municipal law of the Roman empire, as comprised in the institutes, the code, and the

(*p*) 9 Rep. 58.(*q*) Co. Cop. § 33.(*r*) Co. Litt. 15.(*s*) Hist. C. L. c. 2.(*t*) Hist. C. L. c. 2.

digest of the emperor Justinian, and the novel constitutions of himself and some of his successors. Of which, as there will frequently be occasion to cite them, by way of illustrating our own laws, it may not be amiss to give a short and general account.

The Roman law (founded first upon the regal constitutions of their ancient kings, next upon the twelve tables of the *decemviri*, then upon the laws or statutes enacted by the senate or people, the edicts of the prætor, and the [*81] *responsa prudentum*, or opinions of learned lawyers, *and lastly upon the imperial decrees, or constitutions of successive emperors,) had grown to so great a bulk, or, as Livy expresses it, (u) "*tam immensus aliarum super alias ascervatarum legum cumulus*," that they were computed to be many camels' load by an author who preceded Justinian. (v) This was in part remedied by the collections of three private lawyers, Gregorius, Hermogenes, and Papirius; and then by the emperor Theodosius the younger, by whose orders a code was compiled A. D. 438, being a methodical collection of all the imperial constitutions then in force: which Theodosian code was the only book of civil law received as authentic in the western part of Europe till many centuries after; and to this it is probable that the Franks and Goths might frequently pay some regard, in framing legal constitutions for their newly erected kingdoms: for Justinian commanded only in the eastern remains of the empire; and it was under his auspices that the present body of civil law was compiled and finished by Tribonian and other lawyers, about the year 533.

This consists of, 1. The institutes, which contain the elements or first principles of the Roman law in four books. 2. The digests, or pandects, in fifty books; containing the opinions and writings of eminent lawyers, digested in a systematical method. 3. A new code, or collection of imperial constitutions, in twelve books; the lapse of a whole century having rendered the former code of Theodosius imperfect. 4. The novels, or new constitutions, posterior in time to the other books, and amounting to a supplement to the code; containing new decrees of successive emperors, as new questions happened to arise. These form the body of Roman law, or *corpus juris civilis*, as published about the time of Justinian; which, however, fell soon into neglect and oblivion, till about the year 1130, when a copy of the digests was found at Amalfi, in Italy; which accident, concurring with the policy of the Roman ecclesiastics, (w) suddenly gave new vogue and authority to the civil law, introduced it into several [*82] nations, and *occasioned that mighty inundation of voluminous comments, with which this system of law, more than any other, is now loaded.

The canon law is a body of Roman ecclesiastical law, relative to such matters as that church either has, or pretends to have, the proper jurisdiction over. This is compiled from the opinions of the ancient Latin fathers, the decrees of general councils, and the decretal epistles and bulls of the holy see; all which lay in the same disorder and confusion as the Roman civil law, till, about the year 1151, one Gratian, an Italian monk, animated by the discovery of Justinian's pandects, reduced the ecclesiastical constitutions also into some method, in three books, which he entitled *Concordia Discordantium Canonum*, but which are generally known by the name of *Decretum Gratiani*. These reached as low as the time of Pope Alexander III. The subsequent papal decrees, to the pontificate of Gregory IX, were published in much the same method, under the auspices of that pope, about the year 1230, in five books, entitled *Decretalia Gregorii Noni*. A sixth book was added by Boniface VIII, about the year 1298, which is called *Sextus Decretalium*. The Clementine constitutions, or decrees of Clement V, were in like manner authenticated in 1317, by his successor John XXII, who also published twenty constitutions of his own, called the *Extravagantes Joannis*, all which in some measure answer to the novels of the civil law. To these have been since added some decrees of later popes, in five books, called *Extravagantes Communes*: and all these

(u) l. 3. c. 24.

(v) Taylor's Elements of Civil Law, 17.

(w) See § 1, page 18.

together, Gratian's decree, Gregory's decretals, the sixth decretal, the Clementine constitutions, and the extravagants of John and his successors, form the *corpus juris canonici*, or body of the Roman canon law.

Besides these pontifical collections, which, during the times of popery, were received as authentic in this island, as well as in other parts of Christendom, there is also a kind of national canon law, composed of *legatine* and *provincial* constitutions, and adapted only to the exigencies of this church *and [*83] kingdom. The *legatine* constitutions were ecclesiastical laws, enacted in national synods, held under the cardinals Otho and Othobon, legates from Pope Gregory IX and Pope Clement IV, in the reign of King Henry III, about the years 1220 and 1268. The *provincial* constitutions are principally the decrees of provincial synods, held under divers archbishops of Canterbury, from Stephen Langton, in the reign of Henry III, to Henry Chichele, in the reign of Henry V; and adopted also by the province of York (*x*) in the reign of Henry VI. At the dawn of the reformation, in the reign of King Henry VIII, it was enacted in parliament (*y*) that a review should be had of the canon law; and, till such review should be made, all canons, constitutions, ordinances, and synodals provincial, being then already made, and not repugnant to the law of the land or the king's prerogative, should still be used and executed. And, as no such review has yet been perfected, upon this statute now depends the authority of the canon law in England.

As for the canons enacted by the clergy under James I in the year 1603, and never confirmed in parliament, it has been solemnly adjudged upon the principles of law and the constitution, that where they are not merely declaratory of the ancient canon law, but are introductory of new regulations, they do not bind the laity, (*z*) whatever regard the clergy may think proper to pay them. (11)

There are four species of courts in which the civil and canon laws are permitted, under different restrictions, to be used: 1. The courts of the archbishops and bishops, and their derivative officers, usually called in our law courts Christian, *curiæ Christianitatis*, or the ecclesiastical courts. 2. The military courts. 3. The courts of admiralty. 4. The courts of the two universities. In all, their reception in general, and the different degrees of that reception, are grounded entirely upon custom, corroborated in the latter instance by act of *parliament, ratifying those charters which confirm the customary law [*84] of the universities. The more minute consideration of these will fall properly under that part of these commentaries which treats of the jurisdiction of courts. It will suffice at present to remark a few particulars relative to them all, which may serve to inculcate more strongly the doctrine laid down concerning them. (*a*)

1. And, first, the courts of common law have the superintendency over these courts; to keep them within their jurisdictions, to determine wherein they exceed them, to restrain and prohibit such excess, and, in case of contumacy, to punish the officer who executes, and in some cases the judge who enforces, the sentence so declared to be illegal. (12)

(*x*) Burn's Eccl. Law, pref. viii.
c. 1.

(*y*) Statute 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, revived and confirmed by 1 Eliz. c. 2.
(*z*) Stra. 1067. (*a*) Hale, Hist. c. 2.

(11) [Lord Hardwicke cites the opinion of Lord Holt, and declares it is not denied by any one, that it is very plain all the clergy are bound by the canons confirmed by the king only, but they must be confirmed by the parliament to bind the laity. 2 Atk. 605. Hence, if the archbishop of Canterbury grants a dispensation to hold two livings distant from each other more than thirty miles, no advantage can be taken of it by lapse or otherwise in the temporal courts, for the restriction to thirty miles was introduced by a canon made since the 25 Hen. VIII. 2 Bl. Rep. 968.]

(12) The ecclesiastical courts cannot be allowed conclusively to determine for themselves what matters fall within their jurisdiction. *Rex v. Eyre*, Stra. 1067. Parties in custody under their orders made without authority will be set at liberty by the common law courts: *Jenkins ex parte*, 1 B. and C. 655; *Boraine's Case*, 16 Ves. 346; and a prohibition will issue to the ecclesiastical courts when a want of jurisdiction appears on the face of the proceedings, or

2. The common law has reserved to itself the exposition of all such acts of parliament as concern either the extent of these courts, or the matters depending before them. And therefore, if these courts either refuse to allow these acts of parliament, or will expound them in any other sense than what the common law puts upon them, the king's courts at Westminster will grant prohibitions to restrain and control them.

3. An appeal lies from all these courts to the king, in the last resort ; which proves that the jurisdiction exercised in them is derived from the crown of England, and not from any foreign potentate, or intrinsic authority of their own. And, from these three strong marks and ensigns of superiority, it appears beyond a doubt that the civil and canon laws, though admitted in some cases by custom in some courts, are only subordinate, and *leges sub graviore lege* ; and that, thus admitted, restrained, altered, new-modeled, and amended, they are by no means with us a distinct independent species of laws, but are inferior branches of the customary or unwritten laws of England, properly called the king's ecclesiastical, the king's military, the king's maritime, or the king's academical laws.

*Let us next proceed to the *leges scriptæ*, the written laws of the king-
[*85] dom, which are statutes, acts or edicts, made by the king's majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled. (b) The oldest of these now extant, and printed in our statute books, is the famous *magna charta*, as confirmed in parliament 9 Hen. III, though doubtless there were many acts before that time, the records of which are now lost, and the determinations of them perhaps at present currently received for the maxims of the old common law.

The manner of making these statutes will be better considered hereafter, when we examine the constitution of parliaments. At present we will only take notice of the different kinds of statutes, and of some general rules with regard to their construction. (c)

First, as to their several kinds. Statutes are either *general* or *special, public*
[*86] or *private*. A general or public act is an *universal rule, that regards the whole community ; and of this the courts of law are bound to take notice judicially and *ex officio* ; without the statute being particularly pleaded, or formally set forth by the party who claims an advantage under it. Special or private acts are rather exceptions than rules, being those which only operate upon particular persons, and private concerns ; such as the Romans entitled *senatus-decreta*, in contradistinction to the *senatus consulta*, which regarded the whole community ; (d) and of these (which are not promulgated with the same notoriety as the former,) the judges are not bound to take notice, unless they be formally shewn and pleaded. Thus, to show the distinction, the statute 13 Eliz. c. 10, to prevent spiritual persons from making leases for longer terms than twenty-one years, or three lives, is a public act ; it being a rule prescribed to the whole body of spiritual persons in the nation ; but an act to enable the bishop of Chester to make a lease to A. B. for sixty years is an exception to

(b) 8 Rep. 20.

(c) The method of citing these acts of parliament is various. Many of our ancient statutes are called after the name of the place where the parliament was held that made them ; as the statutes of Merton and Marleberge, of Westminster, Gloucester, and Winchester. Others are denominated entirely from their subject, as the statutes of Wales and Ireland, the *articuli cleri*, and the *prærogativa regis*. Some are distinguished by their initial words, a method of citing very ancient, being used by the Jews in denominating the books of the Pentateuch : by the Christian church in distinguishing their hymns and divine offices : by the Romanists in describing their papal bulls ; and, in short, by the whole body of ancient civilians and canonists, among whom this method of citation generally prevailed, not only with regard to chapters, but inferior sections also ; in imitation of all which we still call some of our old statutes by their initial words, as the statute of *quia emptores*, and that of *circumspecte agatis*. But the most usual method of citing them, especially since the time of Edward the Second, is by naming the year of the king's reign in which the statute was made, together with the chapter, or particular act, according to its numeral order, as 9 Geo. II. c. 4, for all the acts of one session of Parliament taken together make properly but one statute ; and therefore, when two sessions have been held in one year, we usually mention stat. 1 or 2. Thus the bill of rights is cited as 1 W. and M. St. 2. c. 2, signifying that it is the second chapter or act of the second statute, or the laws made in the second session of parliament, in the first year of King William and Queen Mary. (d) Gravin, *Orig.* 1. § 24.

is shown *aliunde* by affidavit. Full v. Hutchins, Cowp. 424 ; Roberts v. Humby, 3 M. and W. 120 ; Griffiths v. Anthony, 5 Ad. and E. 623.

this rule; it concerns only the parties and the bishop's successors; and is therefore a private act. (13)

Statutes also are either *declaratory* of the common law, or *remedial* of some defects therein. (14) Declaratory, where the old custom of the kingdom is almost fallen into disuse, or become disputable; in which case the parliament has thought proper, *in perpetuum rei testimonium*, and for avoiding all doubts and difficulties, to declare what the common law is and ever hath been. Thus the statute of treasons, 25 Edw. III, cap. 2, doth not make any new species of treasons, but only, for the benefit of the subject, declares and enumerates those several kinds of offence which before were treason at the common law. Remedial statutes are those which are made to supply such defects, and abridge such superfluities, in the common law, as arise either from the general imperfection of all human laws, from change of time and circumstances,

(13) See other cases upon the distinction between public and private acts, Bac. Ab. statute, F. The distinction between public and private acts is marked with admirable precision by Mr. Abbott (afterwards Lord Colchester), in the following note, in the printed report from the committee for the promulgation of the statutes:—PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ACTS. I. IN LEGAL LANGUAGE. 1. Acts are deemed to be *public* and *general* acts which the judges will take notice of without pleading, viz: acts concerning the king, the queen, and the prince; those concerning all prelates, nobles, and great officers; those concerning the whole spirituality, and those which concern all officers in general, such as all sheriffs, &c. Acts concerning trade in general, or any specific trade; acts concerning all persons generally, though it be a special or particular thing, such as a statute concerning assizes, or woods in forests, chases, &c. &c. Com. Dig. tit. Parliament, R. 6.; Bac. Ab. statute, F. 2. *Private* acts are those which concern only a particular species, thing or person, of which the judges will not take notice without pleading of them, viz: acts relating to the bishops only: acts for toleration of dissenters; acts relating to any particular place, or to divers particular towns, or to one or divers particular counties, or to the colleges only in the universities. Com. Dig. tit. Parliament, R. 7. 3. In a *general* act there may be a *private* clause, *ibid.*; and a *private* act, if recognized by a *public* act, must afterwards be noticed by the courts as such. 2 Term Rep. 569. II. IN PARLIAMENTARY LANGUAGE, 1. The distinction between *public* and *private* bills stands upon different grounds as to *fees*. All bills whatever from which private persons, corporations, &c., derive benefit, are subject to the payment of *fees*, and such bills are in this respect denominated *private* bills. Instances of bills within this description, are enumerated in the second volume of Mr. Hatsell's Precedents of Proceedings in the house of commons, edit. 1796, p. 267, &c. 2. In parliamentary language, another sort of distinction is also used; and some acts are called *public general* acts, others *public local* acts, viz: church acts, canal acts, &c. To this class may also be added some acts, which though public are merely personal, viz: acts of attainder, and patent acts, &c. Others are called *private* acts, of which latter class some are local, viz: enclosure acts, &c., and some personal, viz: such as relate to names, estates, divorces, &c.]

It is probable that some of the acts enumerated by Mr. Abbot as private would be properly classified as public under late decisions. An act extending only to sheriffs was at one time held to be a private act, but it is now ruled otherwise. *Lovell v. Plomer*, 15 East. 320. It is not essential in order to constitute a statute a public act, that it be applicable to all parts of the state. It is sufficient if it extend to all persons doing or omitting to do an act within the territorial limits described therein. *Pierce v. Kimball*, 9 Greenl. 54. Thus, an act regulating the taking of fish in a particular river in a certain town is a public act. *Burnham v. Webster*, 5 Mass. 268. So acts for the establishment of towns and counties, and fixing their boundaries, and for the erection of public buildings for the use thereof, and for public highways and fences, are public acts. *Commonwealth v. Springfield*, 7 Mass. 9; *East Hartford v. Hartford Bridge Co.*, 10 How. 511; *Mills v. St. Clair Co.*, 8 How. 569; *Gorham v. Springfield*, 8 Shep. 58; *Stephenson v. Doe*, 8 Blackf. 508; *Rex v. Paulding*, Sid. 209. So *semble* an act incorporating a turnpike company, where it contains a provision that the road in a certain event shall revert to the people. *Jenkins v. Union Turnpike Co.*, 1 Caines' Cas. 86. So the act incorporating the United States Bank: *Rogers's Case*, 2 Greenl. 303; and the act incorporating the Bank of Missouri. *Douglass v. Bank of Mo.*, 1 Mo., 24. So it seems any act chartering a bank is to be deemed a public act. *Bank of Utica v. Smedes*, 3 Cow. 662; *Crawford v. Planters and Merchants' Bank*, 6 Ala. 289. So an act, otherwise private, if it contain provisions for forfeitures to the state, or for the punishment of public offences. *Rogers's Case*, 2 Greenl. 303; *Heridia v. Ayres*, 12 Pick. 344. So a private act which is recognized by a subsequent public act. *Rogers's Case*, 2 Greenl. 303. So an act otherwise private which is declared therein to be a public act. *Brookville Ins. Co. v. Records*, 5 Blackf. 170. See further, *Dawson v. Paver*, 5 Hare, 434; *Cock v. Gent*, 12 M. and W. 234. Fees are not payable in America on private bills.

(14) [This division is generally expressed by declaratory statutes, and statutes introductory of a new law. Remedial statutes are generally mentioned in contradistinction to penal statutes. See note 19, p. 88.]

from the mistakes and unadvised determinations of unlearned (or even learned) Judges, or from any other cause whatsoever. And this being done, either by enlarging the common law where it was too narrow and circumscribed, or by [*87] restraining it *where it was too lax and luxuriant, hath occasioned another subordinate division of remedial acts of parliament into *enlarging* and *restraining* statutes. To instance again in the case of treason: clipping the current coin of the kingdom was an offence not sufficiently guarded against by the common law; therefore it was thought expedient, by statute 5 Eliz. c. 11, to make it high treason, which it was not at the common law: so that this was an *enlarging statute*.(15) At common law also spiritual corporations might lease out their estates for any term of years till prevented by the statute 13 Eliz. before mentioned: this was therefore, a *restraining statute*.

Secondly, the rules to be observed with regard to the construction of statutes are principally these which follow.

1. There are three points to be considered in the construction of all remedial statutes; the old law, the mischief, and the remedy: that is, how the common law stood at the making of the act; what the mischief was, for which the common law did not provide; and what remedy the parliament hath provided to cure this mischief. And it is the business of the judges so to construe the act as to suppress the mischief and advance the remedy.(e) Let us instance again in the same restraining statute of 13 Eliz. c. 10: By the common law, ecclesiastical corporations might let as long leases as they thought proper: the mischief was, that they let long and unreasonable leases, to the impoverishment of their successors; the remedy applied by the statute was by making void all leases by ecclesiastical bodies for longer terms than three lives, or twenty-one years. Now in the construction of this statute, it is held that leases, though for a longer term, if made by a bishop, are not void during the bishop's continuance in his see: or, if made by a dean and chapter, they are not void during the continuance of the dean; for the act was made for the benefit and protection of the successor.(f) The mischief is therefore sufficiently suppressed by vacating [*88] them after the determination of the interest of the *grantors; but the leases, during their continuance, being not within the mischief, are not within the remedy.

2. A statute, which treats of things or persons of an inferior rank, cannot by any *general words* be extended to those of a superior. So a statute, treating of "deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, and others having spiritual promotion," is held not to extend to bishops, though they have spiritual promotion, deans being the highest persons named, (16) and bishops being of a still higher order.(g)

3. Penal statutes must be construed strictly.(17) Thus the statute 1 Edw. VI, c. 12, having enacted that those who are convicted of stealing *horses* should

(e) 3 Rep. 7 Co. Litt. 11. 42.

(f) Co. Litt. 45.

3 Rep. 60.

10 Rep 58.

(g) 2 Rep. 46.

(15) [This statute against clipping the coin hardly corresponds with the general notion either of a remedial or an enlarging statute. In ordinary legal language remedial statutes are contradistinguished to penal statutes. An enlarging or an enabling statute is one which increases, not restrains, the power of action, as the 32 Hen. VIII, c. 28, which gave bishops and all other sole ecclesiastical corporations, except parsons and vicars, a power of making leases, which they did not possess before, is always called an enabling statute. The 13 Eliz. c. 10, which afterwards limited that power, is, on the contrary, styled a restraining or disabling statute. See this fully explained by the learned commentator, 2 Book, p. 319.]

This statute is since repealed.

(16) See to the same point, *Hall v. Byrne*, 1 Scam. 140; *Lyndon v. Standbridge*, 2 H. and N. 51.

(17) See *United States v. Wiltberger*, 5 Wheat. 76; *Melody v. Reab*, 4 Mass. 473; *Jones v. Estis*, 2 Johns. 379; *Sprague v. Birdsall*, 2 Cow. 419; *Myers v. Foster*, 6 Cow. 567; *Pike v. Jenkins*, 12 N. H. 255; *Daggett v. State*, 4 Conn. 61; *Hall v. State*, 20 Ohio, 7; *Cushing v. Dill*, 2 Scam. 461; *Chase v. N. Y. Central R. R. Co.*, 26 N. Y. 523; *State v. Lovell*, 23 Iowa, 304; *U. S. v. Athens Armory* 35 Ga. 344. The rule that penal statutes shall be construed strictly, means only that they are not to be so extended, beyond the legitimate import of the terms used therein, as to embrace cases or acts not clearly described by such words, and so as to bring them within the prohibition or penalty of such statutes. *Rawson v. State*, 19 Conn. 292.

not have the benefit of clergy, the judges conceived that this did not extend to him that should steal but one *horse*, (18) and therefore procured a new act for that purpose in the following year. (h) And, to come nearer our own times, by the statute 14 Geo. II, c. 6, stealing sheep, *or other cattle*, was made felony, without benefit of clergy. But these general words, "or other cattle," being looked upon as much too loose to create a capital offence, the act was held to extend to nothing but mere sheep. And therefore, in the next sessions, it was found necessary to make another statute, 15 Geo. II, c. 34, extending the former to bulls, cows, oxen, steers, bullocks, heifers, calves and lambs, by name.

4. Statutes against frauds (19) are to be liberally and beneficially expounded. This may seem a contradiction to the last rule; most statutes against frauds being in their consequences penal. But this difference is here to be taken: where the statute acts upon the offender, and inflicts a penalty, as the pillory or a fine, it is then to be taken strictly; but when the statute acts upon the offence, by setting aside the fraudulent transaction, here it is to be construed liberally. Upon this footing the statute of 13 Eliz. c. 5, which avoids all gifts of goods, &c., made to defraud creditors *and others*, was *held to extend by the [*89] general words to a gift made to defraud the queen of a forfeiture. (i)

5. One part of a statute must be so construed by another, that the whole may (if possible) stand: *ut res magis valeat, quam pereat*. (20) As if land be vested in the king and his heirs by act of parliament, saving the right of A., and A. has at that time a lease of it for three years: here A. shall hold it for his term of three years, and afterwards it shall go to the king. For this interpretation furnishes matter for every clause of the statute to work and operate upon. But,

6. A saving, totally repugnant to the body of the act, is void. If, therefore, an act of parliament vests land in the king and his heirs, saving the right of all persons whatsoever; or vests the land of A. in the king, saving the right of A.; in either of these cases the saving is totally repugnant to the body of the statute, and (if good) would render the statute of no effect or operation; and therefore the saving is void, and the land vests absolutely in the king. (k)

(h) 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 33. Bac. Elem. c. 12.

(i) 3 Rep. 82.

(k) 1 Rep. 47.

(18) [Lord Hale thinks that the scruple of the judges did not merely depend upon the words being in the plural number, because no doubt had ever occurred respecting former statutes in the plural number; as for instance, it was enacted by the 32 Hen. VIII, c. 1, that no person convicted of burning *any dwelling houses* should be admitted to clergy. But the reason of the difficulty in this case was, because the statute of 37 Hen. VIII, c. 8, was expressly penned in the singular number, *If any man do steal any horse, mare, or filly*; and then this statute, thus varying the number, and at the same time expressly repealing all other exclusions of clergy introduced since the beginning of Hen. VIII, it raised a doubt whether it were not intended by the legislature to restore clergy where only one horse was stolen. 2 H. P. C. 365.

It has since been decided that, where statutes use the plural number, a single instance will be comprehended. The 2 Geo. II, c. 25, enacts, that it shall be felony to steal any bank notes; and it has been determined, that the offence is complete by stealing *one* bank note. Hassel's Case, Leach, Cr. L. 1.]

(19) [These are generally called remedial statutes; and it is a fundamental rule of construction that penal statutes shall be construed strictly, and the remedial statutes shall be construed liberally. It was one of the laws of the twelve tables of Rome, that whenever there was a question between liberty and slavery, the presumption should be on the side of liberty. This excellent principle our law has adopted in the construction of penal statutes; for whenever any ambiguity arises in a statute introducing a new penalty or punishment, the decision shall be on the side of lenity and mercy; or in favor of natural right and liberty; or, in other words, the decision shall be according to the strict letter in favor of the subject. And though the judges in such cases may frequently raise and solve difficulties contrary to the intention of the legislature, yet no further inconvenience can result, than that the law remains as it was before the statute. And it is more consonant to principles of liberty that the judge should acquit whom the legislator intended to punish, than that he should punish whom the legislator intended to discharge with impunity. But remedial statutes must be construed according to the spirit; for, in giving relief against fraud, or in the furtherance and extension of natural right and justice, the judge may safely go beyond even that which existed in the minds of those who framed the law.]

(20) *Shrewsbury v. Boylston*, 1 Pick. 105; *Opinion of Judges*, 22 Pick. 571; *Atty. General v. Detroit & Erie Plank Road Co.*, 2 Mich. 138; *Leversee v. Reynolds*, 13 Iowa, 310; *People v. Draper*, 15 N. Y. 532.

7. Where the common law and the statute differ, the common law gives place to the statute; and an old statute gives place to a new one. (21) And this upon a general principle of universal law, that "*leges posteriores, priores contrarias abrogant*;" (22) consonant to which it was laid down by a law of the twelve tables at Rome, that "*quod populus postremum jussit, id jus ratum esto*." But this is to be understood, only when the latter statute is couched in negative terms, or where its matter is so clearly repugnant, that it necessarily implies a negative. As if a former act says, that a juror upon such a trial shall have twenty pounds a year; and a new statute afterwards enacts, that he shall have twenty marks: here the latter statute, though it does not express, yet necessarily implies a negative, and virtually repeals the former. For if twenty marks be made qualification sufficient, the former statute which requires twenty pounds [*90] is at an end. (?) But, if both acts be merely affirmative, *and the substance such that both may stand together, here the latter does not repeal the former, but they shall both have a concurrent efficacy. If by a former law an offence be indictable at the quarter-sessions, and a latter law makes the same offence indictable at the assizes; here the jurisdiction of the sessions is not taken away, but both have a concurrent jurisdiction, and the offender may be prosecuted at either: unless the new statute subjoins express negative words, as, that the offence shall be indictable at the assizes, *and not elsewhere.* (m)

8. If a statute, that repeals another, is itself repealed afterwards, the first statute is hereby revived, without any formal words for that purpose. (23) So when the statutes of 26 and 35 Hen. VIII, declaring the king to be the supreme head of the church, were repealed by a statute 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, and this latter statute was afterwards repealed by an act of 1 Eliz. there needed not any express words of revival in Queen Elizabeth's statute, but these acts of King Henry were impliedly and virtually revived. (n)

(d) Jenk. Cent. 2. 73

(m) 11 Rep. 63

(n) 4 Inst. 325.

(21) *State v. Norton*, 3 Zab. 33; *Moore's Lessee v. Vance*, 1 Ohio, 10; *State v. Miskimmons*, 2 Ind. 440.

But where the new statute does not in terms repeal the old law, the two will stand together so far as effect can be given to both. Repeals by implication are not favored. *Naylor v. Field*, 5 Dutch. 287; *Bowen v. Lease*, 5 Hill, 221; *State v. Berry*, 12 Iowa, 58; *Dodge v. Gridley*, 10 Ohio, 177; *McCool v. Smith*, 1 Black, 459; *New Orleans v. Southern Bank*, 15 La. An. 89; *Wyman v. Campbell*, 6 Port. 219; *State v. Bishop*, 41 Mo. 16; *Furman v. Nichols*, 3 Cold. 432; *Couley v. Calhoun Co.*, 2 W. Va. 416.

A statute which makes an innovation on the established principles of the common law must be strictly construed. *McQueen v. Middletown Manuf. Co.*, 16 Johns, 7; *McClusky v. Cromwell*, 11 N. Y. 593; *Souter v. Sea Witch*, 1 Cal. 162; *Gilson v. Jenney*, 15 Mass. 205; *Rue v. Alter*, 5 Denio, 119; *Wilber v. Crane*, 13 Pick. 290; *Sibley v. Smith*, 2 Mich. 486; *Esterly's Appeal*, 54 Penn. St. 192; *Hearn v. Ervin*, 3 Cold. 399.

So must statutes in derogation of common right. *Sprague v. Birdsall*, 2 Cow. 419; *Bridgewater &c. Plank Road Co. v. Robbins*, 22 Barb. 662; *Wright v. Briggs*, 2 Hill, 77; *Sharp v. Spier*, 4 Hill, 76; *Smith v. Spooner*, 3 Pick. 229; *Sewell v. Jones*, 9 Pick. 412.

So must statutes granting exclusive privileges. *Cayuga Bridge Co. v. Magee*, 6 Wend. 85; *Mohawk Bridge Co. v. Utica and S. R. R. Co.*, 6 Paige, 554; *Young v. McKenzie*, 3 Kelly, 31.

And charters of incorporation are to be construed most strongly against those who claim rights under them, and most favorably to the public. *Pennsylvania R. R. Co. v. Canal Commissioners*, 21 Penn. St. 22; *Commonwealth v. Pittsburgh &c. R. R. Co.*, 24 Penn. St. 159; *Chenango Bridge Co. v. Binghamton Bridge Co.*, 27 N. Y. 93; *Bradley v. N. Y. and N. H. R. R. Co.*, 21 Conn. 306; *Camden and Amboy R. R. Co. v. Briggs*, 2 N. J. 623.

(23) Mr. Tucker remarks of this maxim, that it is to be understood as relating only to laws made by a legislature possessing equal or superior powers to that by which the first law was made. Thus the congress of the United States may alter, amend, repeal or annul any of its own acts, but should congress attempt to pass a law contrary to the constitution of the United States, or should the state legislature make a similar attempt against it, or against the state constitution, such acts, though clothed with all the forms of law, would not be law, nor repeal in any manner what was established by a higher authority, to wit, that of the people. Yet the people, whenever they see fit, may make any alterations in the constitution which they may deem necessary to their happiness and the prosperity of the nation. But to this it should be added that the people, in making changes in the constitution, or in establishing a new one, must observe such rules as they have laid down to govern their action in the premises, in the constitution as it stands.

(23.) [The Bishop's Case, 12 Rep. 7; 4 Inst. 325; *Tattle v. Greenwood*, 3 Bing. 493; *Doe v. Gully*, 9 B. and C. 344; *Phillips v. Hopwood*, 10 B. and C. 39.

9. Acts of parliament derogatory from the power of subsequent parliaments bind not. So the statute 11 Hen. VII, c. 1, which directs that no person for assisting a king *de facto* shall be attainted of treason by act of parliament or otherwise, is held to be good only as to common prosecution for high treason; but will not restrain or clog any parliamentary attainder. (o) Because the legislature, being in truth the sovereign power, is always of equal, always of absolute authority; it acknowledges no superior upon earth which the prior legislature must have been, if its ordinances could bind a subsequent parliament. And upon the same principle Cicero, in his letters to Atticus, treats with a proper contempt these restraining clauses, which endeavor to tie up the hands of succeeding legislatures. "When you repeal the *law itself, (says he,) [*91] you at the same time repeal the prohibitory clause, which guards against [such repeal." (p) (24)

10. Lastly, acts of parliament that are impossible to be performed are of no validity; and if there arise out of them collaterally any absurd consequences, manifestly contradictory to common reason, they are, with regard to those collateral consequences, void. (25) I lay down the rule with these restrictions; though I know it is generally laid down more largely, that acts of parliament contrary to reason are void. But if the parliament will positively enact a thing to be done which is unreasonable, I know of no power in the ordinary forms of the constitution that is vested with authority to control it; and the examples usually alleged in support of this sense of the rule do none of them prove, that, where the main object of a statute is unreasonable, the judges are at liberty to reject it; for that were to set the judicial power above that of the legislature, which would be subversive of all government. But where some collateral matter arises out of the general words, and happens to be unreasonable; there the judges are in decency to conclude that this consequence was not foreseen by the parliament, and therefore they are at liberty to expound the statute by equity, and only *quoad hoc* disregard it. Thus if an act of parliament gives a man power to try all causes, that arise within his manor of Dale; yet, if a cause should arise in which he himself is party, the act is construed not to extend to that, because it is unreasonable that any man should determine his own quarrel. (q) But, if we could conceive it possible for the parliament to enact, that he should try as well his own causes as those of other persons, there is no court that has power to defeat the intent of the legislature, when couched in such evident and express words, as leave no doubt whether it was the intent of the legislature or no. (26)

(o) 4 Inst. 43.
(q) 8 Rep. 118.

(p) *Cum lex abrogatur, illud ipsum abrogatur, quo non eam abrogari oporteat.* l. 3. ep. 23.

See also *Harrison v. Walker*, 1 Kelly, 32; *Commonwealth v. Churchill*, 2 Met. 118. But now in England the repeal of a repealing act does not revive the act before repealed, unless words be inserted reviving it. Stat. 13 and 14 Vic. c. 21, § 5. There are similar statutes in some of the American states. A recent act of Congress is to the same effect (July 14, 1870.)

(24) A legislature cannot adopt irrevocable legislation. *Bloomer v. Stolley*, 5 McLean, 161; *Kellogg v. Oshkosh*, 14 Wis. 623; *Thorpe v. R. & B. R. R. Co.* 27 Vt. 149. There is a modification of this principle in the case of those statutes which are in the nature of contracts, and by which the state, for a consideration received, grants something of value, as for instance a franchise, or an exemption from taxation. Such contracts are made inviolable by the constitution of the United States. *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, 4 Wheat. 518; *New Jersey v. Wilson*, 7 Cranch. 164.

(25) [If an act of parliament is clearly and unequivocally expressed, with all deference to the learned commentator, I conceive it is neither void in its direct nor collateral consequences, however absurd and unreasonable they may appear. If the expression will admit of doubt, it will not then be presumed that the construction can be agreeable to the intention of the legislature, the consequences of which are unreasonable; but where the signification of a statute is manifest, no authority less than that of parliament can restrain its operation.]

(26) In addition to those stated in the text, it may be important to mention here another cardinal rule of construction, namely: that every statute is to be construed to operate prospectively only, unless its terms clearly imply a legislative intent that it shall have retrospective effect. *Dash v. Vankleek*, 7 Johns. 477; *Sayre v. Wisner*, 8 Wend. 661; *State v. Atwood*, 11 Wis. 422; *Hastings v. Lane*, 3 Shep. 134; *Brown v. Wilcox*, 14 S. and M. 127; *Price v. Mott*, 52 Penn. St. 315; *Allhyer v. State*, 10 Ohio. N. S. 583; *State v. Barbee*, 3 Ind. 258; *Moon v. Durden*, 2 Exch. 22; *State v. Auditor*, 41 Mo. 25; *Finney v. Ackerman*, 21 Wis. 268.

These are the several grounds of the laws of England; over and above which, equity is also frequently called in to *assist, to moderate and to explain them. [*92] What equity is, and how impossible in its very essence to be reduced to stated rules, hath been shewn in the preceding section. I shall therefore only add, that (besides the liberality of sentiment with which our common law judges interpret acts of parliament, and such rules of the unwritten law as are not of a positive kind) there are also peculiar courts of equity established for the benefit of the subject: to detect latent frauds and concealments, which the process of the courts of law is not adapted to reach; to enforce the execution of such matters of trust and confidence, as are binding in conscience, though not cognizable in a court of law; to deliver from such dangers as are owing to misfortune or oversight; and to give a more specific relief, and more adapted to the circumstances of the case, than can always be obtained by the generality of the rules of the positive or common law. This is the business of our courts of equity, which however are only conversant in matters of property. For the freedom of our constitution will not permit, that in criminal cases a power should be lodged in any judge, to construe the law otherwise than according to the letter. This caution, while it admirably protects the public liberty, can never bear hard upon individuals. A man cannot suffer *more* punishment than the law assigns, but he may suffer *less*. The laws cannot be strained by partiality to inflict a penalty beyond what the letter will warrant; but, in cases where the letter induces any apparent hardship, the crown has the power to pardon.

SECTION IV.

OF THE COUNTRIES SUBJECT TO THE LAWS OF ENGLAND.

The kingdom of England, over which our municipal laws have jurisdiction, includes not, by the common law, either Wales, Scotland, or Ireland, or any other part of the king's dominions, except the territory of England only. And yet the civil laws and local customs of this territory do now obtain, in part or in all, with more or less restrictions, in these and many other adjacent countries; of which it will be proper first to take a review, before we consider the kingdom of England itself, the original and proper subject of these laws.

Wales had continued independent of England, unconquered and uncultivated, in the primitive pastoral state which Cæsar and Tacitus ascribe to Britain in general, for many centuries; even from the time of the hostile invasions of the Saxons, when the ancient and Christian inhabitants of the island retired to those natural intrenchments, for protection from their Pagan visitants. But when these invaders themselves were converted to Christianity, and settled into regular and potent governments, this retreat of the ancient Britons grew every day narrower; they were overrun by little and little, gradually driven from one fastness to another, and by repeated losses abridged of their wild independence. Very early in our history we find their princes doing homage to the crown of England; till at length in the reign of Edward the First, who may justly be [*94] styled the conqueror of *Wales, the line of their ancient princes was abolished and the King of England's eldest son became, as a matter of course, (1) their titular prince; the territory of Wales being then entirely re-annexed (by a kind of feudal resumption) to the dominion of the crown of England; (a) or, as the statute (2) of Rhudland (b) expresses it. "*Terra Walliæ*

(a) Vaugh. 400.

(b) 10 Edw. I.

(1) [It cannot be said that the king's eldest son became prince of Wales by any necessary or natural consequence; but, for the origin and creation of his title, see page 224.]

(2) [The learned judge has made a mistake in referring to the statute, which is called the statute of Rutland, in the 10 Edw. I, which does not at all relate to Wales. But the statute of

cum incolis suis, prius regi jure feodali subjecta, (of which homage was the sign) *jam in proprietatis dominium totaliter et cum integritate conversa est, et coronæ regni Angliæ tanquam pars corporis ejusdem annexa et unita.*" By the statute also of Wales (c) very material alterations were made in divers parts of their laws, so as to reduce them nearer to the English standard, especially in the forms of their judicial proceedings: but they still retained very much of their original polity; particularly their rule of inheritance, *viz.* that their lands were divided equally among all the issue male, and did not descend to the eldest son alone. By other subsequent statutes their provincial immunities were still farther abridged; but the finishing stroke to their independency was given by the statute 27 Hen. VIII, c. 26, which at the same time gave the utmost advancement to their civil prosperity, by admitting them to a thorough communication of laws with the subjects of England. Thus were this brave people gradually conquered into the enjoyment of true liberty; being insensibly put upon the same footing, and made fellow-citizens with their conquerors. A generous method of triumph, which the republic of Rome practiced with great success, till she reduced all Italy to her obedience, by admitting the vanquished states to partake of the Roman privileges.

It is enacted by this statute 27 Hen. VIII, 1. That the dominion of Wales shall be for ever united to the kingdom of England. 2. That all Welshmen born shall have the same liberties as other the king's subjects. 3. That lands in Wales shall be inheritable according to the English tenures and rules of descent. 4. That the laws of England, and no other, shall *be used in [*95] Wales: besides many other regulations of the police of this principality. And the statute 34 and 35 Hen. VIII, c. 26, confirms the same, adds farther regulations, divides it into twelve shires, and, in short, reduces it into the same order in which it stands at this day; differing from the kingdom of England in only a few particulars, and those too of the nature of privileges, (such as having courts within itself independent of the process of Westminster-hall,) and some other immaterial peculiarities, hardly more than are to be found in many counties of England itself.

The kingdom of Scotland, notwithstanding the union of the crowns on the accession of their King James VI, to that of England, continued an entirely separate and distinct kingdom for above a century more, though an union had been long projected; which was judged to be more easy to be done, as both kingdoms were anciently under the same government, and still retained a very great resemblance, though far from an identity, in their laws. By an act of parliament, 1 Jac. I, c. 1, it is declared that these two mighty, famous, and ancient kingdoms, were formerly one. And Sir Edward Coke observes, (d) how marvellous a conformity there was, not only in the religion and language of the two nations, but also in their ancient laws, the descent of the crown, their parliaments, their titles of nobility, their officers of state and of justice, their writs, their customs, and even the language of their laws. Upon which account he supposes the common law of each to have been originally the same; especially as their most ancient and authentic book, called *regiam majestatem*, and containing the rules of *their* ancient common law, is extremely similar to that of Glanvil, which contains the principles of *ours*, as it stood in the reign of Henry II. And the

(c) Edw. I.

(d) 4 Ins. 345.

Rutland, as it is called in Vaughan, p. 400, is the same as the *Statutum Walliæ*. Mr. Barrington, in his Observations on the Ancient Statutes, p. 74, tells us, that the *Statutum Walliæ* bears date *apud Rothelanum*, what is now called Rhwydland in Flintshire. Though Edward says, that *terra Walliæ prius regi jure feodali subjecta*, yet Mr. Barrington assures us, that the feudal law was then unknown in Wales, and that "there are at present in North Wales, and it is believed in South Wales, no copyhold tenures, and scarcely an instance of what we call manorial rights; but the property is entirely free and allodial. Edward, however, was a conqueror, and he had a right to make use of his own words in the preamble to his law." Ib. 75. See also Reeves' History of the English law, ii. 95.]

many diversities, subsisting between the two laws at present, may be well enough accounted for, from a diversity of practice in two large and uncommunicating jurisdictions, and from the acts of two distinct and independent parliaments, which have in many points altered and abrogated the old common law of both kingdoms.

[*96] *However, Sir Edward Coke, and the politicians of that time, conceived great difficulties in carrying on the projected union; but these were at length overcome, and the great work was happily effected in 1707, 6 Anne; when twenty-five articles of union were agreed to by the parliaments of both nations; the purport of the most considerable being as follows:

1. That on the first of May, 1707, and for ever after, the kingdoms of England and Scotland shall be united into one kingdom, by the name of Great Britain.

2. The succession to the monarchy of Great Britain shall be the same as was before settled with regard to that of England.

3. The united kingdom shall be represented by one parliament.

4. There shall be a communication of all rights and privileges between the subjects of both kingdoms, except where it is otherwise agreed.

9. When England raises 2,000,000*l.* by a land tax, Scotland shall raise 48,000*l.*

16, 17. The standards of the coin, of weights, and of measures, shall be reduced to those of England, throughout the united kingdoms.

18. The laws relating to trade, customs, and the excise, shall be the same in Scotland as in England. But all the other laws of Scotland shall remain in force; though alterable by the parliament of Great Britain. Yet with this caution: that laws relating to public policy are alterable at the discretion of the parliament: laws relating to private right are not to be altered but for the evident utility of the people of Scotland.

[*97] *22. Sixteen peers are to be chosen to represent the peerage of Scotland in parliament, and forty-five members to sit in the house of commons.

23. The sixteen peers of Scotland shall have all privileges of parliament; and all peers of Scotland shall be peers of Great Britain, and rank next after those of the same degree at the time of the union, and shall have all privileges of peers, except sitting in the house of lords, and voting on the trial of a peer. (3)

(3) [Since the union, the following orders have been made in the house of lords respecting the peerage of Scotland. Queen Anne, in the seventh year of her reign, had created James duke of Queensbury, duke of Dover, with remainder in tail to his second son, then earl of Solway, in Scotland; and upon the 21st of January, 1708-9, it was resolved by the lords, that a peer of Scotland claiming to sit in the house of peers by virtue of a patent passed under the great seal of Great Britain, and who now sits in the parliament of Great Britain, had no right to vote in the election of the sixteen peers who are to represent the peers of Scotland in parliament.

The duke of Hamilton having been created duke of Brandon, it was resolved by the lords on the 20th of December, 1711, that no patent of honor granted to any peer of Great Britain, who was a peer of Scotland at the time of the union, should entitle him to sit in parliament. Notwithstanding this resolution gave great offence to the Scotch peerage, and to the queen and her ministry, yet a few years afterwards, when the duke of Dover died, leaving the earl of Solway, the next in remainder, an infant, who, upon his coming of age, petitioned the king for a writ of summons as duke of Dover; the question was again argued on the 18th December, 1719, and the claim as before disallowed. See the argument, 1 P. Wms. 582. But in 1782, the duke of Hamilton claimed to sit as duke of Brandon, and the question being referred to the judges, they were unanimously of opinion, that the peers of Scotland are not disabled from receiving, subsequently to the union, a patent of peerage of Great Britain, with all the privileges incident thereto. Upon which the lords certified to the king, that the writ of summons ought to be allowed to the duke of Brandon, who now enjoys a seat as a British peer. (6th June, 1782.) But there never was any objection to an English peer's taking a Scotch peerage by descent; and therefore, before the last decision, when it was wished to confer an English title upon a noble family of Scotland, the eldest son of the Scotch peer was created, in his father's life-time, an English peer, and the creation was not affected by the annexation by inheritance of the Scotch peerage. On the 13th February, 1787, it was resolved, that the earl of Abercorn and the duke of Queensbury, who had been chosen of the number of the sixteen peers of Scotland, having been created peers of Great Britain, thereby ceased to sit in that house as representatives of the peerage. See the argument in Ann. Reg. for 1787, p. 95. At the election occasioned by the last resolution, the dukes of Queensbury and Gordon had

These are the principal of the twenty-five articles of union, which are ratified and confirmed by statute 5 Ann. c. 8, in which statute there are also two acts of parliament recited; the one of Scotland, whereby the church of Scotland, and also the four universities of that kingdom, are established forever, and all succeeding sovereigns are to take an oath inviolably to maintain the same; the other of England, 5 Ann. c. 6, whereby the acts of uniformity of 13 Eliz. and 13 Car. II, (except as the same had been altered by parliament at that time,) and all other acts then in force for the preservation of the church of England, are declared perpetual; and it is stipulated, that every subsequent king and queen shall take an oath inviolably to maintain the same within England, Ireland, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed. And it is enacted, that these two acts "shall for ever be observed as fundamental and essential conditions of the union."

Upon these articles and act of union, it is to be observed, 1. That the two kingdoms are now so inseparably united, that nothing can ever disunite them again, except the mutual consent of both, or the successful resistance of either, upon apprehending an infringement of those points which, when they were separate and independent nations, it was mutually stipulated should be "fundamental and essential conditions of the union." (e) 2. That whatever else may be deemed "fundamental *and essential conditions," the preservation of [*98] the two churches of England and Scotland in the same state that they were in at the time of the union, and the maintenance of the acts of uniformity which establish our common prayer, are expressly declared so to be. 3. That therefore any alteration in the constitution of either of those churches, or in the liturgy of the church of England, (unless with the consent of the respective churches, collectively or representatively given,) would be an infringement of these "fundamental and essential conditions," and greatly endanger the union. 4. That the municipal laws of Scotland are ordained to be still observed in that part of the island, unless altered by parliament; and as the parliament has not yet thought proper, except in a few instances, (4) to alter them, they still, with regard to the particulars unaltered, continue in full force. Wherefore the municipal or common laws of England are, generally speaking, of no force or validity in Scotland; (5) and of consequence, in the ensuing Commen-

(e) It may justly be doubted whether even such an infringement (though a manifest breach of good faith, unless done upon the most pressing necessity) would of itself dissolve the union; for the bare idea of a State, without a power somewhere vested to alter every part of its laws, is the height of political absurdity. The truth seems to be, that in such an *incorporate union* (which is well distinguished by a very learned prelate from a *federate alliance*, where such an infringement would certainly rescind the compact) the two contracting states are totally annihilated, without any power of a revival; and a third arises from their conjunction, in which all the rights of sovereignty, and particularly that of legislation, must of necessity reside. See Warburton's Alliance, 195. But the wanton or imprudent exertion of this right would probably raise a very alarming ferment in the minds of individuals; and therefore it is hinted above that such an attempt might *endanger* (though by no means *destroy*) the union.

To illustrate this matter a little farther, an act of parliament to repeal or alter the act of uniformity in England, or to establish episcopacy in Scotland, would doubtless in point of authority be sufficiently valid and binding; and notwithstanding such an act, the union would continue unbroken. Nay, each of these measures might be safely and honorably pursued, if respectively agreeable to the sentiments of the English church, or the kirk in Scotland. But it should seem neither prudent, nor perhaps consistent with good faith, to venture upon either of those steps, by a spontaneous exertion of the inherent powers of parliament, or at the instance of mere individuals. So sacred indeed are the laws above mentioned (for protecting each church and the English liturgy) esteemed, that in the regency acts both of 1751 and 1765 the regents are expressly disabled from assenting to the repeal or alteration of either these or the act of settlement.

given their votes as peers of Scotland, contrary to the resolution of 1709, in consequence of which it was resolved, 18th May, 1787, that a copy of that resolution should be transmitted to the lord register of Scotland, as a rule for his future proceeding in cases of election.

The duke of Queensbury and marquis of Abercorn had tendered their votes at the last general election, and their votes were rejected; but notwithstanding the former resolutions, on 23d May, 1793, it was resolved, that, if duly tendered, they ought to have been counted.]

There were, in 1861, no less than forty Scottish peers sitting in the house of lords by virtue of British peerages created in their favor since the union of the two kingdoms. May, Const. Hist. c. 5.

(4) [Acts of parliament passed since the union extend in general to Scotland; but where a statute is only applicable to England, and where Scotland is not intended to be included, the bill expressly provides that it does not extend to Scotland. See 3 Burr. 853.]

(5) [See the case of the King v. Cowle, in 2 Burr. 834, where the constitution of the town of Berwick upon Tweed, and indeed the prerogative as to dominion extra Great Britain, is very elaborately discussed.]

taries, we shall have very little occasion to mention, any further than sometimes by way of illustration, the municipal laws of that part of the united kingdoms.

The town of Berwick upon Tweed was originally part of the kingdom of Scotland; and, as such, was for a time reduced *by King Edward I into [*99] the possession of the crown of England: and during such, its subjection, it received from that prince a charter, which (after its subsequent cession by Edward Balliol, to be for ever united to the crown and realm of England,) was confirmed by King Edward III, with some additions; particularly that it should be governed by the laws and usages which it enjoyed during the time of King Alexander, that is, before its reduction by Edward I. Its constitution was new modelled, and put upon an English footing, by a charter of King James I: and all its liberties, franchises, and customs, were confirmed in parliament by the statutes 22 Edward IV, c. 8, and 2 Jac. I, c. 28. Though, therefore, it hath some local peculiarities, derived from the ancient laws of Scotland, (*f*) yet it is clearly part of the realm of England, being represented by burgesses in the house of commons, and bound by all acts of the British parliament, whether specially named or otherwise. And therefore it was, perhaps superfluously, declared, by statute 20 Geo. II, c. 42, that, where England only is mentioned in any act of parliament, the same, notwithstanding, hath and shall be deemed to comprehend the dominion of Wales and town of Berwick upon Tweed. And though certain of the king's writs or processes of the courts of Westminster do not usually run into Berwick, any more than the principality of Wales, yet it hath been solemnly adjudged (*g*) that all prerogative writs, as those of *mandamus*, prohibition, *habeas corpus*, *certiorari*, &c., may issue to Berwick as well as to every other of the dominions of the crown of England, and that indictments and other local matters arising in the town of Berwick may be tried by a jury of the county of Northumberland. (6)

As to Ireland, that is still a distinct kingdom, though a dependent subordinate kingdom. It was only entitled the dominion or lordship of Ireland, (*h*) and the king's style was no other than *dominus Hiberniæ*, lord of Ireland, till the thirty-third year of King Henry the Eighth, when he assumed (7) the [*100] *title of king, which is recognized by act parliament 35 Hen. VIII, c. 3. But, as Scotland and England are now one and the same kingdom, and yet differ in their municipal laws, so England and Ireland are, on the other hand, distinct kingdoms, and yet in general agree in their laws. The inhabitants of Ireland are, for the most part, descended from the English, who planted it as a kind of colony, after the conquest of it by King Henry the Second; and the laws of England were then received and sworn to by the Irish nation, assembled at the council of Lismore. (*i*) And as Ireland, thus conquered, planted, and governed, still continues in a state of dependence, it must necessarily conform to, and be obliged by, such laws as the superior state thinks proper to prescribe.

At the time of this conquest the Irish were governed by what they called the Brehon law, so styled from the Irish name of judges, who were denominated Brehons. (*k*) But king John, in the twelfth year of his reign, went into Ireland, and carried over with him many able sages of the law; and there, by his letters patent, in right of the dominion of conquest, is said to have ordained and established that Ireland should be governed by the laws of England: (*l*) which letters patent Sir Edward Coke (*m*) apprehends to have been there con-

(*f*) Hale, Hist. C. L. 183. 1 Sid. 382, 402. 2 Show. 365.

(*g*) Cro. Jac. 543. 2 Roll. Abr. 292. Stat. 11 Geo. I, c. 4. Burr. 834. (*h*) Stat. *Hiberniæ*, 14 Hen. III.

(*i*) Pryn. on 4 Inst. 249. (*k*) 4 Inst. 353. Edm. Spenser's State of Ireland, p. 1513, edit. Hughes.

(*l*) Vaugh. 204. 2 Pryn. Rec. 85. 7 Rep. 23. (*m*) 1 Inst. 141.

(6) Since these commentaries were written, a number of acts of parliament have been passed, making alterations in the mode of administering justice in Scotland, but it is not deemed important to enumerate them here.

(7) [The title of king was conferred upon him and his successors; and it was made treason for any inhabitant of Ireland to deny it, by 33 Hen. VIII, c. 1, Irish Stat.]

firmed in parliament. But to this ordinance many of the Irish were averse to conform, and still stuck to their Brehon law: so that both Henry the Third (*n*) and Edward the First (*o*) were obliged to renew the injunction; and at length, in a parliament holden at Kilkenny, 40 Edw. III, under Lionel duke of Clarence, the then lieutenant of Ireland, the Brehon law was formally abolished, it being unanimously declared to be indeed no law, but a lewd custom crept in of later times. And yet, even in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the *wild natives still kept and preserved their Brehon law, which is described (*p*) [*101] to have been "a rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another, in which oftentimes there appeared great shew of equity in determining the right between party and party, but in many things repugnant quite both to God's laws and man's." The latter part of this character is alone ascribed to it, by the laws before cited of Edward the First and his grandson.

But as Ireland was a distinct dominion, and had parliaments of its own, it is to be observed, that though the immemorial customs, or common law, of England were made the rule of justice in Ireland also, yet no acts of the English parliament, since the twelfth of King John, extended into that kingdom, unless it were specially named, or included under general words, such as "within any of the king's dominions." And this is particularly expressed, and the reason given in the year books: (*q*) "a tax granted by the parliament of England shall not bind those of Ireland, because they are not summoned to our parliament;" and again, "Ireland hath a parliament of its own, and maketh and altereth laws; and our statutes do not bind them, (8) because they do not send knights to our parliament, but their persons are the king's subjects, like as the inhabitants of Calais, Gascoigne, and Guienne, while they continued under the king's subjection." The general run of laws, enacted by the superior state, are supposed to be calculated for its own internal government, and do not extend to its distant dependent countries, which, bearing no part in the legislature, are not therefore in its ordinary and daily contemplation. But, when the sovereign legislative power sees it necessary to extend its care to any of its subordinate dominions, and mentions them expressly by name, or includes them under general words, there can be no doubt but then they are bound by its laws. (*r*) *The original method of passing statutes in Ireland was nearly the same [*102] as in England, the chief governor holding parliaments at his pleasure, which enacted such laws as they thought proper. (*s*) But an ill use being made of this liberty, particularly by lord Gormanstown, deputy-lieutenant in the reign of Edward IV, (*t*) a set of statutes were then enacted in the 10 Hen. VII, (Sir Edward Poynings being then lord deputy, whence they are called Poynings' laws) one of which, (*u*) in order to restrain the power as well of the deputy as the Irish parliament, provides, 1. That, before any parliament be summoned or holden, the chief governor and council of Ireland shall certify to the king, under the great seal of Ireland, the considerations and causes thereof, and the articles of the acts proposed to be passed therein. 2. That after the king, in his council of England, shall have considered, approved, or altered the said acts or any of them, and certified them back under the great seal of England; and shall have given license to summon and hold a parliament, then the same shall be summoned and held; and therein the said acts so certified, and no other, shall be proposed, received, or rejected. (*w*) But as this precluded any law from being proposed, but such as were pre-conceived before the parliament was in being, which occasioned many inconveniences and made frequent dissolutions necessary, it was provided by the statute of Philip and Mary, before cited, that

(*n*) A. R. 30. 1 Rym. Feod. 442.

(*o*) A. R. 5.—*pro eo quod leges quibus utuntur Hybernici Deo detestabiles existunt, et omni juri dissonant, adeo quod leges censeri non debeant;—nobis et consilio, nostro satis videtur expediens, eisdem utendas concedere leges Anglicanas.* 3 Pryn. Rec. 1218. (*p*) Edm. Spenser, ibid. (*q*) 20 Hen. VI. 8. 2 Ric. III, 12.

(*r*) Yearbook 1 Hen. VII, 3. 7.

Rep. 22. Calvin's case.

(*s*) Irish stat. 11 Eliz. st. 3. c. 8.

(*t*) Ibid. 10 Hen. VII, c. 23.

(*u*) Cap. 4. expounded by 3 and 4 Ph. and M. c. 4.

(*w*) 4 Inst. 353.

(8) [Lord Coke, citing this in Calvin's case, 7 Co., 22, inserts this parenthesis, viz.: "(which is to be understood unless specially named.)"]

any new propositions might be certified to England in the usual forms, even after the summons and during the session of parliament. By this means, however, there was nothing left to the parliament in Ireland but a bare negative or power of rejecting, not of proposing or altering, any law. But the usage now is, that bills are often framed in either house, under the denomination, of "heads for a bill or bills:" and in that shape they are offered to the consideration of the lord lieutenant and privy council, who, upon such parliamentary intimation, or otherwise upon the application of private persons, receive and transmit such [*103] *heads, or reject them without any transmission to England. And with regard to Poynings' law in particular, it cannot be repealed or suspended, unless the bill for that purpose, before it be certified to England, be approved by both the houses. (x)

But the Irish nation, being excluded from the benefit of the English statutes, were deprived of many good and profitable laws, made for the improvement of the common law: and the measure of justice in both kingdoms becoming thence no longer uniform, it was therefore enacted by another of Poynings' laws, (y) that all acts of parliament before made in England should be of force within the realm of Ireland. (z) But, by the same rule, that no laws made in England, between King John's time and Poynings' law, were then binding in Ireland, it follows that no acts of the English parliament, made since the 10 Hen. VII, do now bind the people of Ireland, unless specially named or included under general words. (a) And on the other hand it is equally clear, that where Ireland is particularly named, or is included under general words, they are bound by such acts of parliament. For this follows from the very nature and constitution of a dependent state: dependence being very little else, but an obligation to conform to the will or law of that superior person or state, upon which the inferior depends. The original and true ground of this superiority, in the present case, is what we usually call, though somewhat improperly, the right of conquest: a right allowed by the laws of nations, if not by that of nature; but which in reason and civil policy can mean nothing more, than that, in order to put an end to hostilities, a compact is either expressly or tacitly made between the conqueror and the conquered, that if they will acknowledge the victor for their master, he will treat them for the future as subjects, and not as enemies. (b)

[*104] *But this state of dependence being almost forgotten and ready to be disputed by the Irish nation, it became necessary some years ago to declare how that matter really stood: and therefore by statute 6 Geo. I, c. 5, it is declared that the kingdom of Ireland ought to be subordinate to, and dependent upon, the imperial crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united thereto; and that the king's majesty, with the consent of the lords and commons of Great Britain in parliament, hath power to make laws to bind the people of Ireland. (9)

Thus we see how extensively the laws of Ireland communicate with those of England: and indeed such communication is highly necessary, as the ultimate resort from the courts of justice in Ireland is, as in Wales, to those in England;

(x) Irish stat. 11 Eliz. st. 3. c. 38.

(y) Cap. 22.

(z) 4 Inst. 351.

(a) 12 Rep. 112.

(b) Puff. L. of N. viii, 6, 24.

(9) [Prynne, in his learned argument, has enumerated several statutes made in England from the time of King John, by which Ireland was bound. 3 St. Tr. 343. That was an argument to prove that Lord Connor Maguire, Baron of Inneskillin in Ireland, who had committed treason in that country, by being a principal contriver and instigator of the Irish rebellion and massacre in the time of Car. I, and who had been brought to England against his will, could be lawfully tried for it in the King's Bench at Westminster by a Middlesex jury, and be ousted of his trial by his peers in Ireland, by force of the statute of 35 Hen. VIII, c. 2.

The prisoner having pleaded to the jurisdiction, the court, after hearing this argument, overruled the plea, and the decision was approved of by a resolution of the two houses of parliament, and Lord Maguire was found guilty, and was afterwards executed at Tyburn as a traitor.]

a writ of error (in the nature of an appeal) lying from the King's Bench in Ireland to the King's Bench in England, (c) as the appeal from the Chancery in Ireland lies immediately to the house of lords here: it being expressly declared by the same statute, 6 Geo. I, c. 5, that the peers of Ireland have no jurisdiction to affirm or reverse any judgments or decrees whatsoever. The propriety, and even necessity, in all inferior dominions, of this constitution, "that, though justice be in general administered by courts of their own, yet that the appeal in the last resort ought to be to the courts of the superior state," is founded upon these two reasons. 1. Because otherwise the law, appointed or permitted to such inferior dominion, might be insensibly changed within itself, without the assent of the superior. 2. Because otherwise judgments might be given to the disadvantage or diminution of the superiority; or to make the dependence to be only of the person of the king, and not of the crown of England. (d) (10)

(c) This was law in the time of Hen. VIII. as appears by the ancient book, entitled, *Diversity of Courts*, c. *banc le roy*. (d) Vaugh. 402.

(10) [The following is the purport of the eighth article of the union of Great Britain and Ireland, extracted from the 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 77.

Art. I. That the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland shall, on the first day of January, 1801, and forever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that the royal style and titles of the imperial crown, and the ensigns, armorial flags and banners, shall be such as should be appointed by his majesty's royal proclamation.

Art. II. That the succession to the imperial crown shall continue settled in the same manner as the succession to the crown of Great Britain and Ireland stood before limited.

Art. III. That there shall be one parliament, styled, The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Art. IV. That four lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and 28 lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall sit in the house of lords; and 100 commoners, two for each county, two for the city of Dublin, and two for the city of Cork, one for Trinity College, and one for each of the 31 most considerable cities and boroughs, shall be the number to sit in the house of commons on the part of Ireland.

That questions respecting the rotation or election of the spiritual or temporal peers shall be decided by the house of lords, and in the case of an equality of votes in the election of a temporal peer, the clerk of the parliament shall determine the election by drawing one of the names from a glass.

That a peer of Ireland, not elected one of the 28, may sit in the house of commons; but whilst he continues a member of the house of commons, he shall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage, nor capable of being elected one of the 28, nor of voting at such election, and he shall be sued and indicted for any offence as a commoner.

That as often as three of the peerages of Ireland, existing at the time of the union, shall become extinct, the king may create one peer of Ireland; and when the peers of Ireland are reduced to 100 by extinction or otherwise, exclusive of those who shall hold any peerage of Great Britain subsisting at the time of the union, or created of the united kingdom since the union, the king may then create one peer of Ireland for every peerage that becomes extinct, or as often as any one of them is created a peer of the united kingdom, so that the king may always keep up the number of 100 Irish peers, over and above those who have an hereditary seat in the house of lords.

That questions respecting the election of the members of the house of commons returned for Ireland, shall be tried in the same manner, as questions respecting the elections for places in Great Britain, subject to such particular regulations as the parliament afterwards shall deem expedient.

That the qualifications by property of the representatives in Ireland, shall be the same respectively as those for counties, cities, and boroughs in England, unless some other provision be afterwards made.

Until an act shall be passed in the parliament of the united kingdom, providing in what cases persons holding offices and places of profit under the crown of Ireland shall be incapable of sitting in the house of commons, not more than 20 such persons shall be capable of sitting; and if more than 20 such persons shall be returned from Ireland, then the seats of those above 20 shall be vacated, who have last accepted their offices or places.

That all the lords of parliament on the part of Ireland, spiritual and temporal, sitting in the house of lords, shall have the same rights and privileges, respectively as the peers of Great Britain; and that all the lords spiritual and temporal of Ireland shall have rank and precedence next and immediately after all the persons holding peerages of the like order and degree in Great Britain, subsisting at the time of the union; and that all peerages hereafter created of Ireland, or of the united kingdom, of the same degree, shall have precedence

[*105] With regard to the other adjacent islands which are subject to the crown of Great Britain, some of them (as the Isle of *Wight, of Portland, of Thanet, &c.) are comprised within some neighboring county, and are therefore to be looked upon as annexed to the mother island, and part of the kingdom of England. But there are others which require a more particular consideration.

And, first, the Isle of Man is a distinct territory from England, and is not governed by our laws: neither doth any act of parliament extend to it, unless it be particularly named therein; and then an act of parliament is binding there. (e) It was formerly a subordinate feudatory kingdom, subject to the kings of Norway; then to King John and Henry III of England; afterward to the kings of Scotland; and then again to the crown of England: and at length we find King Henry IV claiming the island by right of conquest, and disposing of it to the earl of Northumberland; upon whose attainder it was granted (by the name of the Lordship of Man) to Sir John de Stanley by letters patent, 7 Henry IV. (f) In his lineal descendants it continued for eight generations, till the death of Ferdinando, earl of Derby, A. D. 1594: when a controversy arose concerning the inheritance thereof, between his daughters and William his surviving brother: upon which, and a doubt that was started concerning the validity of the original patent, (g) the island was seized into the queen's hands, and afterwards various grants were made of it by King James the First: all which being expired or surrendered, it was granted afresh in 7 Jac. I, to William earl of Derby, and the heirs of his body, with remainder to his heirs general; which grant was the next year confirmed by act of parliament, with a restraint of the power of alienation by the said earl and his issue male. On the death of James, earl of Derby, A. D. 1735, the male line of Earl William failing, the duke of Atholl succeeded to the island as heir general by a female branch. In the mean time, though the title of king had been long disused, the earls of Derby,

(e) 4 Inst. 284. 2 And. 116.

(f) Selden, tit. hon. 1, 3.

(g) Camden. Eliz. A. D. 1594.

according to the dates of their creations; and that all the peers of Ireland, except those who are members of the house of commons, shall have all the privileges of peers as fully as the peers of Great Britain, the right and privilege of sitting in the house of lords, and upon the trial of peers only excepted.

Art. V. That the churches of England and Ireland be united into one protestant episcopal church, to be called The United Church of England and Ireland; that the doctrine and worship shall be the same; and that the continuance and preservation of the united church as the established church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed an essential and fundamental part of the union; and that, in like manner, the church of Scotland shall remain the same as is now established by law, and by the acts of union of England and Scotland.

Art. VI. The subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall be entitled to the same privileges with regard to trade and navigation, and also in respect of all treaties with foreign powers.

That all prohibitions and bounties upon the importation of merchandise from one country to the other shall cease.

But that the importation of certain articles therein enumerated shall be subject to such countervailing duties as are specified in the act.

Art. VII. The sinking funds, and the interest of the national debt, of each country, shall be defrayed by each separately. And, for the space of 20 years after the union, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland towards the public expenditure in each year, shall be in the proportion of fifteen to two, subject to future regulations.

Art. VIII. All the laws and courts of each kingdom shall remain the same as they are now established, subject to such alterations by the united parliament as circumstances may require; but that all writs of error and appeals shall be decided by the house of lords of the united kingdom, except appeals from the court of admiralty in Ireland, which shall be decided by a court of delegates appointed by the court of chancery in Ireland.

The statute then recites an act passed in the parliament of Ireland, by which the rotation of the four spiritual lords for each session is fixed; and it also directs the time and mode of electing the 28 temporal peers for life; and it provides that 64 county members, two for each county, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for Trinity College, Dublin, and one for each of 31 cities and towns which are there specified, which are the only places in Ireland to be represented in future. One of the two members of each of those places was chosen by lot, unless the other withdrew his name, to sit in the first parliament, but at the next elections, one member only will be returned.]

The number of Irish members of the house of commons was increased by the addition of five, by st. 2 and 3 William IV, c. 88, § 11.

as lords of Man, had maintained a sort of royal authority therein ; by assenting or *dissenting to laws, and exercising an appellate jurisdiction. Yet, [*106] though no English writ, or process from the courts of Westminster, was of any authority in Man, an appeal lay from a decree of the lord of the island to the king of Great Britain in council. (*h*) But the distinct jurisdiction of this little subordinate royalty being found inconvenient for the purposes of public justice, and for the revenue, (it affording a commodious asylum for debtors, out-laws, and smugglers,) authority was given to the treasury by statute 12, Geo. I, c. 28, to purchase the interest of the then proprietors for the use of the crown : which purchase was at length completed in the year 1765, and confirmed by statutes 5 Geo. III, c. 26 and 39, whereby the whole island and all its dependencies so granted as aforesaid, (except the landed property of the Atholl family, their manorial rights and emoluments, and the patronage of the bishoprick (*i*) and other ecclesiastical benefices,) are unalienably vested in the crown, and subjected to the regulations of the British excise and customs.

The islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, Alderney, and their appendages, were parcel of the duchy of Normandy, and were united to the crown of England by the first princes of the Norman line. They are governed by their own laws, which are for the most part the ducal customs of Normandy, being collected in an ancient book of very great authority, entitled *le grand Coustumier*. The king's writ, or process from the courts of Westminster, is there of no force ; but his commission is. (11) They are not bound by common acts of our parliaments, unless particularly named. (*k*) All causes are originally determined by their own officers, the bailiffs and jurats of the islands ; but an appeal lies from them to the king and council, in the last resort. (12)

Besides these adjacent islands, our most distant plantations in America, and elsewhere, are also in some respects subject to the English laws. Plantations or colonies, in distant *countries, are either such where the lands are claimed [*107] by right of occupancy only, by finding them desert and uncultivated, and peopling them from the mother-country ; or where, when already cultivated, they have been either gained by conquest, or ceded to us by treaties. And both these rights are founded upon the law of nature, or at least upon that of nations. But there is a difference between these two species of colonies, with respect to the laws by which they are bound. For it hath been held, (*l*) that if an uninhabited country be discovered and planted by English subjects, all the English laws then in being, which are the birthright of every subject, (*m*) are immediately there in force. (13) But this must be understood with very many and very great restrictions. Such colonists carry with them only so much of the English law as is applicable to their own situation and the condition of an infant colony ; such, for instance, as the general rules of inheritance, and of protection from personal injuries. The artificial refinements and distinctions incident to the property of a great and commercial people, the laws of police and revenue, (such especially as are enforced by penalties,) the mode of maintenance for the established clergy, the jurisdiction of spiritual courts, and a multitude of other provisions, are neither necessary nor convenient for them, and therefore are not in

(*h*) 1 P. Wms. 329.

(*i*) The bishoprick of Man, or Sodor, or Sodor and Man, was formerly within the province of Canterbury, but annexed to that of York, by statute 33 Hen. VIII, c. 31. (*k*) 4 Inst. 286.

(*l*) Salk. 411, 666.

(*m*) 2 P. Wms. 75.

(11) What are called prerogative writs, however, from the Queen's Bench, run to these islands. *Roy v. Overton*, Sid. 386 ; *Wilson's Case*, 7 Q. B. 984 ; *Brenan and Galen's Case*, 10 Q. B. 492.

(12) [Of these islands the crown is proprietary ; but, like the demesne lands, they are subject to the occasional interference of parliament. With reference to these islands, the exercise of the executive power is regulated by customs and known laws : the people themselves have no voice, but subject to these.]

(13) Regarding the extent to which the common law of England is in force in the American States by colonial adoption, see note, p. 68.

force. (14) What shall be admitted and what rejected, at what times, and under what restrictions, must, in case of dispute, be decided in the first instance by their own provincial judicature, subject to the revision and control of the king in council: the whole of their constitution being also liable to be new-modelled and reformed by the general superintending power of the legislature in the mother-country. (15) But in conquered or ceded countries, that have already laws of their own, the king may indeed alter and change those laws; (16) but, till he does actually change them, the ancient laws of the country remain, unless such as are against the law of God, as in the case of an infidel country. (n) Our American plantations are principally of this latter sort, being obtained in the last century either by right of conquest and driving out the natives (with what [*108] natural justice I shall not at present inquire), *or by treaties. (17) And therefore the common law of England, as such, has no allowance or authority there; they being no part of the mother-country, but distinct, though dependent, dominions. They are subject, however, to the control of the parliament; though (like Ireland, Man, and the rest,) not bound by any acts of parliament, unless particularly named.

With respect to their interior polity, our colonies are properly of three sorts. 1. Provincial establishments, the constitutions of which depend on the respective commissions issued by the crown to the governors, and the instructions which usually accompany those commissions; under the authority of which, provincial assemblies are constituted, with the power of making local ordinances, not repugnant to the laws of England. 2. Proprietary governments, granted out by the crown to individuals, in the nature of feudatory principalities, with all the inferior regalities, and subordinate powers of legislation, which formerly belonged to the owners of counties-palatine: yet still with these express conditions, that the ends for which the grant was made be substantially pursued, and that nothing be attempted which may derogate from the sovereignty of the mother country. 3. Charter governments, in the nature of civil corporations, with the power of making bye-laws for their own interior regulations, not contrary to the laws of England; and with such rights and authorities as are specially given them in their several charters of incorporation. The form of government in most of them is borrowed from that of England. They have a governor named by the king, (or, in some proprietary colonies, by the proprietor,) who is his representative or deputy. They have courts of justice of their own, from whose decisions an appeal lies to the king and council here in Eng-

(n) 7 Rep. 17, Calvin's case. Show. Parl. C. 31.

(14) [A statute passed in England after the establishment of a colony, will not affect it unless it be particularly named; and therefore the requisites of the statute against frauds, in executing wills, &c. have no influence in Barbadoes: see cases collected 1 Chitty's Com. Law, 638; so the 5 and 6 Edw. VI, c. 16, as to sale of offices, do not extend to Jamaica. 4 Mod. 222.]

(15) The reader need hardly be reminded that the right of the British parliament to legislate generally for the American colonies which were not represented therein, was not admitted, but was resisted by force of arms, and the resistance ultimated in establishing the independence of the thirteen United States of America, which was acknowledged by Great Britain by the treaty of Sept. 3, 1783.

(16) [See an elaborate and learned argument by Lord Mansfield, to prove the king's legislative authority by his prerogative alone over a ceded conquered country. Cowp. 204.]

What the king may or may not do, by virtue of his prerogative, with reference to a conquered or ceded country, is very elaborately discussed in Chalmer's Opinions, 169.

(17) The practical view taken of the American plantations, as well by statesmen as by the courts, has not regarded them as obtained by right of conquest or under treaties, but as acquired by right of discovery. The continent of America was looked upon as occupied by races of savages, whose habits of life rendered them incapable of any such occupation and use of the soil as should exclude the possession of others; for which reason the land was considered open to be appropriated and colonized by the nation of the first discoverer. That European nation first discovering a country and setting up marks of possession was regarded as acquiring the exclusive right as against all others to colonize and settle it, and to extinguish the Indian title therein; but no better right was recognized in the Indians than one to mere occupancy, while the title to the soil itself was in the civilized race. See Story on Const., §§ 152 to 157; 3 Kent, 308; Worcester v. Georgia, 6 Pet. 515.

land. Their general assemblies, which are their house of commons, together with their council of state, being their upper house, with the concurrence of the king, or his representative the governor, make laws suited to their own emergencies. But it is particularly declared by statute 7 and 8 W. III, c. 22, that *all laws, bye-laws, usages and customs, which shall be in practice in any [*109] of the plantations, repugnant to any law, made or to be made in this kingdom relative to the said plantations, shall be utterly void and of none effect. And, because several of the colonies had claimed a sole and exclusive right of imposing taxes upon themselves, the statute 6 Geo. III, c. 12, expressly declares, that all his majesty's colonies and plantations in America have been, are, and of right ought to be, subordinate to and dependent upon the imperial crown and parliament of Great Britain; who have full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient validity to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain in all cases whatsoever. And this authority has been since very forcibly exemplified and carried into act, by the statute 7 Geo. III, c. 59, for suspending the legislation of New York; and by several subsequent statutes.(18)

These are the several parts of the dominions of the crown of Great Britain, in which the municipal laws of England are not of force or authority, merely *as* the municipal laws of England. Most of them have probably copied the spirit of their own law from this original; but then it receives its obligation, and authoritative force, from being the law of the country

As to any foreign dominions which may belong to the person of the king by hereditary descent, by purchase, or other acquisition, as the territory of Hanover, and his majesty's other property in Germany; as these do not in any wise appertain to the crown of these kingdoms, they are entirely unconnected with the laws of England, and do not communicate with this nation in any respect whatsoever. The English legislature had wisely remarked the inconveniences that had formerly resulted from dominions on the continent of Europe; from the Norman territory which William the Conqueror brought with him, and held in conjunction with the *English throne; and from Anjou and its [*110] appendages which fell to Henry the Second by hereditary descent. They had seen the nation engaged for near four hundred years together in ruinous wars for defence of these foreign dominions; till, happily for this country, they were lost under the reign of Henry the Sixth. They observed that, from that time, the maritime interests of England were better understood and more closely pursued: that, in consequence of this attention, the nation, as soon as she had rested from her civil wars, began at this period to flourish all at once; and became much more considerable in Europe, than when her princes were possessed of a larger territory, and her councils distracted by foreign interests. This experience, and these considerations, gave birth to a conditional clause in the act(o) of settlement, which vested the crown in his present majesty's illustrious house, "that in case the crown and imperial dignity of

(o) Stat. 12 and 13 Will. III, c. 8.

(18) [Notwithstanding the establishment of their independence by the American States, the mother country still possesses a number of colonies in different parts of the globe, to which the reasoning in the text may be applied. The policy of the country has for some time been to introduce gradually representative free government unto them all, retaining in the crown, nevertheless, the appointment of the Chief Executive officers. Where, however, the European population is small, as compared to the native, or is fluctuating in character, it is sometimes deemed important that the home government should retain and exercise a more complete control. Todd, Parl. Gov., vol. 2, p. 519 et seq.]

The opinions in England regarding the proper treatment of Colonies have become so changed within a few years, that it is doubtful if a demand for independence on the part of a colony of such strength and resources, as to be able to make it with any reason would be seriously resisted or objected to.

By the "act for the better government of India," passed Aug. 2, 1858, all the territories before under the government of the East India Company were vested in the queen, and all its powers are to be exercised in her name, through one of the principal secretaries of state.

this realm shall hereafter come to any person not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation shall not be obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without consent of parliament."

We come now to consider the kingdom of England in particular, the direct and immediate subject of those laws, concerning which we are to treat in the ensuing commentaries. And this comprehends not only Wales and Berwick, of which enough has been already said, but also part of the sea. The main or high seas are part of the realm of England, for thereon our courts of admiralty have jurisdiction, as will be shewn hereafter; but they are not subject to the common law. (*p*) This main sea begins at the low-water mark. But between the high-water mark, and the low-water mark, where the sea ebbs and flows, the common law and the admiralty have *divisum imperium*, an alternate jurisdiction; one upon the water, when it is full sea; the other upon the land, when it is an ebb. (*q*)

[*111] *The territory of England is liable to two divisions; the one ecclesiastical, the other civil.

1. The ecclesiastical division is primarily, into two provinces, those of Canterbury and York. A province is the circuit of an archbishop's jurisdiction. Each province contains divers dioceses, or sees of suffragan bishops; whereof Canterbury includes twenty-one, and York three: besides the bishopric of the Isle of Man, which was annexed to the province of York by King Henry VIII. Every diocese is divided into archdeaconries, whereof there are sixty in all; each archdeaconry into rural deaneries, which are the circuit of the archdeacon's and rural dean's jurisdiction, of whom hereafter; and every deanery is divided into parishes. (*r*)

A parish is that circuit of ground which is committed to the charge of one parson, or vicar, or other minister having cure of souls therein. These districts are computed to be near ten thousand in number. (*s*) How ancient the division of parishes is, may at present be difficult to ascertain; for it seems to be agreed on all hands, that in the early ages of Christianity in this island, parishes were unknown, or at least signified the same that a diocese does now. There was then no appropriation of ecclesiastical dues to any particular church; but every man was at liberty to contribute his tithes to whatever priest or church he pleased, provided only that he did it to some; or, if he made no special appointment or appropriation thereof, they were paid into the hands of the bishop, whose duty it was to distribute them among the clergy, and for other pious purposes, according to his own discretion. (*t*)

Mr. Camden (*u*) says, England was divided into parishes by Archbishop Honorius about the year 630. Sir Henry Hobart (*w*) lays it down, that parishes were first erected by the council of Lateran, which was held A. D. 1179. Each [*112] widely differing *from the other, and both of them perhaps from the truth; which will probably be found in the medium between the two extremes. For Mr. Selden has clearly shewn, (*x*) that the clergy lived in common without any division of parishes, long after the time mentioned by Camden. And it appears by the Saxon laws, that parishes were in being long before the date of that council of Lateran, to which they are ascribed by Hobart.

We find the distinction of parishes, nay, even of mother churches, so early as in the laws of King Edgar, about the year 970. Before that time the consecration of tithes was in general *arbitrary*; that is, every man paid his own (as was before observed) to what church or parish he pleased. But this being liable to be attended with either fraud, or at least caprice, in the persons paying; and with either jealousies or mean compliances in such as were competitors for receiving them; it was now ordered by the law of King Edgar, (*y*) that "*den-tur omnes decimæ primariæ ecclesiæ ad quam parochia pertinet.*" However, if any thane, or great lord, had a church, within his own demesnes, distinct from

(*p*) Co. Litt. 280

(*q*) Finch, L. 78.

(*r*) Co. Litt. 94.

(*s*) Gibson's *Brittain*

(*t*) Seld. of Tith. 9. 4.

2 Inst. 646. Hob. 296.

(*u*) In his *Britannia*.

(*w*) Hob. 296.

(*x*) Of tithes. c. 9.

(*y*) Ibid. c. 1.

the mother-church, in the nature of a private chapel; then, provided such church had a cœmety or consecrated place of burial belonging to it, he might allot one third of his tithes for the maintenance of the officiating minister; but if it had no cœmety, the thane must himself have maintained his chaplain by some other means; for in such case *all* his tithes were ordained to be paid to the *primariæ ecclesiæ* or mother church. (z)

This proves that the kingdom was then generally divided into parishes; which division happened probably not all at once, but by degrees. For it seems pretty clear and certain, that the boundaries of parishes were originally ascertained by those of a manor or manors: since it very seldom happens that a manor extends itself over more parishes than one, though there are often many manors in one parish. *The lords, as Christianity spread itself, began to build churches upon their own demesnes or wastes, to accommodate their [*113] tenants in one or two adjoining lordships; and, in order to have divine service regularly performed therein, obliged all their tenants to appropriate their tithes to the maintenance of the one officiating minister, instead of leaving them at liberty to distribute them among the clergy of the diocese in general; and this tract of land, the tithes whereof were so appropriated, formed a distinct parish. Which will well enough account for the frequent intermixture of parishes one with another. For, if a lord had a parcel of land detached from the main of his estate, but not sufficient to form a parish of itself, it was natural for him to endow his newly erected church with the tithes of those disjointed lands; especially if no church was then built in any lordship adjoining to those outlying parcels.

Thus parishes were gradually formed, and parish churches endowed with the tithes that arose within the circuit assigned. But some lands, either because they were in the hands of irreligious and careless owners, or were situate in forests and desert places, or for other now unsearchable reasons, were never united to any parish, and therefore continue to this day extra-parochial; and their tithes are now by immemorial custom payable to the king instead of the bishop, in trust and confidence that he will distribute them for the general good of the church: (a) yet extra parochial wastes and marsh-lands, when improved and drained, are by the statute 17 Geo. II, c. 37, to be assessed to all parochial rates in the parish next adjoining. And thus much for the ecclesiastical division of this kingdom.

2. The civil division of the territory of England is into counties, of those counties into hundreds, of those hundreds into tithings or towns. Which division, as it now stands, seems to owe its original to King Alferd, (19) who, to prevent *the rapines and disorders which formerly prevailed in the realm, instituted tithings, so called from the Saxon, because *ten* freeholders, with [*114] their families, composed one. These all dwell together, and were sureties or free pledges to the king for the good behaviour of each other; and, if any offence was committed in their district, they were bound to have the offender forthcoming. (b) And therefore anciently no man was suffered to abide in England above

(z) *Ibid.* c. 2. See also the laws of King Canute, c. 11. about the year 1030.

(a) 2 Inst. 647. 2 Rep. 44. Cro. Eliz. 512.

(b) *Flet.* 1. 47. This the laws of King Edward the Confessor, c. 20. very justly entitled, "*summa et maxima securitas, per quam omnes statu firmissimo sustentantur* ;—*quæ hoc modo fœbat, quod sub decennali fidejussione debebant esse universi, &c.*"

(19) [Modern researches into the more remote periods of antiquity, have led to the discovery, that the learned commentator was incorrect in ascribing the institution of these civil divisions of the kingdom to Alferd. In the reign of Ina, king of the West Saxons, towards the end of the seventh century, the tithing and shire are both mentioned. And no doubt they were brought from the continent by some of the first Saxon settlers in this island; for the tithing, hundred, and shire, are noticed in the capitularies of the Franks, before the year 630, whence it is reasonably inferred, they were known in France at least two centuries before the reign of Alferd. It may therefore be concluded, that, among the people of this country, they were part of those general customs which Alferd collected, arranged, and improved into an uniform system of jurisprudence. See Whitaker's History of Manchester; Montesquieu Esprit des Lois, tom. 2, p. 376; Stuart's Diss. on the English Constitution, 254; and Henry's History of Great Britain.]

forty days, unless he were enrolled in some tithing or decennary. (c) One of the principal inhabitants of the tithing is annually appointed to preside over the rest, being called the tithing-man, the headborough, (words which speak their own etymology,) and in some countries the borsholder, or borough's-ealder, being supposed the discreetest man in the borough, town, or tithing. (d)

Tithings, towns, or villis, are of the same signification in law; and are said to have had, each of them, originally a church and celebration of divine service, sacraments, and burials: (e) though that seems to be rather an ecclesiastical, than a civil, distinction. The word *town* or *vill* is, indeed, by the alteration of times and language, now become a generical term, comprehending under it the several species of cities, boroughs, and common towns. A city is a town incorporated, which is or hath been the see of a bishop; and though the bishopric be dissolved, as at Westminster, yet still it remaineth a city. (f) A borough is now understood to be a town, either corporate or not, that sendeth burgesses to parliament. (g) Other towns there are, to the number, Sir Edward Coke says, (h) of 8,803, which are neither cities nor boroughs; some of which have the privileges of markets and others not; but both are equally towns in law. To several [*115] of these towns there are small appendages belonging, called *hamlets, which are taken notice of in the statute of Exeter, (i) which makes frequent mention of entire villis, demi-villis, and hamlets. Entire villis Sir Henry Spelman (k) conjectures to have consisted of ten freemen, or frank-pledges, demi-villis of five, and hamlets of less than five. These little collections of houses are sometimes under the same administration as the town itself, sometimes governed by separate officers; in which last case they are, to some purposes in law, looked upon as distinct townships. These towns, as was before hinted, contained each originally but one parish, and one tithing; though many of them now, by the increase of inhabitants, are divided into several parishes and tithings; and sometimes, where there is but one parish, there are two or more villis or tithings.

As ten families of freeholders made up a town or tithing, so ten tithings composed a superior division, called a hundred, as consisting of ten times ten families. The hundred is governed by an high constable, or bailiff, and formerly there was regularly held in it the hundred court for the trial of causes, though now fallen into disuse. In some of the more northern counties these hundreds are called wapentakes. (l)

The subdivision of hundreds into tithings seems to be most peculiarly the invention of Alfred: the institution of hundreds themselves he rather introduced than invented; for they seem to have obtained in Denmark (m) and we find that in France a regulation of this sort was made above two hundred years before, set on foot by Clotharius and Chilbert, with a view of obliging each district to answer for the robberies committed in its own division. These divisions were, in that country, as well military as civil, and each contained a hundred freemen, who were subject to an officer called the *centenarius*, a number of which *centenarii* were themselves subject to a superior officer called the count or *comes*. (n) [*116] And *indeed something like this institution of hundreds may be traced back as far as the ancient Germans, from whom were derived both the Franks, who became masters of Gaul, and the Saxons, who settled in England: for both the thing and the name, as a territorial assemblage of persons, from which afterwards the territory itself might probably receive its denomination, were well known to that warlike people. "*Centeni ex singulis pagis sunt, idque ipsum inter suos vocantur; et quod primo numerus fuit, jam nomen et honor est.*" (o)

An indefinite number of these hundreds make up a county or shire. Shire is a Saxon word signifying a division; but a county, *comitatus*, is plainly derived from *comes*, the count of the Franks; that is, the earl, or alderman (as the Saxons called him) of the shire, to whom the government of it was intrusted. This he usually exercised by his deputy, still called in Latin *vice-comes*, and in English

(c) *Mirr.* c. 1. § 3.

(d) *Finch*, L. 8.

(e) 1 *Inst.* 115.

(f) *Co. Litt.* 109.

(g) *Litt.* § 164.

(h) 1 *Inst.* 116.

(i) 14 *Edw.* I.

(k) *Gloss.* 274.

(l) *Seld.* in *Fortesc.* c. 24.

(m) *Seld.* tit. of honour, 2, 5, 3.

(n) *Montesq.* *Sp.* L. 30, 17.

(o) *Tacit.* *de morib.* German. 6.

the sheriff, shrieve, or shire-reeve, signifying the officer of the shire, upon whom, by process of time, the civil administration of it is now totally devolved. In some counties there is an intermediate division between the shire and the hundreds, as lathes in Kent, and rapes in Sussex, each of them containing about three or four hundreds apiece. These had formerly their lathe-reeves, and rape-reeves, acting in subordination to the shire-reeve. Where a county is divided into *three* of these intermediate jurisdictions, they are called trithings, (*p*) which were anciently governed by a trithing-reeve. These trithings still subsist in the large county of York, where, by an easy corruption, they are denominated ridings; the north, the east, and the west riding. The number of counties in England and Wales have been different at different times; at present they are forty in England, and twelve in Wales.

Three of these counties, Chester, Durham, and Lancaster, are called counties palatine. The two former are such by prescription, or immemorial custom, or at least as old as *the Norman conquest: (*q*) the latter was created by [*117] King Edward III, in favour of Henry Plantagenet, first earl and then duke of Lancaster; (*r*) whose heiress being married to John of Gaunt, the king's son, the franchise was greatly enlarged and confirmed in parliament, (*s*) to honour John of Gaunt himself, whom, on the death of his father-in-law, the king had also created duke of Lancaster. (*t*) Counties palatine are so called *a palatio*, because the owners thereof, the earl of Chester, the bishop of Durham, and the duke of Lancaster, had in those counties *jura regalia*, as fully as the king hath in his palace; *regalem potestatem in omnibus*, as Bracton expresses it. (*u*) They might pardon treasons, murders, and felonies; they appointed all judges and justices of the peace; all writs and indictments ran in their names, as in other counties in the king's; and all offences were said to be done against their peace, and not, as in other places, *contra pacem domini regis*. (*w*) And indeed by the ancient law, in all peculiar jurisdictions, offences were said to be done against his peace in whose court they were tried: in a court-leet, *contra pacem domini*; in the court of a corporation, *contra pacem ballivorum*; in the sheriff's court or tourn, *contra pacem vice-comitis*. (*x*) These palatine privileges (so similar to the regal independent jurisdictions usurped by the great barons on the continent, during the weak and infant state of the first feudal kingdoms in Europe), (*y*) were, in all probability, originally granted to the counties of Chester and Durham, because they bordered upon inimical countries, Wales and Scotland, in order that the inhabitants, having justice administered at home, might not be obliged to go out of the country, and leave it open to the enemy's incursions; and that the owners, being encouraged by so large an authority, might be the more watchful in its defence. And upon this account also there were formerly two other counties palatine, *Pembrokeshire and Hexamshire, [*118] the latter now united with Northumberland; but these were abolished, by parliament, the former in 27 Hen. VIII, the latter in 14 Eliz. And in 27 Hen. VIII, likewise, the powers before mentioned of owners of counties palatine were abridged; the reason for their continuance in a manner ceasing; though still all writs are witnessed in their names, and all forfeitures for treason by the common law accrue to them. (*z*)

Of these three, the county of Durham is now the only one remaining in the hands of a subject; for the earldom of Chester, as Camden testifies, was united to the crown by Henry III, and has ever since given title to the king's eldest son. And the county palatine, or duchy, of Lancaster, was the property of Henry Bolingbroke, the son of John of Gaunt, at the time when he wrested the crown from King Richard II, and assumed the title of King Henry IV. But he was too prudent to suffer this to be united to the crown, lest, if he lost one, he should lose the other also: for, as Plowden (*a*) and Sir Edward Coke (*b*)

(*p*) *L. L. Edw. c. 34.*(*q*) *Seld. tit. hon. 2, 5, 8.*(*r*) *Pat. 25 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 18. Seld. ibid. Sandford's Gen. Hist. 112.*(*s*) *Cart. 36 Edw. III. n. 9.*(*t*) *Pat. 51 Edw. III. m. 33. Plowd. 215. 7 Rym. 138. 4 Inst. 204.*(*u*) *l. 3. c. 84. § 4.*(*w*) *4 Inst. 204.*(*x*) *Seld. in Heng. Magn. c. 2.*(*y*) *Robertson, Cha. V. i. 60.*(*z*) *4 Inst. 205.*(*a*) *215.*(*b*) *4 Inst. 205.*

observe, "he knew he had the duchy of Lancaster by sure and indefeasible title, but that his title to the crown was not so assured; for that after the decease of Richard II, the right of the crown was in the heir of Lionel, duke of Clarence, *second* son of Edward III; John of Gaunt, father to this Henry IV, being but the *fourth* son." And therefore he procured an act of parliament, in the first year of his reign, ordaining that the duchy of Lancaster, and all other his hereditary estates, with all their royalties and franchises, should remain to him and his heirs for ever; and should remain, descend, be administered, and governed, in like manner as if he never had attained the regal dignity; and thus they descended to his son and grandson, Henry V and Henry VI, many new territories and privileges being annexed to the duchy by the former. (c) Henry VI being attainted in 1 Edw. IV, this duchy was declared in parliament [*119] *to have become forfeited to the crown, (d) and at the same time an act was made to incorporate the duchy of Lancaster, to continue the county palatine, (which might otherwise have determined by the attainder,) (e) and to make the same parcel of the duchy; and farther to vest the whole in King Edward IV and his heirs, *kings of England*, for ever; but under a separate guiding and governance from the other inheritances of the crown. And in 1 Hen. VII another act was made, to resume such parts of the duchy lands as had been dismembered from it in the reign of Edward IV, and to vest the inheritance of the whole in the king and his heirs forever, as amply and largely, and in like manner, form, and condition, separate from the crown of England and possession of the same, as the three Henries and Edward IV, or any of them, had and held the same. (f)

The Isle of Ely is not a county palatine, though sometimes erroneously called so, but only a royal franchise; the bishop having, by grant of King Henry the First, *jura regalia* within the Isle of Ely, whereby he exercises a jurisdiction over all causes, as well criminal as civil. (g)

[*120] *There are also counties *corporate*, which are certain cities and towns, some with more, some with less territory annexed to them; to which, out of special grace and favour, the kings of England have granted the privilege to be counties of themselves, and not to be comprized in any other county; but to be governed by their own sheriffs and other magistrates, so that no officers of the county at large have any power to intermeddle therein. Such are London, York, Bristol, Norwich, Coventry, and many others. And thus much of the countries subject to the laws of England. (20)

(c) *Parl. 2 Hen. V. n. 30. 3 Hen. V. n. 15.*

(d) 1 Ventr. 155.

(e) 1 Ventr. 157.

(f) Some have entertained an opinion (Plowd. 220, 1. 2. Lamb. *Archæon*. 233. 4 Inst. 206) that by this act the right of the duchy vested only in the *natural*, and not in the *political* person of King Henry VII as formerly in that of Henry IV, and was descendible to his natural heirs, independent of the succession to the crown. And, if this notion were well founded, it might have become a very curious question, at the time of the revolution in 1688, in whom the right of the duchy remained after King James's abdication, and previous to the attainder of the pretended prince of Wales. But it is observable, that in the same act the duchy of Cornwall is also vested in King Henry VII and his heirs; which could never be intended in any event to be separated from the inheritance of the crown. And indeed it seems to have been understood very early after the statute of Henry VII, that the duchy of Lancaster was by no means thereby made a separate inheritance from the rest of the royal patrimony, since it descended with the crown to the half-blood in the instances of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, which it could not have done as the estate of a mere duke of Lancaster, in the common course of legal descent. The better opinion therefore seems, to be that of those judges, who held (Plowd. 221) that notwithstanding the statute of Henry VII (which was only an act of resumption) the duchy still remained, as established by the act of Edward IV, separate from the other possessions of the crown in order and government, but united in point of inheritance. (g) 4 Inst. 220.

(20) There is an important difference between the civil divisions of Great Britain and those of the United States, in that, in the latter country, there is no one authority possessing such universal powers as are possessed by the parliament of the former. By the constitution of the United States, which defines the powers of the national government, that government possesses in respect to all the states exclusive control over all those concerns which would naturally form the subject of relations with other governments, and also over some matters of internal concern which it was deemed important to confer upon the general government with a view to the general harmony, and in order to "a more perfect union." All those powers not by the constitution conferred upon the general government remain with the states. With the states local self-government is the rule: for convenience in administering it, the state is divided into counties and towns, and it also creates village, borough, and city governments to meet the wants of dense populations. All the jurisdictions inferior to the state possess only such powers as the

state confers upon them by the legislation by which they are created. See Cooley Const. Lim. cc. 2 and 8. Also, Dillon on Municipal Corporations.

The congress of the United States possesses the power of exclusive legislation in all cases over the District of Columbia: Const. art. 1, § 8; and under another provision, art. 4, § 3, it has exercised the authority to originate governments for the territories, and to modify and supervise them from time to time; but how far this authority is rightful has been of late the subject of dispute between political parties, and also by the Mormon authorities exercising functions of government without congressional permission in Utah. The subject is treated on legal grounds by Judge Jameson in his work on the Constitutional Convention.

COMMENTARIES
ON
THE LAWS OF ENGLAND.

BOOK THE FIRST.
OF THE RIGHTS OF PERSONS.

CHAPTER I.
OF THE ABSOLUTE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS.

The objects of the laws of England are so very numerous and extensive, that, in order to consider them with any tolerable ease and perspicuity, it will be necessary to distribute them methodically, under proper and distinct heads; avoiding as much as possible divisions too large and comprehensive on the one hand, and too trifling and minute on the other; both of which are equally productive of confusion.

*Now, as municipal law is a rule of civil conduct, commanding what is right, and prohibiting what is wrong; or as Cicero, (*a*) and after him [*122] our Bracton, (*b*) have expressed it, *sanctio justa, jubens honesta et prohibens contraria*, it follows that the primary and principal objects of the law are RIGHTS and WRONGS. In the prosecution, therefore, of these commentaries, I shall follow this very simple and obvious division; and shall, in the first place, consider the *rights* that are commanded, and secondly the *wrongs* that are forbidden, by the laws of England.

Rights are, however, liable to another subdivision; being either, first, those which concern and are annexed to the persons of men, and are then called *jura personarum*, or the *rights of persons*; or they are, secondly, such as a man may acquire over external objects, or things unconnected with his person; which are styled *jura rerum*, or the *rights of things*. Wrongs also are divisible into, first, *private wrongs*, which, being an infringement merely of particular rights, concern individuals only, and are called civil injuries; and secondly, *public wrongs*, which, being a breach of general and public rights, affect the whole community, and are called crimes and misdemeanors. (1)

(*a*) 11 *Philipp.* 12.

(*b*) 1. 1. c. 3.

(1) [This classification was adopted by Lord Ch. J. Hale (see Hale's Analysis of the Law), who introduced it into our system from the Institutes. It has also been adopted in the Code Civil of France.]

The objects of the laws of England falling into this fourfold division, the present commentaries will therefore consist of the four following parts. 1. *The rights of persons*, with the means whereby such rights may be either acquired or lost. 2. *The rights of things*, with the means also of acquiring and losing them. 3. *Private wrongs*, or civil injuries; with the means of redressing them by law. 4. *Public wrongs*, or crimes and misdemeanors; with the means of prevention and punishment. (2)

We are now first to consider the *rights of persons*, with the means of acquiring and losing them.

[*123] *Now the rights of persons that are commanded to be observed by the municipal laws are of two sorts: first, such as are due *from* every citizen, which are usually called civil *duties*; and, secondly, such as belong *to* him, which is the more popular acceptation of *rights* or *jura*. Both may indeed be comprised in this latter division; for, as all social duties are of a relative nature, at the same time that they are due *from* one man, or set of men, they must also be due *to* another. But I apprehend it will be more clear and easy to consider many of them as duties required from, rather than as rights belonging to, particular persons. Thus, for instance, allegiance is usually, and therefore most easily, considered as the duty of the people, and protection as the duty of the magistrate; and yet they are reciprocally the rights as well as duties of each other. Allegiance is the right of the magistrate, and protection the right of the people.

Persons also are divided by the law into either natural persons, or artificial. Natural persons are such as the God of nature formed us; artificial are such as are created and devised by human laws for the purposes of society and government, which are called corporations or bodies politic.

The rights of persons considered in their natural capacities are also of two sorts, absolute and relative. Absolute, which are such as appertain and belong to particular men, merely as individuals or single persons: relative, which are incident to them as members of society, and standing in various relations to each other. The first, that is, absolute rights, will be the subject of the present chapter.

By the absolute *rights* of individuals, we mean those which are so in their primary and strictest sense; such as would belong to their persons merely in a state of nature, and which every man is entitled to enjoy, whether out of society or in it. But with regard to the absolute *duties*, which man is bound *to [*124] perform considered as a mere individual, it is not to be expected that any human municipal law should at all explain or enforce them. For the end and intent of such laws being only to regulate the behaviour of mankind, as they are members of society, and stand in various relations to each other, they have consequently no concern with any other but social or relative duties. Let a man therefore be ever so abandoned in his principles, or vicious in his practice, pro-

(2) [The distinction between *private wrongs* and *public wrongs* is more intelligible, and more accurately limited by the nature of the subjects, than the distinction between the *rights of things*, and the *rights of persons*; for all rights whatever must be the rights of certain persons to certain things. Every right is annexed to a certain character or relation, which each individual bears in society. The rights of kings, lords, judges, husbands, fathers, heirs, purchasers, and occupants, are all dependent upon the respective characters of the claimants. These rights might again be divided into rights to possess certain things, and the rights to do certain actions. This latter class of rights constitute powers and authority. But the distinction of *rights of persons* and *rights of things*, in the first two books of the Commentaries, seems to have no other difference than the antithesis of the expression, and that, too, resting upon a solecism; for the expression, rights of things, or a right of a horse, is contrary to the idiom of the English language; we say, invariably, a right to a thing. The distinction intended by the learned judge, in the first two books, appears, in a great degree, to be that of the rights of persons in public stations, and the rights of persons in private relations. But, as the order of legal subjects is, in a great measure, arbitrary, and does not admit of that mathematical arrangement where one proposition generates another, it perhaps would be difficult to discover any method more satisfactory than that which the learned judge has pursued, and which was first suggested by Lord Ch. J. Hale. See Hale's *Analysis of the Law*.]

Austin on the Province of Jurisprudence considers at some length and criticises the classification of the text.

vided he keeps his wickedness to himself, and does not offend against the rules of public decency, he is out of the reach of human laws. But if he makes his vices public, though they be such as seem principally to affect himself, (as drunkenness, or the like,) they then become, by the bad example they set, of pernicious effects to society; and therefore it is then the business of human laws to correct them. Here the circumstance of publication is what alters the nature of the case. *Public* sobriety is a relative duty, and therefore enjoined by our laws; *private* sobriety is an absolute duty, which, whether it be performed or not, human tribunals can never know; and therefore they can never enforce it by any civil sanction. But, with respect to *rights*, the case is different. Human laws define and enforce as well those rights which belong to a man considered as an individual, as those which belong to him considered as related to others.

For the principal aim of society is to protect individuals in the enjoyment of those absolute rights, which were vested in them by the immutable laws of nature; but which could not be preserved in peace without that mutual assistance and intercourse, which is gained by the institution of friendly and social communities. Hence it follows, that the first and primary end of human laws is to maintain and regulate these *absolute* rights of individuals. Such rights as are social and *relative* result from, and are posterior to, the formation of states and societies: so that to maintain and regulate these, is clearly a subsequent consideration. And therefore the principal view of human law is, or ought always to be, to explain, protect, and enforce such rights as are absolute, which in *themselves are few and simple: and then such rights as are relative, [*125] which, arising from a variety of connexions, will be far more numerous and more complicated. (3) These will take up a greater space in any code of laws, and hence may appear to be more attended to, though in reality they are not, than the rights of the former kind. Let us therefore proceed to examine how far all laws ought, and how far the laws of England actually do, take notice of these absolute rights, and provide for their lasting security.

The absolute rights of man, considered as a free agent, endowed with discernment to know good from evil, and with power of choosing those measures which

(3) The people of the American States have not been disposed to leave the protection of the absolute rights of individuals exclusively to the legislative bodies to which they have intrusted the making of the laws; but, with what appeared to many at first an excess of prudence, they have hedged about these rights with constitutional securities in a manner which reasonably protects them from invasion. In the several state constitutions there is incorporated a "bill of rights" declaratory of the rights of individuals, so framed as to limit the power of the legislative department in the directions which might lead to their abridgment. Thus, bills of attainder and *ex post facto* laws are prohibited; the right to freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of religious worship are declared, and the legislature prohibited from abridging them; private property is declared to be inviolable, except when required for public use, and then it can only be taken on compensation being made; unreasonable searches and seizures are forbidden, and the authorities are precluded from quartering soldiers upon citizens in time of peace. These rights and immunities being thus declared, it becomes the duty of the courts to enforce them against the action of the other departments of the government; and for the more complete protection of the citizen, a right of trial by jury is preserved, that he may have the judgment of his peers upon his controversies, and upon any accusation that may be preferred against him. The constitution of the United States originally contained but few provisions in the nature of a bill of rights, but such was the popular jealousy of undefined power over their persons and property, that it was found impracticable to secure the adoption of that instrument except in connection with the recommendation of amendments which should supply the deficiency. Those amendments were soon added. It is a settled rule of construction of the national constitution that the limitations it imposes upon the powers of government are in all cases to be understood as limitations upon the government of the Union only, except where the states are expressly mentioned: *Barron v. Baltimore*, 7 Pet. 243; *Livingston's Lessee v. Moore*, ib. 551; *Fox v. Ohio*, 5 How. 432; *Smith v. Maryland*, 18 How. 471; *Purvear v. Commonwealth*, 5 Wal. 475; *Twitchell v. Commonwealth*, 7 Wal. 321. Bills of attainder, *ex post facto* laws, and laws impairing the obligation of contracts, and laws discriminating between citizens on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, the states are forbidden to pass; but for the most part the protection of individual rights, as against the action of the state authorities, is not provided for by the constitution of the Union, but is left to the people of the states themselves, who will insert such prohibitions and guaranties as they deem important when framing their fundamental law.

appear to him to be most desirable, are usually summed up in one general appellation, and denominated the natural liberty of mankind. This natural liberty consists properly in a power of acting as one thinks fit, without any restraint or control, unless by the law of nature; being a right inherent in us by birth, and one of the gifts of God to man at his creation, when he endued him with the faculty of free will. But every man, when he enters into society, gives up a part of his natural liberty, as the price of so valuable a purchase; and, in consideration of receiving the advantages of mutual commerce, obliges himself to conform to those laws, which the community has thought proper to establish. And this species of legal obedience and conformity is infinitely more desirable than that wild and savage liberty which is sacrificed to obtain it. For no man, that considers a moment, would wish to retain the absolute and uncontrolled power of doing whatever he pleases: the consequence of which is, that every other man would also have the same power; and then there would be no security to individuals in any of the enjoyments of life. Political, therefore, or civil liberty, which is that of a member of society, is no other than natural liberty so far restrained by human laws (and no farther) as is necessary and expedient for the general advantage of the public. (c) Hence we may collect that the law, which restrains [*126] a man from doing *mischief to his fellow-citizens, though it diminishes the natural, increases the civil liberty of mankind; but that every wanton and causeless restraint of the will of the subject, whether practised by a monarch, a nobility, or a popular assembly, is a degree of tyranny: nay, that even laws themselves, whether made with or without our consent, if they regulate and constrain our conduct in matters of mere indifference, without any good end in view, are regulations destructive of liberty; whereas, if any public advantage can arise from observing such precepts, the control of our private inclinations, in one or two particular points, will conduce to preserve our general freedom in others of more importance; by supporting that state of society, which alone can secure our independence. Thus the statute of King Edward IV, (d) which forbade the fine gentlemen of those times (under the degree of a lord) to wear pikes on their shoes or boots of more than two inches in length, was law that savoured of oppression; because, however ridiculous the fashion then in use might appear, the restraining it by pecuniary penalties could serve no purpose of common utility. But the statute of King Charles II, (e) (4) which prescribes a thing seemingly indifferent, (a dress for the dead, who are all ordered to be buried in woollen) is a law consistent with public liberty: for it encourages the staple trade, on which in great measure depends the universal good of the nation. So that laws, when prudently framed, are by no means subversive, but rather introductive of liberty; for, as Mr. Locke has well observed, (f) where there is no law there is no freedom. But then, on the other hand, that constitution or frame of government, that system of laws, is alone calculated to maintain civil liberty, which leaves the subject entire master of his own conduct, except in those points wherein the public good requires some direction or restraint. (5)

(c) *Facultas ejus, quod cuique facere libet, nisi quid vi aut jure prohibetur.* Inst. 1. 3. 1.

(d) 3 Edw. IV, c. 5.

(e) 30 Car. II St. 1. c. 3.

(f) On Gov. p. 2. § 67.

(4) [Repealed by Stat. 54 Geo. III, c. 108.]

(5) [This section is one of the very few intelligible descriptions of liberty, which have hitherto been communicated to the world. Though declamation and eloquence in all ages have exhausted their stores upon this favorite theme, yet reason has made so little progress in ascertaining the nature and boundaries of liberty, that there are very few authors indeed, either of this or of any other country, which can furnish the studious and serious reader with a clear and consistent account of this idol of mankind. I shall here briefly subjoin the different notions conveyed by the word *liberty*, which even by the most eminent writers and orators are generally confounded together.]

The *libertas quidlibet faciendi*, or the liberty of doing every thing which a man's passions urge him to attempt, or his strength enables him to effect, is savage ferocity; it is the liberty of a tiger, and not the liberty of a man.

"Moral or natural liberty (in the words of Burlamaqui, c. 3, § 15,) is the right which nature gives to all mankind of disposing of their persons and property after the manner they

The idea and practice of this political or civil liberty flourish in their highest vigor in these kingdoms, where it falls *little short of perfection, and [*127] can only be lost or destroyed by the folly or demerits of its owner: [*127] the legislature, and of course the laws of England, being peculiarly adapted to the preservation of this inestimable blessing even in the meanest subject. Very different from the modern constitutions of other states, on the continent of Europe, and from the genius of the imperial law; which in general are calcula-

judge most consonant to their happiness, on condition of their acting within the limits of the law of nature, and that they do not any way abuse it to the prejudice of any other men."

This is frequently confounded, and even by the learned judge in this very section, with savage liberty.

Civil liberty is well defined by our author to be "that of a member of society, and is no other than *natural liberty* so far restrained by human laws (and no farther) as is necessary and expedient for the general advantage of the public."

Mr. Paley begins his excellent chapter upon civil liberty with the following definition: "Civil liberty is not being restrained by any law, but what conduces in a greater degree to the public welfare." B. vi, c. 5.

The Archbishop of York has defined "civil or legal liberty to be that which consists in a freedom from all restraints except such as established law imposes for the good of the community, to which the partial good of each individual is obliged to give place."—A sermon preached Feb. 21, 1777, p. 19.

All these three definitions of civil liberty are clear, distinct, and rational, and it is probable they were intended to convey exactly the same ideas; but I am inclined to think that the definition given by the learned judge is the most perfect, as there are many restraints by natural law, which, though the established law does not enforce, yet it does not vacate and remove.

In the definition of civil liberty it ought to be understood, or rather expressed, that the restraints introduced by the law should be equal to all, or as much so as the nature of things will admit.

Political liberty may be defined to be the security with which, from the constitution, form, and nature of the established government, the subjects enjoy civil liberty. No ideas or definitions are more distinguishable than those of civil and political liberty; yet they are generally confounded; and the latter cannot yet claim an appropriate name. The learned judge uses political and civil liberty indiscriminately; but it would perhaps be convenient uniformly to use those terms in the respective senses here suggested, or to have some fixed specific denominations of ideas, which in their nature are so widely different. The last species of liberty has probably more than the rest engaged the attention of mankind, and particularly of the people of England. Civil liberty, which is nothing more than the impartial administration of equal and expedient laws, they have long enjoyed nearly to as great an extent as can be expected under any human establishment.

But some who are zealous to perpetuate these inestimable blessings of civil liberty, fancy that our political liberty may be augmented by reforms, or what they deem improvements in the constitution of the government. Men of such opinions and dispositions there will be, and perhaps it is to be wished that there should be, in all times. But before any serious experiment is made, we ought to be convinced, by little less than mathematical demonstration, that we shall not sacrifice substance to form, the end to the means, or exchange present possession for future prospects. It is true that civil liberty may exist in perfection under an absolute monarch, according to the well-known verse:

*Fallitur egregio quisquis sub principe credit
Servitium. Nunquam libertas gratior extat
Quam sub rege pio.* CLAUD.

But what security can the subjects have for the virtues of his successor? Civil liberty can only be secure where the king has no power to do wrong, yet all the prerogatives to do good. Under such a king, with two houses of parliament, the people of England have a firm reliance that they will retain and transmit the blessings of civil and political liberty to the latest posterity.

There is another common notion of liberty, which is nothing more than a freedom from confinement. This is a part of civil liberty, but it being the most important part, as a man in a gaol can have the exercise and enjoyment of few rights, it is *κατ' εἶσιν* called liberty.

But, where imprisonment is necessary for the ends of public justice, or the safety of the community, it is perfectly consistent with civil liberty. For Mr. Paley has well observed that, "it is not the rigour, but the inexpediency of laws and acts of authority, which makes them tyrannical." B. vi, c. 5.

This is agreeable to that notion of civil liberty entertained by Tacitus, one who was well acquainted with the principles of human nature and human governments, when he says, *Gothones regnantur paula jam adductius, quam cæteræ Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem.* De Mor. Ger. c. 43.

ted to vest an arbitrary and despotic power, of controlling the actions of the subject, in the prince, or in a few grandees. And this spirit of liberty is so deeply implanted in our constitution, and rooted even in our very soil, that a slave or negro, the moment he lands in England, falls under the protection of the laws, and so far becomes a freeman; (g) though the master's right to his service may *possibly* still continue. (6)

The absolute rights of every Englishman, which, (taken in a political and extensive sense, are usually called their liberties,) as they are founded on nature and reason, so they are coeval with our form of government; though subject at times to fluctuate and change; their establishment (excellent as it is) being still human. At some times we have seen them depressed by overbearing and tyrannical princes; at others so luxuriant as even to tend to anarchy, a worse state than tyranny itself, as any government is better than none at all. (7) But the vigour of our free constitution has always delivered the nation from these embarrassments: and, as soon as the convulsions consequent on the struggle have been over, the balance of our rights and liberties has settled to its proper level; and their fundamental articles have been from time to time asserted in parliament, as often as they were thought to be in danger.

First, by the great charter of liberties, which was obtained, sword in hand, from King John, and afterwards, with some alterations, confirmed in parliament by King Henry the Third, his son. Which charter contained very few new grants; but, as Sir Edward Coke (h) observes, was for the most part [*128] declaratory of the principal grounds of the fundamental *laws of England. Afterwards by the statute called *confirmatio cartarum*, (i) whereby the great charter is directed to be allowed as the common law; all judgments contrary to it are declared void; copies of it are ordered to be sent to all cathedral churches, and read twice a year to the people; and sentence of excommunication is directed to be as constantly denounced against all those that, by word, deed, or counsel, act contrary thereto, or in any degree infringe it. Next, by a multitude of subsequent corroborating statutes (Sir Edward Coke, I think, reckons thirty-two,) (k) from the first Edward to Henry the Fourth. Then, after a long interval, by the *petition of right*; which was a parliamentary declaration of the liberties of the people, assented to by King Charles the First in the beginning of his reign. Which was closely followed by the still more ample concessions made by that unhappy prince to his parliament before the fatal rupture between them; and by the many salutary laws, particularly the *habeas corpus* act, passed under Charles the Second. To these succeeded the *bill of rights*, or declaration delivered by the lords and commons to the prince and princess of Orange, 13th of February, 1688; and afterwards

(g) Salk. 666. See ch. 14.

(h) 2 Inst. proem.

(i) 25 Edw. 1.

(k) 2 Inst. proem.

It is very suprising that the learned commentator should cite with approbation (pp. 6 and 125), and that Montesquieu should adopt (b. xi, c. 13), that absurd definition of liberty given in Justinian's Institutes: *Facultas ejus, quod cuique facere libet, nisi quod vi, aut jure prohibetur*. The liberty here defined implies that *every one* is permitted to do whatever is not forbidden by an *existing* law, and perhaps whatever is not forbidden to all. The word *vi* seems to refer to a restraint against law. In every country, and under all circumstances, the subjects possess the liberty described by this definition.

When an innocent negro is seized and chained, or is driven to his daily toil by a merciless master, he still retains this species of liberty, or that little power of action, of which force and barbarous laws have not bereft him. But we must not have recourse to a system of laws in which it is a fundamental principle, *quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem*, for correct notions of liberty. CHRISTIAN.]

(6) [It is not to the soil, or to the air of England that negroes are indebted for their liberty, but to the efficacy of the writ of *habeas corpus*.] See *Forbes v. Cochrane*, 2 B. and C. 448; 3 D. and R. 679. S. C. See also, note to *Sommerset's Case*, Broom's Const. Law. 65, 105, et seq.

(7) [Lord Camden concluded his judgment in the case of general warrants in the same words: "One word more for ourselves; we are no advocates for libels; all governments must set their faces against them, and whenever they come before us and a jury, we shall set our faces against them; and if juries do not prevent them, they may prove fatal to liberty, destroy government, and introduce anarchy; but tyranny is better than anarchy, and the worst government better than none at all." 2. Wils. 292.]

enacted in parliament, when they became king and queen: which declaration concludes in these remarkable words: "and they do claim, demand, and insist upon, all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties." And the act of parliament itself (*l*) recognizes "all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration to be the true, ancient, and indubitable rights of the people of this kingdom." Lastly, these liberties were again asserted at the commencement of the present century, in the *act of settlement*, (*m*) whereby the crown was limited to his present majesty's illustrious house: and some new provisions were added, at the same fortunate era, for better securing our religion, laws, and liberties; which the statute declares to be "the birthright of the people of England," according to the ancient doctrine of the common law. (*n*)

*Thus much for the declaration of our rights and liberties. The rights themselves, thus defined by these several statutes, consist in a number of private immunities; which will appear from what has been premised, to be indeed no other, than either that *residuum* of natural liberty, which is not required by the laws of society to be sacrificed to public convenience; or else those civil privileges, which society hath engaged to provide, in lieu of the natural liberties so given up by individuals. These therefore were formerly, either by inheritance or purchase, the rights of all mankind; but, in most other countries of the world being now more or less debased and destroyed, they at present may be said to remain, in a peculiar and emphatical manner, the rights of the people of England. And these may be reduced to three principal or primary articles; the right of personal security, the right of personal liberty and the right of private property: because, as there is no other known method of compulsion or of abridging man's natural free will, but by an infringement or diminution of one or other of these important rights, the preservation of these, inviolate, may justly be said to include the preservation of our civil immunities in their largest and most extensive sense.

I. The right of personal security consists in a person's legal and uninterrupted enjoyment of his life, his limbs, his body, his health, and his reputation.

1. Life is the immediate gift of God, a right inherent by nature in every individual: and it begins in contemplation of law as soon as an infant is able to stir in the mother's womb. For if a woman is quick with child, and by a potion or otherwise, killeth it in her womb; or if any one beat her, whereby the child dieth in her body, and she is delivered of a dead child; this, though not murder, (*8*) was by the ancient law homicide or manslaughter. (*o*) But the modern law doth not look *upon this offence in quite so atrocious a light (*9*) but merely as a heinous misdemeanor. (*p*)

An infant *in ventre sa mere*, or in the mother's womb, is supposed in law to be born for many purposes. It is capable of having a legacy, or a surrender of a copyhold estate, made to it. It may have a guardian assigned to it; (*q*) and it is

(*l*) 1 W. and M. St. 2, c. 2.

(*m*) 12 and 13 W. III, c. 2.

(*n*) Plowd. 55.

(*o*) *Si aliquis mulierem pregnantem percusserit, vel ei venenum dederit, per quod fecerit abortivam; si puerperium jam formatum fuerit, et maxime si fuerit animatum, facit homicidium.* Bracton, l. 3 c. 21.

(*p*) 3 Inst. 50.

(*q*) Stat. 12 Car. II, c. 24.

(8) [The distinction between murder and manslaughter, or felonious homicide, in the time of Bracton, was in a great degree nominal. The punishment of both was the same, for murder as well as manslaughter, by the common law, had the benefit of clergy. Post. 302.]

(9) [But if the child be born alive, and afterwards die in consequence of the potion or beating, it will be murder: 3 Inst. 50. 1 P. Wms. 245; and of course those who, with a wicked intent, administered the potion, or advised the woman to take it, will be accessories before the fact, and subject to the same punishment as the principal.]

In the *Queen v. West*, 2 C. and K. 784, it was held that if a person, intending to procure abortion, does an act which causes a child to be born so much earlier than the natural time, that it is born in a state much less capable of living, and afterwards dies in consequence of its exposure to the external world, the person who by this misconduct so brings the child into the world, and puts it thereby in a situation in which it cannot live, is guilty of murder, and the mere existence of a possibility that something might have been done to prevent the death, would not render it the less murder.

enabled to have an estate limited to its use, and to take afterwards by such limitation, as if it were then actually born. (r) (10) And in this point the civil law agrees with ours. (s)

2. A man's limbs (by which for the present we only understand those members which may be useful to him in fight, and the loss of which alone amounts to mayhem by the common law) are also the gift of the wise Creator, to enable him to protect himself from external injuries in a state of nature. To these therefore he has a natural inherent right; and they cannot be wantonly destroyed or disabled without a manifest breach of civil liberty.

Both the life and limbs of a man are of such high value, in the estimation of the law of England, that it pardons even homicide if committed *se defendendo*, or in order to preserve them. For whatever is done by a man, to save either life or member, is looked upon as done upon the highest necessity and compulsion. Therefore, if a man through fear of death or mayhem is prevailed upon to execute a deed, or do any other legal act: these, though accompanied with all other the requisite solemnities, may be afterwards avoided, if forced upon him by a well-grounded apprehension of losing his life, or even his limbs, in case of his non-compliance. (t) And the same is also a sufficient excuse for the commission of many misdemeanors, as will appear in the fourth book. The constraint a man is under in these circumstances is called in law [*131] *duress*, from the Latin *durities*, of which there are two *sorts: duress of imprisonment, where a man actually loses his liberty, of which we shall presently speak; and duress *per minas*, where the hardship is only threatened and impending, which is that we are now discoursing of. Duress *per minas* is either for fear of loss of life, or else for fear of mayhem, or loss of limb. And this fear must be upon sufficient reason; "*non*," as Bracton expresses it, "*suspicio cujuslibet vani et meticulosi hominis, sed talis qui possit cadere in virum constantem; talis enim debet esse metus, qui in se contineat vitæ periculum, aut corporis cruciatum.*" (u) A fear of battery, or being beaten, though never so well grounded, is no duress; neither is the fear of having one's house burned, or one's goods taken away and destroyed; (11) because in these cases,

(r) Stat. 10 and 11 W. III, c. 16.

(s) *Quæ in utero sunt, in jure civili intelliguntur in rerum natura esse, cum de eorum commodo agatur.* *Ff.* 1. 5. 26.

(t) 2 Inst. 483.

(u) l. 2. c. 5.

(10) [Every legitimate infant in *ventre de sa mere* is considered as born for all beneficial purposes. Co. Litt. 36; 1 P. Wms. 329. Thus if lands be devised to B. for life, remainder to such child or children as shall be *living* at the time of his decease, a posthumous child will take equally with those who were born before B's death. Doe v. Clark, 2 Hen. Bla. 399. But the presumptive heir may enter and receive the profits to his own use, till the birth of the child who takes land by descent. 3 Wils. 526.]

Such infant, &c., may have a distributive share of intestate property even with the half-blood: 1 Ves. 81; it is capable of taking a devise of land: 2 Atk. 117; 1 Freem. 244, 293; it takes, under a marriage settlement, a provision made for children living at the death of the father. 1 Ves. 85. And it has lately been decided, that marriage and the birth of a posthumous child, amount to a revocation of a will executed previous to the marriage. 5 T. R. 49. So in executory devises it is considered as a life in being. 7 T. R. 100.]

See also *Stedfast v. Nichol*, 3 Johns. Cas. 18; *Swift v. Duffield*, 5 S. and R. 38; *Hall v. Hancock*, 15 Pick. 255; *Harper v. Archer*, 4 Smedes and M. 99; *Trower v. Butts*, 1 Sim. and Stu. 181.

(11) An arrest may be duress where it is made for an unlawful purpose, even though under lawful process. *Richardson v. Duncan*, 3 N. H. 508; *Severance v. Kimball*, 8 N. H. 386; *Fisher v. Shattuck*, 17 Pick. 252; *Osborn v. Robbins*, 36 N. Y. 365. So may be, it is said, the fear of an unlawful imprisonment. *Whitefield v. Longfellow*, 13 Me. 146. But not the threat of lawful imprisonment. *Alexander v. Pierce*, 10 N. H. 497; *Eddy v. Herrin*, 17 Me. 338. See *Jones v. Rogers*, 36 Ga. 157. And although it is held that duress of goods will not avoid a contract: *Atlee v. Backhouse*, 3 M. and W. 642; *Glynn v. Thomas*, 11 Exch. 878; *Skeate v. Beale*, 11 A. and E. 983; *Bingham v. Sessions*, 6 Smedes and M. 13; yet money paid to obtain their release is regarded as paid under compulsion, and may be recovered back. *Oates v. Hudson*, 6 Exch. 346; *Chase v. Dwinal*, 7 Greenl. 134. And in this country a disposition has been manifested to hold that duress of goods may be sufficient to avoid one's contract, where he has no other speedy means than the giving of the contract for obtaining possession of them. *Sarportas v. Jennings*, 1 Bay, 470; *Collins v. Westbury*, 2 Bay, 211; *Foshay v. Ferguson*, 5 Hill 158.

should the threat be performed, a man may have satisfaction by recovering equivalent damages: (*w*) but no suitable atonement can be made for the loss of life or limb. And the indulgence shewn to a man under this, the principal, sort of duress, the fear of losing his life or limbs, agrees also with that maxim of the civil law; *ignoscitur ei qui sanguinem suum qualiter, qualiter redemptum voluit.* (*x*)

The law not only regards life and member, and protects every man in the enjoyment of them, but also furnishes him with every thing necessary for their support. For there is no man so indigent or wretched, but he may demand a supply sufficient for all the necessities of life from the more opulent part of the community, by means of the several statutes enacted for the relief of the poor, of which in their proper places. A humane provision; yet, though dictated by the principles of society, discountenanced by the Roman laws. For the edicts of the emperor Constantine, commanding the public to maintain the children of those who were unable to provide for them, in order to prevent the murder and exposure of infants, an institution founded on the same principles as our founding hospitals, though comprised in the Theodosian code, (*y*) were rejected in Justinian's collection.

*These rights, of life and member, can only be determined by the death of the person; which was formerly accounted to be either a civil [*132] or natural death. The civil death commenced, if any man was banished or abjured the realm (*z*) by the process of the common law, or entered into religion; that is, went into a monastery, and became there a monk professed; in which cases he was absolutely dead in law, and his next heir should have his estate. For such banished man was entirely cut off from society; and such a monk, upon his profession, renounced solemnly all secular concerns: and besides, as the popish clergy claimed an exemption from the duties of civil life and the commands of the temporal magistrate, the genius of the English laws would not suffer those persons to enjoy the benefits of society, who secluded themselves from it, and refused to submit to its regulations. (*a*) A monk was therefore accounted *civiliter mortuus*, and when he entered into religion might, like other dying men, make his testament and executors; or, if he made none, the ordinary might grant administration to his next of kin, as if he were actually dead intestate. And such executors and administrators had the same power, and might bring the same actions for debts due *to* the religious, and were liable to the same actions for those due *from* him, as if he were naturally deceased. (*b*) Nay, so far has this principle been carried, that when one was bound in a bond to an abbot and his successors, and afterwards made his executors, and professed himself a monk of the same abbey, and in process of time was himself made abbot thereof; here the law gave him, in the capacity of abbot, an action of debt against his own executors to recover the money due. (*c*) In short, a monk or religious was so effectually dead in law, that a lease made even to a third person, during the life (generally) of one who afterwards became a monk, determined by such his entry into religion: for which reason leases, and other conveyances for life, were usually made to have and to hold for the term of one's *natural* life. (*d*) But, *even in the time of popery, [*133] the law of England took no cognizance of *profession* in any foreign country, because the fact could not be tried in our courts; (*e*) and therefore, since the reformation, this disability is held to be abolished: (*f*) as is also the disability of banishment, consequent upon abjuration, by statute 21 Jac. I, c. 28. (12)

(w) 2 Inst. 483. (x) *ff.* 48. 21. 1. (y) *L.* 11. § 27. (z) Co. Litt. 133.
 (a) This was also a rule in the feudal law, l. 2. § 21. "*desistit esse miles seculi, qui factus est miles Christi; nec beneficium pertinet ad eum qui non debet gerere officium.*" (b) Litt. § 200. (c) Co. Litt. 133.
 (d) 2 Rep. 48. Co. Litt. 132. (e) Co. Litt. 132. (f) 1 Salk. 162.

(12) [One species of civil death may still exist in this country; that is, where a man by act of parliament is attainted of treason or felony, and saving his life, is banished forever; this Lord Coke declares to be a civil death. But, he says, a temporary exile is not a civil death. Co. Litt. 133. And for the same reason where a man receives judgment of death, and afterwards leaves the kingdom for life, upon a conditional pardon, this seems to amount to a civil death. This practice did not exist in the time of Lord Coke, who says, that a man can only lose his country by authority of parliament. *Ib.*]

This natural life being, as was before observed, the immediate donation of the great Creator, cannot legally be disposed of or destroyed by any individual, neither by the person himself, nor by any other of his fellow-creatures, merely upon their own authority. Yet nevertheless it may, by the divine permission, be frequently forfeited for the breach of those laws of society, which are enforced by the sanction of capital punishments; of the nature, restrictions, expedience, and legality of which, we may hereafter more conveniently inquire in the concluding book of these commentaries. At present, I shall only observe, that whenever the *constitution* of a state vests in any man, or body of men, a power of destroying at pleasure, without the direction of laws, the lives or members of the subject, such constitution is in the highest degree tyrannical; and that, whenever any *laws* direct such destruction for light and trivial causes, such laws are likewise tyrannical, though in an inferior degree; because here the subject is aware of the danger he is exposed to, and may, by prudent caution, provide against it. The statute law of England does therefore very seldom, and the common law does never, inflict any punishment extending to life or limb, unless upon the highest necessity; (13) and the constitution is an utter stranger to any arbitrary power of killing or maiming the subject without the express warrant of law. "*Nullus liber homo*," says the great charter, (g) "*aliquo modo destruatur, nisi per legale iudicium parium suorum aut per legem terræ*." Which words, "*aliquo modo destruatur*," according to Sir Edward Coke, (h) include a prohibition, not only of *killing* and *maiming*, but also of *torturing*, (to which our laws are strangers,) and of every oppression by colour of an illegal authority. And it is enacted by the statute 5 Edw. III, c. 9, that no man shall be forejudged of life or limb contrary to the great charter [*134] and the *law of the land: and again, by statute 28 Edw. III, c. 3, that no man shall be put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law.

3. Besides those limbs and members that may be necessary to a man, in order to defend himself or annoy his enemy, the rest of his person or body is also entitled, by the same natural right, to security from the corporal insults of menaces, assaults, beating, and wounding; though such insults amount not to destruction of life or member.

4. The preservation of a man's health from such practices as may prejudice or annoy it; and

5. The security of his reputation or good name from the arts of detraction and slander, are rights to which every man is entitled, by reason and natural justice; since, without these, it is impossible to have the perfect enjoyment of any other advantage or right. But these three last articles (being of much less importance than those which have gone before, and those which are yet to come,) it will suffice to have barely mentioned among the rights of persons: referring the more minute discussion of their several branches to those parts of our commentaries which treat of the infringement of these rights, under the head of personal wrongs.

II. Next to personal security, the law of England regards, asserts, and preserves, the personal liberty of individuals. This personal liberty consists in the power of locomotion, of changing situation, or moving one's person to whatsoever place one's own inclination may direct, without imprisonment or restraint, unless by due course of law. Concerning which we may make the same observations as upon the preceding article, that it is a right strictly natural; that the laws of England have never abridged it without sufficient cause; and that, in this kingdom, it cannot ever be abridged at the mere discretion of the magis-

(g) c. 29. (h) 2 Inst. 48.

(13) [This is a compliment which, I fear, the common law does not deserve; for although it did not punish with death any person who could read, even for any number of murders or other felonies, yet it inflicted death upon every felon who could not read, though his crime was the stealing only of twelve pence farthing.]

trate, without the explicit permission of the laws. Here again the language of the great *charter (*i*) is, that no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned [*135] but by the lawful judgment of his equals, or by the law of the land. (14) And many subsequent old statutes (*j*) expressly direct, that no man shall be taken or imprisoned by suggestion or petition to the king or his council, unless it be by legal indictment, or the process of the common law. By the petition of right, 3 Car. I, it is enacted, that no freeman shall be imprisoned or detained without cause shown, to which he may make answer according to law. By 16 Car. I, c. 10, if any person be restrained of his liberty by order or decree of any illegal court, or by command of the king's majesty in person, or by warrant of the council board, or of any of the privy council, he shall, upon demand of his counsel, have a writ of *habeas corpus*, to bring his body before the court of king's bench or common pleas, who shall determine whether the cause of his commitment be just, and thereupon do as to justice shall appertain. And by 31 Car. II, c. 2, commonly called the *habeas corpus* act, the methods of obtaining this writ are so plainly pointed out and enforced, that, so long as this statute remains unimpeached, no subject of England can be long detained in prison, except in those cases in which the law requires and justifies such detainer. (15) And, lest this act should be evaded by demanding unreasonable bail, or sureties for the prisoner's appearance, it is declared by 1 W. and M. St. 2, c. 2, that excessive bail ought not to be required.

Of great importance to the public is the preservation of this personal liberty; for if once it were left in the power of any, the highest, magistrate to imprison arbitrarily whomever he or his officers thought proper, (as in France it is daily practiced by the crown,) (*k*) there would soon be an end of all other rights and immunities. Some have thought that unjust attacks, even upon life or property, at the arbitrary will of the magistrate, *are less dangerous to the the com- [*136] monwealth than such as are made upon the personal liberty of the subject. To bereave a man of life, or by violence to confiscate his estate, with-

(*i*) c. 29.

(*j*) 5 Edw. III, c. 9. 25 Edw. III, St. 5, c. 4. 28 Edw. III, c. 3.

(*k*) I have been assured, upon good authority that, during the mild administration of Cardinal Fleury, above 54,000 *lettres de cachet* were issued, upon the single ground of the famous bull *unigenitus*.

(14) The words "law of the land" and "due process of law" are employed interchangeably in constitutional law, and mean the same thing. *State v. Simons*, 2 Spears, 767; *Van Zandt v. Waddell*, 2 Yerg. 260; *Matter of John and Cherry Streets*; 19 Wend. 659; *Green v. Briggs*, 1 Curt. 311; *Ervine's Appeal*, 16 Penn. St. 256; *Parsons v. Russell*, 11 Mich. 129; *Murray's Lessee v. Hoboken Land Co.* 18 How. 276. They have sometimes been supposed to be equivalent to "the judgment of his peers," but this is an error, as they are applicable to a great variety of cases in which trial by jury is not permissible or not applicable. "The meaning is that every citizen shall hold his life, liberty, property and immunities under the protection of general rules which govern society." Webster in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, 4 Wheat. 519. Due process of law in each particular case means, such an exertion of the powers of government as the settled maxims of law sanction and require, and under such safe-guards for the protection of individual rights as those maxims prescribe for the class of cases to which the one in question belongs. See *State v. Allen*, 2 McCord, 56; *Sears v. Cottrell*, 5 Mich. 251; *Taylor v. Porter*, 4 Hill, 140; *Hoke v. Henderson*, 4 Dev. 15; *James v. Reynolds*, 2 Texas, 251. *Bank of Columbia v. Okely*, 4 Wheat. 235; *Lenz v. Charlton*, 23 Wis. 478.

(15) Amended and enforced by 56 Geo. III, c. 100. See the construction of these acts. 1 Chitty's Crim. Law, 123. As to the writ of *habeas corpus* under these statutes and at the common law, see 9 A. and E. 731. The *habeas corpus* act of 31 Charles II, has been generally re-enacted in the American States, with modifications to conform it to our judicial systems. The constitution of the United States, art 1, § 9, forbids the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it; and no suspension has been had under this permission except during the recent rebellion. The federal courts only issue the writ in the cases prescribed in the acts of congress, and those cases are comparatively few, and are only where the imprisonment is under pretence of national authority, or where this process seems important to prevent encroachments by state officials upon the proper province of the general government. The protection of individuals against unlawful imprisonments is for the most part left to the state courts.

The suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* does not legalize whatever may be done during the suspension; it only takes from the individual one of the usual means of redress, but leaves the persons concerned in arrests and imprisonments to bear the responsibility if they prove illegal.

out accusation or trial, would be so gross and notorious an act of despotism, as must at once convey the alarm of tyranny throughout the whole kingdom; but confinement of the person, by secretly hurrying him to gaol, where his sufferings are unknown or forgotten, is a less public, a less striking, and therefore a more dangerous engine of arbitrary government. And yet sometimes, when the state is in real danger, even this may be a necessary measure. But the happiness of our constitution is, that it is not left to the executive power to determine when the danger of the state is so great as to render this measure expedient; for it is the parliament only, or legislative power, that, whenever it sees proper, can authorize the crown, by suspending the *habeas corpus* act for a short and limited time, to imprison suspected persons without giving any reason for so doing; as the senate of Rome was wont to have recourse to a dictator, a magistrate of absolute authority, when they judged the republic in any imminent danger. The decree of the senate, which usually preceded the nomination of this magistrate, "*dent operam consules, ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*," was called the *senatus consultum ultimæ necessitatis*. In like manner this experiment ought only to be tried in cases of extreme emergency; and in these the nation parts with its liberty for awhile, in order to preserve it for ever.

The confinement of the person, in any wise, is an imprisonment; so that the keeping a man against his will in a private house, putting him in the stocks, arresting or forcibly detaining him in the street, is an imprisonment. (l) And the law so much discourages unlawful confinement, that if a man is under *duress of imprisonment*, which we before explained to mean a compulsion by an illegal restraint of liberty, until he seals a bond or the like; he may allege this duress, [*137] and avoid the extorted bond. But if a man be lawfully imprisoned, *and, either to procure his discharge, or on any other fair account, seals a bond or a deed, this is not by duress of imprisonment, and he is not at liberty to avoid it. (m) To make imprisonment lawful, it must either be by process from the courts of judicature, or by warrant from some legal officer having authority to commit to prison; which warrant must be in writing, under the hand and seal of the magistrate, and express the causes of the commitment, in order to be examined into, if necessary, upon a *habeas corpus*. If there be no cause expressed, the gaoler is not bound to detain the prisoner: (n) for the law judges, in this respect, saith Sir Edward Coke, like Festus the Roman governor, that it is unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not to signify withal the crimes alleged against him.

A natural and regular consequence of this personal liberty is, that every Englishman may claim a right to abide in his own country so long as he pleases; and not to be driven from it unless by the sentence of the law. The king, indeed, by his royal prerogative, may issue out his writ *ne exeat regnum*, and prohibit any of his subjects from going into foreign parts without license. (o) This may be necessary for the public service and safeguard of the commonwealth. But no power on earth, except the authority of parliament, can send any subject of England out of the land against his will; no, not even a criminal. For exile and transportation are punishments at present unknown to the common law; and, whenever the latter is now inflicted, it is either by the choice of the criminal himself to escape a capital punishment, or else by the express direction of some modern act of parliament. (16) To this purpose the great charter (p) declares, that no freeman shall be banished, unless by the judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. And by the *habeas corpus* act, 31 Car.

(l) 2 Inst. 589.

(m) 2 Inst. 482.

(n) Ibid. 52, 53.

(o) F. N. B. 85.

(p) C. 29.

(16) Exile is said to have been first introduced as a punishment by stat. 39 Eliz. c. 4. See Barrington on Statutes, 269. Persons capitally convicted are frequently pardoned on condition of their being transported for life; and it has been held in the United States that the condition of voluntary exile might be lawfully attached to a pardon. *People v. James*, 2 Caines, 57; *Flavell's Case*, 8 W. and S. 197. So may the condition that a payment of money by the convict shall be made or secured. *Rood v. Winslow*, 2 Doug. Mich. 68.

II, c. 2, (that second *magna carta*, and stable bulwark of our liberties,) it is enacted, that no subject of this realm, who is an inhabitant of England, Wales, or Berwick, shall be sent prisoner into Scotland, Ireland, Jersey, Guernsey, or places beyond the seas, (where *they cannot have the full benefit and [*138] protection of the common law); but that all such imprisonments shall be illegal; that the person who shall dare to commit another contrary to this law, shall be disabled from bearing any office, shall incur the penalty of a *præmunire*, and be incapable of receiving the King's pardon: and the party suffering shall also have his private action against the person committing, and all his aiders, advisers and abettors; and shall recover treble costs; besides his damages, which no jury shall assess at less than five hundred pounds.

The law in this respect is so benignly and liberally construed for the benefit of the subject, that, though *within* the realm the king may command the attendance and service of all his liegemen, yet he cannot send any man *out of* the realm, even upon the public service; excepting sailors and soldiers, the nature of whose employment necessarily implies an exception: he cannot even constitute a man lord deputy or lieutenant of Ireland against his will, nor make him a foreign ambassador. (q) For this might, in reality, be no more than an honourable exile.

III. The third absolute right, inherent in every Englishman, is that of property: which consists in the free use, enjoyment, and disposal of all his acquisitions, without any control or diminution, save only by the laws of the land. The origin of private property is probably founded in nature, as will be more fully explained in the second book of the ensuing commentaries: but certainly the modifications under which we at present find it, the method of conserving it in the present owner, and of translating it from man to man, are entirely derived from society; and are some of those civil advantages, in exchange for which every individual has resigned a part of his natural liberty. The laws of England are therefore, in point of honour and justice, extremely watchful in ascertaining and protecting this right. Upon this principle the great charter (r) has declared that no freeman shall be disseised, or divested, of his freehold, or of his liberties, or free *customs but by the judgment of his peers, [*139] or by the law of the land. And by a variety of ancient statutes (s) it is enacted that no man's lands or goods shall be seized into the king's hands, against the great charter, and the law of the land; and that no man shall be disinherited, nor put out of his franchises or freehold, unless he be duly brought to answer, and be forejudged by course of law; and if anything be done to the contrary it shall be redressed and holden for none.

So great moreover is the regard of the law for private property, that it will not authorize the least violation of it; no, not even for the general good of the whole community. If a new road, for instance, were to be made through the grounds of a private person, it might perhaps be extensively beneficial to the public; but the law permits no man, or set of men to do this without consent of the owner of the land. In vain may it be urged, that the good of the individual ought to yield to that of the community; for it would be dangerous to allow any private man, or even any public tribunal, to be the judge of this common good, and to decide whether it be expedient or no. Besides the public good is in nothing more essentially interested, than in the protection of every individual's private rights, as modelled by the municipal law. In this and similar cases the legislature alone can, and indeed frequently does interpose, and compel the individual to acquiesce. But how does it interpose and compel? Not by absolutely stripping the subject of his property in an arbitrary manner; but by giving him a full indemnification and equivalent for the injury thereby sustained. The public is now considered as an individual, treating with an individual for an exchange. All that the legislature does is to oblige the owner to alienate his possessions for a reasonable price; and even this is an exertion of

power, which the legislature indulges with caution, and which nothing but the legislature can perform.(17)

[*140] *Nor is this the only instance in which the law of the land has postponed even public necessity to the sacred and inviolable rights of private property. For no subject of England can be constrained to pay any aids or taxes, even for the defence of the realm or the support of government, but such as are imposed by his own consent, or that of his representatives in parliament. By the statute 25 Edw. I, c. 5 and 6, it is provided that the king shall not take any aids or tasks, but by the common assent of the realm. And what that common assent is, is more fully explained by 34 Edw. I., St. 4, c. 1, which(t)

(t) See the introduction to the great charter (*edit. Oxon.*) *sub anno* 1297; wherein it is shewn that this statute *de talliagio non concedendo*, supposed to have been made in 34 Edw. I, is in reality, nothing more than a sort of translation into Latin of the *confirmatio cartarum*, 25 Edw. I, which was originally published in the Norman language.

(17) [These observations must be taken with considerable qualification, for, as observed by Buller, J., there are many cases in which individuals sustain an injury, for which the law gives no action: for instance, pulling down houses or raising bulwarks for the preservation and defence of the kingdom against the king's enemies. The civil law writers indeed say that the individuals who suffer have a right to resort to the public for a satisfaction, but no one ever thought that the common law gave an action against the individual who pulled down the house, &c. And where the acts of commissioners appointed by a paving act occasion a damage to an individual, without any excess of jurisdiction on their part, the commissioners or paviors acting under them are not liable to an action. 4 Term Rep. 794. 6, 7; 3 Wils. 461; 6 Taunton, 29. In general, however, a power of this nature must be created by statute, and which usually provides compensation to the individual. Thus by the highway act, 13 Geo. III, c. 78, and 3 Geo. IV, c. 126, sec. 84-5, two justices may either widen or divert any highway through or over any person's soil, even without his consent, so that the new way shall not be more than thirty feet wide, and that they pull down no building, nor take away the ground of any garden, park, or yard. But the surveyor shall offer the owner of the soil, over which the new way is carried, a reasonable compensation, which, if he refuses to accept, the justices shall certify their proceedings to some general quarter sessions; and the surveyor shall give fourteen days' notice to the owner of the soil of an intention to apply to the sessions; and the justices of the sessions shall empanel a jury, who shall assess the damages which the owner of the soil has sustained, provided that they do not amount to more than forty years' purchase. And the owner of the soil shall still be entitled to all the mines within the soil which can be got without breaking the surface of the highway. Many other acts for local improvements, recently passed, contain similar compensation clauses.]

The constitutions of the United States and of the several states forbid the taking of private property for public use without just compensation. It is well settled that government has no right to take the property of one citizen and transfer it to another, even on the making of full compensation. *Beekman v. S. and S. R. R. Co.*, 3 Paige, 45; *Hepburn's Case*, 3 Bland, 95; *Pittsburg v. Scott*, 1 Penn. St. 139; *Matter of Albany St.* 11 Wend., 149; *Cooper v. Williams*, 5 Ohio, 393; *Reeves v. Treasurer of Wood county*, 8 Ohio, N. S. 333; *Nesbitt v. Trumbo*, 39 Ill. 110; *Osborn v. Hart*, 24 Wis. 90; *Bankhead v. Brown*, 25 Iowa, 540. The legislature has a right to determine, or to provide a tribunal for determining, the necessity of appropriating property for public purposes; *Lyon v. Jerome*, 26 Wend. 484; *Ford v. Chicago and N. W. R. R. Co.*, 14 Wis. 617; *Hays v. Risher*, 32 Penn. St. 169; *North Missouri R. R. Co. v. Lackland*, 25 Mo. 515; but on the question of the amount of compensation the owner has a right to require that an impartial tribunal be provided for its determination; *Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge*, 7 Pick. 344; *Same Case*, 11 Pet. 571; *People v. Tallman*, 36 Barb. 222; *Booneville v. Ormrod*, 26 Miss. 193. Some of the state constitutions provide that compensation shall be *first* made, but in the absence of such provision it is sufficient if the means be provided by which the owner can, with certainty, obtain it. *Bloodgood v. Mohawk and H. R. R. Co.*, 18 Wend. 9.; *Rexford v. Knight*, 11 N. Y. 308; *Taylor v. Marcy*, 25 Ill. 518; *Collison v. Hedrick*, 15 Grat. 244; *People v. Green*, 3 Mich. 496; *Charlestown Branch R. R. Co. v. Middlesex*, 7 Met. 78; *Harper v. Richardson*, 26 Cal. 251. Corporations for the construction of railroads, turnpikes and other improved highways may be adopted as public agencies, and may be authorized to take private property to themselves under the right of eminent domain, on obtaining the proper legislative authority. *Beekman v. S. and S. R. R. Co.*, 3 Paige, 73; *Pratt v. Brown*, 3 Wis. 603; *Wilson v. Blackbird Creek Marsh Co.*, 2 Pet. 251; *Buonaparte v. Camden and A. R. R. Co.*, 1 Bald. 205; *Swan v. Williams*, 2 Mich. 427; *Stevens v. Middlesex Canal*, 12 Mass. 466; *Raleigh, &c., R. R. Co. v. Davis*, 2 Dev. and Bat. 451; *Gilmer v. Lime Point*, 18 Cal. 229. There has been some controversy whether the appropriation of lands by the owners of mill sites in order to obtain power for manufacturing purposes, was to be regarded as a *public* purpose, so as to authorize the exercise of the right of eminent domain; but laws for this purpose have been sustained in some states. *Wolcott W. M. Co. v. Upham*, 5 Pick. 294; *French v. Braintree Manuf. Co.*, 23 Pick. 220; *Hazen v. Essex Co.*, 12 Cush. 477; *Harding v. Goodlet*, 3 Yerg. 41; *Thein v. Voegtlander*, 3 Wis. 465; *Pratt v. Brown*, *Ibid.* 603. See *People v. Salem*, 20 Mich. 450.

enacts, that no talliage or aid shall be taken without the assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other freemen of the land: and again by 14 Edw. III, St. 2, c. 1, the prelates, earls, barons, and commons, citizens, burgesses and merchants, shall not be charged to make any aid, if it be not by the common assent of the great men and commons in parliament. And as this fundamental law had been shamefully evaded under many succeeding princes, by compulsive loans, and benevolences extorted without a real and voluntary consent, it was made an article in the petition of right, 3 Car. I, that no man shall be compelled to yield any gift, loan, or benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament. And, lastly, by the statute 1 W. and M. St. 2, c. 2, it is declared, that levying money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, or for longer time, or in other manner, than the same is or shall be granted; is illegal.

In the three preceding articles we have taken a short view of the principal absolute rights which appertain to every Englishman. But in vain would these rights be declared, ascertained, and protected by the dead letter of the laws, if the *constitution had provided no other method to secure their actual enjoyment. It has therefore established certain other auxiliary subordinate rights of the subject, which serve principally as outworks or barriers to protect and maintain inviolate the three great and primary rights, of personal security, personal liberty, and private property. These are,

1. The constitution, powers, and privileges of parliament; of which I shall treat at large in the ensuing chapter.

2. The limitation of the king's prerogative, by bounds so certain and notorious, that it is impossible he should either mistake or legally exceed them without the consent of the people. Of this, also, I shall treat in its proper place. The former of these keeps the legislative power in due health and vigor, so as to make it improbable that laws should be enacted destructive of general liberty: the latter is a guard upon the executive power by restraining it from acting either beyond or in contradiction to the laws, that are framed and established by the other.

3. A third subordinate right of every Englishman is that of applying to the courts of justice for redress of injuries. Since the law is in England the supreme arbiter of every man's life, liberty, and property, courts of justice must at all times be open to the subject, and the law be duly administered therein. The emphatical words of *magna carta*, (*u*) spoken in the person of the king, who in judgment of law (says Sir Edward Coke), (*w*) is ever present and repeating them in all his courts, are these; *nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus rectum vel justitiam*: "and therefore every subject," continues the same learned author, "for injury done to him *in bonis, in terris, vel persona*, by any other subject, be he ecclesiastical or temporal, without any exception, may take his remedy by the course of the law, and have justice and right for the injury done to him, freely without sale, fully without any denial, and speedily without delay." It were endless to enumerate all the *affirmative* acts of parliament, *wherein justice is directed to be done according to the law [**142*] of the land; and what that law is every subject knows, or may know, if he pleases; for it depends not upon the arbitrary will of any judge, but is permanent, fixed, and unchangeable, unless by authority of parliament. I shall, however, just mention a few *negative* statutes, whereby abuses, perversions, or delays of justice, especially by the prerogative, are restrained. It is ordained by *magna carta* (*x*) that no freeman shall be outlawed, that is, put out of the protection and benefit of the laws, but according to the law of the land. By 2 Edw. III, c. 8, and 11 Ric. II, c. 10, it is enacted, that no commands or letters shall be sent under the great seal, or the little seal, the signet, or privy seal, in disturbance of the law; or to disturb or delay common right: and, though such commandments should come, the judges shall not cease to do right; which is also made a part of their oath by statute 18 Edw. III, St. 4. And by 1 W. and M. St. 2, c. 2, it is declared, that the pretended power of sus-

pending, or dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal. (18)

Not only the substantial part, or judicial decisions, of the law, but also the formal part, or method of proceeding, cannot be altered but by parliament; for, if once those outworks were demolished, there would be an inlet to all manner of innovation in the body of the law itself. The king, it is true, may erect new courts of justice; but then they must proceed according to the old established forms of the common law. For which reason it is declared, in the statute 16 Car. I, c. 10, upon the dissolution of the court of starchamber, that neither his majesty, nor his privy council, have any jurisdiction, power, or authority, by English bill, petition, articles, libel, (which were the course of proceeding in the starchamber, borrowed from the civil law,) or by any other arbitrary way whatsoever, to examine, or draw into question, determine, or dispose of the lands or goods of any subjects of this kingdom; but that the same ought to be tried and determined in the ordinary courts of justice, and by *course of law*.

[*143] 4. *If there should happen any uncommon injury, or infringement of the rights before mentioned, which the ordinary course of law is too defective to reach, there still remains a fourth subordinate right, appertaining to every individual, namely, the right of petitioning the king, or either house of parliament, for the redress of grievances. (19) In Russia we are told (*y*) that the Czar Peter established a law, that no subject might petition the throne till he had first petitioned two different ministers of state. In case he obtained justice from neither, he might then present a third petition to the prince; but upon pain of death, if found to be in the wrong: the consequence of which was, that no one dared to offer such third petition; and grievances seldom falling under the notice of the sovereign, he had little opportunity to redress them. The restrictions, for some there are, which are laid upon petitioning in England, are of a nature extremely different; and, while they promote the spirit of peace, they are no check upon that of liberty. Care only must be taken, lest, under the pretence of petitioning, the subject be guilty of any riot or tumult, as happened in the opening of the memorable parliament in 1640: and, to prevent this, it is provided by the statute 13 Car. II, St. 1, c. 5, that no petition to the king, or either house of parliament, for any alteration in church or state, shall be signed by above twenty persons, unless the matter thereof be approved by three justices of the peace, or the major part of the grand jury (20) in the country; and in London by the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council: nor shall any petition be presented by more than ten persons at a time. But,

(*y*) Montesq. Sp. L. xii, 26.

(18) [See the case of the Seven Bishops, and note thereto. Broom's Const. L. 408, 493].

(19) [This right is guaranteed by the third amendment to the constitution of the United States. For discussions in congress respecting it, see Benton's Abridgment of Debates, v. II, 57 to 60, 182 to 188, 209, 436 to 444; v. I. 397; v. XII, 660 to 679, 705 to 743; v. XIII, 5 to 28, 266 to 290, 557 to 562.

(20) [Which the grand jury may do either at the assizes or sessions. The punishment for an offence against this act, is a fine to any amount not exceeding 100*l*. and imprisonment for three months. At the trial of Lord George Gordon, the whole court, including Lord Mansfield, declared that this statute was not affected by the bill of rights, 1 Wm. and M. St. 2, c. 2. See Douglas, 571. But Mr. Dunning, in the house of commons, contended, "that it was a clear and fundamental point in the constitution of this country, that the people had a right to petition their representatives in parliament, and that it was by no means true that the number of names signed to any such petition was limited. To argue that the act of Charles was now in force, would be as absurd as to pretend that the prerogative of the crown still remained in its full extent, notwithstanding the declaration in the bill of rights." See New An. Reg. 1781, v. II. And the acknowledged practice has been consistent with this opinion.

The state of disturbance and political excitement in which this kingdom was involved several years after the peace of 1815, produced further regulations and restrictions of the right of petitioning. The people in the manufacturing districts having little employment, from the general stagnation of trade, devoted themselves with intense ardor to political discussions, and in some places the partisans of reform, presuming that their demands would not be conceded to their petitions, were preparing for the alternative of open force. In these circumstances the legislature thought fit to forbid all public meetings (except county meetings called by the lord-lieutenant or the sheriff), which consisted of more than fifty persons, unless in

under these regulations, it is declared by the statute 1 W. and M. St. 2, c. 2, that the subject hath a right to petition; and that all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

5. The fifth and last auxiliary right of the subject, that I shall at present mention, is that of having arms for their defence, suitable to their condition and degree, and such as are *allowed by law. (21) Which is also declared [*144] by the same statute, 1 W. and M. St. 2, c. 2, and is indeed a public allowance, under due restrictions, of the natural right of resistance and self-preservation, when the sanctions of society and laws are found insufficient to restrain the violence of oppression.

In these several articles consist the rights, or, as they are frequently termed, the liberties of Englishmen: liberties more generally talked of than thoroughly understood; and yet highly necessary to be perfectly known and considered by every man of rank and property, lest his ignorance of the points whereon they are founded should hurry him into faction and licentiousness on the one hand, or a pusillanimous indifference and criminal submission on the other. And we have seen that these rights consist, primarily, in the free enjoyment of personal security, of personal liberty, and of private property. So long as these remain inviolate, the subject is perfectly free; for every species of compulsive tyranny and oppression must act in opposition to one or other of these rights, having no other object upon which it can possibly be employed. To preserve these from violation, it is necessary that the constitution of parliament be supported in its full vigour; and limits, certainly known, be set to the royal prerogative. And, lastly, to vindicate these rights, when actually violated or attacked, the subjects of England are entitled, in the first place, to the regular administration and free course of justice in the courts of law; next, to the right of petitioning the king and parliament for redress of grievances; and lastly, to the right of having and using arms for self-preservation and defence. And all these rights and liberties it is our birthright to enjoy entire; unless where the laws of our country have laid them under necessary restraints: restraints in themselves so gentle and moderate, as will appear, upon farther inquiry, that no man of sense or probity would wish to see them slackened. For all of us have it in our choice to do everything that a good man would desire to do; and are restrained from nothing but what would be pernicious either to ourselves or our fellow citizens. So that this review *of our situation may fully justify the observation of a learned [*145] French author, who indeed generally both thought and wrote in the spirit of genuine freedom, (z) and who hath not scrupled to profess, even in the very bosom of his native country, that the English is the only nation in the world where political or civil liberty is the direct end of its constitution. Recommending, therefore, to the students in our laws a farther and more accurate search into this extensive and important title, I shall close my remarks upon it with the expiring wish of the famous Father Paul to his country, "ESTO PERPETUA!"

(*) Montesq. Spirit of Laws xi, 5.

separate township or parishes, by the inhabitants thereof of which six days' previous notice must be given to a justice of the peace, signed by seven resident householders. See 60 Geo. III, c. 6.

But as the mischief was temporary, the restrictions upon the right of meeting to deliberate upon public measures were limited in their duration, and have mostly expired; those enactments which were designed to prevent such meetings from being perverted to objects manifestly dangerous to the peace of the community, only continuing in force.]

(21) Mr. Tucker, writing in 1802, calls attention to the fact that the Constitution of the United States (4th amend.) declares that the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed, and this without any qualification as to their condition or degree, as is the case in the British government. Whoever examines the forest and game laws in the British Code, will readily perceive that the right of keeping arms is effectually taken away from the people of England. The commentator himself informs us (vol. 2, p. 412,) that "the prevention of popular insurrections and resistance to government, by disarming the bulk of the people, is a reason oftener meant than avowed by the makers of the forest and game law."

As to the right of all persons to bear arms for self-protection, see Bliss v. Commonwealth, 2 Lit. 90; Nunn v. State, 1 Kelley, 243; and Ely v. Thompson, 3 A. K. Marsh. 73.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE PARLIAMENT.

WE are next to treat of the rights and duties of persons, as they are members of society, and stand in various relations to each other. These relations are either public or private: and we will first consider those that are public.

The most universal public relation, by which men are connected together, is that of government; namely, as governors and governed; or, in other words, as magistrates and people. Of magistrates, some also are *supreme*, in whom the sovereign power of the state resides; others are *subordinate*, deriving all their authority from the supreme magistrate, accountable to him for their conduct, and acting in an inferior secondary sphere.

In all tyrannical governments, the supreme magistracy, or the right both of *making* and of *enforcing* the laws, is vested in one and the same man, or one and the same body of men; and wherever these two powers are united together, there can be no public liberty. The magistrate may enact tyrannical laws, and execute them in a tyrannical manner, since he is possessed, in quality of dispenser of justice, with all the power which he, as legislator, thinks proper to give himself. But, where the legislative and executive authority are in distinct hands, the former will take care not to entrust the latter with so large a power as may tend to the subversion of its own independence, and therewith of the liberty of the subject. With us, therefore, in England, this supreme power is divided into [*147] *two branches; the one legislative, to wit, the parliament, consisting of king, lords, and commons; the other executive, consisting of the king alone. It will be the business of this chapter to consider the British parliament, in which the legislative power, and (of course) the supreme and absolute authority of the state, is vested by our constitution.

The original or first institution of parliament is one of those matters which lies so far hidden in the dark ages of antiquity, that the tracing of it out is a thing equally difficult and uncertain. (1) The word *parliament* itself, (*parlement* or *colloquium*, as some of our historians translate it,) is comparatively of modern date; derived from the French, and signifying an assembly that met and conferred together. It was first applied to general assemblies of the states under Louis VII, in France, about the middle of the twelfth century. (a) But it is certain that, long before the introduction of the Norman language into England, all matters of importance were debated and settled in the great councils of the realm: a practice which seems to have been universal among the northern nations, particularly the Germans, (b) and carried by them into all the countries of Europe, which they overran at the dissolution of the Roman empire: relics of which constitution, under various modifications and changes, are still to be met with in the diets of Poland, Germany, and Sweden, and the assembly of the estates in France; (c) for what is there now called the parliament is only the supreme court of justice, consisting of the peers, certain dignified ecclesiastics, and judges, which neither is in practice, nor is supposed to be in theory, a general council of the realm.

With us in England this general council hath been held immemorially under the several names of *micel-synoth* or great council, *micel-gemote*, or great meeting, and more *frequently *wittena-gemote*, or the meeting of wise men. [*148] It was also styled in Latin, *commune concilium regni*, *magnum concilium*

(a) Mod. Un. Hist. xxlii. 307. The first mention of it in our statute law is in the preamble to the statute of Westm. 1. 3 Edw. I. A. D. 1272.

(b) *De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes.* Tac. *de mor. Germ.* c. 11.

(c) These were assembled for the last time, A. D. 1561 (see Whitelocke, of Parl. c. 72.) or according to Robertson. A. D. 1614. (Hist. Cha. V. i, 369.)

(1) [The word *parliamentum* was not used in England till the reign of Henry III. Prynne on 4 Inst. 2.] The gradual development of representative institutions in England is shown in Hallam (Const. Hist.) and Todd (Parl. Gov.) and is discussed more or less in the popular histories.

regis, curia magna, conventus magnatum vel procerum assisa, generalis, and sometimes *communitas regni Angliæ*. (*d*) We have instances of its meeting to order the affairs of the kingdom, to make new laws, and to mend the old, or, as Fleta (*e*) expresses it, "*novis injuriis emersis nova constituere remedia*," so early as the reign of Ina, king of the West Saxons, Offa, king of the Mercians, and Ethelbert, king of Kent, in the several realms of the heptarchy. And, after their union, the Mirror (*f*) informs us, that King Alfred ordained for a perpetual usage, that these councils should meet twice in the year, or oftener, if need be, to treat of the government of God's people; how they should keep themselves from sin, should live in quiet, and should receive right. Our succeeding Saxon and Danish monarchs held frequent councils of this sort, as appears from their respective codes of laws; the titles whereof usually speak them to be enacted, either by the king with the advice of his wittena-gemote, or wise men, as "*hæc sunt instituta, quæ Edgarus rex consilio sapientum suorum instituit*;" or to be enacted by those sages with the advice of the king, as, "*hæc sunt judicia, quæ sapientes consilio regis Ethelstani instituerunt*;" or lastly, to be enacted by them both together, as, "*hæc sunt institutiones, quas rex Edmundus et episcopi sui cum sapientibus suis instituerunt*."

There is also no doubt but these great councils were occasionally held under the first princes of the Norman line. Glanvil, who wrote in the reign of Henry the Second, speaking of the particular amount of an amercement in the sheriff's court, says, it had never been yet ascertained by the general assize, or assembly, but was left to the custom of particular counties. (*g*) Here the general assize is spoken of as a meeting well known, and its statutes or decisions are put in *a manifest contradistinction to custom, or the common law. And in [*149] Edward the Third's time an act of parliament, made in the reign of William the Conqueror, was pleaded in the case of the abbey of St. Edmund's-bury, and judicially allowed by the court. (*h*)

Hence it indisputably appears, that parliaments, or general councils, are coeval with the kingdom itself. How those parliaments were constituted and composed, is another question, which has been matter of great dispute among our learned antiquaries; and, particularly, whether the commons were summoned at all; or, if summoned, at what period they began to form a distinct assembly. But it is not my intention here to enter into controversies of this sort. I hold it sufficient that it is generally agreed, that in the main the constitution of parliament, as it now stands, was marked out so long ago as the seventeenth year of King John, A. D. 1215, in the great charter granted by that prince; wherein he promises to summon all archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, personally; and all other tenants in chief under the crown, by the sheriff and bailiffs; to meet at a certain place, with forty days' notice to assess aids and scutages when necessary. And this constitution has subsisted in fact at least from the year 1266, 49 Hen. III: there being still extant writs of that date, to summon knights, citizens, and burgesses, to parliament. I proceed therefore to inquire wherein consists this constitution of parliament, as it now stands, and has stood for the space of at least five hundred years. And in the prosecution of this inquiry, I shall consider, first, the manner and time of its assembling: secondly, its constituent parts: thirdly, the laws and customs relating to parliament, considered as one aggregate body: fourthly and fifthly, the laws and customs relating to each house, separately and distinctly taken: sixthly, the methods of proceeding, and of making statutes, in both houses: and lastly, the manner of the parliament's adjournment, prorogation and dissolution.

*I. As to the manner and time of assembling. The parliament is regularly to be summoned by the king's writ or letter, issued out of chancery [*150] by advice of the privy council, at least forty days before it begins to sit. (2) It

(*d*) Glanvil, l. 13. c. 32. l. 9. c. 10.—Pref. 9 Rep.—2 Inst. 528.

(*e*) l. 2. c. 2.

(*f*) C. 1. § 3.

(*g*) *Quanta esse debeat per nullam assisam generalem determinatum est, sed pro consuetudine singulorum comitatum debetur.* l. 9. c. 10.

(*h*) Year book. 21 Edw. III, 60.

is a branch of the royal prerogative, that no parliament can be convened by its own authority, or by the authority of any, except the king alone. And this prerogative is founded upon very good reason. For, supposing it had a right to meet spontaneously, without being called together, it is impossible to conceive that all the members, and each of the houses, would agree unanimously upon the proper time and place of meeting; and if half of the members met, and half absented themselves, who shall determine which is really the legislative body, the part assembled, or that which stays away? It is therefore necessary that the parliament should be called together at a determinate time and place: and highly becoming its dignity and independence, that it should be called together by none but one of its own constituent parts: and, of the three constituent parts, this office can only appertain to the king; as he is a single person, whose will may be uniform and steady; the first person in the nation, being superior to both houses in dignity; and the only branch of the legislature that has a separate existence, and is capable of performing any act at a time when no parliament is in being. (*i*) Nor is it an exception to this rule that, by some modern statutes, on the demise of a king or queen, if there be then no parliament in being, the last parliament revives, and is to sit again for six months, unless dissolved by the successor: for this revived parliament must have been originally summoned by the crown.

[*151] *It is true, that by a statute, 16 Car. I, c. 1, it was enacted, that if the king neglected to call a parliament for three years, the peers might assemble and issue out writs for choosing one; and, in case of neglect of the peers, the constituents might meet and elect one themselves. But this, if ever put in practice, would have been liable to all the inconveniences I have just now stated; and the act itself was esteemed so highly detrimental and injurious to the royal prerogative, that it was repealed by statute 16 Car. II, c. 1. From thence therefore no precedent can be drawn.

It is also true, that the convention-parliament, which restored King Charles the Second, met above a month before his return; the lords by their own authority, and the commons, in pursuance of writs issued in the name of the keepers of the liberty of England, by authority of parliament: and that the said parliament sat till the twenty-ninth of December, full seven months after the restoration; and enacted many laws, several of which are till in force. But this was for the necessity of the thing, which supersedes all law; for if they had not so met, it was morally impossible that the kingdom should have settled in peace. And the first thing done after the king's return was to pass an act declaring this to be a good parliament, notwithstanding the defect of the king's writs. (*k*) So that, as the royal prerogative was chiefly wounded by their so meeting, and as the king himself, who alone had a right to object, consented to waive the objection, this cannot be drawn into an example in prejudice of the rights of the crown. Besides we should also remember, that it was at that time a great doubt among the lawyers, (*l*) whether even this healing act made it a good parliament; and held by very many in the negative: though it seems to have been too nice a scruple. And yet, out of abundant caution, it was thought necessary to confirm its acts in the next parliament, by statute 13 Car. II, c. 7, and c. 14.

[*152] *It is likewise true, that at the time of the revolution, A. D. 1688, the lords and commons by their own authority, and upon the summons of the prince of Orange, (afterwards King William,) met in a convention, and therein disposed of the crown and kingdom. But it must be remembered, that this assembling was upon a like principle of necessity as at the restoration; that is, upon a full conviction that King James the Second had abdicated the

(*i*) By motives somewhat similar to these the republic of Venice was actuated, when towards the end of the seventh century it abolished the tribunes of the people, who were annually chosen by the several districts of the Venetian territory, and constituted a doge in their stead; in whom the executive power of the state at present resides. For which their historians have assigned these, as the principal reasons. 1. The propriety of having the executive power a part of the legislative, or senate; to which the former annual magistrates were not admitted. 2. The necessity of having a single person to convolve the great council when separated. (Mod. Un. Hist. xxvii, 15.) (*k*) Stat. 12 Car. II, c. 1. (*l*) 1 Sid. 1.

government and that the throne was thereby vacant: which supposition of the individual members was confirmed by their concurrent resolution, when they actually came together. And in such a case as the palpable vacancy of a throne it follows *ex necessitate rei*, that the form of the royal writs must be laid aside, otherwise no parliament can ever meet again. For, let us put another possible case, and suppose, for the sake of argument, that the whole royal line should at any time fail and become extinct, which would indisputably vacate the throne: in this situation it seems reasonable to presume, that the body of the nation, consisting of lords and commons, would have a right to meet and settle the government; otherwise there must be no government at all. And upon this and no other principle did the convention in 1688 assemble. The vacancy of the throne was precedent to their meeting without any royal summons, not a consequence of it. They did not assemble without writ, and then make the throne vacant; but the throne being previously vacant by the king's abdication, they assembled without writ, as they must do if they assembled at all. Had the throne been full, their meeting would not have been regular; but as it was really empty, such meeting became absolutely necessary. And accordingly it is declared by statute 1 W. and M. St. 1, c. 1, that this convention was really the two houses of parliament, notwithstanding the want of writs or other defects of form. So that notwithstanding these two capital exceptions, which were justifiable only on a principle of necessity, (and each of which by the way, induced a revolution in the government,) the rule laid down is in general certain, that the king, only, can convoke a parliament.

*And this by the ancient statutes of the realm (*m*) he is bound to do every year, or oftner, if need be. Not that he is, or ever was, obliged [*153] by these statutes to call a *new* parliament every year; but only to permit a parliament to sit annually for the redress of grievances, and dispatch of business, *if need be*. (3) These last words are so loose and vague, that such of our monarchs as were inclined to govern without parliaments, neglected the convoking them sometimes for a very considerable period, under pretence that there was no need of them. But, to remedy this, by the statute 16 Car. II, c. 1, it is enacted, that the sitting and holding of parliaments shall not be intermitted above three years at the most. And by the statute 1 W. and M. St 2, c. 2, it is declared to be one of the rights of the people, that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving the laws, parliaments ought to be held *frequently*. And this indefinite *frequency* is again reduced to a certainty by statute 6 W. and M. c. 2, which enacts, as the statute of Charles the Second had done before, that a new parliament shall be called within three years (*n*) after the determination of the former. (4)

(m) 4 Edw. III, c. 14. 36 Edw. III, c. 10.

(n) This is the same period, that is allowed in Sweden for intermitting their general diets, or parliamentary assemblies. Mod. Un. Hist. xxxiii, 15.

(3) [Mr. Granville Sharp, in a treatise published some years ago, argued ingeniously against this construction of the 4 Edw. III, and maintained that the words *if need be*, referred only to the preceding word, *oftener*. So that the true signification was, that a parliament should be held once every year at all events; and if there should be any need to hold it oftener, then more than once. See his Declaration, &c., p. 166. The cotemporary records of parliament, in some of which it is so expressed without any ambiguity, prove beyond all controversy that this is the true construction.]

In the following reigns the longest durations and intermissions were nearly as follows:

	Durations.	Intermissions.		Durations.	Intermissions.
Henry VIII.....	6 years.	6 years.	Edw. VI.....	4 years.	— years.
Eliz.....	11 do	4 do	Jas. I.....	9 do	6 do
Ch. I.....	8 do	12 do	Chas. II.....	17 do	4 do

(4) As the supplies and the mutiny act are voted for a year only, an annual session of parliament is a necessity.

The Congress of the United States is required by the constitution to assemble at least once in every year: Art. 1, § 4; and the president may besides, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses or either of them. Art. 2, § 3.

II. The constituent parts of a parliament are the next objects of our inquiry; And these are the king's majesty, sitting there in his royal political capacity, and the three estates of the realm; the lords spiritual, the lords temporal, (who sit, together with the king, in one house) and the commons, who sit by themselves in another. And the king, and these three estates, together, form the great corporation or body politic of the kingdom, (*o*) of which the king is said to be *caput principium et finis*. For upon their coming together the king meets them either in person or by representation; without which there can be no beginning of a parliament; (*p*) and he also has alone the power of dissolving them.

[*154] *It is highly necessary for preserving the balance of the constitution, that the executive power should be a branch, though not the whole, of the legislative. The total union of them, we have seen, would be productive of tyranny; the total disjunction of them for the present would in the end produce the same effects, by causing that union against which it seems to provide. The legislative would soon become tyrannical, by making continual encroachments, and gradually assuming to itself the rights of the executive power.

Thus the long parliament of Charles the First, while it acted in a constitutional manner, with the royal concurrence, redressed many heavy grievances, and established many salutary laws. But when the two houses assumed the power of legislation, in exclusion of the royal authority, they soon after assumed likewise the reins of administration; and, in consequence of these united powers overturned both church and state, and established a worse oppression than any they pretended to remedy. To hinder therefore any such encroachments, the king is himself a part of the parliament: and, as this is the reason of his being so, very properly, therefore the share of legislation, which the constitution has placed in the crown, consists in the power of *rejecting* rather than *resolving*; this being sufficient to answer the end proposed. For we may apply to the royal negative, in this instance, what Cicero observes of the negative of the Roman tribunes, that the crown has not any power of *doing* wrong, but merely of *preventing* wrong from being done. (*q*) The crown cannot begin of itself any alterations in the present established law; but it may approve or disapprove of the alterations suggested and consented to by the two houses. The legislative therefore cannot abridge the executive power of any rights which it now has by law, without its own consent; since the law must perpetually stand as it now does, unless all the powers will agree to alter it. And herein indeed consists the true excellence of the English government, that

[*155] all the parts of it form a mutual *check upon each other. In the legislature, the people are a check upon the nobility, and the nobility a check upon the people; by the mutual privilege of rejecting what the other has resolved: while the king is a check upon both, which preserves the executive power from encroachments. And this very executive power is again checked and kept within due bounds by the two houses, through the privilege they have of inquiring into, impeaching and punishing the conduct (not indeed of the king, (*r*) which would destroy his constitutional independence; but, which is more beneficial to the public) of his evil and pernicious counsellors. Thus every branch of our civil polity supports and is supported, regulates and is regulated by the rest: for the two houses naturally drawing in two directions of opposite interest, and the prerogative in another still different from them both, they mutually keep each other from exceeding their proper limits; while the whole is prevented from separation and artificially connected together by the mixed nature of the crown, which is a part of the legislature, and the sole executive magistrate. Like three distinct powers in mechanics, they jointly impel the machine of government in a direction different from what either, acting by itself, would have done; but at the same time in a direction partaking of each,

(*o*) 4 Inst. 1. 2. Stat. Eliz. c. 3. Hale, of Parl. 1.

(*p*) 4 Inst. 6.

(*q*) *Sulla—tribunis plebis sua lege injuria faciendâ potestatem ademit, auxilii ferendis reliquit.* De LL. 3. 9.

(*r*) Stat. 12 Car. II, c. 30.

and formed out of all; a direction which constitutes the true line of the liberty and happiness of the community. (5)

Let us now consider these constituent parts of the sovereign power, or parliament, each in a separate view. The king's majesty will be the subject of the next, and many subsequent chapters, to which we must at present refer.

The next in order are the spiritual lords. These consist of two archbishops and twenty-four bishops, (6) and, at the dissolution of monasteries by Henry VIII, consisted likewise of twenty-six mitred abbots, and two priors: (s) a very considerable body, and in those times equal in number to the temporal nobility. (t) (7) All these hold, or are supposed to hold, *certain ancient baronies [*156] under the king; for William the Conqueror thought proper to change the spiritual tenure of frankalmoign, or free alms, under which the bishops held their lands during the Saxon government, into the feudal or Norman tenure by barony, which subjected their estates to all civil charges and assessments, from which they were before exempt: (u) and, in right of succession to those baronies, which were unalienable from their respective dignities, the bishops and abbots were allowed their seats in the house of lords. (x) (8) But though these lords spiritual are, in the eye of the law, a distinct estate from the lords temporal, and are so distinguished in most of our acts of parliament, yet, in practice, they are usually blended together under the one name of *the lords*; they intermix in their votes; and the majority of such intermixture joins both estates. And from this want of a separate assembly and separate negative of

(s) Seld. tit. hon. 2. 5. 27.

(t) Co. Litt. 97.

(u) Gilb. Hist. Exch. 53. Spelm. W. I. 201.

(x) Glanv. 7. 1. Co. Litt. 97.

Seld. tit. hon. 2. 5. 19.

(5) The gradual changes which have been taking place in the constitution of Great Britain since these commentaries were written, but which have been particularly noticeable only on occasions of great excitement, like those of the passage of the reform bill in 1832, and the Irish Church Disestablishment bill in 1869, have had the effect to destroy in great degree the equilibrium of power in the British government, and to make the house of commons at length the controlling authority in that realm. The control over the executive department is established by the recognition of the principle that on all important measures the advisers of the crown must be in harmony with the majority of the commons, and that whenever it appears that this harmony does not exist, the ministry must either resign, or dissolve the parliament and appeal to the people in a new election, in the hope of obtaining a majority with different sentiments. The superiority over the house of lords exists in the right to originate all money bills, and at last in the establishment, practically, of the principle that the lords shall not reject an important measure that is clearly demanded by the people, and has been passed by the commons. The gradual extension of the power of the commons will be traced with interest in May's Constitutional History of England. The power of the crown to reject or *veto* a measure, adopted in parliament, is obsolete, as of course it must become when the principle is recognized that the ministry must be harmonious in sentiment with the majority of the commons, and that the crown only acts through the ministry. The power of impeachment would be exercised unhesitatingly if this principle should be disregarded. The balance of power is better arranged and better preserved in America. The president has a qualified veto upon all congressional legislation, which can only be overcome by a concurrent vote of two-thirds of each house. Const. art. 1, § 7. And this, together with his right to communicate and recommend measures by message, Art. 2, § 3, makes him an important branch of the legislative department. There is no constitutional principle in our government which renders it obligatory that the president's advisers should be in harmony with congress, or with either house of it. Nor does either house hesitate at any time to reject any measure adopted by the other, if the judgment of its members recommends that course.

(6) On the union with Ireland an addition of four representative peers (one archbishop and three bishops) was made for that kingdom, but by the disestablishment of the Irish Church these bishoprics will cease to exist.

(7) [In the place referred to, Lord Coke says, there were twenty-seven abbots and two priors, and he is there silent respecting the number of the temporal peers; but, in the first page of the 4th Institute, he says their number, when he is then writing, is 106, and the number of the commons 493.]

(8) [The right by which these spiritual lords sit, whether derived under their alleged baronies, or from usage, is discussed, Hargr. Co. Litt. 135. b. n. 1. Mr. H. inclines to adopt Lord Hale's position, namely, that they sit by usage. Mr. Hallam has also adverted to the question, Midd. Ages, c. viii, and rendered it accessible to the general reader; but the student, if he have a turn for conjectural investigation, may consult Lord Hale's MS. Jura Coronæ, and Bishop Warburton's Alliance between Church and State, 4th edit. p. 149.]

the prelates, some writers have argued (*y*) very cogently, that the lords spiritual and temporal are now, in reality, only one estate, (*z*) which is unquestionably true in every effectual sense, though the ancient distinction between them still nominally continues. For if a bill should pass their house, there is no doubt of its validity, though every lord spiritual should vote against it; of which Seldon, (*a*) and Sir Edward Coke, (*b*) give many instances: as on the other hand, I presume it would be equally good, if the lords temporal present were inferior to the bishops in number, and every one of those temporal lords gave his vote to reject the bill; though Sir Edward Coke seems to doubt (*c*) whether this would not be an *ordinance*, rather than an act, of parliament.

[*157] *The lords temporal consist of all the peers of the realm (9) (the bishops not being in strictness held to be such, but merely lords of parliament) (*d*) by whatever title of nobility distinguished, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, or barons; of which dignities we shall speak more hereafter. Some of these sit by descent, as do all ancient peers; some by creation, as do all new-made ones; others, since the union with Scotland, by election, which is the case of the sixteen peers, who represent the body of the Scots nobility. (10) Their number is indefinite, and may be increased at will by the power of the crown; (11) and once, in the reign of Queen Annie, there was an instance of creating no less than twelve together; in contemplation of which, in the reign of King George the First, a bill passed the house of lords, and was countenanced by the then ministry, for limiting the number of the peerage. This was thought, by some, to promise a great acquisition to the constitution, by restraining the prerogative from gaining the ascendant in that august assembly, by pouring in at pleasure an unlimited number of new created lords. But the bill was ill-relished, and miscarried in the house of commons, whose leading members were then desirous to keep the avenues to the other house as open and easy as possible.

The distinction of rank and honours is necessary in ~~every~~^{every} well-governed state, in order to reward such as are eminent for their services to the public, in a manner the most desirable to individuals, and yet without burden to the community; exciting thereby an ambitious yet laudable ardor, and generous emulation, in others: and emulation, or virtuous ambition, is a spring of action, which, however dangerous or invidious in a mere republic, or under a despotic sway, will certainly be attended with good effects under a free monarchy, where, without destroying its existence, its excesses may be continually restrained by that superior power, from which all honour is derived. Such a spirit, when nationally diffused, gives life and vigour to the community; it sets all the wheels of government in motion, *which, under a wise regulator, may be [*158] directed to any beneficial purpose; and thereby every individual may be

(*y*) Whitelocke on Parliam. c. 72. Warburt. Alliance, b. 2, c. 3. (*z*) Dyer, 60.

(*a*) Baronage, p. 1, c. 6. The act of uniformity, 1. Eliz. c. 2, was passed with the dissent of all the bishops. (Gibbs. codex. 288) and therefore the style of *lords spiritual* is omitted throughout the whole.

(*b*) 2 Inst. 585, 6, 7. See Kellw. 184, where it is holden by the judges, 7 Hen. VIII, that the king may hold parliament without any spiritual lords. This was also exemplified in fact, in the two first parliaments of Charles II. wherein no bishops were summoned, till after the repeal of the statute 16 Car. I, c. 27, by statute 13 Car. II St. 1, c. 2.

(*c*) 4 Inst. 25.

(*d*) Staundford, P. C. 153.

(9) By stat. 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 67, art. 4, twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall sit and vote, on the part of Ireland, in the house of lords. The same article prescribes the mode of election, and refers the decision of any question arising thereon to the house of lords, where, if the votes be equal, the names of the candidates are to be put into a glass and one drawn out by the clerk of the parliament during the sitting of the house. Until the peerage of Ireland be reduced to one hundred, the prerogative is limited to create one peer upon three extinctions; and, on the peerage being reduced to one hundred, the prerogative is limited to keeping up that number.]

(10) [The Scots nobility sit one parliament only: the Irish for life.]

(11) The reader will remember the carrying of the reform bill of 1832, by the threat of creating a sufficient number of peers to overcome the adverse majority in that body. See May's Const. Hist. c. 6. This, however, was an extreme measure, and was regarded at the time as extra-constitutional, and only to be resorted to in order to avert the imminent danger of civil commotions.

made subservient to the public good, while he principally means to promote his own particular views. A body of nobility is also more peculiarly necessary in our mixed and compounded constitution, in order to support the rights of both the crown and the people, by forming a barrier to withstand the encroachments of both. It creates and preserves that gradual scale of dignity, which proceeds from the peasant to the prince; rising like a pyramid from a broad foundation and diminishing to a point as it rises. It is this ascending and contracting proportion that adds stability to any government; for when the departure is sudden from one extreme to another, we may pronounce that state to be precarious. The nobility, therefore, are the pillars which are reared from among the people more immediately to support the throne; and if that falls, they must also be buried under its ruins. Accordingly, when in the last century the commons had determined to extirpate monarchy, they also voted the house of lords to be useless and dangerous. And since titles of nobility are thus expedient in the state, it is also expedient that their owners should form an independent and separate branch of the legislature. If they were confounded with the mass of the people, and like them had only a vote in electing representatives, their privileges would soon be borne down and overwhelmed by the popular torrent, which would effectually level all distinctions. It is therefore highly necessary that the body of nobles should have a distinct assembly, distinct deliberations, and distinct powers from the commons.

The commons consist of all such men of property in the kingdom as have not seats in the house of lords; every one of which has a voice in parliament, either personally, or by his representatives. In a free state every man, who is supposed a free agent, ought to be in some measure his own governor; and therefore a branch at least of the legislative power should reside in the whole body of the people. And this power, when the territories of the state are small and its citizens easily known, should be exercised by the people *in their aggregate [*159] or collective capacity, as was wisely ordained in the petty republics of Greece, and the first rudiments of the Roman state. But this will be highly inconvenient, when the public territory is extended to any considerable degree, and the number of citizens is increased. Thus when, after the social war, all the burghers of Italy were admitted free citizens of Rome, and each had a vote in the public assemblies, it became impossible to distinguish the spurious from the real voter, and from that time all elections and popular deliberations grew tumultuous and disorderly; which paved the way for Marius and Sylla, Pompey and Caesar, to trample on the liberties of their country, and at last to dissolve the commonwealth. In so large a state as ours, it is therefore very wisely contrived that the people should do that by their representatives, which it is impracticable to perform in person; representatives, chosen by a number of minute and separate districts, wherein all the voters are, or easily may be, distinguished. The counties are therefore represented by knights, elected by the proprietors of lands; the citizens and boroughs are represented by citizens and burgesses, chosen by the mercantile part, or supposed trading interest of the nation; much in the same manner as the burghers in the diet of Sweden are chosen by the corporate towns, Stockholm sending four, as London does with us, other cities two, and some only one. (e) The number of English representatives is 513, and of Scots 45; in all 558. (12) And every member, though chosen by one particular district, when elected and returned, serves for the whole realm; for the end of his coming thither is not particular, but general; not barely to advantage his constituents, but the common wealth; to advise his majesty (as appears from the writ of summons) (f) "*de communi consilio super negotiis quibusdam arduis*

(e) Mod. Un. Hist. xxxlii. 18.

(f) 4 Inst. 18.

(12) By stat. 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 67, one hundred representatives of Ireland must be added to these. By stat. 2 William IV, cc. 45, 65 and 88, the number of English representatives was reduced to 500; the Scotch representation increased to 53, and the Irish to 105, making the total number 658.

et urgentibus, regem, statum, et defensionem regni Angliæ et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ concernentibus." And therefore he is not bound, like a deputy in the united provinces, to consult with, or take the advice of, his constituents upon any particular point, unless he himself thinks it proper or prudent so to do. (13)

[*160] *These are the constituent parts of a parliament; the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons. (14) Parts, of which each is so necessary, that the consent of all three is required to make any new law that shall bind the subject. Whatever is enacted for law by one, or by two only, of the three, is no statute; and to it no regard is due, unless in matters relating to their own privileges. For though, in times of madness and anarchy, the commons once passed a vote, (g) "that whatever is enacted or declared for law by the commons in parliament assembled, hath the force of law; and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the king or house of peers be not had thereto;" yet, when the constitution was restored in all its forms, it was particularly enacted by statute 13 Car. II, c. 1, that if any person shall maliciously or advisedly affirm that both or either of the houses of parliament have any legislative authority without the king, such person shall incur all the penalties of a *præmunire*.

III. We are next to examine the laws and customs relating to parliament, thus united together, and considered as one aggregate body.

The power and jurisdiction of parliament, says Sir Edward Coke, (h) is so transcendent and absolute, that it cannot be confined, either for causes or persons, within any bounds. And of this high court, he adds, it may be truly said, "*si antiquitatem spectes, est vetustissima; si dignitatem, est honoratissima; si jurisdictionem, est capacissima.*" It hath sovereign and uncontrollable authority in the making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, reviving, and expounding of laws, concerning matters of all possible denominations, ecclesiastical or temporal, civil, military, maritime, or criminal: this being the place where that absolute despotic power which must in all governments reside somewhere, is intrusted by the constitution of these kingdoms. All mis-

[*161] chiefs and *grievances, operations and remedies, that transcend the ordinary course of the laws, are within the reach of this extraordinary tribunal. It can regulate or new model the succession to the crown; as was done in the reign of Henry VIII and William III. It can alter the established religion of the land; as was done in a variety of instances, in the reigns of King Henry VIII and his three children. It can change and create afresh even the constitution of the kingdom and of parliaments themselves; as was done by the act of union, and the several statutes for triennial and septennial elections. It can, in short, do every thing that is not naturally impossible; and therefore some have not scrupled to call its power, by a figure rather too bold, the omnipotence of parliament. (15) True it is, that what the parliament doth, no authority upon earth can undo; so that it is a matter most essential to the liberties of this kingdom that such members be delegated to this important trust as are most eminent for their probity, their fortitude, and their knowledge; for

(g) 4 Jan. 1648.

(h) 4 Inst. 36.

(13) [See this point beautifully put in the close of Burke's speech to the electors of Bristol.]

(14) By the constitution of the United States the senate is composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislatures thereof for six years: art. 1, § 3; and the house of representatives of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states; art. 1, § 2. Representatives are apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, excluding Indians not taxed, and by a ratio previously fixed by congress, but not to exceed one for every thirty thousand. Each state is to have at least one representative. *Ib.*

(15) [De Lolme has improved upon this, and has, I think, unwarrantably asserted, that "it is a fundamental principle with the English lawyers, that parliament can do every thing but make a woman a man, and a man a woman." p. 134. The omnipotence of parliament signifies nothing more than the supreme sovereign power of the state, or a power of action uncontrolled by any superior. In this sense, the king, in the exercise of his prerogatives, and the house of lords, in the interpretation of laws, are also omnipotent; that is, free from the control of any superior provided by the constitution.]

it was a known apothegm of the great lord treasurer Burleigh, "that England could never be ruined but by a parliament;" and, as Sir Matthew Hale observes, (i) "this being the highest and greatest court, over which none other can have jurisdiction in the kingdom, if by any means a misgovernment should any way fall upon it the subjects of this kingdom are left without all manner of remedy." To the same purpose the president Montesquieu, though I trust too hastily, presages (k) that, as Rome, Sparta, and Carthage, have lost their liberty, and perished, so the constitution of England will in time lose its liberty, will perish: it will perish, whenever the legislative power shall become more corrupt than the executive.

It must be owned that Mr. Locke, (l) and other theoretical writers, have held, that "there remains still inherent in the people a supreme power to remove or alter the legislative, when they find the legislative act contrary to the trust *reposed in them; for, when such trust is abused, it is thereby forfeited, and devolves to those who gave it." But however just this conclusion [*162] may be in theory, we cannot practically adopt it, nor take any *legal* steps for carrying it into execution, under any dispensation of government at present actually existing. For this devolution of power, to the people at large, includes in it a dissolution of the whole form of government established by that people; reduces all the members to their original state of equality; and, by annihilating the sovereign power, repeals all positive laws whatsoever before enacted. No human laws will therefore suppose a case, which at once must destroy all law, and compel men to build afresh upon a new foundation; nor will they make provision for so desperate an event, as must render all legal provisions ineffectual. (m) So long therefore as the English constitution lasts, we may venture to affirm, that the power of parliament is absolute and without control. (16)

In order to prevent the mischiefs that might arise, by placing this extensive authority in hands that are either incapable, or else improper, to manage it, it is provided by the custom and law of parliament, (n) that no one shall sit or vote in either house, unless he be twenty-one years of age. This is also expressly declared by statute 7 and 8 W. III, c. 25, with regard to the house of commons; doubts having arisen from some contradictory adjudications, whether or no a minor was incapacitated from sitting in that house. (o) It is also enacted by statute 7 Jac. I, c. 6, that no member be permitted to enter into the house of commons, till he hath taken the oath of allegiance before the lord steward or his deputy; and, by 30 Car. II, St. 2, and 1 Geo. I, c. 13, that no member shall vote or sit in either house, till he hath in the presence of the house taken the oath of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, and subscribed and repeated the declaration against transubstantiation, (17) and invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass. Aliens, unless naturalized, were likewise by the law of parliament incapable to serve therein: (p) and now it is enacted, by statute 12 and 13 W. III, c. 2, that no alien, *even though he be naturalized, shall [*163] be capable of being a member of either house of parliament. And there are not only these standing incapacities; but if any person is made a peer by

(i) Of parliaments, 49.

(k) Sp. L. 11. 6.

(l) On Gov. p. 2. §§ 149, 227.

(m) See page 244.

(n) Whitelocke, c. 50. 4 Inst. 47.

(o) Com. Journ. 16 Dec. 1690.

(p) 1 Com. Journ. 16 Mar. 1623: 18 Feb. 1625.

(16) [Locke himself qualifies his position much in the same way as it is qualified in the text. He says, "the community may be said in this respect to be always the supreme power, but as considered under any form of government; because this power of the people can never take place till the government is dissolved.]

No such absolute and uncontrolled authority exists in the American legislative bodies. See notes, pp. 125 and 146. Also Cooley, Const. Lim. 7.

(17) The acts relating to declaration against transubstantiation were repealed by Stat. 10 Geo. IV, c. 7, which prescribes a form of oath to be taken by Roman Catholics instead of the oaths of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration. Until recently Jews could not sit in parliament unless they could take the oath of abjuration, containing the words "upon the faith of a Christian," but this requirement was dispensed with in 1858. The form of oath now required by members of parliament is prescribed by Stat. 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72, § 8.

the king or elected to serve in the house of commons by the people, yet may the respective houses upon complaint of any crime in such person, and proof thereof, adjudge him disabled and incapable to sit as a member: (*q*) and this by the law and custom of parliament. (18)

For, as every court of justice hath laws and customs for its direction, some the civil and canon, some the common law, others their own peculiar laws and customs, so the high court of parliament hath also its own peculiar law, called the *lex et consuetudo parliamenti*; a law which, Sir Edward Coke (*r*) observes, is "*ab omnibus quærenda, a multis ignorata* (19) *a paucis cognita*." It will not therefore be expected that we should enter into the examination of this law, with any degree of minuteness: since, as the same learned author assures us, (*t*) it is much better to be learned out of the rolls of parliament, and other records, and by precedents, and continual experience, than can be expressed by any one man. It will be sufficient to observe, that the whole of the law and custom of parliament has its original from this one maxim, "that whatever matter arises concerning either house of parliament, ought to be examined, discussed, and adjudged in that house to which it relates, and not elsewhere." (*u*) Hence, for instance, the lords will not suffer the commons to interfere in settling the election of a peer of Scotland: the commons will not allow the lords to judge of the election of a burgess; nor will either house permit the subordinate courts of law to examine the merits of either case. (20) But the maxims upon which

(*q*) Whitelocke, of Parl. c. 102. See Lord's Journ. 3 May, 1620; 13 May, 1624; 26 May, 1726. Com. Journ. 14 Feb. 1580; 21 Jun. 1628; 9 Nov. 21 Jan. 1640; 6 Mar. 1676; 6 Mar. 1711; 17 Feb. 1769.
(*r*) 1 Inst. 11. (*t*) 4 Inst. 50. (*u*) 4 Inst. 15.

(18) [This sentence was not in the first editions, but was added, no doubt, by the learned judge, with an allusion to the Middlesex election. The circumstances of that case were briefly these: On the 19th Jan. 1764, Mr. Wilkes was expelled the house of commons, for being the author of a paper called the North Briton, No. 45. At the next election, in 1768, he was elected for the county of Middlesex; and on 3d Feb. 1769, it was resolved that John Wilkes, Esq., having published several libels specified in the journals, *be expelled this house*; and a new writ having been ordered for the county of Middlesex, Mr. Wilkes was re-elected without opposition; and on the 17th Feb. 1769, it was resolved that "John Wilkes, Esq., having been in this session of parliament expelled this house, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament;" and the election was declared void and a new writ ordered. He was a second time re-elected without opposition, and on 17th March, 1769, the house again declared the election void, and ordered a new writ. At the next election, Mr. Luttrell, who had vacated his seat by accepting the Chiltern Hundreds, offered himself as a candidate against Mr. Wilkes. Mr. Wilkes had 1143 votes, and Mr. Luttrell 296. Mr. Wilkes was again returned by the sheriff. On the 15th April, 1769, the house resolved, that Mr. Luttrell ought to have been returned, and ordered the return to be amended. On the 29th April, a petition was presented by certain freeholders of Middlesex, against the return of Mr. Luttrell; and on the 8th May, the house resolved that Mr. Luttrell was duly elected. On the 3d May, 1783, it was resolved, that the resolutions of the 17th Feb., 1769, should be expunged from the journals of the house, as being subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom. And at the same time it was ordered, that all the declarations, orders and resolutions respecting the election of John Wilkes, Esq., should be expunged.]

In the United States each house of Congress judges of the election, returns and qualifications of its own members: Const. art. 1, § 5; and its decisions are conclusive. *State v. Jarrett*, 17 Md. 309; *People v. Mahaney*, 13 Mich. 481; *Lamb v. Lynd*, 44 Penn. St. 336. Each house may also determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member. Const. art. 1, § 5. All legislative bodies have also a common parliamentary law power to punish contempts either in members or third persons, which tend to obstruct legislation. See *Anderson v. Dunn*, 6 Wheat. 204; *Hiss v. Bartlett*, 3 Gray, 468; *Burnham v. Morrissey*, 14 Gray, 226; *State v. Mathews*, 37 N. H. 450.

(19) [Lord Holt has observed, that "as to what my Lord Coke says, that the *lex parliamenti est a multis ignorata*, is only because they will not apply themselves to understand it." 2 Ld. Ray. 1114.]

(20) [The house of commons merely avails itself, when thus sitting judicially, of the maxim, that all courts are final judges of contempts against themselves. See the case of *Brass Crosby*, 3 Wils. 188; *Bl. Rep.* 754, and 7 *State Trials*, 437; 19 *State Trials*, 1117; 2 *Hawkins*, ch. 14, §§ 72, 73, 74. And in conformity with this principle, it was determined in the cases of the *King v. Flower*, 8 T. R. 314, and *Burdett v. Abbott*, 14 East, 1; *Burdett v. Colman*, id. 163; 4 *Taunt.* 401, S. C., that the privileges of parliament, whether in punishing a person, not one of

they proceed, together with the method of proceeding, rest entirely in the breast of the parliament itself; and are not defined and ascertained by any particular stated laws. (21)

*The *privileges* of parliament are likewise very large and indefinite. [*164] And therefore when in 31 Hen. VI, the house of lords propounded a question to the judges concerning them, the chief justice, Sir John Fortescue, in the name of his brethren, declared, "that they ought not to make answer to that question: for it hath not been used aforetime that the justices should in any wise determine the privileges of the high court of parliament. For it is so high and mighty in its nature, that it may make law: and that which is law, it may make no law: and the determination and knowledge of that privilege belongs to the lords of parliament, and not to the justices." (x) Privilege of parliament was principally established, in order to protect its members, not only from being molested by their fellow-subjects, but also more especially from being oppressed by the power of the crown. If therefore all the privileges of parliament were once to be set down and ascertained, and no privilege to be allowed but what was so defined and determined, it were easy for the executive power to devise some new case, not within the line of privilege, and under pretence thereof, to harass any refractory member and violate the freedom of parliament. The dignity and independence of the two houses are therefore in great measure preserved by keeping their privileges indefinite. (22) Some however of the more notorious privileges of the members of either house are, privilege of speech, of person, of their domestics, and of their lands and goods. (23) As to the first, privilege of speech, it is declared by the statute 1 W. and M. St. 2, c. 2, as one of the liberties of the people, "that the freedom of speech, and debates, and proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament." And this freedom of speech is particularly demanded of the king in person, by the speaker of the house of commons, at

(x) Seld. Baronage, part. 1. c. 4.

their members, or in punishing one of their own body, are not amenable in a court of common law; that their adjudication of any offence is a sufficient judgment, the warrant of the speaker a sufficient commitment, and that outer doors may be broken open to have execution of their process.

The courts of Westminster, however, may judge of the privilege of parliament, when it is incident to a suit of which the court is possessed, and may proceed to execution between the sessions, notwithstanding appeals lodged, &c. 2 St. Tr. 66, 209.]

See also the recent case of *Stockdale v. Hansard*, 7 C. and P. 737; 9 Ad. and El., 1; and 11 Ad. and El. 253, and the account of the result thereof in May's Const. Hist. c. 9. Also note to same case, Broom's Const. L. 966.

(21) [This sentence seems to imply a discretionary power in the two houses of parliament, which surely is repugnant to the spirit of our constitution. The law of parliament is part of the general law of the land, and must be discovered and construed like all other laws. The members of the respective houses of parliament are in most instances the judges of that law; and, like the judges of the realm, when they are deciding upon past laws, they are under the most sacred obligation to inquire and decide what the law actually is, and not what, in their will and pleasure, or even in their reason and wisdom, it ought to be. When they are declaring what is the law of parliament, their character is totally different from that with which, as legislators, they are invested when they are framing new laws; and they ought never to forget the admonition of that great and patriotic chief justice, Lord Holt, viz.: "that the authority of the parliament is from the law, and as it is circumscribed by law, so it may be exceeded; and if they do exceed those legal bounds and authority, their acts are wrongful, and cannot be justified any more than the acts of private men." 1 Salk. 505.]

(22) [It is a most pernicious doctrine to maintain that the privileges of either separate branch of the legislature are arbitrary, because nowhere defined by any particular stated laws. Precedents and law bind each house of parliament no less than each court at Westminster. Lord Chief Justice Holt laid down the law very differently from Lord Coke. "The authority of parliament," said Lord Holt, "is from the law, and as it is circumscribed by the law, so it may be exceeded, and if they do exceed those legal bounds, and authority, their acts are wrongful and cannot be justified any more than the acts of private men." 1 Salk. 505; 2 Ld. Ray. 1114.]

(23) [The privileges of domestics, lands and goods, are taken away by 10 Geo. III, c. 50.]

the opening of every new parliament. (24) So likewise are the other privileges, of persons, servants, lands, and goods: which are immunities as ancient as Edward the Confessor; in whose laws (z) *we find this precept, "*ad synodos venientibus, sive summoniti sint, sive per se quid agendum habuerint, sit summa pax:*" and so too in the old Gothic constitutions "*extenditur hæc pax et securitas ad quatuordecim dies convocato regni senatu.*" (a) This included formerly not only privilege from illegal violence, but also from legal arrests, and seizures by process from the courts of law. And still, to assault by violence a member of either house, or his menial servant, is a high contempt of parliament, and there punished with the utmost severity. It has likewise peculiar penalties annexed to it in the courts of law, by the statutes 5 Hen. IV, c. 6, and 11 Hen. VII, c. 11. Neither can any member of either house be arrested and taken into custody, unless for some indictable offence, without a breach of the privilege of parliament. (25)

But all other privileges which derogate from the common law in matters of civil right are now at an end, save only as to the freedom of the member's person: which in a peer (by the privilege of peerage) is forever sacred and inviolable; and in a commoner (by the privilege of parliament) for forty days after every prorogation, and forty days before the next appointed meeting; (b) which is now in effect as long as the parliament subsists, it seldom being prorogued for more than fourscore days at a time. As to all other privileges, which obstruct the ordinary course of justice, they were restrained by the statutes 12 W. III, c. 3, 2 and 3 Ann, c. 18, and 11 Geo. II, c. 24, and are now totally abolished by statute 10 Geo. III, c. 50, which enacts, that any suit may at any time be brought against any peer or member of parliament, their servants, or any other person entitled to privilege of parliament; which shall not be impeached or delayed by pretence of any such privilege; except that the person of a member of the house of commons shall not thereby be subjected to any arrest of imprisonment. Likewise, for the benefit of commerce, it is provided by statute 4 Geo. III, c. 34, that any

(z) Cap. 3.

(a) Sternh. *de jure Goth.* l. 3, c. 3

(b) 2 Lev. 72.

(24) But the right to freedom of speech does not protect a member in publishing afterwards a speech which reflects injuriously upon individuals: *Rex v. Lord Abingdon*, 1 Esp. 226; *Rex v. Creevey*, 1 M. and S. 278; except possibly where it is published *bona fide* for the information of his constituents. *Davidson v. Duncan*, 7 El. and Bl. 233. Upon the complete exemption of legislators from liability for what they may do while in the discharge of their duty, see *Coffin v. Coffin*, 4 Mass. 1; *Jefferson's Manual*, § 3; *Cushing Legis. Assemb.* § 602; *Hosmer v. Loveland*, 19 Barb. 111; *State v. Burnham*, 9 N. H. 34.

(25) [By the common law, peers of the realm of England: 6 Co. 49, a, 68, a; Hob. 61; Sty. Rep. 222; 2 Salk. 512; 2 H. Blac. 272; 3 East, 127; and peeresses, whether by birth or marriage: 6 Co. 52; Sty. Rep. 252; 1 Vent. 298; 2 Chan. Cas. 224; are constantly privileged from arrests in civil suits, on account of their dignity, and because they are supposed to have sufficient property, by which they may be compelled to appear; which privilege is extended by the act of union with Scotland: 5 Ann. c. 8, art. 22; and see Fort. 165; 2 Str. 990; to Scotch peers and peeresses; and by the act of union with Ireland, 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 67, art. 4; see 7 Taunt. 679; 1 Moore, 410, S. C.; to Irish peers and peeresses. And they are not liable to be attached for the non-payment of money, pursuant to an order of *nisi prius*, which has been made a rule of court. *Ld. Falkland's case*, E. 36 Geo. III, K. B.; 7 Durnf. and East, 171; and see *id.* 448. But this privilege will not exempt them from attachments for not obeying the process of the courts: 1 Wils. 332; Say. Rep. 50 S. C.; 1 Burr. 631; nor does it extend to peeresses by marriage, if they afterward intermarry with commoners. Co. Lit. 16; 2 Inst. 50; 4 Co. 118; Dyer, 79.

Where a *capias* issues against a peer, the court will set aside the proceedings for irregularity. 4 Taunt. 668. But it seems that the sheriff is not a trespasser for executing it. Doug. 671. However, all persons concerned in the arrest are liable to punishment by the respective houses of parliament. Fortescue, 165.]

Upon the subject of exemption of legislators from arrest, see *Cushing, Leg. Assemb.* part 3, chap. 2, where the constitutional and statutory provisions in America are referred to.

Members of the house of commons are privileged from arrest, not only during the actual sitting of parliament, but for a convenient time to enable them to come from and return to any part of the kingdom, before the first meeting and after the final dissolution of it. And this convenient time appears to be fixed at forty days. See *Goudy v. Duncombe*, 1 Exch. 430. As to the bankruptcy of a member of the house of commons, see the New Bankruptcy Act, 32 and 33 Vic. c. 71, §§ 120-124.

trader, having privilege of parliament, may be served *with legal process [*166] for any just debt to the amount of 100*l.*, and unless he makes satisfaction within two months, it shall be deemed an act of bankruptcy; and that commissions of bankrupt may be issued against such privileged traders, in like manner as against any other.

The only way by which courts of justice could anciently take cognizance of privilege of parliament was by writ of privilege, in the nature of a *supersedeas*, to deliver the party out of custody when arrested in a civil suit. (c) For when a letter was written by the speaker to the judges, to stay proceedings against a privileged person, they rejected it as contrary to their oath of office. (d) But since the statute 12 W. III, c. 3, which enacts that no privileged person shall be subject to arrest or imprisonment, it hath been held that such arrest is irregular *ab initio*, and that the party may be discharged upon motion. (e) (26) It is to be observed, that there is no precedent of any such writ of privilege, but only in civil suits; and that the statute of 1 Jac, I, c. 13, and that of King William (which remedy some inconveniences arising from privileges of parliament,) speak only of civil actions. And therefore the claim of privilege hath been usually guarded with an exception as to the case of indictable crimes; (f) or, as it has been frequently expressed, of treason, felony, and breach (or surety) of the peace. (g) Whereby it seems to have been understood that no privilege was allowable to the members, their families, or servants, in any *crime* whatsoever, for all crimes are treated by the law as being *contra pacem domini regis*. And instances have not been wanting wherein privileged persons have been convicted of misdemeanors, and committed, or prosecuted to outlawry, even in the middle of a session; (h) which proceeding has afterwards received the sanction and approbation of parliament. (i) *To which may be added, that a few [*167] years ago the case of writing and publishing seditious libels was resolved by both houses (k) not to be entitled to privilege; (27) and that the reasons upon which that case proceeded, (l) extended equally to every indictable offence. So that the chief, if not the only, privilege of parliament, in such cases, seems to be the right of receiving immediate information of the imprisonment or detention of any member, with the reason for which he is detained; a practice that is daily used upon the slightest military accusations, preparatory to a trial by a court martial; (m) and which is recognized by the several temporary statutes for suspending the *habeas corpus* act; (n) whereby it is provided, that no member of either house shall be detained till the matter of which he stands suspected be first communicated to the house of which he is a member, and the consent of the said house obtained for his commitment or detaining. But yet the usage has uniformly been, ever since the revolution, that the communication has been subsequent to the arrest.

These are the general heads of the laws and customs relating to parliament considered as one aggregate body. We will next proceed to

IV. The laws and customs relating to the house of lords in particular. These, if we exclude their judicial capacity, which will be more properly treated of in the third and fourth books of these Commentaries, will take up but little of our time.

One very ancient privilege is that declared by the charter of the forest, (o) confirmed in parliament, 9 Hen. III, viz: that every lord spiritual or temporal sum-

(c) Dyer, 59. 4 Pryn. Brev. Parl. 757. (d) Latch. 48. Noy, 83. (e) Stra. 989. (f) Com. Journ. 17 Aug. 1641. (g) 4 Inst. 25. Com. Journ. 20 May, 1675. (h) Mich. 16 Edw. IV. in Scacch.—Lord Raym. 1461. (i) Com. Journ. 16 May, 1726. (k) Com. Journ. 24 Nov. Lord's Journ. 29 Nov. 1763. (l) Lord's Protest. *ibid.* (m) Com. Journ. 20 April, 1762. (n) Particularly 17 Geo. 11, c. 6. (o) C. 11.

(26) The privilege in these cases is the privilege not of the house merely, but of the people, and to enable the member to discharge the trust confided to him by his constituents. Coffin v. Coffin, 4 Mass. 27. The court from which the process issues should therefore discharge him on motion, and any court or officer having authority to issue writs of *habeas corpus* might also inquire into the case, and release the party from the unlawful restraint. Cooley Const. Lim. 134; Cushing Legis. Assemb. § 346 to 397.

(27) [The contrary had been determined a short time before in the case of Mr. Wilkes by the unanimous judgment of Lord Camden and the court of common pleas. 2 Wils. 251.]

moned to parliament, and passing through the king's forests, may, both in going [*168] and returning, kill one or two of the king's deer without *warrant; in view of the forester if he be present, or on blowing a horn, if he be absent; that he may not seem to take the king's venison by stealth.

In the next place they have a right to be attended, and constantly are, by the judges of the courts of king's bench and common pleas, and such of the barons of the exchequer as are of the degree of the coif, or have been made serjeants at law; as likewise by the king's learned counsel, being serjeants, and by the masters of the court of chancery; for their advice in point of law, and for the greater dignity of their proceedings. The secretaries of state, with the attorney and solicitor general, were also used to attend the house of peers, and have to this day (together with the judges, &c.) their regular writs of summons issued out at the beginning of every parliament, (*p*) *ad tractandum et consilium impendendum*, though not *ad consentiendum*; but, whenever of late years they have been members of the house of commons, (*q*) their attendance here hath fallen into disuse. (28)

Another privilege is, that every peer, by license obtained from the king, may make another lord of parliament his proxy, to vote for him in his absence. (*r*) A privilege which a member of the other house can by no means have, as he is himself but a proxy for a multitude of other people. (*s*) (29)

Each peer has also a right, by leave of the house, when a vote passes contrary to his sentiments, to enter his dissent on the journals of the house, with the reasons for such dissent; which is usually styled his protest.

All bills likewise, that may in their consequences any way affect the right of the peerage, are by the custom of parliament to have their first rise and beginning in the house of peers, and to suffer no changes or amendments in the house of commons.

[*169] *There is also one statute peculiarly relative to the house of lords; 6 Ann, c. 23, which regulates the election of the sixteen representative peers of North Britain, in consequence of the twenty-second and twenty-third articles of the union: and for that purpose prescribes the oaths, &c. to be taken by the electors; directs the mode of balloting; prohibits the peers electing from being attended in an unusual manner; and expressly provides, that no other matter shall be treated of in that assembly, save only the election, on pain of incurring a *præmunire*.

V. The peculiar laws and customs of the house of commons relate principally to the raising of taxes, and the election of members to serve in parliament.

First, with regard to taxes; it is the ancient indisputable privilege and right of the house of commons, that all grants of subsidies or parliamentary aids do begin in their house, and are first bestowed by them; (*t*) although their grants

(*p*) Stat. 31 Hen. VIII, ch. 10. Smith's Commonw. b. 2, c. 2. Moor, 551. 4 Inst. 4. Hale of Parl. 140.
(*q*) See Com. Journ. 11 Apr. 1614; 8 Feb. 1620; 10 Feb. 1625; 4 Inst. 48. (*r*) Seld. Baronage, p. 1, c. 1.
(*s*) 4 Inst. 12. (*t*) 4 Inst. 28.

(28) [On account of this attendance there are several resolutions before the restoration, declaring the attorney-general incapable of sitting among the commons. Sir Heneage Finch, member for the University of Oxford, afterwards Lord Nottingham and Chancellor, was the first attorney-general who enjoyed that privilege. Sim. 28.]

(29) [The proxies in the English house of lords are still entered in Latin *ex licentia regis*: this created a doubt in Nov. 1788, whether the proxies in that parliament were legal on account of the king's illness? 1 Ld. Mountm. 342. But this I conceive is now so much a mere form, that the license may be presumed. Proxies cannot be used in a committee. 1b. 106. (2 Ib. 191.)

The order that no lord should have more than two proxies was made 2 Car. I, because the Duke of Buckingham had no less than fourteen. 1 Rushw. 269.

A similar order was made in Ireland during Lord Stafford's lieutenancy to correct a like abuse.

If a peer, after appointing a proxy, appears personally in parliament, his proxy is revoked and annulled. 4 Inst. 13. By orders of the house, no proxy shall vote upon a question of guilty or not guilty; and a spiritual lord shall only be a proxy for a spiritual lord, and a temporal lord for a temporal. Two or more peers may be proxy to one absent peer; but Lork Coke is of opinion, 4 Inst. 12, that they cannot vote unless they all concur. 1 Woodd. 41.]

are not effectual to all intents and purposes, until they have the assent of the other two branches of the legislature. The general reason, given for this exclusive privilege of the house of commons, is, that the supplies are raised upon the body of the people, and therefore it is proper that they alone should have the right of taxing themselves. This reason would be unanswerable, if the commons taxed none but themselves: but it is notorious that a very large share of property is in the possession of the house of lords; that this property is equally taxable, and taxed, as the property of the commons; and therefore the commons, not being the *sole* persons taxed, this cannot be the reason of their having the *sole* right of raising and modelling the supply. The true reason, arising from the spirit of our constitution, seems to be this. The lords, being a permanent hereditary body, created at pleasure by the king, are supposed more liable to be influenced by the crown, and when once influenced to continue so, than the commons, who are a temporary, elective body, freely *nominated by the people. It would therefore be extremely dangerous, to give the lords any [*170] power of framing new taxes for the subject; it is sufficient that they have a power of rejecting, if they think the commons too lavish or improvident in their grants. But so reasonably jealous are the commons of this valuable privilege, that herein they will not suffer the other house to exert any power but that of rejecting; they will not permit the least alteration or amendment to be made by the lords to the mode of taxing the people by a money bill; under which appellation are included all bills, by which money is directed to be raised upon the subject, for any purpose or in any shape whatsoever; either for the exigencies of government, and collected from the kingdom in general, as the land tax; or for private benefit, and collected in any particular district, as by turnpikes, parish rates, and the like. (30) Yet Sir Mathew Hale (*u*) mentions one case, founded on the practice of parliament in the reign of Henry VI, (*w*) wherein he thinks the lords may alter a money bill: and that is, if the commons grant a tax, as that of tonnage and poundage, for *four years*; and the lords alter it to a less time, as for *two years*; here, he says, the bill need not be sent back to the commons for their concurrence, but may receive the royal assent without farther ceremony; for the alteration of the lords is consistent with the grant of the commons. But such an experiment will hardly be repeated by the lords, under the present improved idea of the privilege of the house of commons, and, in any case where a money bill is remanded to the commons, all amendments in the mode of taxation are sure to be rejected.

Next, with regard to the elections of knights, citizens and burgesses; we may observe, that herein consists the exercise of the democratical part of our constitution: for in a democracy there can be no exercise of sovereignty but by suffrage, which is the declaration of the people's will. In all democracies there-

(*u*) On Parliaments, 65. 66.

(*w*) Year book, 33 Hen. VI, 17. But see the answer to this case by Sir Heneage Finch. Com. Journ. 22 Apr. 1671.

(30) [This rule is now extended to all bills for canals, paving, provisions for the poor, and to every bill in which tolls, rates, or duties, are ordered to be collected; and also to all bills in which pecuniary penalties and fines are imposed for offences. 3 Hats. 110. But it should seem it is carried beyond its original spirit and intent, when the money raised is not granted to the crown.]

Upon the application of this rule, there have been many warm contests between the lords and commons, in which the latter seem always to have prevailed. See many conferences collected by Mr. Hatsel, in his appendix to the 3d volume.

In Appendix D., the conference of 20th and 22d April, 1671, the general question is debated with infinite ability on both sides, but particularly on the part of the commons in an argument drawn up by Sir Heneage Finch, then attorney-general.]

The last of these contests occurred in 1860, and resulted in resolutions 5th and 6th July of that year, in which the commons deny to the house of lords the right even to reject the bills affecting the revenue which the commons may pass. See May Const. Hist. c. 7.

In the congress of the United States, all bills for the raising of revenue must originate with the house of representatives, though the senate may propose and concur with amendments. Const. art. 1, § 7.

fore it is of the utmost importance to regulate by whom, and in what manner, [*171] the suffrages are to *be given. And the Athenians were so justly jealous of this prerogative, that a stranger, who interfered in the assemblies of the people, was punished by their laws with death: because such a man was esteemed guilty of high treason, by usurping those rights of sovereignty, to which he had no title. In England, where the people do not debate in a collective body but by representation, the exercise of this sovereignty consists in the choice of representatives. The laws have therefore very strictly guarded against usurpation or abuse of this power, by many salutary provisions; which may be reduced to these three points, 1. The qualifications of the electors. 2. The qualifications of the elected. 3. The proceedings at elections.

1. As to the qualifications of the electors. The true reason of requiring any qualification, with regard to property, in voters, is to exclude such persons as are in so mean a situation that they are esteemed to have no will of their own. If these persons had votes, they would be tempted to dispose of them under some undue influence or other. This would give a great, an artful, or a wealthy man, a larger share in elections than is consistent with general liberty. If it were probable that every man would give his vote freely and without influence of any kind, then, upon the true theory and genuine principles of liberty, every member of the community, however poor, should have a vote in electing those delegates, to whose charge is committed the disposal of his property, his liberty, and his life. But, since that can hardly be expected in persons of indigent fortunes, or such as are under the immediate dominion of others, all popular states have been obliged to establish certain qualifications; whereby some, who are suspected to have no will of their own, are excluded from voting, in order to set other individuals, whose wills may be supposed independent, more thoroughly upon a level with each other. (31)

And this constitution of suffrages is framed upon a wiser principle, with us, than either of the methods of voting, by centuries or by tribes, among the [*172] Romans. In the method *by centuries, instituted by Servius Tullius, it was principally property, and not numbers, that turned the scale: in the method by tribes, gradually introduced by the tribunes of the people, numbers only were regarded, and property entirely overlooked. Hence the laws passed by the former method had usually too great a tendency to aggrandize the patricians or rich nobles; and those by the latter had too much of a leveling principle. Our constitution steers between the two extremes. Only such are entirely excluded, as can have no will of their own: there is hardly a free agent to be found, who is not entitled to a vote in some place or other in the kingdom. Nor is comparative wealth, or property, entirely disregarded in elections; for though the richest man has only one vote at one place, yet, if his property be at all diffused, he has probably a right to vote at more places than one, and therefore has many representatives. This is the spirit of our constitution: not that I assert it is in fact quite so perfect (x) as I have here endeavoured to describe it; for, if any alteration might be wished or suggested in the

(x) The candid and intelligent reader will apply this observation to many other parts of the work before him, wherein the constitution of our laws and government are represented as nearly approaching to perfection; without descending to the invidious task of pointing out such deviations and corruptions, as length of time and a loose state of national morals have too great a tendency to produce. The incurvations of practice are then the most notorious when compared with the rectitude of the rule; and to elucidate the clearness of the spring, conveys the strongest satire on those who have polluted or disturbed it.

(31) Property qualifications in electors are not now required in the United States, except in a very few exceptional cases; and the reasoning upon which they have been demanded in England, though accepted as more or less conclusive at an early day in America, has generally been repudiated since. It is not now believed that the possession of wealth necessarily places one above corruption, nor that the poor man would, as a matter of course, barter any political power or influence he may possess for the means of support. Whether the one class or the other is more open to temptation, may be regarded, perhaps, as a disputed question, but the classification that admits all the one class and excludes all the other, on any such ground as here stated by the learned commentator, is almost universally regarded in America as vicious.

present frame of parliaments, it should be in favour of a more complete representation of the people. (32)

But to return to our qualifications; and first those of electors for knights of the shire. 1. By statute 8 Hen. VI, c. 7, and 10 Hen. VI, c. 2, (amended by (33) 14 Geo. III, c. 58,) the knights of the shire shall be chosen of people whereof every man shall have freehold to the value of forty shillings by the year within the county; which (by subsequent statutes) is to be clear of all charges and deductions, except parliamentary and parochial taxes. The knights of shires are the representatives of the landholders, or landed interest of the kingdom: their electors must therefore have estates in lands or tenements, within the county represented: these estates must be freehold, that is, for term of life at least; because beneficial leases for long terms of years were not in use at the making of these statutes, and copyholders were then little better than villeins, absolutely dependent upon their lords; this freehold must be of forty shillings annual value; because that sum would then, with proper industry, furnish all the *necessaries of life, and render the freeholder, if he pleased, an independent man. For Bishop Fleetwood, in his *chronicon preciosum*, written [*173] at the beginning of the present century, has fully proved forty shillings in the

(32) The following is the existing state of the franchise as stated by Messrs. Broom and Hadley:

Voters at elections, or persons enjoying the franchise, may with few exceptions be divided into two classes, viz.: voters in counties and voters in boroughs, whose qualifications are different, and principally depend upon the reform acts of 1832 and 1867.

Voters for counties comprise, first, the forty shilling freeholders, that is, those who have a freehold property in fee simple or fee tail of that value per annum. Secondly, any person possessing a freehold estate for life or lives of the annual value of forty shillings, but under 5*l*. If persons of this class do not actually occupy the premises which qualify them, they must either have possessed the estate before June 7, 1832, or they must have acquired it by marriage, marriage settlement, devise, or by virtue of some benefice or office. Thirdly, any person who possesses an estate for life or lives of any tenure, of the annual value of 5*l*. Fourthly, lessees and their assignees for a term originally created for not less than sixty years of the annual value of 5*l*, or for a term not less than twenty years of the annual value of 50*l*. Sub-lessees of these persons are also entitled to the franchise if they actually occupy the premises in question. Fifthly, the occupiers of lands rated at 12*l* per annum.

Voters in boroughs comprise the following classes of persons. First, the rated occupiers of dwelling houses within the borough of any value, who have duly paid their poor rates. This qualification, granted by the reform act of 1867, does not entitle a person to a vote by reason of his being a joint occupier of any dwelling house, but as it is expressly enacted that the franchises conferred by that act are in addition to and not in substitution of any franchises already existing, this provision does not take away the right of voting conferred by stat. 2. Will. IV, c. 45, § 29, on all joint occupiers in a borough when the annual value of the house divided by the number of occupiers is not less than 10*l*.

Secondly, the rated occupiers of premises other than a dwelling house of the annual value of 10*l*; and in this case joint occupiers may vote if the premises divided by the number of occupiers be not less than 10*l*. If it be less, none of the occupiers have any vote. Thirdly, the occupiers of lodgings, such lodgings being part of the one and the same dwelling house, and of the annual value of 10*l* if let unfurnished.

The above mentioned comprise the principal persons who are now entitled to the franchise; the privilege is also possessed by some persons as members of certain universities, who have a right of voting for candidates to be returned to parliament by such universities. And there are a few other persons, such as freeholders and burgage tenants in some cities and towns having certain estates, also freemen and liverymen in London, and freemen and burgesses by servitude in a few other places.

To the foregoing it may be added that aliens, persons under twenty-one years of age, or of unsound mind, or convicted of felony and undergoing a term of imprisonment, are incapable of voting.

The qualifications of voters in Scotland and Ireland are somewhat different from those in England. They are regulated mainly by the acts relative thereto passed in 1868.

(33) [The 14 Geo. III, c. 58, made the residence of the electors and the elected in their respective counties, cities and boroughs, no longer necessary. It had been required from both by a statute passed in the 1 Hen. V, 8 Hen. VI, c. 7, and 23 Hen. VI, c. 14. Yet in the year 1820 it was determined by the house of commons that these statutes are only directory, and not conclusory, and the high sheriff of Leicestershire was censured for not returning one who had a majority of votes, because he was not resident within the county. The house declared him to be duly elected, and ordered the return to be amended.]

reign of Henry VI, to have been equal to twelve pounds *per annum* in the reign of Queen Anne; and, as the value of money is very considerably lowered since the bishop wrote, I think we may fairly conclude, from this and other circumstances, that what was equivalent to twelve pounds in his days is equivalent to twenty at present. The other less important qualifications of the electors for counties in England and Wales may be collected from the statutes cited in the margin, (y) which direct, 2. That no person under twenty-one years of age shall be capable of voting for any member. This extends to all sorts of members, as well for boroughs as counties; as does also the next, viz.: 3. That no person convicted of perjury, or subornation of perjury, shall be capable of voting in any election. 4. That no person shall vote in right of any freehold, granted to him fraudulently to qualify him to vote. Fraudulent grants are such as contain an agreement to reconvey, or to defeat the estate granted; which agreements are made void, and the estate is absolutely vested in the person to whom it is so granted. And, to guard the better against such frauds, it is farther provided, 5. That every voter shall have been in the actual possession, or receipt of the profits, of his freehold to his own use for twelve calendar months before; except it came to him by descent, marriage, marriage-settlement, will, or promotion to a benefice or office. 6. That no person shall vote in respect of an annuity or rent-charge, unless registered with the clerk of the peace twelve calendar months before. 7. That in mortgaged or trust estates, the person in possession, under the above-mentioned restrictions, shall have the vote. 8. That only one person shall be admitted to vote for any one house or tenement, to prevent the splitting of freeholds. 9. That no estate shall qualify a voter, unless the estate has been assessed to some land tax aid, at least twelve months [*174] before the election. 10. That no tenant by copy of court roll shall *be permitted to vote as a freeholder. Thus much for the electors in counties.

As for the electors of citizens and burgesses, these are supposed to be the mercantile part or trading interest of this kingdom. But, as trade is of a fluctuating nature, and seldom long fixed in a place, it was formerly left to the crown to summon, *pro re nata*, the most flourishing towns to send representatives to parliament. So that, as towns increased in trade, and grew populous, they were admitted to a share in the legislature. But the misfortune is, that the deserted boroughs continued to be summoned, as well as those to whom their trade and inhabitants were transferred; except a few which petitioned to be eased of the expense, then usual, of maintaining their members: four shillings a day being allowed for a knight of the shire, and two shillings for a citizen or burgess: which was the rate of wages established in the reign of Edward III. (z) (34) Hence the members for boroughs now bear above a quadruple proportion

(y) 7 and 8 W. III, c. 25. 10 Ann. c. 23. 31 Geo. II, c. 14. 3 Geo. III, c. 24. 2 Geo. II, c. 21. 18 Geo. II, c. 18.
(z) 4 Inst. 16.

(34) [Lord Coke, in the page referred to by the learned judge, says, that this rate of wages hath been time out of mind, and that it is expressed in many records; and, for example, refers to one in 46 Ed. III, where this allowance is made to one of the knights for the county of Middlesex. But Mr. Prynne's fourth Register of Parliamentary Writs is confined almost entirely to the investigation of this subject, and contains a very particular chronological history of the writ *de expensis militum, civium, et burgensium*, which was framed to enforce the payment of these wages. Mr. Prynne is of opinion that these wages had no other origin than that principle of natural equity and justice *qui sentit commodum, debet sentire et onus*. p. 5.

And Mr. Prynne further informs us, "that the first writs of this kind extant in our records are coeval with our king's first writs of summons to elect and send knights, citizens, and burgesses to parliament, both of them being first invented, issued and recorded together in 49 Hen. III, before which there are no memorials nor evidences of either of those writs in our historians or records," p. 2. The first writs direct the sheriff to levy from the community, i. e. the electors of the county, and to pay the knights, *rationabiles expensas suas in veniendo ad dictum parliamentum, ibidem morando, et exinde ad propria redeundo*. And when the writs of summons were renewed, in the 23d of Edw. I, these writs issued again in the same form at the end of the parliament, and were continued in the same manner till the 16 Edw. II, when Mr. Prynne finds the "*memorable writs*," which first reduced the expense of the representatives

to those for counties, and the number of parliament men is increased since Fortescue's time in the reign of Henry the Sixth, from 300 to upwards of 500, exclusive of those for Scotland. The universities were in general not empowered to send burgesses to parliament; though once, in 28 Edw. I, when a parliament was summoned to consider of the king's right to Scotland, there were issued writs, which required the university of Oxford to send up four or five, and that of Cambridge two or three, of their most discreet and learned lawyers for that purpose.^(a) But it was King James the First who indulged them with the permanent privilege to send constantly two of their own body; to serve for those students who, though useful members of the community, were neither concerned in the landed nor the trading interest; and to protect in the legislature the rights of the republic of letters. The right of election in boroughs is various, depending entirely on the several charters, customs, and constitutions of the respective places, which has occasioned infinite disputes; though now by statute *2 Geo. II, c. 24, the right of voting for the future shall be [*175] allowed according to the last determination of the house of commons [concerning it. (35)] And by statute 3 Geo. III, c. 15, no freeman of any city or borough (other than such as claim by birth, marriage, or servitude,) shall be entitled to vote therein, unless he hath been admitted to his freedom twelve calendar months before.⁽³⁶⁾

2. Next, as to the qualifications of persons to be *elected* members of the house of commons.⁽³⁷⁾ Some of these depend upon the law and custom of parlia-

(a) Prynne, *Parl. Writs*, i, 345.

to a certain sum by the day, viz: 4s. a day for every knight, and 2s. for every citizen and burgess; and they specified also the number of days for which this allowance was to be made, being more or less according to the distance between the place of meeting in parliament and the member's residence. When this sum was first ascertained in the writ, the parliament was held at York, and therefore the members for Yorkshire were only allowed their wages for the number of days the parliament actually sat, being supposed to incur no expense in returning to their respective homes; but, at the same time, the members for the distant counties had a proportionate allowance in addition. Though, from this time, the number of days and a certain sum are specifically expressed in the writ, yet Mr. Prynne finds a few instances after this where the allowance is a less sum; and, in one where one of the county members had but 3s. a day, because he was not in fact, a knight. But, with those few exceptions, the sum and form continued with little or no variation. Mr. Prynne conjectures, with great appearance of reason, that the members at that time enjoyed the privilege of parliament only for the number of days for which they were allowed wages, that being considered a sufficient time for their return to their respective dwellings. p. 63. But this allowance, from its nature and origin, did not preclude any other specific engagement or contract between the member and his constituents; and the editor of Glanville's Reports has given in the preface, p. 23, the copy of a curious agreement between John Strange, the member for Dunwich, and his electors, in the 3 Edw. IV, 1463, in which the member covenants "whether the parliament hold long time or short, or whether it fortune to be prorogued, that he will take for his wages only a cade and half a barrel of herrings, to be delivered by Christmas."

In Scotland the representation of the shires was introduced or confirmed by the authority of the legislature, in the seventh parliament of James I, anno 1427, and there it is at the same time expressly provided, that "the commissaries sall have costage of them of ilk shire that awe compeirance in parliament." Murray's Stat.

It is said, that Andrew Marvell, who was member for Hull in the parliament after the restoration, was the last person in this country that received wages from his constituents. Two shillings a day, the allowance to a burgess, was so considerable a sum in ancient times, that there are many instances where boroughs petitioned to be excused from sending members to parliament, representing that they were engaged in building bridges, or other public works, and therefore unable to bear such an extraordinary expense. Pryn. on 4 Inst. 32.]

(35) [This act being merely retrospective, it was provided by § 27 of 28 Geo. III, c. 52, and 34 Geo. III, c. 83, that all decisions of committees of the house of commons, with respect to the right of election, or of choosing or appointing the returning officer, shall be final and conclusive upon the subject forever.]

(36) This is called the Durham act, and it was occasioned by the corporation of Durham having, upon the eve of an election, in order to serve one of the candidates, admitted 215 honorary freemen.

(37.) [Any person may be elected a member of the house of commons if not affected by one or other of certain disqualifications which depend upon the law and custom of parliament, or upon the statute law. Whence it appears that no person included in the subjoined list is

ment, declared by the house of commons: (b) others upon certain statutes. And from these it appears, 1. That they must not be aliens born, (c) or minors. (d) 2. That they must not be any of the twelve judges, (e) because they sit in the lords' house; nor of the clergy, (f) for they sit in the convocation; nor persons attainted of treason or felony, (g) for they are unfit to sit any where. 3. That sheriffs of counties, and mayors and bailiffs of boroughs, are not eligible in their respective jurisdictions, as being returning officers; (h) but that sheriffs of one county are eligible to be knights of another. (i) 4. That, in strictness, all members ought to have been inhabitants of the places for which they are chosen: (k) but this, having been long disregarded, was at length entirely repealed by statute 14 Geo. III, c. 58. 5. That no persons concerned in the management of any duties or taxes created since 1692, except the commissioners of the treasury, (l) nor any of the officers following, (m) viz.: commissioners of prizes, transports, sick and wounded, wine licences, navy, and victualling; secretaries or receivers of prizes; comptrollers of the army accounts; agents for regiments; governors of plantations and their deputies; officers of Minorca or Gibraltar; officers of the excise and customs; *clerks or deputies in the several offices of the [*176] treasury, exchequer, navy, victualling, admiralty, pay of the army or navy, secretaries of state, salt, stamps, appeals, wine licences, hackney coaches, hawkers, and pedlars, nor any persons that hold any new offices under the crown created since 1705, (n) are capable of being elected or sitting as members. (38) 6. That no

- (b) 4 Inst. 47, 48. (c) See page 162.
 (d) Ibid. (e) Com. Journ. 9 Nov. 1605. (f) Com. Journ. 13 Oct. 1553; 8 Feb. 1620; 17 Jan. 1661.
 (g) Com. Journ. 21 Jan. 1580. 4 Inst. 47.
 (h) Bro. Abr. *t. Parliament*, 7. Com. Journ. 25 June, 1604; 14 April. 1614; 22 Mar. 1620; 2, 4, 15 June, 17 Nov. 1635; Hale of Parl. 114. (i) 4 Inst. 48. Whitelocke of Parl. ch. 99, 100, 101.
 (k) Stat. 1. Henry V. c. 1. 23 Hen. VI. c. 15. (l) Stat. 5 and 6 W. and M. c. 7.
 (m) Stat. 11 and 12 W. III, c. 2. 12 and 13 W. III, c. 10. 6 Ann c. 7. 15 Geo. II, c. 22. (n) Stat. 6 Ann. c. 7.

eligible to sit amongst the commons: an alien born or naturalized, an idiot or lunatic if incurable, a person attainted of treason or convicted of felony, a peer of the realm or of Scotland, or a representative peer of Ireland, a judge of a superior court of England, (except the master of the rolls,) or of the court of admiralty, or in bankruptcy, or of a county court. The following officials likewise are disqualified: a metropolitan police magistrate, a recorder for the borough for which he is appointed, a revising barrister for any place within his district, a judge of Scotland or Ireland, any one ordained to the office of priest or deacon of the church of England, a minister of the church of Scotland, or any one in holy orders in the church of Rome. Sheriffs of counties and mayors and bailiffs of boroughs are not eligible in their respective jurisdictions, as being returning officers, but the sheriff of one county is eligible to serve as knight for another, or for any county of a city or borough within his county, provided the writ for the election is directed not to himself, but to some other returning officer.

No government contractor nor person having a pension under the crown during pleasure, or for any term of years, is qualified to be elected or to sit; nor is any person holding an office under the crown, created since 1705, capable of being elected or of sitting, though should he do so, an act of indemnity may perhaps be passed by the legislature.

Innovations on the above rule have, however, been made by successive statutes with a view to the requirements of the government and the conduct of the public service; ex. gr. as regards the vice-president of the board of trade, the president of the poor law board, the first commissioner of works, the vice-president of the committee of the privy council on education, and the post-master-general.

It has been further enacted that not more than four of the principal, and four of the under-secretaries of state shall sit at the same time in the house of commons; that the seat of any member accepting the office of under-secretary to a principal secretary of state, there being four under-secretaries then in the house, shall be thereupon vacated; that if at any general election there are returned as members to serve in parliament a greater number of persons holding such office of principal or under-secretary than are permitted to sit and vote in the house, no one of such persons shall be capable of sitting until the number of persons returned as members and holding the same office as himself has, by death, resignation or otherwise been reduced to the number permitted by law to sit in the house; and that the like rules shall apply in all cases in which a limit is imposed upon the number of persons holding any other office who may at the same time sit and vote as members of the house of commons.

Lastly, if any member accepts an office under the crown, except an officer in the army or navy accepting a new commission, his seat is void; but such member is capable of being re-elected, provided the office be one created prior to the year 1705.]

(38) By Stat. 6 Ann. c. 7, § 26, the seat of a member is vacated if he accepts a place of honor and profit under the crown, in existence prior to 1705.

By the custom of parliament a member cannot resign his seat. If, however, he desires to

person having a pension under the crown during pleasure, or for any term of years, is capable of being elected or sitting. (*o*) 7. That if any member accepts an office under the crown, except an officer in the army or navy accepting a new commission, his seat is void; but such member is capable of being re-elected. (*p*) 9. That all knights of the shire shall be actual knights, or such notable esquires and gentlemen as have estates sufficient to be knights, and by no means of the degree of yeomen. (*q*) This is reduced to a still greater certainty, by ordaining, 8. That every knight of a shire shall have a clear estate of freehold or copyhold to the value of six hundred pounds per annum, and every citizen and burgess to the value of three hundred pounds; except the eldest sons of peers, and of persons qualified to be knights of shires, and except the members for the two universities: (*r*) which somewhat balances the ascendant which the boroughs have gained over the counties, by obliging the trading interest to make choice of landed men; and of this qualification the member must make oath, and give in the particulars in writing, at the time of his taking his seat. (*s*) But subject to these standing restrictions and disqualifications, every subject of the realm is eligible of common right: though there are instances wherein persons in particular circumstances have forfeited that common right, and have been declared ineligible for that parliament by vote of the house of commons, (*t*) or for ever by an act of the legislature. (*u*) (39.) But it was an unconstitutional prohibition, which was grounded on an ordinance of the house of lords, (*w*) and inserted in the king's writs for the parliament holden at Coventry, 6 Hen. IV, that no apprentice or other man of the law should be elected a knight of the shire [*177] therein: (*x*) in return for which, our law books and historians (*y*) have branded this parliament with the name of *parliamentum indoctum*, or the lack-learning parliament; and Sir Edward Coke observes, with some spleen, (*z*) that there never was a good law made thereat.

3. The third point, regarding elections, is the method of proceeding therein. This is also regulated by the law of parliament, and the several statutes referred to in the margin; (*a*) all of which I shall blend together, and extract out of them a summary account of the method of proceeding to elections. (40)

(*o*) Stat. 6 Ann. c. 7. 1 Geo. c. 56. (*p*) Stat. 6 Ann. c. 7.
 (*q*) Stat. 23 Hen. VI, c. 15. (*r*) Stat. 9 Ann. c. 5. (*s*) Stat. 33 Geo. II, c. 20.
 (*t*) See page 163. (*u*) Stat. 7 Geo. I, c. 28.
 (*w*) 4 Inst. 10. 48. Pryn. Plea for Lords, 379. 2 Whitelocke, 359, 368. (*x*) Pryn. on 4 Inst. 13.
 (*y*) Walsingh. A. D. 1405. (*z*) 4 Inst. 48.
 (*a*) 7 Hen. IV, c. 15. 8 Hen. VI, c. 7. 23 Hen. VI, c. 14. 1 W. and M. st. 1, c. 2. 2 W. and M. st. 1, c. 7. 5 and 6 W. and M. c. 20. 7 W. III, c. 4. 7 and 8 W. III, c. 7, and c. 25. 10 and 11 W. III, c. 7. 12 and 13 W. III, c. 10. 6 Ann. c. 23. 9 Ann. c. 5. 10 Ann. c. 19, and c. 33. 2 Geo. II, c. 24. 8 Geo. II, c. 30. 18 Geo. II, c. 18. 19 Geo. II, c. 28. 18 Geo. III, c. 18. 11 Geo. III, c. 42. 14 Geo. III, c. 15. 15 Geo. III, c. 36. 28 Geo. III, c. 52.

vacate it, he has a convenient mode of doing so, by applying for the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds of Stoke, Desborough and Bordenham, which, though a mere sinecure, is held to be a place of honor and profit under the crown, and consequently vacates the seat. This nominal place is in the gift of the chancellor of the exchequer. As soon as the office is obtained, it is resigned, that it may serve the same purpose again.

Mr. Chitty says it is a matter of course to confer this office on application, and such is the practice; but there is one notable instance of refusal. In 1842, while charges of corrupt practices in elections were pending in the commons, one of the members concerned having applied to the chancellor of the exchequer for the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, that officer, who anticipated similar applications from others in the same situation, decided upon refusing the appointment. This refusal created some excitement at the time, but though unprecedented, was generally applauded in view of the circumstances.

(39) [This clause from the word *though* has been added since 1769, the time when the Middlesex election was discussed in the house of commons. The learned judge, upon that occasion, maintained the incapacity of Mr. Wilkes to be re-elected to that parliament, in consequence of his expulsion; and, as he had not mentioned expulsion as one of the disqualifications of a candidate, the preceding sentence was cited against him in the house of commons.]

(40) The following are the formalities of an election:

[In the case of a general election, following a dissolution of parliament, the procedure is, after a royal proclamation to that effect, that writs are sent from the petty bag office to the sheriff of every county, and the returning officer of every city and borough, for the election of knights, citizens and burgesses, to serve in parliament. If a vacancy takes place during the session the speaker, on motion made, signs a warrant to the clerk of the crown in chancery, to issue a writ for the return of a fresh member; and the same course is pursued during the

As soon as the parliament is summoned, the lord chancellor, or if a vacancy happens during the sitting of parliament, the speaker by order of the house, and without such order, if a vacancy happens by death, or the member's becoming a peer, (41) in the time of a recess for upwards of twenty days, sends his warrant to the clerk of the crown in chancery; who thereupon issues out writs to the sheriffs of every county, for the election of all the members to serve for that county, and every city and borough therein. Within three days after the receipt of this writ, the sheriff is to send his precept, under his seal, to the proper returning officers of the cities and boroughs, commanding them to elect their members: and the said returning officers are to proceed to election within eight days from the receipt of the precept, giving four day's notice of the same; (b) and to return the persons chosen, together with the precept, to the sheriff.

But elections of knights of the shire must be proceeded to by the sheriffs [*178] themselves in person, at the next county court *that shall happen after the delivery of the writ. The county court is a court held every month or oftener by the sheriff, intended to try little causes not exceeding the value of forty shillings, in what part of the county he pleases to appoint for that purpose: but for the election of knights of the shire it must be held at the most usual place. (42) If the county court falls upon the day of delivering the

(b) In the borough of New Shoreham, in Sussex, wherein certain freeholders of the country are entitled to vote by statute 11 Geo. III, c. 55, the election must be within *twelve* days, with *eight* days' notice of the same.

recess of parliament, as soon as the speaker is informed of the vacancy by the certificate of two members. On the receipt of such writ, the sheriff, or other returning officer, is to give public notice that an election will be held within a certain specified time. He is also to provide for the erection of polling booths and give public notice of the situation of each booth.

On the day of election, as soon as the writ has been read, the sheriff or other returning officer, must take the bribery oath, after which it is usual for the respective candidates to be proposed and seconded by electors, and if no more are proposed than can be returned they are then and there duly elected. If there be more than the proper number, the sheriff, or returning officer, calls for a show of hands, and pronounces the candidate or candidates duly elected for whom, in his opinion, the largest number of hands is displayed. This decision if not questioned is conclusive: but a poll is often called for, and if demanded by any candidate or elector must be granted. The poll in most instances must commence the day or day but one after the nomination, and in most cases can only last one day, and between the hours of eight and four.

Till 1854 every voter was obliged to take the bribery oath, if so required, but this necessity no longer exists; there are only two questions which can now be put to an elector before he votes, viz.: 1st., whether he be the same person whose name appears on the register, and 2d, whether he have already voted; and if required, he must answer these questions on oath.

At the termination of the poll the poll books are to be closed and sealed, and delivered to the sheriff or returning officer, who in counties is to keep them until the day but one, and in boroughs till the day following the poll, when he is openly to break the seals, add up the number of votes, then openly declare the state of the poll, and make proclamation of the member or members duly elected. In cities and boroughs, however, the returning officer may, if he pleases, declare the final state of the poll, and make the return immediately at the close of the poll: if he does not do so then he must wait till the next day.

Formerly, if a candidate was considered unduly returned to parliament, the remedy was by petition to the house of commons, on which the house appointed a committee of its own members to try the question. But now by 31 and 32 Vic., c. 125, the petition is to be presented to the court of common pleas, and the case is to be tried by one of the puisne judges of the superior courts, without a jury.]

(41) [By Stat. 24 Geo. III, § 2, c. 26, if during any recess any two members give notice to the speaker, by a certificate under their hands, that there is a vacancy by death, or that a writ of summons has issued under the great seal to call up any member to the house of lords, the speaker shall forthwith give notice of it to be inserted in the Gazette, and at the end of fourteen days after such insertion, he shall issue his warrant to the clerk of the crown, commanding him to make out a new writ for the election of another member. And to prevent any impediment in the execution of this act by the speaker's absence from the kingdom, or by the vacancy of his seat, at the beginning of every parliament he shall appoint any number of members, from three to seven inclusive, and shall publish the appointment in the Gazette. These members, in the absence of the speaker, shall have the same authority as is given to him by this statute.]

(42) The shires, and some of the boroughs, are now divided into districts for the purposes of these elections.

[By the statute of 52 Geo. III, c. 144, § 2, the speaker of the house of commons may, dur-

writ, or within six days after, the sheriff may adjourn the court and election to some other convenient time, not longer than sixteen days, nor shorter than ten; but he cannot alter the place, without the consent of all the candidates: and, in all such cases, ten days' public notice must be given of the time and place of the election.

And, as it is essential to the very being of parliament that elections should be absolutely free, therefore all undue influences upon the electors are illegal and strongly prohibited. (43) For Mr. Locke (c) ranks it among those breaches of trust in the executive magistrate, which, according to his notions, amount to a dissolution of the government, "if he employs the force, treasure and offices of the society, to corrupt the representatives, or openly to pre-engage the electors, and prescribe what manner of person shall be chosen. For, thus to regulate candidates and electors, and new-model the ways of election, what is it, says he, but to cut up the government by the roots, and poison the very fountain of public security?" As soon therefore as the time and place of election, either in counties or boroughs, are fixed, all soldiers quartered in the place are to remove, at least one day before the election, to the distance of two miles or more; and not to return till one day after the poll is ended. Riots likewise have been frequently determined to make an election void. By vote also of the house of commons, to whom alone belongs the power of determining contested elections, no lord of parliament, or lord lieutenant of a county hath any right to interfere in the elections of commoners; and, by statute, the lord warden of the cinque ports shall not recommend any members there. If any officer of the excise, customs, stamps, *or certain other branches of the revenue, presume to intermeddle in elections, by persuading any voter [*179] or dissuading him, he forfeits 100*l.*, and is disabled to hold any office.

Thus are the electors of one branch of the legislature secured from any undue influence from either of the other two, and from all external violence and compulsion. But the greatest danger is that in which themselves co-operate, by the infamous practice of bribery and corruption. To prevent which it is enacted, that no candidate shall, after the date (usually called the *teste*) of the writs, or after the vacancy, give any money or entertainment to his electors, or promise to give any, either to particular persons, or to the place in general, in order to his being elected: on pain of being incapable to serve for that place in parliament. And if any money, gift, office, employment, or reward be given or promised to be given to any voter, at any time, in order to influence him to give or withhold his vote, as well he that takes as he that offers such bribe, forfeits 500*l.*, and is for ever disabled from voting and holding any office in any corporation; unless, before conviction, he will discover some other offender of the same kind, and then he is indemnified for his own offence. (d) The first instance that occurs, of election bribery, was so early as 13 Eliz., when one, Thomas Longe, (being a simple man and of small capacity to serve in parliament,) acknowledged that he had given the returning officer and others of the borough for which he was chosen, four pounds to be returned member, and was for that premium elected. But for this offence the borough was amerced, the member was removed, and the officer fined and imprisoned. (e) But, as this

(c) On Gov. p. 2 § 222.

(d) In like manner the Julian law *de ambitu* inflicted fines and infamy upon all who were guilty of corruption at elections; but, if the person guilty convicted another offender, he was restored to his credit again. *ff.* 48, 14. 1.

(e) 4 Inst. 23. Hale of Parl. 112. Com. Journ. 10 and 11 May, 1571.

ing any recess, cause a new writ to be issued for the election of another member in the room of one who has been declared a bankrupt, and has not superseded the *fiat* of bankruptcy within twelve months after it issued.]

(43) [By the ancient common law of the land, and by the declaration of rights, 1 W. and M. St. 2, c. 2. The 3d Edw. I, c. 5, is also cited, but Mr. Christian observes that it related to the election of sheriffs, coroners, &c., for parliamentary representation was then unknown. It has been decided that a wager between two electors upon the success of their respective candidates is illegal, because if permitted, it would manifestly corrupt the freedom of elections. 1 T. R. 55.]

practice hath since taken much deeper and more universal root, it hath occasioned the making of these wholesome statutes; to complete the efficacy of which, there is nothing wanting but resolution, and integrity to put them in strict execution. (44)

[*180] *Undue influence being thus (I wish the depravity of mankind would permit me to say, effectually) guarded against, the election is to be proceeded to on the day appointed; the sheriff or other returning officer first taking an oath against bribery, and for the due execution of his office. The candidates likewise, if required, must swear to their qualification; and the electors in counties to theirs; and the electors both in counties and boroughs are also compellable to take the oath of abjuration and that against bribery and corruption. And it might not be amiss, if the members elected were bound to take the latter oath, as well as the former; which in all probability would be much more effectual, than administering it only to the electors.

The election being closed, the returning officer in boroughs returns his precept to the sheriff, with the persons elected by the majority; and the sheriff returns the whole, together with the writ for the county, and the knights elected thereupon, to the clerk of the crown in chancery, before the day of meeting, if it be a new parliament, or within fourteen days after the election, if it be an occasional vacancy, and this under penalty of 500*l*. If the sheriff does not return such knights only as are duly elected, he forfeits, by the old statutes of Hen. VI, 100*l*. and the returning officer in boroughs for a like false return 40*l*.; and they are besides liable to an action, in which double damages shall be recovered, by the latter statutes of King William: and any person bribing the returning officer shall also forfeit 300*l*. But the members returned by him are the sitting members, until the house of commons, upon petition, shall adjudge the return to be false and illegal. The form and manner of proceeding upon such petition are now regulated by statute 10 Geo. III, c. 16, (amended by 11 Geo. III, c. 42, and made perpetual by 14 Geo. III, c. 15,) which directs the method of choosing by lot a select committee of fifteen members, who are sworn well and truly to try the same, and a true judgment to give according to the evidence. (45) And this abstract of the proceedings at elections of knights, citizens and burgesses, concludes our inquiries into the laws and customs more peculiarly relative to the house of commons.

[*181] *VI. I proceed now, sixthly, to the method of making laws, which is much the same in both houses; and I shall touch it very briefly, beginning in the house of commons. But first I must premise, that for dispatch of business each house of parliament has its speaker. The speaker of the house of lords, whose office it is to preside there, and manage the formality of business, is the lord chancellor, or keeper of the king's great seal, or any other appointed by the king's commission: and, if none be so appointed, the house of lords (it is said) may elect. The speaker of the house of commons is chosen by the house; but must be approved by the king. (46) And herein the usage

(44) [The legislature has exerted its utmost energies, especially of late years, but ineffectually, to check these dangerous and demoralizing courses. At length, in the year 1854, all existing statutes on the subject were repealed, and other provisions substituted, together with an entirely new mode of conducting elections, by an act entitled, "The Corrupt Practices and Prevention Act." This statute defines carefully and comprehensively what comprehends bribery, treating and undue influence; imposes serious penalties; totally prohibits acts formerly found to be modes of exercising corrupt influence, and strictly limits legitimate expenses, requiring them to be paid only through an officer called the election auditor, whose accounts are to be published; and finally disables a candidate, declared by an election committee guilty, by himself or his agents, of bribery, treating or undue influence, from being elected or sitting in the house of commons, for the place where the offence was committed, during the parliament then in existence.]

(45) See note 40 *ante*.

(46) [Sir Edward Coke, upon being elected speaker in 1592, in his address to the throne, declared, "this is only as yet a nomination, and no election, until your majesty giveth allowance and approbation." 2 Hats. 154. But the house of commons at present would scarce admit their speaker to hold such language. Till Sir Fletcher Norton was elected speaker,

of the two houses differs, that the speaker of the house of commons cannot give his opinion or argue any question in the house; but the speaker of the house of lords, if a lord of parliament, may. (47) In each house the act of the majority (48) binds the whole; and this majority is declared by votes openly and publicly given: not as at Venice, and many other senatorial assemblies, privately or by ballot. This latter method may be serviceable, to prevent intrigues and unconstitutional combinations: but it is impossible to be practised with us; at least in the house of commons, where every member's conduct is subject to the future censure of his constituents, and therefore should be openly submitted to their inspection.

To bring a bill into the house, if the relief sought by it is of a private nature, it is first necessary to prefer a petition; which must be presented by a member, and usually sets forth the grievance desired to be remedied. (49) This petition (when founded on facts that may be in their nature disputed) is referred to a committee of members, who examine the matter alleged, and accordingly report it to the house; and then (or otherwise, upon the mere petition) leave is given to bring in the bill. In public matters the bill is brought in upon motion made to the house, without any petition at all. Formerly, all bills were drawn in the form of petitions, (50) which were entered upon the *parliament rolls* with the

29th Nov. 1774, every gentleman who was proposed to fill that honorable office affected great modesty, and, if elected, was almost forced into the chair, and at the same time he requested permission to plead, in another place, his excuses and inability to discharge the office, which he used to do upon being presented to the king. But Sir Fletcher Norton was the first who disregarded this ceremony both in the one house and in the other. His successors, Mr. Cornewall and Mr. Addington, requested to make excuses to the throne, but were refused by the house, though Mr. Addington, in the beginning of the present parliament, 26th Nov. 1790, followed the example of Sir Fletcher Norton, and intimated no wish to be excused. See 1 Woodd. 59. Sir John Cust was the last speaker who addressed the throne in the language of diffidence, of which the following sentence may serve as a specimen: "I can now be an humble suitor to your majesty, that you would give your faithful commons an opportunity of rectifying this the only inadvertent step which they can ever take, and be graciously pleased to direct them to present some other to your majesty, whom they may not hereafter be sorry to have chosen, nor your majesty to have approved." 6 Nov. 1761. The chancellor used to reply in a handsome speech of compliment and encouragement, but now he shortly informs the commons that his majesty approves of their speaker, who claims the ancient privileges of the commons, and then they return to their own house.]

(47) [But when the house resolves itself into a committee, the chairman regularly appointed every new parliament presides at the table, and the speaker may then speak and vote as any one of the other members for the time.]

(48) [In the house of commons the speaker never votes but when there is an equality without his casting vote, which in that case creates a majority; but the speaker of the house of lords has no casting vote, but his vote is counted with the rest of the house; and in the case of an equality, the non-contents or negative voices have the same effect and operation as if they were in fact a majority. Lords' Journ. 25 June, 1661.]

(49) This, although usual in American legislative proceedings, is not a necessity. Any member may introduce a bill, for either a public or private purpose, on leave obtained as a matter of course, or after notice given, in the manner pointed out by the rules of the house.

(50) [The commons for near two centuries continued the style of very humble petitioners. Their petitions frequently began with "your poor commons beg and pray," and concluded with "for God's sake, and as an act of charity."—*Vos poveres communes prient et supplient pur Dieu et en œuvre de charite.* Rot. Parl. passim. It appears that, prior to the reign of Hen. V, it had been the practice of the kings to add and enact more than the commons petitioned for. In consequence of this there is a very memorable petition from the commons in 2 Hen. V, which states that it is the liberty and freedom of the commons that there should be no statute without their assent, considering that they have ever been as well *assenters* as *petitioners*, and therefore they pray that, for the future, there may be no additions or diminutions to their petitions. And in answer to this, the king granted that from henceforth they should be bound in no instance without their assent, saving his royal prerogative to grant and deny what he pleased of their petitions. Ruff. Pref. xv, Rot. Parl. 2 Hen. V, No. 22. It was long after its creation, or rather separation from the barons, before the house of commons was conscious of its own strength and dignity; and such was their modesty and diffidence, that they used to request the lords to send them some of their members to instruct them in their duty, "on account of the arduousness of their charge, and the feebleness of their own powers and understandings:"—*pur l'arduite de lour charge, et le foiblesce de lour poiars et sens.* Rot. Parl. 1 R. II, No. 4.]

king's answer thereunto subjoined; not in any settled forms of words, but [*182] *as the circumstances of the case required: (*f*) and, at the end of each parliament, the judges drew them into the form of a statute, which was entered on the *statute rolls*. In the reign of Henry V, to prevent mistakes and abuses, the statutes were drawn up by the judges before the end of the parliament; and, in the reign of Henry VI, bills in the form of acts, according to the modern customs, were first introduced.

The persons directed to bring in the bill present it in a competent time to the house, drawn out on paper, with a multitude of blanks, or void spaces, where anything occurs that is dubious, or necessary to be settled by the parliament itself; (such, especially, as the precise date of times, the nature and quantity of penalties, or of any sums of money to be raised), being indeed only the skeleton of the bill. In the house of lords, if the bill begins there, it is (when of a private nature) referred to two of the judges, to examine and report the state of the facts alleged, to see that all necessary parties consent, and to settle all points of technical propriety. (51) This is read a first time, and at a convenient distance a second time; and, after each reading, the speaker opens to the house the substance of the bill, and puts the question whether it shall proceed any farther. The introduction of the bill may be originally opposed, as the bill itself may at either of the readings; and, if the opposition succeeds, the bill must be dropped for that session; as it must also if opposed with success in any of the subsequent stages.

After the second reading it is committed, that is, referred to a committee; which is either selected by the house in matters of small importance, or else upon a bill of consequence, the house resolves itself into a committee of the whole house. A committee of the whole house is composed of every member; and, to form it, the speaker quits the chair, (another member being appointed chairman), and may sit and debate as a private member. In these committees the bill is debated clause by clause, amendments made, the blanks filled up, and [*183] sometimes the bill entirely new modelled. After it *has gone through the committee, the chairman reports it to the house, with such amendments as the committee have made; and then the house reconsiders the whole bill again, and the question is repeatedly put upon every clause and amendment. When the house hath agreed or disagreed to the amendments of the committee, and sometimes added new amendments of its own, the bill is then ordered to be engrossed, or written in a strong gross hand, on one or more long rolls (or presses) of parchment sewed together. When this is finished, it is read a third time, and amendments are sometimes then made to it; and if a new clause be added, it is done by tacking a separate piece of parchment on the bill, which is called a rider. (*g*) The speaker then again opens the contents; and, holding it up in his hands, puts the question whether the bill shall pass. If this is agreed to, the title to it is then settled, which used to be a general one for all the acts passed in the session, till in the first year of Henry VIII, distinct titles were introduced for each chapter. After this, one of the members is directed to carry it to the lords and desire their concurrence; who, attended by several more, carries it to the bar of the house of peers, and there delivers it to their speaker, who comes down from his woosack to receive it.

It there passes through the same forms as in the other house, (except engrossing, which is already done), and, if rejected, no more notice is taken, but it passes *sub silentio*, to prevent unbecoming altercations. But, if it is agreed to, the lords send a message, by two masters in chancery, (or, upon matters of high

(*f*) See, among numberless other instances, the *articuli cleri*, 9 Edw. II.

(*g*) Noy. 84.

(51) [A public bill, being founded on reasons of state policy, the house, in agreeing to its second reading, accepts and affirms those reasons; but the expediency of a private bill being mainly founded upon allegations of fact, which have not yet been proved, the house, in agreeing to its second reading, affirms the principle of the bill conditionally, and subject to the proof of such allegations before the committee. May, Parl. Pract. 5th ed. 701.]

dignity or importance, by two of the judges), that they have agreed to the same; and the bill remains with the lords, if they have made no amendment to it. But, if any amendments are made, such amendments are sent down with the bill to receive the concurrence of the commons. If the commons disagree to the amendments, a conference usually follows between members deputed from each house, who, for the most part, settle and adjust the difference; but if both houses remain inflexible, the bill is dropped. If the commons agree to the amendments, the bill is sent back to the lords by one of the members, *with a message to acquaint them therewith. The same forms are observed, *mutatis mutandis*, when the bill begins in the house of lords. [*184] But, when an act of grace or pardon is passed, it is first signed by his majesty, and then read once only in each of the houses, without any new engrossing or amendment. (h) And when both houses have done with any bill, always it is deposited in the house of peers, to wait the royal assent; except in the case of a bill of supply, which, after receiving the concurrence of the lords, is sent back to the house of commons. (i)

The royal assent may be given two ways: 1. In person; when the king comes to the house of peers, in his crown and royal robes, and, sending for the commons to the bar, the titles of all the bills that have passed both houses, are read; and the king's answer is declared by the clerk of the parliament in Norman-French: (52) a badge, it must be owned, (now the only one remaining), of conquest; and which one could wish to see fall into total oblivion, unless it be reserved as a solemn memento to remind us that our liberties are mortal, having once been destroyed by a foreign force. If the king consents to a public bill, the clerk usually declares, "*le roy le veut*, the king wills it so to be:" if to a private bill, "*soit fait comme il est desire*, be it as it is desired." If the king refuses his assent, it is in the gentle language of "*le roy s'avisera*, (53) the king will advise upon it." When a bill of supply is passed, it is carried up and presented to the king by the speaker of the house of commons; (k) and the royal assent is thus expressed, "*le roy remercie ses loyal subjects, accept leur benevolence, et ausi le veut*, the king thanks his loyal subjects, accepts their benevolence, and wills it so to be." In case of an act of grace, which originally proceeds from the crown, and has the royal assent in the first stage of it, the clerk of the parliament thus pronounces the gratitude of the subject: "*les prelates, seigneurs, et commons, en ce present parliament assemblees, au nom de tous vous autres subjects, *remercient tres humblement votre majeste, et prient a Dieu vous donner en sante bone vie et longue*; the prelates, lords, and commons, in [*185] this present parliament assembled, in the name of all your other subjects, most humbly thank your majesty, and pray to God to grant you in health and wealth long to live." (l) 2. By the statute 33 Hen. VIII. c. 21, the king may give his

(a) D'Ewes' Journ. 20, 73. Com. Journ. 17 June, 1747.

(d) Com. Journ. 24 Jul. 1660.

(k) Rot. Parl. 9 Hen. IV, in Pryn. 4 Inst. 30, 31.

(l) D'Ewes' Journ. 35.

(52) [Until the reign of Richard III, all the statutes are either in French or Latin, but generally in French.]

(53) [The words *et roi s'avisera* correspond to the phrase formerly used by courts of justice, when they required time to consider of their judgment, viz.: *curia advisare vult*. And there can be little doubt but originally these words implied a serious intent to take the subject under consideration, and they only became in effect a negative when the bill or petition was annulled by a dissolution, before the king communicated the result of his deliberation; for, in the rolls of parliament, the king sometimes answers, that the petition is unreasonable, and cannot be granted: sometimes he answers, that he and his council will consider of it; as in 37 Edw. III, No. 33 *Quant au ceste article, il demande grand avisement, et partant, roi se ent avisera par son conseil*.]

This prerogative of rejecting bills was last exercised by Queen Anne, A. D., 1707, who refused her assent to a bill for settling the militia in Scotland. May, Parl. Prac. 5th ed. 494—5, citing 18 Lord's J. 506. William III had refused his assent, A. D. 1692, to the bill for triennial parliaments. And on one occasion the prerogative of rejecting bills was exercised by Queen Elizabeth at the close of a session, to the extent of rejecting forty-eight bills, while she gave assent to twenty-four public and nineteen private bills, which had passed both houses of parliament. D'Ewes, 596.

assent by letters patent under his great seal, signed with his hand, and notified in his absence, to both houses assembled together in the high house. And, when the bill has received the royal assent in either of these ways, it is then, and not before, a statute or act of parliament. (54)

This statute or act is placed among the records of the kingdom; there needing no formal promulgation to give it the force of a law, as was necessary by the civil law with regard to the emperor's edicts; because every man in England is, in judgment of law, party to the making of an act of parliament, being present thereat by his representatives. However, a copy thereof is usually printed at the king's press, for the information of the whole land. And formerly, before the invention of printing, it was used to be published by the sheriff of every county; the king's writ being sent to him at the end of every session, together with a transcript of all the acts made at that session, commanding him "*ut statuta illa, et omnes articulos, in eisdem contentos, in singulis ubi locis expedire viderit, publice proclamari, et firmiter teneri et observari faciat.*" And the usage was to proclaim them at his county court, and there to keep them, that whoever would might read or take copies thereof; which custom continued till the reign of Henry the Seventh. (m) (55)

An act of parliament, thus made, is the exercise of the highest authority that this kingdom acknowledges upon earth. It hath power to bind every subject in the land, and the dominions thereunto belonging; nay, even the king himself, [*186] if particularly named therein. And it cannot be altered, *amended, dispensed with, suspended, or repealed, but in the same forms, and by the same authority of parliament: for it is a maxim in law, that it requires the same strength to dissolve, as to create, an obligation. It is true it was formerly held, that the king might, in many cases, dispense with penal statutes: (n) but now, by statute 1 W. and M. st. 2, c. 2, it is declared that the suspending or dispensing with laws by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal.

VII. There remains only, in the seventh and last place, to add a word or two concerning the manner in which parliaments may be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved.

An adjournment is no more than a continuance of the session from one day to another, as the word itself signifies: and this is done by the authority of each house separately every day; and sometimes for a fortnight or a month together, as at Christmas or Easter, or upon other particular occasions. But the adjournment of one house is no adjournment of the other. (o) (56) It hath

(m) 3 Inst. 41. 4 Inst. 26.

(n) Finch. L. 81. 234. Bacon, Elem. c. 19.

(o) 4 Inst. 28.

(54) [The 33 Geo. III, c. 13, directs the clerk of parliament to indorse on every act the time it receives the royal assent, from which day it becomes operative, if no other is specified. And by 48 Geo. III, c. 106, when a bill for continuing expiring acts shall not have passed before such acts expire, the bill, when passed into a law, shall have effect from the date of the expiration of the act intended to be continued.]

(55) In 1809 provision was made by law for the general distribution of the published statutes of Great Britain.

The constitution of the United States, art. 1, § 7, provides as follows: "Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it becomes 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."

The governors of nearly all the states have a similar negative upon state legislation.

(56) By the constitution of the United States, neither house of congress can, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that at which the two houses may be sitting. Art. 1, § 3. The president has power, in case of dis-

also been usual, when his majesty hath signified his pleasure that both or either of the houses should adjourn themselves to a certain day, to obey the king's pleasure so signified, and to adjourn accordingly. (*p*) Otherwise, besides the indecorum of a refusal, a prorogation would assuredly follow; which would often be very inconvenient to both public and private business: for prorogation puts an end to the session; and then such bills as are only begun and not perfected, must be resumed *de novo* (if at all) in a subsequent session: whereas, after an adjournment, all things continue in the same state as at the time of the adjournment made, and may be proceeded on without any fresh commencement. (57)

A prorogation is the continuance of the parliament from one session to another, as an adjournment is a *continuation of the session from day [**187*] to day. This is done by the royal authority, expressed either by the lord chancellor in his majesty's presence, or by commission from the crown, or frequently by proclamation. (58) Both houses are necessarily prorogued at the same time; it not being a prorogation of the house of lords or commons, but of the parliament. The session is never understood to be at an end until a prorogation; though, unless some act be passed or some judgment given in parliament, it is in truth no session at all. (*q*) And formerly, the usage was for the king to give the royal assent to all such bills as he approved, at the end of every session, and then to prorogue the parliament; though sometimes only for a day or two; (*r*) after which all business then depending in the houses was to be begun again; which custom obtained so strongly, that it once became a question, (*s*) whether giving the royal assent to a single bill did not of course put an end to the session. And, though it was then resolved in the negative, yet the notion was so deeply rooted, that the statute 1 Car. I, c. 7, was passed to declare, that the king's assent to that and some other acts should not put an end to the session; and, even so late as the reign of Charles II, we find a proviso frequently tacked to a bill, (*t*) that his majesty's assent thereto should not determine the session of parliament. But it now seems to be allowed, that a prorogation must be expressly made, in order to determine the session. And, if at the time of an actual rebellion, or imminent danger of invasion, the parliament shall be separated by adjournment or prorogation, the king is empowered (*u*) to call them together by proclamation, with fourteen day's notice of the time appointed for their re-assembling. (59)

(*p*) Com. Journ. *passim*; e. g. 11 June, 1572; 5 Apr. 1604; 4 June, 14 Nov. 18 Dec. 1621; 11 Jul. 1625; 13 Sept. 1660; 25 Jul. 1667; 4 Aug. 1685; 24 Feb. 1691; 21 June, 1712; 16 Apr. 1717; 3 Feb. 1741; 10 Dec. 1745; 21 May, 1768. (*q*) 4 Inst. 28. Hale of Parl. 38. Hat. 61. (*r*) Com. Jour. 21 Oct. 1553. (*s*) Ibid. 21 Nov. 1554. (*t*) Stat. 12 Car. II, c. 1. 22 and 23 Car. II, c. 1. (*u*) Stat. 30 Geo. II, c. 25.

greement between the two houses with respect to the time of adjournment, to adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper. Art. 2, § 3. For a decision under a similar provision, see *People v. Hatch*, 33 Ill. 9.

(57) [Orders of parliament also determine by prorogation, consequently all persons taken into custody under such orders may, after prorogation of parliament, as well as after dissolution, be discharged on a *habeas corpus*; generally, however, that form is not observed, as the power of either house to hold in imprisonment expires, and the party may at once walk forth on the prorogation or dissolution of the parliament. Com. Dig. Parliament, O. 1. The state of an impeachment is not affected by the session terminating either one way or the other: Raym. 120; 1 Lev. 384; and appeals and writs of error remain, and are to be proceeded in, as they stood at the last session. 2 Lev. 93; Com. Dig. Parliament, O. 1.]

(58) [At the beginning of a new parliament, when it is not intended that the parliament should meet at the return of the writ of summons for the dispatch of business, the practice is to prorogue it by a writ of prorogation, as the parliament in 1790 was prorogued twice by writ: Com. Journ. 26th Nov. 1790; and the first parliament in this reign was prorogued by four writs. Id. 3 Nov. 1761. On the day upon which the writ of summons is returnable, the members of the house of commons who attend do not enter their own house, or wait for a message from the lords, but go immediately up to the house of lords, where the chancellor reads the writ of prorogation. Ib. And when it is intended that they should meet upon the day to which the parliament is prorogued for dispatch of business, notice is given by a proclamation.]

(59) [By statutes 37 Geo. III, c. 127, and 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 14, the king may at any time by proclamation, appoint parliament to meet at the expiration of fourteen days from the date of the proclamation; and this without regard to the period to which parliament may stand prorogued or adjourned.]

A dissolution is the civil death of the parliament; and this may be effected three ways: 1. By the king's will, expressed either in person or by representation; for, as the king has the sole right of convening the parliament, so [*188] also *it is a branch of the royal prerogative, that he may whenever he pleases prorogue the parliament for a time, or put a final period to its existence. If nothing had a right to prorogue or dissolve a parliament but itself, it might happen to become perpetual. And this would be extremely dangerous, if at any time it should attempt to encroach upon the executive power: as was fatally experienced by the unfortunate King Charles the First; who having unadvisedly passed an act to continue the parliament then in being till such time as it should please to dissolve itself, at last fell a sacrifice to that inordinate power, which he himself had consented to give them. It is therefore extremely necessary that the crown should be empowered to regulate the duration of these assemblies, under the limitations which the English constitution has prescribed: so that, on the one hand, they may frequently and regularly come together, for the dispatch of business, and redress of grievances; and may not, on the other, even with the consent of the crown, be continued to an inconvenient or unconstitutional length.

2. A parliament may be dissolved by the demise of the crown. This dissolution formerly happened immediately upon the death of the reigning sovereign: for he being considered in law as the head of the parliament, *caput principium, et finis*, that failing, the whole body was held to be extinct. But, the calling a new parliament, immediately on the inauguration of the successor, being found inconvenient, and dangers being apprehended from having no parliament in being in case of a disputed succession, it was enacted by the statutes 7 and 8 Wm. III, c. 15, and 6 Ann. c. 7, that the parliament in being shall continue for six months after the death of any king or queen, unless sooner prorogued or dissolved by the successor; that, if the parliament be, at the time of the king's death separated by adjournment or prorogation, it shall, notwithstanding, assemble immediately; and that, if no parliament is then in being, the members of the last parliament shall assemble, and be again a parliament.

[*189] *3. Lastly, a parliament may be dissolved or expire by length of time. For, if either the legislative body were perpetual, or might last for the life of the prince who convened them, as formerly; and were so to be supplied, by occasionally filling the vacancies with new representatives; in these cases, if it were once corrupted, the evil would be past all remedy: but when different bodies succeed each other, if the people see cause to disapprove of the present, they may rectify its faults in the next. A legislative assembly also, which is sure to be separated again, (whereby its members will themselves become private men, and subject to the full extent of the laws which they have enacted for others,) will think themselves bound, in interest as well as duty, to make only such laws as are good. The utmost extent of time that the same parliament was allowed to sit, by the statute 6 W. and M. c. 2, was *three* years; after the expiration of which, reckoning from the return of the first summons, the parliament was to have no longer continuance. But, by the statute 1 Geo. I, st. 2, c. 38, (in order, professedly, to prevent the great and continued expenses of frequent elections, and the violent heats and animosities consequent thereupon, and for the peace and security of the government, then just recovering from the late rebellion,) this term was prolonged to *seven* years: and, what alone is an instance of the vast authority of parliament, the very same house that was chosen for three years, enacted its own continuance for seven. So that, as our constitution now stands, the parliament must expire, or die a natural death, at the end of every seventh year, if not sooner dissolved by the royal prerogative. (60)

(60) In the United States each congress continues for the period for which the members of the popular branch are chosen; that is to say, for two years. Within that period two sessions are held regularly, and more may be, when extra sessions are called by the president or ordered by congress.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE KING AND HIS TITLE.

THE supreme executive power of these kingdoms is vested by our laws in a single person, the king or queen: for it matters not to which sex the crown descends; but the person entitled to it, whether male or female, is immediately invested with all the ensigns, rights, and prerogatives of sovereign power; as is declared by statute 1 Mar. st. 3, c. 1.

In discoursing of the royal rights and authority, I shall consider the king under six distinct views; 1. With regard to his title. 2. His royal family. 3. His councils. 4. His duties. 5. His prerogative. 6. His revenue. And, first, with regard to his title.

The executive power of the English nation being vested in a single person, by the general consent of the people, the evidence of which general consent is long and immemorial usage, it became necessary to the freedom and peace of the state, that a rule should be laid down, uniform, universal, and permanent; in order to mark out with precision, *who* is that single person, to whom are committed (in subservience to the law of the land) the care and protection of the community; and to whom, in return, the duty and allegiance of every individual are due. It is of the highest importance to the public tranquillity, and to the consciences *of private men, that this rule should be clear and indisputable: and our constitution has not left us in the dark upon this [*191] material occasion. It will therefore be the endeavour of this chapter to trace out the constitutional doctrine of the royal succession, with that freedom and regard to truth, yet mixed with that reverence and respect, which the principles of liberty and the dignity of the subject require.

The grand fundamental maxim upon which the *jus coronæ*, or right of succession to the throne of these kingdoms, depends, I take to be this: "that the crown is, by common law and constitutional custom, hereditary; and this in a manner peculiar to itself: but that the right of inheritance may from time to time be changed or limited by act of parliament; under which limitations the crown still continues hereditary." And this proposition it will be the business of this chapter to prove, in all its branches; first, that the crown is hereditary; secondly, that it is hereditary in a manner peculiar to itself; thirdly, that this inheritance is subject to limitation by parliament; lastly, that when it is so limited, it is hereditary in the new proprietor.

1. First, it is in general *hereditary*, or descendible to the next heir, on the death or demise of the last proprietor. All regal governments must be either hereditary or elective: and, as I believe there is no instance wherein the crown of England has ever been asserted to be elective, except by the regicides at the infamous and unparalleled trial of King Charles I, it must of consequence be hereditary. Yet, while I assert an hereditary, I by no means intend a *jure divino*, title to the throne. Such a title may be allowed to have subsisted under the theocratic establishments of the children of Israel in Palestine: but it never yet subsisted in any other country; save only so far as kingdoms, like other human fabrics, are subject to the general and ordinary dispensations of Providence. Nor indeed have a *jure divino* and an *hereditary* right any necessary connexion with each other; as some have very weakly imagined. The titles of David and Jehu were *equally *jure divino*, as those of either Solomon or Ahab; and yet David slew the sons of his predecessor, and Jehu his predecessor [*192] himself. And when our kings have the same warrant as they had, whether it be to sit upon the throne of their fathers, or to destroy the house of the preceding sovereign, they will then, and not before, possess the crown of England by a right like theirs, *immediately* derived from heaven. The hereditary right which

the laws of England acknowledge, owes its origin to the founders of our constitution, and to them only. It has no relation to, nor depends upon, the civil laws of the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, or any other nation upon earth: the municipal laws of one society having no connexion with, or influence upon, the fundamental polity of another. The founders of our English monarchy might perhaps, if they had thought proper, have made it an elective monarchy: but they rather chose, and upon good reason, to establish originally a succession by inheritance. This has been acquiesced in by general consent; and ripened by degrees into common law: the very same title that every private man has to his own estate. Lands are not naturally descendible any more than thrones: but the law has thought proper, for the benefit and peace of the public, to establish hereditary succession in the one as well as the other.

It must be owned, an elective monarchy seems to be the most obvious, and best suited of any to the rational principles of government, and the freedom of human nature: and accordingly we find from history that, in the infancy and first rudiments of almost every state, the leader, chief magistrate, or prince, hath usually been elective. And, if the individuals who compose that state could always continue true to first principals, uninfluenced by passion or prejudice, unassailed by corruption, and unawed by violence, elective succession were as much to be desired in a kingdom, as in other inferior communities. The best, the wisest, and the bravest man, would then be sure of receiving that crown, which his endowments have merited; and the sense of an unbiassed majority [*193] would be dutifully acquiesced in by the few who were *of different opinions. But history and observation will inform us, that elections of every kind (in the present state of human nature) are too frequently brought about by influence, partiality, and artifice: and, even where the case is otherwise, these practices will be often suspected, and as constantly charged upon the successful, by a splenetic disappointed minority. This is an evil to which all societies are liable; as well those of a private and domestic kind, as the great community of the public, which regulates and includes the rest. But in the former there is this advantage; that such suspicions, if false, proceed no farther than jealousies and murmurs, which time will effectually suppress; and, if true, the injustice may be remedied by legal means, by an appeal to the tribunals to which every member of society has (by becoming such) virtually engaged to submit. Whereas in the great and independent society, which every nation composes, there is no superior to resort to but the law of nature: no method to redress the infringements of that law, but the actual exertion of private force. As therefore between two nations, complaining of mutual injuries, the quarrel can only be decided by the law of arms; so in one and the same nation, when the fundamental principles of their common union are supposed to be invaded, and more especially when the appointment of their chief magistrate is alleged to be unduly made, the only tribunal to which the complainants can appeal is that of the God of battles, the only process by which the appeal can be carried on is that of a civil and intestine war. An hereditary succession to the crown is therefore now established, in this and most other countries, in order to prevent that periodical bloodshed and misery, which the history of ancient imperial Rome, and the more modern experience of Poland and Germany, may shew us are the consequences of elective kingdoms.

2. But, secondly, as to the particular mode of inheritance, it in general corresponds with the feudal path of descents, chalked out by the common law in the succession to landed estates; yet with one or two material exceptions. Like estates, the crown will descend lineally to the issue of the reigning monarch; [*194] as it did from King John to Richard II, through *a regular pedigree of six lineal generations. As in common descents, the preference of males to females, and the right of primogeniture among the males, are strictly adhered to. Thus Edward V succeeded to the crown, in preference to Richard, his younger brother, and Elizabeth, his elder sister. Like lands or tenements, the crown, on failure of the male line, descends to the issue female; according to

the ancient British custom remarked by Tacitus; (a) "*solent fœminarum ducta bellare, et sexum in imperiis non discernere.*" Thus Mary I succeeded to Edward VI; and the line of Margaret Queen of Scots, the daughter of Henry VII, succeeded on failure of the line of Henry VIII, his son. But among the females, the crown descends by right of primogeniture to the eldest daughter only and her issue; and not as in common inheritances, to all the daughters at once; the evident necessity of a sole succession to the throne having occasioned the royal law of descents to depart from the common law in this respect: and therefore Queen Mary on the death of her brother succeeded to the crown alone, and not in partnership with her sister Elizabeth. Again: the doctrine of representation prevails in the descent of the crown, as it does in other inheritances; whereby the lineal descendants of any person deceased, stand in the same place as their ancestor, if living, would have done. Thus Richard II succeeded his grandfather Edward III, in right of his father the Black Prince, to the exclusion of all his uncles, his grandfather's younger children. Lastly, on failure of lineal descendants, the crown goes to the next collateral relations of the late king; provided they are lineally descended from the blood royal, that is, from that royal stock which originally acquired the crown. Thus Henry I succeeded to William II, John to Richard I, and James I to Elizabeth; being all derived from the Conqueror, who was then the only regal stock. But herein there is no objection (as in the case of common descents) to the succession of a brother, an uncle, or other collateral relation, of the *half* blood; that is, where the relationship proceeds not from the same *couple* of ancestors (which constitutes a kinsman of the *whole* blood) but from a *single* ancestor only; as when two persons are derived from the same father, and not from the same *mother, [*195] or *vice versa*; provided only that the one ancestor, from whom both are descended, be that from whose veins the blood royal is communicated to each. Thus Mary I inherited to Edward VI, and Elizabeth inherited to Mary; all children of the same father, King Henry VIII, but all by different mothers. (1) The reason of which diversity, between royal and common descents, will be better understood hereafter, when we examine the nature of inheritances in general.

The doctrine of *hereditary* right does by no means imply an *indefeasible* right to the throne. No man will, I think, assert this, that has considered our laws, constitution, and history, without prejudice, and with any degree of attention. It is unquestionably in the breast of the supreme legislative authority of this kingdom, the king and both houses of parliament, to defeat this hereditary right; and, by particular entails, limitations, and provisions, to exclude the immediate heir, and vest the inheritance in any one else. This is strictly consonant to our laws and constitution; as may be gathered from the expression so frequently used in our statute book, of the king's majesty, his heirs, and successors." In which we may observe, that as the word, "heirs," necessarily implies an inheritance or hereditary right, generally subsisting in the royal person; so the word, "successors," distinctly taken, must imply that this

(a) *In vit. Agricole.*

(1) It is not very easy to say whether Mary and Elizabeth took the crown by inheritance, or special parliamentary limitation. When the 35 Henry VIII, c. 1, passed, they had both, by a preceding statute, the 28 Hen. VIII, c. 7, been declared illegitimate, and not capable of inheriting the crown; that statute, without repealing the former, limited the succession to them and the heirs of their bodies respectively under certain circumstances and upon certain conditions. On the accession of Mary the clauses in 28 Hen. VIII, c. 7, by which her illegitimacy had been declared, were repealed: 1 M. st. 2, c. 1; and in 1 M. st. 3, c. 1, she is called "the inheritrix to the imperial crown," but the 35 Hen. VIII, c. 1, was not formally repealed. Elizabeth did not formally repeal the clauses of the 28 Hen. VIII, c. 7, which affected her legitimacy, but by 1 Eliz. c. 3, she was recognized as being lineally and lawfully descended of the blood royal of the realm; at the same time, however, the limitation of the crown by the 35 Hen. VIII, c. 1, was expressly confirmed. The inference from the whole seems to be, that though neither of them chose to rely on the parliamentary limitation alone, neither thought it right entirely to forgo the security which it afforded.]

inheritance may sometimes be broken through; or, that there may be a successor, without being the heir, of the king. And this is so extremely reasonable, that without such a power, lodged somewhere, our polity would be very defective. For, let us barely suppose so melancholy a case, as that the heir apparent should be a lunatic an idiot, or otherwise incapable of reigning: how miserable would the condition of the nation be, if he were also incapable of being set aside! It is therefore necessary that this power should be lodged somewhere; and yet the inheritance, and regal dignity, would be very precarious indeed, if this power were *expressly* and *avowedly* lodged in the hands of the subject only, to be exerted whenever prejudice, caprice, or discontent, should happen to take the lead. Consequently it can no where be so properly lodged as in the two houses [*196] of parliament, by and with the *consent of the reigning king; who, it is not to be supposed, will agree to any thing improperly prejudicial to the rights of his own descendants. And therefore in the king, lords, and commons, in parliament assembled, our laws have expressly lodged it.

4. But, fourthly; however the crown may be limited or transferred, it still retains its descendible quality, and becomes hereditary in the wearer of it. And hence in our law the king is said never to die, in his political capacity; though, in common with other men, he is subject to mortality in his natural: because immediately upon the natural death of Henry, William, or Edward, the king survives in his successor. For the right of the crown vests, *eo instanti*, upon his heir; either the *hæres natus*, if the course of descent remains unimpeached, or the *hæres factus*, if the inheritance be under any particular settlement. So that there can be no *interregnum*; 2 but, as Sir Matthew Hale (*b*) observes, the right of sovereignty is fully invested in the successor by the very descent of the crown. And therefore, however acquired, it becomes in him absolutely hereditary, unless by the rules of the limitation it is otherwise ordered and determined. In the same manner as landed estates, to continue our former comparison, are by the law hereditary, or descendible to the heirs of the owner; but still there exists a power, by which the property of those lands may be transferred to another person. If this transfer be made simply and absolutely, the lands will be hereditary in the new owner, and descend to his heir at law: but if the transfer be clogged with any limitations, conditions, or entails, the lands must descend in that channel, so limited and prescribed, and no other.

In these four points consists, as I take it, the constitutional notion of hereditary right to the throne: which will be still farther elucidated, and made clear beyond all dispute, from a short historical view of the successions to the crown of England, the doctrines of our ancient lawyers, and the several acts of parliament that have from time to time been made, to create, to declare, to confirm, [*197] to limit, or to bar, the hereditary *title to the throne. And in the pursuit of this inquiry we shall find, that, from the days of Egbert, the first sole monarch of this kingdom, even to the present, the four cardinal maxims above mentioned have ever been held the constitutional canons of succession. It is true, the succession, through fraud, or force, or sometimes through necessity, when in hostile times the crown descended on a minor or the like, has been very frequently suspended; but has generally at last returned back into the old hereditary channel, though sometimes a very considerable period has intervened. And, even in those instances where the succession has been violated, the crown has ever been looked upon as hereditary in the wearer of it. Of which the usurpers themselves were so sensible, that they for the most part endeavored to vamp up some feeble shew of a title by descent, in order to amuse the people, while they gained the possession of the kingdom. And, when possession was once gained, they considered it as the purchase or acqui-

(b) 1 Hist. P. C. 61.

(2) It is upon this principle that the whole period of the commonwealth is reckoned as a part of the reign of Charles II, who was considered as succeeding to the crown immediately on the execution of his father, though not in possession until the restoration in 1660.

tion of a new estate of inheritance, and transmitted or endeavoured to transmit it to their own posterity, by a kind of hereditary right of usurpation.

King Egbert, about the year 800, found himself in possession of the throne of the West Saxons, by a long and undisturbed descent from his ancestors of above three hundred years. How his ancestors acquired their title, whether by force, by fraud, by contract, or by election, it matters not much to inquire; and is indeed a point of such high antiquity, as must render all inquiries at best but plausible guesses. His right must be supposed indisputably good, because we know no better. The other kingdoms of the heptarchy he acquired, some by consent, but most by a voluntary submission. And it is an established maxim in civil polity, and the law of nations, that when one country is united to another in such a manner, as that one keeps its government and states, and the other loses them, the latter entirely assimilates with or is melted down in the former, and must adopt its laws and customs. (c) And in pursuance of this maxim there hath ever been, since the union of the heptarchy in King Egbert, a *general acquiescence under the hereditary monarchy of the West [*198] Saxons, through all the united kingdoms.

From Egbert to the death of Edmund Ironside, a period of above two hundred years, the crown descended regularly, through a succession of fifteen princes, without any deviation or interruption: save only that the sons of King Ethelwolf succeeded to each other in the kingdom, without regard to the children of the elder branches, according to the rule of succession prescribed by their father, and confirmed by the wittena-gemote, in the heat of the Danish invasions; and also that King Edred, the uncle of Edwy, mounted the throne for about nine years, in the right of his nephew, a minor, the times being very troublesome and dangerous. But this was with a view to preserve, and not to destroy, the succession; and accordingly Edwy succeeded him. (3)

King Edmund Ironside was obliged, by the hostile irruption of the Danes, at first to divide his kingdom with Canute, King of Denmark; and Canute, after his death, seized the whole of it, Edmund's sons being driven into foreign countries. Here the succession was suspended by actual force, and a new family introduced upon the throne: in whom however this new acquired throne continued hereditary for three reigns; when, upon the death of Hardiknute, the ancient Saxon line was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor.

He was not indeed the true heir to the crown, being the younger brother of King Edmund Ironside, who had a son Edward, surnamed (from his exile) the outlaw, still living. But this son was then in Hungary; and, the English having just shaken off the Danish yoke, it was necessary that somebody on the spot should mount the throne; and the Confessor was the next of the royal line then in England. On his decease without issue, Harold II usurped the throne; and almost at the same instant came on the Norman invasion: the right to the crown being all the time in Edgar, surnamed Atheling, (which signifies in the Saxon language *illustrious*, or of royal blood,) who was the son of Edward the Outlaw, and grandson of Edmund *Ironside; or, as Matthew Paris (d) [*199] well expresses the sense of our old constitution, "*Edmundus autem latusferreum, rex naturalis de stirpe regum, genuit Edwardum; et Edwardus genuit Edgarum, cui de jure debebatur regnum Anglorum.*"

William the Norman claimed the crown by virtue of a pretended grant from King Edward the Confessor; a grant which, if real, was in itself utterly invalid: because it was made, as Harold well observed in his reply to William's demand, (e) "*absque generali senatus, et populi conventu et edicto*;" which also very plainly implies, that it then was generally understood that the king, with consent of the general council, might dispose of the crown and change the line

(c) Puff. L. of N. and N. b. 8, c. 12, § 6.

(d) A. D. 1066.

(e) William of Malmsh. l. 3.

(3) There were some other exceptions: Athelstan and Edmund Ironside were both illegitimate sons, and both took the crown while they had legitimate brothers living.]

of succession. (4) William's title however was altogether as good as Harold's, he being a mere private subject, and an utter stranger to the royal blood. Edgar Atheling's undoubted right was overwhelmed by the violence of the times; though frequently asserted by the English nobility after the conquest, till such time as he died without issue: but all their attempts proved unsuccessful, and only served the more firmly to establish the crown in the family which had newly acquired it.

This conquest then by William of Normandy was, like that of Canute before, a forcible transfer of the crown of England into a new family: but, the crown being so transferred, all the inherent properties of the crown were with it transferred also. For, the victory obtained at Hastings not being (*f*) a victory over the nation collectively, but only over the person of Harold, the only right that the conqueror could pretend to acquire thereby, was the right to possess the crown of England, not to alter the nature of the government. And therefore, as the English laws still remained in force, he must necessarily take the crown subject to those laws, and with all its inherent properties; the first and principal of which was its descendibility. Here then we must drop our race of Saxon kings, at least for a while, and derive our descents from William the Conqueror as from a new stock, who acquired by right of war (such as it is, yet still the [*200] **dernier resort* of kings) a strong and undisputed title to the inheritable crown of England.

Accordingly it descended from him to his sons William II and Henry I. Robert, it must be owned, his eldest son, was kept out of possession by the arts and violence of his brethren; who perhaps might proceed upon a notion, which prevailed for some time in the law of descents, (though never adopted as the rule of public successions,) (*g*) that when the eldest son was already provided for, (as Robert was constituted Duke of Normandy by his father's will,) in such a case the next brother was entitled to enjoy the rest of their father's inheritance. But, as he died without issue, Henry at last had a good title to the throne, whatever he might have at first.

Stephen of Blois, who succeeded him, was indeed the grandson of the conqueror, by Adelicia his daughter, and claimed the throne by a feeble kind of hereditary right: not as being the nearest of the male line, but as the nearest male of the blood royal, excepting his elder brother Theobald; who was Earl of Blois, and therefore seems to have waived, as he certainly never insisted on, so troublesome and precarious a claim. The real right was in the Empress Matilda or Maud, the daughter of Henry I; the rule of succession being, (where women are admitted at all,) that the daughter of a son shall be preferred to the son of a daughter. So that Stephen was little better than a mere usurper; and therefore he rather chose to rely on a title by election, (*h*) while the Empress Maud did no fail to assert her hereditary right by the sword: which dispute was attended with various success, and ended at last in the compromise made at Wallingford, that Stephen should keep the crown, but that Henry, the son of Maud, should succeed him, as he afterwards accordingly did.

Henry, the second of that name, was (next after his mother Matilda) the undoubted heir of William the Conqueror; but he had also another connexion [*201] in blood, which endeared *him still farther to the English. He was lineally descended from Edmund Ironside, the last of the Saxon race of hereditary kings. For Edward the Outlaw, the son of Edmund Ironside, had (besides Edgar Atheling, who died without issue) a daughter, Margaret, who

(*f*) Hale, Hist. C. L. c. 5. Seld. Review of Tithes, c. 8. (*g*) See Lord Lyttleton's Life of Henry II, vol. 1. p. 467.

(*h*) "*Ego Stephanus Dei gratia assensu cleri et populi in regem Anglorum electus, &c.*" (Cart. A. D. 1136. Ric. de Hagustald. 314. Hearne ad Guili. Neubr. 711.)

(4) [Perhaps it also as plainly implies, what the coronation service and other documents, together with the reason of the thing, raise a strong presumption of, that at this time the crown was partly elective; elective with a restriction to one family, and a preference of primogeniture and legitimacy.]

was married to Malcolm king of Scotland; and in her the Saxon hereditary right resided. By Malcolm she had several children, and among the rest Matilda the wife of Henry I, who by him had the Empress Maud, the mother of Henry II. Upon which account the Saxon line is in our histories frequently said to have been restored in his person, though in reality that right subsisted in the *sons* of Malcolm by Queen Margaret; King Henry's best title being as heir to the conqueror. (5)

From Henry II the crown descended to his eldest son Richard I, who dying childless, the right vested in his nephew Arthur, the son of Geoffrey his next brother: but John, the youngest son of King Henry, seized the throne; claiming, as appears from his charters, the crown by hereditary right: (*i*) that is to say, he was next of kin to the deceased king, being his surviving brother; whereas Arthur was removed one degree farther, being his brother's son, though by right of representation he stood in the place of his father Geoffrey. And however flimsy this title, and those of William Rufus and Stephen of Blois, may appear at this distance to us, after the law of descents hath now been settled for so many centuries, they were sufficient to puzzle the understandings of our brave, but unlettered ancestors. Nor, indeed, can we wonder at the number of partisans who espoused the pretensions of King John in particular, since even in the reign of his father King Henry II, it was a point undetermined, (*k*) whether, ever in common inheritances, the child of an elder brother should succeed to land in right of representation, or the younger surviving brother in right of proximity of blood. Nor is it to this day decided, in the collateral succession to the fiefs of the empire, whether the order of the stocks, or the proximity of degree, shall take place. (*l*) However, on the death of Arthur *and his sister Eleanor without issue, a clear and indisputable title [*202] vested in Henry III, the son of John; and from him to Richard the Second, a succession of six generations, the crown descended in the true hereditary line. Under one of which race of princes (*m*) we find it declared in parliament, "that the law of the crown of England is, and always hath been, that the children of the king of England, whether born in England or elsewhere, ought to bear the inheritance after the death of their ancestors. Which law our sovereign lord the king, the prelates, earls, and barons, and other great men, together with all the commons in parliament assembled, do approve and affirm for ever."

Upon Richard the Second's resignation of the crown, he having no children, the right resulted to the issue of his grandfather Edward III. That king had many children besides his eldest, Edward the black prince of Wales, the father of Richard II; but, to avoid confusion, I shall only mention three: William his second son, who died without issue; Lionel, duke of Clarence, his third son; and John of Gant, duke of Lancaster, his fourth. By the rules of succession, therefore, the posterity of Lionel, duke of Clarence, were entitled to the throne upon the resignation of King Richard; and had accordingly been declared by the king, many years before, the presumptive heirs of the crown; which declaration was also confirmed in parliament. (*n*) But Henry, duke of Lancaster, the son of John of Gant, having then a large army in the kingdom, the pretence of raising which was to recover his patrimony from the king, and to redress the grievances of the subject, it was impossible for any other title to be asserted with any safety; and he became king under the title of Henry IV. But, as Sir Mathew Hale remarks, (*o*) though the people unjustly assisted Henry IV in his usurpation of the crown, yet he was not admitted thereto until he had declared that he claimed, not as a conqueror, (which he very much inclined to do) (*p*) but as

(5) "—*Regni Angliæ; quod nobis jure competit hæreditario.*" Spelm. *Hist. R. John apud* Wilkins, 354.

(k) Glanl. l. 7, c. 3.

(l) Mod. Un. Hist. xxx. 512.

(m) Stat. 25 Edw. III, st. 2.

(n) Stanford's *Gener. Hist.* 246.

(o) Hist. C. L. c. 5.

(p) Seld. Tit. Hon. 1, 3.

(5) [Henry the Second crowned his eldest son Henry (who died before him) in his life-time; another strong circumstance to show in how unsettled and precarious a state was the right of hereditary succession in his age. See Lord Lyt. book 3.]

a successor, descended by right line of the blood royal; as appears from the rolls of parliament in those times. And, in order to do this, he set up a show of two [*203] titles: *the one upon the pretence of being the first of the blood royal in the entire male line, whereas the duke of Clarence left only one daughter, Philippa; from which female branch, by a marriage with Edmond Mortimer, earl of March, the house of York descended: the other by reviving an exploded rumour first propogated by John of Gant, that Edmond, Earl of Lancaster, (to whom Henry's mother was heiress) was in reality the elder brother of Edward I; though his parents, on account of his personal deformity, had imposed him on the world for the younger; and therefore Henry would be entitled to the crown, either as successor to Richard II, in case the entire male line was allowed a preference to the female; or even prior to that unfortunate prince, if the crown could descend through a female, while an entire male line was existing.

However, as in Edward the Third's time we find the parliament approving and affirming the law of the crown, as before stated, so in the reign of Henry IV, they actually exerted their right of new-settling the succession to the crown. And this was done by the statute 7 Hen. IV, c. 2, whereby it is enacted, "that the inheritance of the crown and realms of England and France, and all other the king's dominions, shall be *set and remain* (q) in the person of our sovereign lord the king, and in the heirs of his body issuing;" and Prince Henry is declared heir apparent to the crown, to hold to him and the heirs of his body issuing, with remainder to the Lord Thomas, Lord John, and Lord Humphry, the king's sons, and the heirs of their bodies respectively; which is indeed nothing more than the law would have done before, provided Henry the Fourth had been a rightful king. It however serves to shew that it was then generally understood, that the king and parliament had a right to new-model and regulate the succession to the crown; and we may also observe with what caution and delicacy the parliament then avoided declaring any sentiment of Henry's original title. However Sir Edward Coke more than once expressly declares, (r) [*204] that at the time of *passing this act the right of the crown was in the descent from Philippa, daughter and heir of Lionel duke of Clarence.

Nevertheless the crown descended regularly from Henry IV to his son and grandsons Henry V and VI; in the latter of whose reigns the house of York asserted their dormant title; and, after imbruing the kingdom in blood and confusion for seven years together, at last established it in the person of Edward IV. At his accession to the throne, after a breach of the succession that continued for three descents, and above threescore years, the distinction of a king *de jure* and a king *de facto* began to be first taken; in order to indemnify such as had submitted to the late establishment, and to provide for the peace of the kingdom, by confirming all honours conferred and all acts done by those who were now called the usurpers, not tending to the disherison of the rightful heir. In statute 1 Edw. IV, c. 1, the three Henrys are styled, "late kings of England successively in dede, and not of ryght." And in all the charters which I have met with of King Edward, wherever he has occasion to speak of any of the line of Lancaster, he calls them "*nuper de facto, et non de jure, reges Angliæ*."

Edward IV left two sons and a daughter; the eldest of which sons, King Edward V, enjoyed the regal dignity for a very short time, and was then deposed by Richard, his unnatural uncle, who immediately usurped the royal dignity, having previously insinuated to the populace a suspicion of bastardy in the children of Edward IV, to make a shew of some hereditary title; after which he is generally believed to have murdered his two nephews, upon whose death the right of the crown devolved to their sister Elizabeth.

The tyrannical reign of King Richard III, gave occasion to Henry, earl of Richmond, to assert his title to the crown. A title the most remote and unaccountable that was ever set up, and which nothing could have given success to but the universal detestation of the then usurper Richard. For, besides that he

claimed under a descent from John of Gant, whose title was now exploded, the claim, (such as it was) was through John Earl of Somerset, a bastard son, begotten by John of *Gant upon Catharine Swinford. It is true that, by an act [*205] of parliament, 20 Ric. II, this son was, with others, legitimated and made inheritable to all lands, offices, and dignities, as if he had been born in wedlock; but still with an express reservation of the crown, "*excepta dignitate regali.*" (s)

Notwithstanding all this, immediately after the battle of Bosworth Field, he assumed the regal dignity; the right of the crown then being, as Sir Edward Coke expressly declares, (t) in Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV; and his possession was established by parliament, holden the first year of his reign. In the act for which purpose the parliament seems to have copied the caution of their predecessors in the reign of Henry IV; and therefore, (as Lord Bacon the historian of this reign observes,) carefully avoided any recognition of Henry VII's right, which indeed was none at all; and the king would not have it by way of new law or ordinance, whereby a right might seem to be created and conferred upon him; and therefore a middle way was rather chosen, by way (as the noble historian expresses it,) of *establishment*, and that under covert and indifferent words, "that the inheritance of the crown should *rest, remain, and abide*, in King Henry VII and the heirs of his body;" thereby providing for the future, and at the same time acknowledging his present possession; but not determining either way, whether that possession was *de jure* or *de facto* merely. However, he soon after married Elizabeth of York, the undoubted heiress of the conqueror, and thereby gained (as Sir Edward Coke (u) declares) by much his best title to the crown. (6) Whereupon the act made in his favour was so much disregarded, that it never was printed in our statute books.

Henry the Eighth, the issue of this marriage, succeeded to the crown by clear, indisputable, hereditary right, and transmitted it to his three children in successive order. But in his reign we at several times find the parliament busy in regulating the succession to the kingdom. And, first by *statute 25 [*206] Hen. VIII, c. 12, which recites the mishiefs which have and may ensue by disputed titles, because no perfect and substantial provision hath been made by law concerning the succession; and then enacts, that the crown shall be entailed to his majesty, and the sons or heirs male of his body; and in default of such sons to the Lady Elizabeth (who is declared to be the king's eldest issue female, in exclusion of the Lady Mary, on account of her supposed illegitimacy by the divorce of her mother Queen Catharine) and to the Lady Elizabeth's heirs of her body; and so on from issue female to issue female, and the heirs of their bodies, by course of inheritance according to their ages, *as the crown of England hath been accustomed, and ought to go*, in case where there be heirs female of the same: and in default of issue female, then to the king's right heirs for ever. This single statute is an ample proof of all the four positions we at first set out with.

But, upon the king's divorce from Ann Boleyn, this statute was, with regard to the settlement of the crown, repealed by statute 28 Hen. VIII, c. 7, wherein the Lady Elizabeth is also, as well as the Lady Mary, bastardized, and the crown settled on the King's children by Queen Jane Seymour, and his future wives; and, in defect of such children, then with this remarkable remainder, to such persons as the king by letters patent, or last will and testament, should limit and appoint the same: a vast power, but notwithstanding, as it was regularly vested in him by the supreme legislative authority, it was therefore indisputably valid. But this power was never carried into execution; for by statute 35 Hen. VIII, c. 1, the king's two daughters are legitimated again, and the crown is limited to Prince Edward by name, after that to the lady Mary, and then to the lady Elizabeth, and the heirs of their respective bodies; which succession took effect

(s) 4 Inst. 36.

(t) *Ibid.* 37.(u) *Ibid.* 37.

(6) [And yet it is difficult to see what title to the crown he could have gained by marrying the rightful queen.]

accordingly, being indeed no other than the usual course of the law, with regard to the descent of the crown.

But lest there should remain any doubt in the minds of the people, through this jumble of acts for limiting the succession, by statute 1 Mar. st. 2, c. 1, [*207] Queen Mary's *hereditary right to the throne is acknowledged and recognized in these words: "The crown of these realms is most lawfully, justly and rightly *descended* and come to the queen's highness that now is, being the very true and undoubted heir and inheritrix thereof." And again, upon the queen's marriage with Philip of Spain, in the statute which settles the preliminaries of that match, (x) the hereditary right to the crown is thus asserted and declared: "As touching the right of the queen's inheritance in the realm and dominions of England, the children, whether male or female, shall succeed in them, according to the known laws, statutes, and customs of the same." Which determination of the parliament, that the succession *shall* continue in the usual course seems tacitly to imply a power of new-modelling and altering it, in case the legislature had thought proper.

On Queen Elizabeth's accession, her right is recognized in still stronger terms than her sister's; the parliament acknowledging, (y) "that the queen's highness is, and in very deed and of most mere right ought to be, by the laws of God, and the laws and statutes of this realm, our most lawful and rightful sovereign liege lady and queen; and that her highness is rightly, lineally, and lawfully descended and come of the blood royal of this realm of England; in and to whose princely person, and to the heirs of her body lawfully to be begotten, after her, the imperial crown and dignity of this realm doth belong." And in the same reign, by statute 13 Eliz. c. 1, we find the right of parliament to direct the succession of the crown asserted in the most explicit words: "If any person shall hold, affirm, or maintain that the common laws of this realm, not altered by parliament, ought not to direct the right of the crown of England; or that the queen's majesty, with and by the authority of parliament, is not able to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to limit and bind the crown of this realm, and the descent, limitation, inheritance, and government thereof: [*208] such person, so holding, affirming, or maintaining, shall *during the life of the queen, be guilty of high treason; and after her decease shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and forfeit his goods and chattels."

On the death of Queen Elizabeth, without issue, the line of Henry VIII become extinct. It therefore became necessary to recur to the other issues of Henry VII, by Elizabeth of York his queen; whose eldest daughter Margaret having married James IV, King of Scotland, King James the Sixth of Scotland, and of England the First, was the lineal descendant from that alliance. So that in his person, as clearly as in Henry VIII, centered all the claims of different competitors, from the conquest downwards, he being indisputably the lineal heir of the conqueror. And, what is still more remarkable, in his person also centered the right of the Saxon monarchs, which had been suspended from the conquest till his accession. For, as was formerly observed, Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, the daughter of Edward the Outlaw, and granddaughter of King Edmund Ironside, was the person in whom the hereditary right of the Saxon kings, supposing it not abolished by the conquest, resided. She married Malcolm King of Scotland; and Henry II, by a descent from Matilda their daughter, is generally called the restorer of the Saxon line. But it must be remembered, that Malcolm by his Saxon queen had sons as well as daughters; and that the royal family of Scotland, from that time downwards, were the offspring of Malcolm and Margaret. Of this royal family, King James the First was the direct lineal heir, and therefore united in his person every possible claim by hereditary right to the English as well as Scottish throne, being the heir both of Egbert and William the conqueror.

And it is no wonder that a prince of more learning than wisdom, who could deduce an hereditary title for more than eight hundred years, should easily be

(x) 1 Mar. st. 2, c. 2.

(y) Stat. 1 Eliz. c. 3.

taught by the flatterers of the times to believe there was something divine in this right, and that the finger of Providence was visible in its *preservation. [*209] Whereas, though a wise institution, it was clearly a human institution; and the right inherent in him no natural, but a positive right. (7) And in this, and no other, light was it taken by the English parliament, who by statute 1 Jac. I, c. 1, did "recognize and acknowledge, that immediately upon the dissolution and decease of Elizabeth, late queen of England, the imperial crown thereof did by inherent birthright, and lawful and undoubted succession, descend and come to his most excellent majesty, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully, next and sole heir of the blood royal of this realm." Not a word here of any right immediately derived from heaven; which, if it existed any where, must be sought for among the *aborigines* of the island, the ancient Britons, among whose princes, indeed, some have gone to search it for him. (z)

But, wild and absurd as the doctrine of divine right most undoubtedly is, it is still more astonishing, that when so many human hereditary rights had centered in this king, his son and heir King Charles the First should be told by those infamous judges, who pronounced his unparalleled sentence, that he was an elective prince; elected by his people, and therefore accountable to them in his own proper person, for his conduct. The confusion, instability, and madness, which followed the fatal catastrophe of that pious and unfortunate prince, will be a standing argument in favor of hereditary monarchy to all future ages; as they proved at last to the then deluded people: who, in order to recover that peace and happiness which for twenty years together they had lost, in a solemn parliamentary convention of the estates, restored the right heir of the crown. And in the proclamation for that purpose, which was drawn up and attended by both houses, (a) they declared, "that according to their duty and allegiance they did heartily, joyfully, and unanimously acknowledge and proclaim, that immediately upon the *decease of our late sovereign lord King Charles, [*210] the imperial crown of these realms did by inherent birthright and lawful and undoubted succession descend and come to his most excellent majesty Charles the Second, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully, next heir of the blood royal of this realm: and thereunto they most humbly and faithfully did submit and oblige themselves, their heirs, and posterity for ever."

Thus I think it clearly appears, from the highest authority this nation is acquainted with, that the crown of England hath ever been an hereditary crown, though subject to limitations by parliament. (8) The remainder of this chapter will consist principally of those instances wherein the parliament has asserted or exercised this right of altering and limiting the succession; a right which, we have seen, was before exercised and asserted in the reigns of Henry IV, Henry VII, Henry VIII, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth.

The first instance, in point of time, is the famous bill of exclusion, which raised such a ferment in the latter end of the reign of King Charles the Second. It is well known that the purport of this bill was to have set aside the king's brother and presumptive heir, the Duke of York, from the succession, on the score of his being a papist; that it passed the house of commons, but was rejected by the lords; the king having also declared beforehand, that he never

(z) Elizabeth of York, the mother of Queen Margaret of Scotland, was heiress of the house of Mortimer. And Mr. Carte observes, that the house of Mortimer, in virtue of its descent from Gladys, only sister to Llewellyn ap Iorworth the great, had the true right to the principality of Wales. *Hist. Eng.* iii, 706.

(a) *Com. Journ.* 8 May, 1660.

(7) [It is difficult to say in what light it was considered in that parliament which, in the preamble to the statute, declares with nauseous pedantry, that, "upon the knees of their hearts, they agnize their constant faith, obedience and loyalty to his majesty and his royal progeny."]

(8) [The foregoing and subsequently related facts are evidence of the power of a legislature, and it is not easy to extract from them that any settled course of descent fundamentally regulated or controlled that power; and it is finally seen that a legislature, viz.: a convention, not a parliament, recalled King Charles II; it will as soon also be seen that another convention thought it expedient to elect, in the dry meaning of the word elect, another king and queen to replace the pertinacious, but conscientious, brother of King Charles II.]

would be brought to consent to it. And from this transaction we may collect two things: 1. That the crown was universally acknowledged to be hereditary; and the inheritance indefeasible unless by parliament: else it had been needless to prefer such a bill. 2. That the parliament had a power to have defeated the inheritance: else such a bill had been ineffectual. The commons acknowledged the hereditary right then subsisting; and the lords did not dispute the power, but merely the propriety, of an exclusion. However, as the bill took no effect, King James the Second succeeded to the throne of his ancestors; and might have enjoyed it during the remainder of his life but for his own infatuated conduct, which, with other concurring circumstances, brought on the revolution in 1688.

[*211] *The true ground and principle upon which that memorable event proceeded was an entirely new case in politics, which had never before happened in our history,—the abdication of the reigning monarch, and the vacancy of the throne thereupon. It was not a defeasance of the right of succession, and a new limitation of the crown, by the king and both houses of parliament: it was the act of the nation alone, upon a conviction that there was no king in being. For, in a full assembly of the lords and commons, met in a convention upon the supposition of this vacancy, both houses (*b*) came to this resolution: “That King James the Second, having endeavored to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and, by the advice of jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws; and having withdrawn himself out of this kingdom; has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant.” Thus ended at once, by this sudden and unexpected vacancy of the throne, the old line of succession; which from the conquest had lasted above six hundred years, and from the union of the heptarchy in King Egbert, almost nine hundred. The facts themselves thus appealed to, the king’s endeavour to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract, his violation of the fundamental laws, and his withdrawing himself out of the kingdom, were evident and notorious; and the consequences drawn from these facts, (namely, that they amounted to an abdication of the government; which abdication did not affect only the person of the king himself, but also all his heirs, and rendered the throne absolutely and completely vacant,) it belonged to our ancestors to determine. For, whenever a question arises between the society at large and any magistrate vested with powers originally delegated by that society, it must be decided by the voice of the society itself: there is not upon earth any other tribunal to resort to. And that these consequences were fairly deduced from these facts, our ancestors have solemnly determined, in a full parliamentary convention representing the whole society. The *reasons upon which they decided may be found at [*212] large in the parliamentary proceedings of the times; and may be matter of instructive amusement for us to contemplate, as a speculative point of history. But care must be taken not to carry this inquiry further than merely for instruction or amusement. The idea, that the consciences of posterity were concerned in the rectitude of their ancestors’ decisions, gave birth to those dangerous political heresies, which so long distracted the state, but at length are happily extinguished. I therefore rather choose to consider this great political measure upon the solid footing of authority, than to reason in its favor from its justice, moderation, and expediency: because that might imply a right of dissenting or revolting from it, in case we should think it to have been unjust, oppressive, or inexpedient. Whereas, our ancestors having most indisputably a competent jurisdiction to decide this great and important question, and having in fact decided it, it is now become our duty at this distance of time to acquiesce in their determination; being born under that establishment which was built upon this foundation, and obliged by every tie, religious as well as civil, to maintain it. (9)

(b) *Com. Journ.* 7 Feb. 1688.

(9) [This is not the only instance in which the learned commentator’s abstract love of liberty, coupled with his reverence for the constitution, as it is established, has involved him

But, while we rest this fundamental transaction, in point of authority, upon grounds the least liable to cavil, we are bound both in justice and gratitude to add, that it was conducted with a temper and moderation which naturally arose from its equity; that, however it might in some respects go beyond the letter of our ancient laws, (the reason of which will more fully appear hereafter,) (c) it was agreeable to the spirit of our constitution, and the rights of human nature; and that though in other points, owing to the peculiar circumstances of things and persons, it was not altogether so perfect as might have been wished, yet from thence a new æra commenced, in which the bounds of prerogative and liberty have been better defined, the principles of government more thoroughly examined and understood, and the rights of the subject more explicitly guarded by legal provisions, than in any other period of the English history. In particular it is *worthy observation that the convention, in [*213] this their judgment, avoided with great wisdom the wild extremes into which the visionary theories of some zealous republicans would have led them. They held that this misconduct of King James amounted to an *endeavour* to subvert the constitution; and not to an actual subversion, or total dissolution, of the government, according to the principles of Mr. Locke: (d) which would have reduced the society almost to a state of nature; would have levelled all distinctions of honour, rank, offices, and property: would have annihilated the sovereign power, and in consequence have repealed all positive laws; and would have left the people at liberty to have erected a new system of state upon a new foundation of polity. They therefore very prudently voted it to amount to no more than an abdication of the government, and a consequent vacancy of the throne; whereby the government was allowed to subsist, though the executive magistrate was gone, and the kingly office to remain, though King James was no longer king. (e) And thus the constitution was kept entire; which upon every sound principle of government must otherwise have fallen to pieces, had so principal and constituent a part as the royal authority been abolished, or even suspended. (10)

This single postulatam, the vacancy of the throne, being once established, the rest that was then done followed almost of course. For, if the throne be at any time vacant, (which may happen by other means besides that of abdication; as if all the blood royal should fail, without any successor appointed by parliament;) if, I say, a vacancy by any means whatsoever should happen, the right of disposing of this vacancy seems naturally to result to the lords and commons, the trustees and representatives of the nation. For there are no other hands in which it can so properly be intrusted; and there is a necessity of its being intrusted somewhere, else the whole frame of government must be dissolved and perish. The lords and commons having therefore determined this main fundamental article, that there was a vacancy of the throne, they proceeded to fill up that vacancy in such manner as they *judged the most proper. [*214] And this was done by their declaration of 12 February, 1688, (f) in the

(c) See Chap. 7.

(e) Law of forfeit, 118, 119.

(d) On Gov. p. 2, c. 19.

(f) Com. Journ. 12 Feb. 1688.

in a political fallacy. By what process of reasoning it can be demonstrated, that it is *our* duty to acquiesce in the demonstrations of our ancestors, though *they* were bound by no such obligation with regard to theirs, is not easily to be conceived. Yet such is by plain and natural inference a proposition of our author. The principle that a people have the right to choose and to regulate their own form of government, if true in 1688, does not become false, by the lapse of time; and reasoning *a priori*, it may be more safely exercised now than at any antecedent period, because the science of government is better understood. The respect and attachment due to the institutions of a free state, like ours, so far from being compromised, are included and avowed in this sentiment. And the learned commentator might have better urged the improbability of the nation again having occasion to exercise this power over the constitution, than have enforced the obligation to maintain the constitution because we are born under it.]

(10) [The unusual combination of favorable circumstances which attended this revolution, and the temper and moderation of its conductors, are well commented upon by Mr. Hallam. Const. Hist. c. 14. See also Professor Smyth's Lect. on Hist., No. 20.]

following manner: "that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared king and queen, to hold the crown and royal dignity during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in, and executed by, the said prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess, during their joint lives: and after their deceases the said crown and royal dignity to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess; and for default of such issue to the Princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange."

Perhaps, upon the principles before established, the convention might (if they pleased) have vested the regal dignity in a family entirely new, and strangers to the royal blood: but they were too well acquainted with the benefits of hereditary succession, and the influence which it has by custom over the minds of the people, to depart any farther from the ancient line than temporary necessity and self-preservation required. They therefore settled the crown, first on King William and Queen Mary, King James's eldest daughter, for their joint lives: then on the survivor of them; and then on the issue of Queen Mary: upon failure of such issue, it was limited to the Princess Anne, King James's second daughter, and her issue; and lastly, on failure of that, to the issue of King William, who was the grandson of Charles the First, and nephew as well as son-in-law of King James the Second, being the son of Mary, his eldest sister. This settlement included all the protestant posterity of King Charles I, except such other issue as King James might at any time have, which was totally omitted through fear of a popish succession. And this order of succession took effect accordingly.

These three princes, therefore, King William, Queen Mary, and Queen Anne, did not take the crown by hereditary right or *descent*, but by way of donation [*215] or *purchase*, as the *lawyers call it; by which they mean any method of acquiring an estate otherwise than by descent. The new settlement did not merely consist in excluding King James, and the person pretended to be the prince of Wales, and then suffering the crown to descend in the old hereditary channel: for the usual course of descent was in some instances broken through; and yet the convention still kept it in their eye, and paid a great, though not total, regard to it. Let us see how the succession would have stood, if no abdication had happened, and King James had left no other issue than his two daughters, Queen Mary and Queen Anne. It would have stood thus: Queen Mary and her issue; Queen Anne and her issue; King William and his issue. But we may remember, that Queen Mary was only nominally queen, jointly with her husband King William, who alone had the regal power; and King William was personally preferred to Queen Anne, though his issue was postponed to hers. Clearly, therefore, these princes were successively in possession of the crown by a title different from the usual course of descents.

It was towards the end of King William's reign, when all hopes of any surviving issue from any of these princes died with the Duke of Gloucester, that the king and parliament thought it necessary again to exert their power of limiting and appointing the succession, in order to prevent another vacancy of the throne; which must have ensued upon their deaths, as no farther provision was made at the revolution than for the issue of Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and King William. The parliament had previously, by the statute of 1 W. and M. st. 2, c. 2, enacted, that every person who should be reconciled to, or hold communion with, the see of Rome, should profess the popish religion, or should marry a papist, should be excluded, and be forever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the crown; and that in such case the people should be absolved from their allegiance, and the crown should descend to such persons, being protestants, as would have inherited the same, in case the person so reconciled, holding communion, professing, or marrying, were naturally dead. To act therefore [*216] consistently with themselves, and at the same *time pay as much regard to the old hereditary line as their former resolutions would admit, they

turned their eyes on the Princess Sophia, electress and duchess dowager of Hanover, the most accomplished princess of her age. (*g*) For, upon the impending extinction of the protestant posterity of Charles the First, the old law of legal descent directed them to recur to the descendants of James the First; and the Princess Sophia, being the youngest daughter of Elizabeth queen of Bohemia, who was the daughter of James the First, was the nearest of the ancient blood royal, who was not incapacitated by professing the popish religion. On her, therefore, and the heirs of her body, being protestants, the remainder of the crown, expectant on the death of King William and Queen Anne without issue, was settled by statute 12 and 13 W. III, c. 2. And at the same time it was enacted, that whosoever should hereafter come to the possession of the crown should join in the communion of the church of England as by law established.

This is the last limitation of the crown that has been made by parliament: and these several actual limitations, from the time of Henry IV, to the present, do clearly prove the power of the king and parliament to new-model or alter the succession. And indeed it is now again made highly penal to dispute it: for by the statute 6 Ann. c. 7, it is enacted, that if any person maliciously, advisedly, and directly, shall maintain, by writing or printing, that the kings of this realm with the authority of parliament are not able to make laws to bind the crown and the descent thereof, he shall be guilty of high treason; or if he maintains the same by only preaching, teaching, or advised speaking, he shall incur the penalties of a *præmunire*.

The Princess Sophia dying before Queen Anne, the inheritance thus limited descended on her son and heir King George the First; and, having on the death of the queen taken effect in his person, from him it descended to his late majesty King George the Second; and from him to his grandson and heir, our present gracious sovereign, King George the Third.

*Hence it is easy to collect, that the title to the crown is at present hereditary, though not quite so absolutely hereditary as formerly: and [*217] the common stock or ancestor, from whom the descent must be derived, is also different. Formerly the common stock was King Egbert; then William the Conqueror; afterwards in James the First's time the two common stocks united, and so continued till the vacancy of the throne in 1688: now it is the Princess Sophia, in whom the inheritance was vested by the new king and parliament. Formerly the descent was absolute, and the crown went to the next heir without any restriction: but now, upon the new settlement, the inheritance is conditional; being limited to such heirs only, of the body of the Princess Sophia, as are protestant members of the church of England, and are married to none but protestants.

And in this due medium consists, I apprehend, the true constitutional notion of the right of succession to the imperial crown of these kingdoms. The extremes, between which it steers, are each of them equally destructive of those ends for which societies were formed and kept on foot. Where the magistrate, upon every succession, is elected by the people, and may by the express provision of the laws be deposed (if not punished) by his subjects, this may sound like the perfection of liberty, and look well enough when delineated on paper; but in practice will be ever productive of tumult, contention and anarchy. And, on the other hand, divine, indefeasible, hereditary right, when coupled with the doctrine of unlimited passive obedience, is surely of all constitutions the most thoroughly slavish and dreadful. But when such an hereditary right, as our laws have created and vested in the royal stock, is closely interwoven with those liberties, which, we have seen in a former chapter, are equally the inheritance of the subject; this union will form a constitution, in theory the most beautiful of any, in practice the most approved, and, I trust, in

(*g*) Sandford, in his genealogical history, published A. D. 1677, speaking of the princesses Elizabeth, Louisa, and Sophia, daughters of the queen of Bohemia, says, the first was reputed the most learned, the second the greatest artist, and the last one of the most accomplished ladies in Europe.

duration the most permanent. It was the duty of an expounder of our laws to lay this constitution before the student in its true and genuine light: it is the duty of every good Englishman to understand, to revere, to defend it. (11)

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE KING'S ROYAL FAMILY.

The first and most considerable branch of the king's royal family, regarded by the laws of England, is the queen.

The queen of England is either queen *regent*, queen *consort*, or queen *dowager*. The queen *regent*, *regnant*, or *sovereign*, is she who holds the crown in her own right; as the first (and perhaps the second) Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, and Queen Anne; and such a one has the same powers, prerogatives, rights, dignities, and duties, as if she had been a king. This was observed in the entrance of the last chapter, and is expressly declared by statute 1 Mar. I, st. 3, c. 1. But the queen *consort* is the wife of the reigning king; and she, by virtue of her marriage, is participant of divers prerogatives above other women. (a)

And first, she is a public person, exempt and distinct from the king: and not, like other married women, so closely connected as to have lost all legal or separate existence so long as the marriage continues. For the queen is of

(a) Finch, L. 86.

(11) By the constitution of the United States the president, who is the federal executive, is chosen by electors, who are themselves chosen by the people of the several states to perform that duty. Each state appoints 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: Const. art. 2, § 1; and those electors meet in the respective states and vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of the persons voted for, at least, not being an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; the result of which voting is transmitted to the seat of government, and canvassed in joint convention of the two houses of congress. If no one person have a majority of all the votes cast for president, the house of representatives proceeds immediately to choose a president by ballot, from the persons, not exceeding three, having the highest number of votes; but in this election they vote by states, the representation of each state being entitled to one vote, and a majority of all the states being necessary to a choice. If no person has a majority of all the votes cast for vice-president, the senate, from the two highest numbers on the list, chooses a vice-president; a majority vote of a quorum of two-thirds of all the senators being requisite to an election. Const. 12th amendment. No person is eligible to either of these offices except a natural born citizen, or one who was a citizen at the time of the adoption of the constitution, and who has attained the age of thirty-five years. Const. art. 2, § 1.

In case of the removal of the president from office or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the same devolve on the vice-president. Const. art. 2, § 1. And in case of vacancy in the office of vice-president, then such powers and duties devolve upon the president *pro tem.* of the senate, or, if there be no such officer, then upon the speaker of the house of representatives for the time being. 1 Stat. at Large, 239. And if the house of representatives shall not choose a president when the right devolves upon them, by the fourth day of March next following, the vice-president becomes acting president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president. Const. 12th amendment. The president and vice-president, like all other civil officers, are subject to be removed from office, on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors. Const. art. 2, § 4.

By the constitution, as originally adopted, the electors chosen in the states cast their votes for two persons, without designating which was their choice for president and which for vice-president, and the persons having the highest number, if a majority of all, became president, and the one having the next highest number, if a majority, became vice-president; but, when party lines came to be distinctly drawn, so that the candidates of one party, in the absence of intrigue or bad faith, were likely always to receive the same number of votes, the purpose of this scheme of election was wholly defeated, and the constitution, after the exciting election of Mr. Jefferson by the house of representatives over Mr. Burr, who had been candidate before the people for the second position only, was changed as above shown.

ability to purchase lands, and to convey them, to make leases, to grant copyholds, and do other acts of ownership, without the concurrence of her lord; which no other married woman can do: (*b*) a privilege as old as the Saxon era. (*c*) She is also capable of taking a grant from the king, which no other wife is from her husband; and in this particular she agrees with the *Augusta*, or *piissima regina conjux divi imperatoris* of the Roman laws; who, according to Justinian, (*d*) was equally *capable of making a grant to, and receiving one from, the emperor. The queen of England hath separate courts [*219] and offices distinct from the king's, not only in matters of ceremony, but even of law; and her attorney and solicitor general are entitled to a place within the bar of his majesty's courts, together with the king's counsel. (*e*) She may likewise sue and be sued alone, without joining her husband. She may also have a separate property in goods, as well as lands, and has a right to dispose of them by will. In short, she is in all legal proceedings looked upon as a feme sole, and not as a feme covert; as a single, not as a married woman. (*f*) For which the reason given by Sir Edward Coke is this: because the wisdom of the common law would not have the king, (whose continual care and study is for the public and *circa ardua regni*,) to be troubled and disquieted on account of his wife's domestic affairs; and therefore it vests in the queen a power of transacting her own concerns, without the intervention of the king, as if she was an unmarried woman.

The queen hath also many exemptions and minute prerogatives. For instance: she pays no toll; (*g*) nor is she liable to amercement in any court. (*h*) But in general, unless where the law has expressly declared her exempted, she is upon the same footing with other subjects; being to all intents and purposes, the king's subject, and not his equal: in like manner as, in the imperial law, "*Augusta legibus soluta non est*." (*i*)

The queen hath also some pecuniary advantages, which form her a distinct revenue: as in the first place, she is entitled to an ancient perquisite called queen-gold, *aurum reginæ*, which is a royal revenue, belonging to every queen consort during her marriage with the king, and due from every person who hath made a voluntary offering or fine to the king, amounting to ten marks or upwards, for and in consideration of any privileges, grants, licences, pardons, or *other matter of royal favour conferred upon him by the king: and it [*220] is due in the proportion of one tenth part more, over and above the entire offering or fine made to the king; and becomes an actual debt of record to the queen's majesty by the mere recording of the fine. (*k*) (1) As, if an hundred marks of silver be given to the king for liberty to take in mortmain, or to have a fair, market, park, chase, or free-warren: there the queen is entitled to ten marks in silver, or (what was formerly an equivalent denomination) to one mark in gold, by the name of queen-gold, or *aurum reginæ*. (*l*) But no such payment is due for any aids or subsidies granted to the king in parliament or convocation; nor for fines imposed by courts on offenders, against their will; nor for voluntary presents to the king, without any consideration moving from him to the subject; nor for any sale or contract whereby the present revenues or possessions of the crown are granted away or diminished. (*m*)

The original revenue of our ancient queens, before and soon after the conquest, seems to have consisted in certain reservations or rents out of the demesne lands of the crown, which were expressly appropriated to her majesty, distinct from the king. It is frequent, in domesday book, after specifying the rent

(*b*) 4 Rep. 23.

(*c*) Seld. *Jan. Angl.* 1. 42. The instance meant, loc. citat. is where Æthelswith, wife to Burghred, king of the Mercians, granted a patent to Cuthwals. (*d*) Cod. 5. 16. 26. (*e*) Seld. tit. hon. I. 6. 7.

(*f*) Finch. L. 86. Co. Litt. 133.

(*g*) Co. Litt. 133.

(*h*) Finch. L. 185.

(*i*) *Fy.* 1. 3. 31.

(*k*) Pryn. *Aur. reg.* 2.

(*l*) 12 Rep. 21. 4 Inst. 358.

(*m*) Ibid. Pryn. 6. Madox, *Hist. Exch.* 242.

(1) [Lord Littleton enters at some length into this subject of fines to the king as one considerable source of the royal revenue in the early periods of our Anglo-Norman history, and cites from Madox a vast number of instances, some indeed ludicrous, but all scandalous and tyrannical, in which fines were paid. Henry II, book 2.]

due to the crown, to add likewise the quantity of gold or other renders reserved to the queen. (*n*) These were frequently appropriated to particular purposes; to buy wool for her majesty's use, (*o*) to purchase oil for her lamps, (*p*) or to furnish her attire from head to foot, (*q*) which was frequently very costly, as one [*221] single robe, in the fifth year of Henry II, *stood the city of London in upwards of fourscore pounds. (*r*) A practice somewhat similar to that of the eastern countries, where whole cities and provinces were specifically assigned to purchase particular parts of the queen's apparel. (*s*) And, for a further addition to her income, this duty of queen-gold is supposed to have been originally granted; those matters of grace and favour, out of which it arose, being frequently obtained from the crown by the powerful intercession of the queen. There are traces of its payment, though obscure ones, in the book of domesday, and in the great pipe-roll of Henry the First. (*t*) In the reign of Henry the Second the manner of collecting it appears to have been well understood, and forms a distinct head in the ancient dialogue of the exchequer, (*u*) written in the time of that prince, and usually attributed to Gervase of Tilbury. From that time downwards it was regularly claimed and enjoyed by all the queen consorts of England till the death of Henry VIII; though, after the accession of the Tudor family, the collecting of it seems to have been much neglected: and there being no queen consort afterwards till the accession of James I, a period of near sixty years, its very nature and quantity became then a matter of doubt; and, being referred by the king to the chief justices and chief baron, their report of it was so very unfavorable, (*v*) that his consort Queen Anne (though she claimed it) yet never thought proper to exact it. In 1635, 11 Car. I, a time fertile of expedients for raising money upon dormant precedents in our old records (of which ship-money was a fatal instance,) the king, at the petition of his queen, Henrietta Maria, issued out his writ (*w*) for levying it; but afterwards purchased it of his consort at the price of ten thousand pounds; finding it, perhaps, too trifling and troublesome to levy. And when afterwards, at the [*222] restoration, by *the abolition of the military tenures, and the fines that were consequent upon them, the little that legally remained of this revenue was reduced to almost nothing at all, in vain did Mr. Prynne, by a treatise which does honour to his abilities as a painful and judicious antiquary, endeavour to excite Queen Catharine to revive this antiquated claim.

Another ancient perquisite belonging to the queen consort, mentioned by all our old writers, (*x*) and, therefore only, worthy notice, is this: that, on the taking of a whale on the coast, which is a royal fish, it shall be divided between the king and queen; the head only being the king's property, and the tail of it the queen's. "*De sturgoine observetur, quod rex illum habebit integrum: de balena vero sufficit, si rex habeat caput, et regina caudam.*" The reason of this whimsical division, assigned by our ancient records, (*y*) was, to furnish the queen's wardrobe with whalebone. (2)

But farther, though the queen is in all respects a subject, yet, in point of the security of her life and person, she is put on the same footing with the king. It is equally treason (by the statute 25 Edw. III,) to compass or imagine the death

(*n*) *Bedefordscire Maner. Lestone redd. per annum xxii lib. ꝥc.; ad opus regine ii uncias auri.—Herefordscire. In Lene, ꝥc., consuetud. ut præpositus maneris veniente domina sua (regina) in maner, præsentaret ei xviij oras denar. ut esset ipsa læto animo.* Pryn. Append. to Aur. Reg. 2, 3.

(*o*) *Causa coadunandi lanam regine.* Domesd. *ibid.*

(*p*) *Civitas London. Pro oleo ad lampad. regine.* (Mag. rot. pip. temp. Hen. II, *ibid.*)

(*q*) *Viccomes Berkeschire. xvi l. pro cappa regine.* (Mag. rot. pip. 19.—22 Hen. II, *ibid.*) *Civitas Lund cordubario regine xx s.* (Mag. rot. 2 Hen. II. Madox. Hist. Exch. 419.)

(*r*) *Pro roba ad opus regine, quater xx l. et vi s viii d.* (Mag. rot. 5 Hen. II, *ibid.* 250.)

(*s*) *Solere atund barbaros reges Persiarum ac Syrorum—uzoribus civitates attribueri, hoc modo; hæc civitates mulieri redimiculum præbeat, hæc in collum, hæc in crines, &c.* (Cic. in Verrem, lib. 3. cap. 33.)

(*t*) See Madox, *Disceptat. Epistolæ*. 74. Pryn. Aur. Reg. Append. 5. (*u*) *Lib. 2, c. 26.*

(*v*) Mr. Prynne, with some appearance of reason, insinuates that their researches were very superficial. (Aur. Reg. 125.)

(*w*) 19 Rym. Fed. 721.

(*x*) Bracton, l. 3, c. 3. Britton, c 17. Flet. l. 1, c. 45 et 46.

(*y*) Pryn. Aur. Reg. 127.

(2) [The reason is more whimsical than the division, for the whalebone lies entirely in the head.]

of our lady the king's companion, as of the king himself: and to violate, or defile the queen consort, amounts to the same high crime; as well in the person committing the fact, as in the queen herself, if consenting. A law of Henry the Eighth (z) made it treason also for any woman, who was not a virgin, to marry the king without informing him thereof: but this law was soon after repealed, (3) it trespassing too strongly as well on natural justice as female modesty. If, however, the queen be accused of any species of treason, she shall, (whether consort or dowager) be tried by the peers of parliament, as Queen Ann Boleyn was in 28 Hen. VIII.

The husband of a queen regnant, as Prince George of Denmark was to Queen Anne, is her subject: and may be guilty of high treason against her: but, in the instance of conjugal infidelity, he is not subjected to the same penal *restrictions, for which the reason seems to be that, if a queen consort [*223] is unfaithful to the royal bed, this may debase or bastardize the heirs to the crown; but no such danger can be consequent on the infidelity of the husband to a queen regnant.

A queen *dowager* is the widow of the king, and, as such, enjoys most of the privileges belonging to her as queen consort. But it is not high treason to conspire her death, or to violate her chastity, for the same reason as was before alleged, because the succession to the crown is not thereby endangered. Yet still, *pro dignitate regali*, no man can marry a queen dowager without special licence from the king, on pain of forfeiting his lands and goods. This, Sir Edward Coke (a) tells us, was enacted in parliament in 6 Hen. VI, though the statute be not in print. But she, though an alien born, shall still be entitled to dower after the king's demise, which no other alien is. (b) A queen dowager, when married again to a subject, doth not lose her regal dignity, as peeresses dowager do their peerage when they marry commoners. For Catherine, queen dowager of Henry V, though she married a private gentleman, Owen ap Meredith ap Theodore, commonly called Owen Tudor, yet, by the name of Catherine, queen of England, maintained an action against the bishop of Carlisle. (4) And so, the queen dowager of Navarre, marrying with Edmond earl of Lancaster, brother to King Edward the First, maintained an action of dower (after the death of her second husband) by the name of queen of Navarre. (c)

The prince of Wales, or heir-apparent to the crown, and also his royal consort, and the princess royal, or eldest daughter of the king, are likewise peculiarly regarded by the laws. For, by statute 25 Edw. III, to compass or conspire the death of the former, or to violate the chastity of either of the latter, are as much high treason as to conspire the death of the king, or violate the chastity of the queen. And this upon the same reason as was before given: because the prince of Wales is next in succession to the crown, and to violate his wife might taint the blood royal with bastardy: and the eldest daughter of the king is also alone inheritable to the *crown, on failure of issue male, and therefore more [*224] respected by the laws than any of her younger sisters, insomuch that upon this, united with other (feudal) principles, while our military tenures were in force, the king might levy an aid for marrying his eldest daughter, and her only. The heir-apparent to the crown is usually made prince of Wales, (5) and

(z) Stat. 33 Hen. VIII, c. 21. (a) 2 Inst. 18. See Riley's Plac. Parl. 672. (b) Co. Litt. 31. b. (c) 2 Inst. 50.

(3) [This was a clause in the act, which attainted Queen Catharine Howard, and her accomplices, for her incontinence; but it was not repealed till the 1 Edw. VI, c. 12, which abrogated all treasons created since the memorable statute in the 25 Edw. III.]

(4) [The foregoing proposition is not really illustrated by the case of Catherine, inasmuch as her marriage with Tudor was carefully concealed, and not discovered till after her burial, when it produced great public excitement and uproar, as she left four children. It is needless to remind the reader that Tudor proved the ancestor of a new dynasty of British sovereigns.]

(5) [This creation has not been confined to the heir-apparent, for both Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth were created by their father, Henry VIII, princesses of Wales, each of them at the time (the latter after the illegitimation of Mary) being heir presumptive to the crown. 4 Hume, 113.

Edward II was the first prince of Wales. When his father had subdued the kingdom of

earl of Chester, by special creation, and investiture: but, being the king's eldest son, he is by inheritance duke of Cornwall, without any new creation. (6)

The rest of the royal family may be considered in two different lights, according to the different senses in which the term *royal family* is used. The larger sense includes all those who are by any possibility inheritable to the crown. Such, before the revolution, were all the descendants of William the Conqueror, who had branched into an amazing extent, by intermarriages with the ancient nobility. Since the revolution and act of settlement, it means the protestant issue of the Princess Sophia; now comparatively few in number, but which, in process of time, may possibly be as largely diffused. The more confined sense includes only those, who are within a certain degree of propinquity to the reigning prince, and to whom, therefore, the law pays an extraordinary regard and respect; but, after that degree is past, they fall into the rank of ordinary subjects, and are seldom considered any farther, unless called to the succession upon failure of the nearer lines. For, though collateral consanguinity is regarded indefinitely, with respect to inheritance or succession, yet it is and can only be regarded within some certain limits, in any other respect, by the natural constitution of things and the dictates of positive law. (e)

The younger sons and daughters of the king, and other branches of the royal family, who are not in the immediate line of succession, were therefore little farther regarded by the ancient law, than to give them, to a certain degree, precedence before all peers and public officers, as well ecclesiastical as temporal.

[*225] This is done by the statute 31 Hen. VIII, c. 10, *which enacts that no person, except the king's children, shall presume to sit or have place at the side of the cloth of estate in the parliament chamber; and that certain great officers therein named shall have precedence above all dukes, except only such as shall happen to be the king's son, brother, uncle, nephew, (which Sir Edward Coke (f) explains to signify grandson or *nepos*), or brother's or sister's son. Therefore, after these degrees are past, peers or others of the *blood royal* are entitled to no place or precedence except what belongs to them by their personal rank or dignity: which made Sir Edward Walker complain, (g) that by the hasty creation of Prince Rupert to be duke of Cumberland, and of the earl of Lenox to be duke of that name, previous to the creation of King Charles' second son, James, to be duke of York, it might happen that their grandsons would have precedence of the grandsons of the duke of York.

Indeed under the description of the king's *children* his *grandsons* are held to be included, without having recourse to Sir Edward Coke's interpretation of *nephew*; and therefore when his late majesty King George II created his grandson Edward, the second son of Frederick, prince of Wales, deceased, duke of York, and referred it to the house of lords to settle his place and precedence,

(d) 8 Rep. 1. Seld. Tit. of Hon. 2, 5.

(e) See *Essay on Collateral Consanguinity*, in *Law Tracts*, 4to: Oxon. 1771. (f) 4 Inst. 362. (g) *Tracts*, p. 301.

Wales, he promised the people of that country, upon condition of their submission, to give them a prince who had been born among them, and who could speak no other language.

Upon their acquiescence with this deceitful offer, he conferred the principality of Wales upon his second son, Edward, then an infant. Edward, by the death of his eldest brother, Alfonso, became heir to the crown, and from that time, this honor has been appropriated only to the eldest sons or eldest daughters of the kings of England. 2 Hume, 243.]

(6) [The king's eldest living son and heir apparent takes, under the grant ann. 11 E. III, the dukedom of Cornwall, and retains it during the king, his father's life: on the accession of such duke to the crown, the duchy vests in the king's eldest son living, and heir-apparent. But, if there be no eldest son and heir-apparent, the dukedom remains with the king, the heir-presumptive in no case being entitled to the dukedom. See 1 Ves. 294; Collin's Bar. 148. The rule may be shortly stated: until a prince be born, the king is seized; but when born, the prince becomes seized in fee of the possessions; and, except as to presentations to benefices, leases generally made by the king are voidable by *scire facias*, sued at the instance of the prince. See Com. Dig. tit. Roy, Geo. V. Id. 280, 281; Ca. Ch. 215. But, as to what leases or grants made by the king shall be good, see stat. 33 Geo. II, c. 10. If the eldest son die, and leave a son, such son would not take; but the duchy reverts to the crown. And there is no minority with reference to the possessions of a duke of Cornwall.

they certified (*h*) that he ought to have place next to the late duke of Cumberland, the then king's youngest son; and that he might have a seat on the left hand of the cloth of estate. But when, on the accession of his present majesty, those royal personages ceased to take place as the *children*, and ranked only as the *brother* and *uncle*, of the king; they also left their seats on the side of the cloth of estate; so that when the duke of Gloucester, his majesty's second brother, took his seat in the house of peers, (*i*) he was placed on the upper end of the earl's bench (on which the dukes usually sit) next to his royal highness the duke of York. And in 1718, upon a question referred to all the judges by King George I, it was resolved, by the opinion of ten against the other two, that the education and care of all the king's grandchildren while minors did belong of right to his majesty, as king of this realm, even during their father's life. (*k*) But they all agreed, that the care and approbation of their marriages, when grown up, belonged to the king their grandfather. (7) And the judges have more recently concurred in opinion, (*l*) that this care and approbation extend also to the presumptive heir of the crown; though to what other branches of the royal family the same did extend, they did not find precisely determined. The most frequent instances of the crown's interposition go no farther than nephews and nieces; (*m*) but examples are not wanting of its reaching to more distant collaterals. (*n*) And the statute 6 Hen. VI, before mentioned, which prohibits the marriage of a queen dowager without the consent of the king, assigns this reason for it: (8) "because the disparagement of the queen shall give greater comfort and example to other ladies of estate, who are of the *blood-royal*, more lightly to disparage themselves." (*o*) Therefore by the statute 28 Hen. VIII, c. 18, (repealed, among other statutes of treasons, by 1 Edw. VI, c. 12,) it was made high treason, for any man to contract marriage with the king's children, or reputed children, his sisters or aunts *ex parte paterna*, or the children of his brethren or sisters; being exactly the same degrees to which precedence is allowed by the statute 31 Hen. VIII, before mentioned. And now, by statute 12 Geo. III, c. 11, no descendant of the body of King George II, (other than the issue of princesses married into foreign families) is capable of contracting matrimony, without the previous consent of the king signified under the great seal; and any marriage contracted without such consent is void. Provided, that such of the said descendants as are above the age of twenty-five may, after a twelvemonth's notice given to the king's privy council, contract and solemnize marriage without the consent of the crown; unless both houses of parliament shall, before the expiration of the said year, expressly declare their disapprobation of such intended marriage. And all persons solemnizing, assisting, or being present at, any such prohibited marriage, shall incur the penalties of the statute of *præmunire*." (9)

(*h*) Lords' Journ. 24 Apr. 1760.

(*i*) Lords' Journ. 10 Jan. 1765.

(*k*) Fortesc. Al. 401—440.

(*l*) Lords' Journ. 28 Feb. 1772.

(*m*) See (besides the instances cited in Fortescue Aland) for *brothers* and *sisters*; under king Edward III, 4 Rym. 392, 403, 411, 501, 508, 512, 549, 683—under Henry V. 9 Rym. 710, 711, 741—under Edward IV. 11 Rym. 564, 565, 590, 601—under Henry VIII. 13 Rym. 249, 423—under Edward VI. 7 St. Tr. 3, 8. For *nephews* and *nieces*; under Henry III. 1 Rym. 852—under Edward I. 2 Rym. 489—under Edward III. 5 Rym. 561—under Richard II. 7 Rym. 284—under Richard III. 12 Rym. 232, 244—under Henry VIII. 12 Rym. 26, 31.

(*n*) To *great nieces*; under Edward II. 5 Rym. 575, 644. To *first cousins*; under Edward II. 5 Rym. 177. To *second and third cousins*; under Edward III. 5 Rym. 729—under Richard II. 7 Rym. 225—under Henry VI. 10 Rym. 322—under Henry VII. 12 Rym. 529—under queen Elizabeth, Camd. Ann. A. D. 1562. To *fourth cousins*; under Henry VII. 12 Rym. 329. To the *blood-royal* in general; under Richard II. 7 Rym. 787.

(*o*) Bill. Plac. Parl. 672.

(7) A full report of the arguments of the judges may be seen in State Trials, vol. xi. 296.

(8) [The occasion of this statute was the marriage of Catharine, mother to Henry VI, with Owen Tudor, a private gentleman. See p. 223.]

(9) In 1793 the Duke of Sussex was married while in Rome to the Lady Augusta Murray, without the consent of the crown; and on his return to England caused the marriage to be celebrated anew. Some question was made whether the marriage act could have any force beyond the British dominions, and the king directed a suit for the nullity of the marriage to be instituted. This was done accordingly, and the court of arches declared the marriage absolutely null and void. *Heseltine v. Lady Murray*, 2 Add. 400. This, however, did not put

CHAPTER V.

OF THE COUNCILS BELONGING TO THE KING.

THE third point of view, in which we are to consider the king, is with regard to his councils. For, in order to assist him in the discharge of his duties, the maintenance of his dignity, and the exertion of his prerogative, the law hath assigned him a diversity of councils to advise with.

1. The first of these is the high court of parliament, whereof we have already treated at large.

2. Secondly, the peers of the realm are by their birth hereditary counsellors of the crown, and may be called together by the king to impart their advice in all matters of importance to the realm, either in time of parliament, or, which hath been their principal use, when there is no parliament in being. (*a*) Accordingly Bracton, (*b*) speaking of the nobility of his time, says they might probably be called "*consules, a consulendo; regis enim tales sibi associant ad consulendum.*" And in our law books (*c*) it is laid down that peers are created for two reasons: 1, *ad consulendum*; 2, *ad defendendum regem*: on which account the law gives them certain great and high privileges; such as freedom from arrests, &c., even when no parliament is sitting; because it intends, that they are always assisting the king with their counsel for the commonwealth, or keeping the realm in safety by their prowess and valour.

[*228] *Instances of conventions of the peers, to advise the king, have been in former times very frequent, though now fallen into disuse by reason of the more regular meetings of parliament. Sir Edward Coke (*d*) gives us an extract of a record, 5 Hen. IV, concerning an exchange of lands between the king and the earl of Northumberland, wherein the value of each was agreed to be settled by advice of parliament, (if any should be called before the feast of Saint Lucia), or otherwise by advice of the grand council of peers, which the king promises to assemble before the said feast, in case no parliament shall be called. Many other instances of this kind of meeting are to be found under our ancient kings; though the formal method of convoking them had been so long left off, that when King Charles I, in 1640, issued out writs under the great seal to call a great council of all the peers of England to meet and attend his majesty at York, previous to the meeting of the long parliament, the earl of Clarendon (*e*) mentions it as a new invention, not before heard of; that is, as he explains himself, so old that it had not been practiced in some hundreds of years. But, though there had not so long before been an instance, nor has there been any since, of assembling them in so solemn a manner, yet in cases of emergency our princes have at several times thought proper to call for and consult as many of

(*a*) Co. Litt. 110.

(*b*) L. 1, c. 8.

(*c*) 7 Rep. 34, 9 Rep. 49, 12 Rep. 96.

(*d*) 1 Inst. 110.

(*e*) Hist. b. 2.

the question at rest, and in 1843, on the death of the duke of Sussex, Sir Augustus D'Este, the son of his royal highness by this marriage, claimed the dukedom and other honors of his father. There was no objection to the marriage in point of form; it having been celebrated according to the rites of the church of England, by a clergyman of the establishment, and it would unquestionably have been good but for the prohibition of the royal marriage act. The judges were unanimously of opinion that the prohibition was personal, and followed the members of the royal family wherever they might go; and the house of lords concurring in this opinion, it was decided that Sir Augustus had not made out his claim. 11 Cl. and Fin. 85.

A later statute than the one referred to in the text, 3 and 4 Vic. c. 52, § 4, forbids a marriage by the king or queen when under a regency, and before arriving at the age of eighteen years, without the consent in writing of the regent and the two houses of parliament; and makes every such marriage without the required consent void, and the persons concerned therein guilty of high treason.

the nobility as could easily be got together; as was particularly the case with King James the Second, after the landing of the prince of Orange, and with the prince of Orange himself, before he called that convention parliament, which afterwards called him to the throne.

Besides this general meeting, it is usually looked upon to be the right of each particular peer of the realm to demand an audience of the king, and to lay before him, with decency and respect, such matters as he shall judge of importance to the public weal. And therefore, in the reign of Edward II, it was made an article of impeachment in parliament against *the two Hugh [*229] Spencers, father and son, for which they were banished the kingdom, "that they by their evil covin would not suffer the great men of the realm the king's good counsellors, to speak with the king, or to come near him, but only in the presence and hearing of the said Hugh the father and Hugh the son, or one of them, and at their will, and according to such things as pleased them." (f)

3. A third council belonging to the king are, according to Sir Edward Coke, (g) his judges of the courts of law, for law matters. And this appears frequently in our statutes, particularly 14 Edw. III, c. 5, and in other books of law. So that when the king's council is mentioned generally, it must be defined, particularized, and understood, *secundum subjectam materiam*; and, if the subject be of a legal nature, then by the king's council is understood his council for matters of law, namely his judges. Therefore when by stat. 16 Ric. II, c. 5, it was made a high offence to import into this kingdom any papal bulls, or other processes from Rome; and it was enacted, that the offenders should be attached by their bodies, and brought before the king and his *council* to answer for such offence; here, by the expression of the king's *council* were understood the king's judges of his courts of justice, the subject matter being legal; this being the general way of interpreting the word *council*. (h) (1)

4. But the principal council belonging to the king is his privy council, which is generally called, by way of eminence, *the council*. And this, according to Sir Edward Coke's description of it, (i) is a noble, honourable, and reverend assembly, of the king and such as he wills to be of his privy council, in the king's court or palace. The king's will is the sole constituent of a privy councillor; and this also regulates their number, which of ancient time was twelve or thereabouts. Afterwards it increased to so large a number, that it was found inconvenient for secrecy and dispatch; and *therefore King Charles the [*230] Second in 1679 limited it to thirty; whereof fifteen were to be the principal officers of state, and those to be counsellors, *virtute officii*; and the other fifteen were composed of ten lords and five commoners of the king's choosing. (k) But since that time the number has been much augmented, and now continues indefinite. (2) At the same time, also, the ancient office of lord president of the

(f) 4 Inst. 53.

(g) 1 Inst. 110.

(h) 3 Inst. 125.

(i) 4 Inst. 53.

(k) Temple's Mem. Part. 8.

(1) Mr. Justice Coleridge doubts this interpretation, and is inclined to the opinion that the tribunal referred to is that out of which subsequently grew the courts of chancery and star chamber. And see Hallam, Const. Hist. c. 1.

(2) In modern usage the following officers of state have seats in the Queen's chief council or "Cabinet" as it is usually called: The first lord of the treasury, the chancellor of the exchequer, the five principal secretaries of State, the first lord of the Admiralty, and the lord high Chancellor. But it is also customary to include among the number the lord President of the Council, and the lord Privy Seal. Several other ministerial functionaries usually have seats in the cabinet; never less than three and rarely so many as seven or eight, in addition to those above mentioned. The selection is made either from amongst such of the principal officers of state and heads of departments having seats in parliament, whose rank, talents, political reputation and weight would be likely to render them the most useful auxiliaries, or from those whose services to their party while in opposition may have given them the strongest claims to this distinction. Todd. Parl. Gov. Vol. 2, p. 153.

Persons may be called to the "cabinet," however, without being incumbents of any office, as was the case of the earl of Carlisle in the ministry of Earl Grey. All the members are not

council was revived in the person of Anthony, earl of Shaftsbury; an officer that by the statute of 31 Hen. VIII, c. 10, has precedence next after the lord chancellor and lord treasurer.

Privy counsellors are *made* by the king's nomination, without either patent or grant; and, on taking the necessary oaths, they become immediately privy counsellors during the life of the king that chooses them, but subject to removal at his discretion.

As to the *qualifications* of members to sit at this board: any natural born subject of England is capable of being a member of the privy council, taking the proper oaths for security of the government, and the test for security of the church. (3) But, in order to prevent any persons under foreign attachments from insinuating themselves into this important trust, as happened in the reign of King William in many instances, it is enacted by the act of settlement, (1) that no person born out of the dominions of the crown of England, unless born of English parents, even though naturalized by parliament, shall be capable of being of the privy council.

The *duty* of a privy counsellor appears from the oath of office, (m) which consists of seven articles: 1. To advise the king according to the best of his cunning and discretion. 2. To advise for the king's honour and good of the public, without partiality through affection, love, meed, doubt, or dread. 3. To keep the king's council secret. 4. To avoid corruption. 5. To help and [*231] strengthen the execution of what *shall be there resolved. 6. To withstand all persons who would attempt the contrary. And lastly, in general, 7. To observe, keep, and do, all that a good and true counsellor ought to do to his sovereign lord.

The *power* of the privy council is to inquire into all offences against the government, and to commit the offenders to safe custody, in order to take their trial in some of the courts of law. But their jurisdiction herein is only to inquire, and not to punish; and the persons committed by them are entitled to their *habeas corpus* by statute 16 Car. 1, c. 10, as much as if committed by an ordinary justice of the peace. And by the same statute, the court of star chamber, and the court of requests, both of which consisted of privy counsellors, were dissolved; and it was declared illegal for them to take cognizance of any matter of property belonging to the subjects of this kingdom. But in plantation or admiralty causes, which arise out of the jurisdiction of this kingdom; and in matters of lunacy or idiocy, (n) being a special flower of the prerogative; with regard to these, although they may eventually involve questions of extensive property, the privy council continues to have cognizance, being the court of appeal in such cases, or rather the appeal lies to the king's majesty himself in council. (4) Whenever also a question arises between two provinces in America

(1) Stat. 12 and 13 Will. III, c. 2.

(m) 4 Inst. 54.

(n) 3 P. Wms. 108.

necessarily called to every meeting, but only those are summoned whose advice and assistance are required on the particular occasion.

In practice an administration is formed by some one selected by the queen for the purpose, who is called the prime minister or premier, and who will fill the important offices of state with those who are friendly to his policy. The premier himself usually becomes first lord of the treasury, but sometimes selects some other position. The cabinet must contain members of both houses of parliament. Sometimes a judge has been called to a seat in the cabinet, as in the cases of Lord Mansfield and Lord Ellenborough; but this was always considered objectionable on constitutional grounds; the theory of the constitution being that the judge should be independent of the crown.

(3) The oath now prescribed is the very simple form given in the Promissory Oaths act 1868, 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72.

(4) This judicial tribunal was entirely reorganized under stat. 2 and 3 Will. IV, c. 92; 3 and 4 Will. IV, c. 41; and 6 and 7 Vic. c. 38. It consists now of the president of the council, the lord chancellor, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the lords justices of the court of

or elsewhere, as concerning the extent of their charters and the like, the king in his council exercises *original* jurisdiction therein, upon the principles of feudal sovereignty. And so likewise when any person claims an island or a province, in the nature of a feudal principality, by grant from the king or his ancestors, the determination of that right belongs to his majesty in council: as was the case of the earl of Derby with regard to the Isle of Man in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and the earl of Cardigan and others, as representatives of the duke of Montague, with relation to the island of St. Vincent in 1764. But from all the dominions of the crown, excepting Great Britain and Ireland, an *appellate* jurisdiction *(in the last resort) is vested in the same tribunal; [*232] which usually exercises its judicial authority in a committee of the whole privy council, who hear the allegations and proofs, and make their report to his majesty in council, by whom the judgment is finally given.

The *privileges* of privy counsellors, as such, (abstracted from their honorary precedence,) (o) consist principally in the security which the law has given them against attempts and conspiracies to destroy their lives. For, by statute 3 Hen. VII, c. 14, if any of the king's servants of his household conspire or imagine to take away the life of a privy counsellor, it is felony, though nothing be done upon it. The reason of making this statute, Sir Edward Coke (p) tells us, was because such a conspiracy was, just before this parliament, made by some of King Henry the Seventh's household servants, and great mischief was like to have ensued thereupon. This extends only to the king's menial servants. But the statute 9 Ann. c. 16, goes farther and enacts that *any person* that shall unlawfully attempt to kill, or shall unlawfully assault, and strike, or wound, any privy counsellor in the execution of his office, shall be a felon without benefit of clergy. This statute was made upon the daring attempt of the Sieur Guiscard, who stabbed Mr. Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, with a penknife, when under examination for high crimes in a committee of the privy council. (5)

The *dissolution* of the privy council depends upon the king's pleasure; and he may, whenever he thinks proper, discharge any particular member, or the whole of it, and appoint another. By the common law, also, it was dissolved *ipso facto* by the king's demise, as deriving all its authority from him. But now, to prevent the inconveniences of having no council in being at the accession of a new prince, it is enacted by statute 6 Ann. c. 7, that the privy council shall continue for six months after the demise of the crown, unless sooner determined by the successor. (6)

(o) See page 405.

(p) 3 Inst. 38.

appeals in chancery, the master of the rolls, the vice chancellors, the chief justices of the queen's bench and common pleas, and chief baron of the exchequer, the judges of the courts of probate and admiralty, two members who have been judges in India or the colonies, all privy councillors who have held any of the other offices above mentioned, and two persons appointed under sign manual. It is called the judicial committee of the privy council, and it hears appeals from the colonial courts and India, and also in ecclesiastical cases. By stat. 6 and 7 Vic. c. 38, appeals and other matters may be heard before three members. This tribunal also hears applications for the extension of letters patent, or other matters relating thereto, and for licenses to republish books after the death of their authors.

(5) Both these statutes are repealed. See 9 Geo. IV, c. 31.

(6) Under the government of the United States the heads of the departments consist of the secretaries of state, of the treasury, of war, of the navy, of the interior, the attorney-general and the postmaster-general. The constitution, art. 2, § 2, empowers the president to 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. Washington originated the practice of consulting all the heads of departments on important measures, and by later presidents they have generally been convened for joint consultation, until "cabinet meetings," to determine the course of the administration on all questions of importance are expected as a matter of course. The cabinet, however, as a body of councillors, has no necessary place in our constitutional system, and each president will accord to it such weight and influence in his administration as he shall see fit. The president—not the cabinet—is responsible for all the measures of the administration, and whatever is done by one of the heads of departments is considered as done by the president through the proper executive agent. In this fact consists one important difference between the executive of Great Britain and of the United

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE KING'S DUTIES.

I PROCEED next to the duties, incumbent on the king by our constitution; in consideration of which duties his dignity and prerogative are established by the laws of the land: (1) it being a maxim in the law, that protection and subjection are reciprocal. (a) And these reciprocal duties are what, I apprehend, were meant by the convention in 1688, when they declared that King James had broken the *original contract* between king and people. But, however, as the terms of that original contract were in some measure disputed, being alleged to exist principally in theory, and to be only deducible by reason and the rules of natural law; in which deduction different understandings might very considerably differ: it was, after the revolution, judged proper to declare these duties expressly, and to reduce that contract to a plain certainty. So that, whatever doubts might be formerly raised by weak and scrupulous minds about the existence of such an original contract, they must now entirely cease; especially with regard to every prince who hath reigned since the year 1688.

The principal duty of the king is, to govern his people according to law. *Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas*, was the constitution of our German ancestors on the continent. (b) And this is not only consonant to the princi-

(a) 7 Rep. 5.

(b) Tac. de Mor. Germ. c. 7.

States; the acts of the former being considered those of his advisers, who alone are responsible therefor, while the acts of the advisers of the American executive are considered as directed and controlled by him. Another important difference in the cabinets is, that in the United States there is no "premier;" no leading member of the administration who selects the others; and though the position of secretary of state is generally considered the leading one, yet this is not always true in fact, and the incumbent has not, in the cabinet, a recognized superiority over the others. A third difference is, that the members of the American cabinet cannot have seats in the legislature. Const. of U. S. art. 1, § 6. A fourth and more important difference is, that there is no constitutional principle in the American system which requires the cabinet to be in accord with the congress or with either house thereof. The president selects for heads of the departments persons who concur in his own views, and he is not expected to change his advisers because the opposition is in the ascendancy in congress. It has frequently happened in our history that the president's friends, in one or both houses of congress, have been in a minority for a considerable period.

(1) Some of the constitutional provisions respecting the president of the United States have been referred to in preceding notes, but it may not be unimportant to give a summary of them here.

He is to hold his office for four years, and 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 during that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them. Art. 2, § 1.

He is to be commander-in-chief of the army and navy, 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. Art. 2, § 2.

He has power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, and he appoints, with the like advice and consent, the principal judicial and other officers. He fills vacancies during the recess of the senate by commissions which expire at the end of their next session. Ib.

He is from time to time to give 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 the two houses or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them in respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper. He is to receive ambassadors and other public ministers; to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and to commission all the officers of the United States. Art. 2, § 3.

ples of nature, of *liberty, of reason, and of society, but has always been [*234] esteemed an express part of the common law of England, even when prerogative was at the highest. "The king," saith Bracton, (c) who wrote under Henry III, "ought not to be subject to man, but to God, and to the law; for the law maketh the king. Let the king therefore render to the law, what the law has invested in him with regard to others; dominion and power for he is not truly king, where will and pleasure rules, and not the law." And again, (d) the king also hath a superior, namely God, and also the law, by which he was made a king." Thus Bracton: and Fortescue also, (e) having first well distinguished between a monarchy absolutely and despotically regal, which is introduced by conquest and violence, and a political or civil monarchy which arises from mutual consent, (of which last species he asserts the government of England to be;) immediately lays it down as a principle, that "the king of England must rule his people according to the decrees of the laws thereof: insomuch that he is bound by an oath at his coronation to the observance and keeping of his own laws." But, to obviate all doubts and difficulties concerning this matter, it is expressly declared by statute 12 and 13 W. III, c. 2, "that the laws of England are the birthright of the people thereof: and all the kings and queens who shall ascend the throne of this realm ought to administer the government of the same according to the said laws; and all their officers and ministers ought to serve them respectively according to the same: and therefore all the laws and statutes of this realm, for securing the established religion, and the rights and liberties of the people thereof, and all other laws and statutes of the same now in force, are ratified and confirmed accordingly."

And, as to the terms of the original contract between king and people, these I apprehend to be now couched in the *coronation oath, which by the [*235] statute 1 W. and M. st. 1, c. 6, is to be administered to every king and queen, who shall succeed to the imperial crown of these realms, by one of the archbishops or bishops of the realm, in the presence of all the people; who on their parts do reciprocally take the oath of allegiance to the crown. This coronation oath is conceived in the following terms:

The archbishop or bishop shall say,—"Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto belonging, according to the statutes in parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the same?"—*The king or queen shall say*, "I solemnly promise so to do."—*Archbishop or bishop*, "Will you to your power cause law and justice, in mercy, to be executed in all your judgments?"—*King or queen*, "I will."—*Archbishop or bishop*, "Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the protestant reformed religion established by the law?" (2) And will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain unto them or any of them?"—*King or queen*, "All this I promise to do."—*After this the king or queen, laying his or her hand upon the holy gospels, shall say*, "The things which I have herebefore promised I will perform and keep: so help me God:" and then shall kiss the book. (3)

(c) L. 1, c. 8.

(d) L. 2, d. 16, § 3.

(e) C. 9, § 34.

(2) During the reigns of Geo. III, and Geo. IV, opponents of catholic emancipation made use of this clause of the coronation oath as a reason for rejecting that measure, which they declared to be violative of the spirit of the oath; and this was a view which both these monarchs were inclined to take. See May's Const. Hist. c. 1.

The oath of office of the president of the United States is, "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." Const. art. 2, § 1.

(3) [And it is required both by the bill of rights, 1 W. and M. st. 2, c. 2, and the act of settlement, 12 and 13 W. III, c. 2, that every king and queen of the age of twelve years, either at their coronation, or on the first day of the first parliament upon the throne in the house of peers (which shall first happen), shall repeat and subscribe the declaration against popery according to the 30 Car. II, st. 2, c. 1.]

This is the form of the coronation oath, as is now prescribed by our laws; the principal articles of which appear to be at least as ancient as the mirror of justices, (*f*) and even as the time of Bracton: (*g*) but the wording of it was changed at the revolution, because (as the statute alleges) the oath itself [*236] *had been framed in doubtful words and expressions, with relation to ancient laws and constitutions at this time unknown. (*h*) However, in what form soever it be conceived, this is most undisputably a fundamental and original express contract, though doubtless the duty of protection is impliedly as much incumbent on the sovereign before coronation as after: in the same manner as allegiance to the king becomes the duty of the subject immediately on the descent of the crown, before he has taken the oath of allegiance, or whether he ever takes it at all. This reciprocal duty of the subject will be considered in its proper place. At present we are only to observe, that in the king's part of this original contract are expressed all the duties that a monarch can owe to his people, viz: to govern according to law; to execute judgment in mercy; and to maintain the established religion. And, with respect to the latter of these three branches, we may further remark, that by the act of union, 5 Ann. c. 8, two preceding statutes are recited and confirmed; the one of the parliament of Scotland, the other of the parliament of England: which enact: the former, that every king at his accession shall take and subscribe an oath, to preserve the protestant religion and presbyterian church government in Scotland; the latter, that at his coronation he shall take and subscribe a similar oath to preserve the settlement of the church of England within England, Ireland, Wales and Berwick, and the territories thereunto belonging.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE KING'S PREROGATIVE.

It was observed in a former chapter, (*a*) that one of the principal bulwarks of civil liberty, or, in other words, of the British constitution, was the limitation of the king's prerogative by bounds so certain and notorious, that it is impossible he should ever exceed them, without the consent of the people, on the one hand; or without, on the other, a violation of that original contract, which in all states impliedly, and in ours most expressly, subsists between the prince and the subject. It will now be our business to consider this prerogative minutely; to demonstrate its necessity in general; and to mark out in the most important instances its particular extent and restrictions: from which considerations this conclusion will evidently follow, that the powers which are vested in the crown by the laws of England are necessary for the support of society; and do not intrench any farther on our *natural* liberties, than is expedient for the maintenance of our *civil*. (1)

(*f*) Cap. 1, § 2.

(*g*) L. 3 tr. 1, c. 9.

(*h*) In the old folio abridgment of the statutes printed by Letton and Machlinia in the reign of Edward IV, (*penes me.*) there is preserved a copy of the old coronation oath; which, as the book is extremely scarce, I will here transcribe: *Ceo est le serement que le roy jurre a soun coronement: que il gardera et maintenera lez droitz et lez franchises de seynt esglise grauntees auncienment des droitz roys Chrestiens d'Engleterre. et quil gardera toutes ses terres honours et dignitees droiturelz et franks del coron du roialme d'Engleterre en tout maner d'entier sanz null maner d'amenusement. et lez droitz disperges dilapidez ou perduz de la corone a soun poiair reappeller en launsien estate, et quil gardera le peas de seynt esglise et al clergie et al peuple de bon accorde, et quil face faire en toutes ses jugmentez ovel et droit justice oue discrecion et miskricorde, et quil grauntera a tenure lez leyes et custumes du roialm, et a soun poiair lez face garder et affermer que lez gentes du peuple avont faitez, et esliez, et lez malveys leyz et custumes de tout oustera, et ferme peas et establie al peuple de soun roialme en ceo garde esgardera a soun poiair: come Dieu luy aide. (Tit. sacramentum regis. fol. m. 4. j.) Prynne has also given us a copy of the coronation oaths of Richard II. (Signal Loyalty, ii. 246;) Edward VI. (*ibid.* 251;) James I. and Charles I. (*ibid.* 269.)*

(*a*) Chap. 1, page 141.

(1) [The splendor, rights, and powers of the crown, were attached to it for the benefit of the people, and not for the private gratification of the sovereign. They are therefore to be

There cannot be a stronger proof of that genuine freedom, which is the boast of this age and country, than the power of discussing and examining, with decency and respect, the limits of the king's prerogative. A topic, that in some former ages was thought too delicate and sacred to be profaned by the pen of a subject. It was ranked among the *arcana imperii*: and, like the mysteries of the *bona dea*, was *not suffered to be pried into by any but such as were [*238] initiated in its service: because perhaps the exertion of the one, like the solemnities of the other, would not bear the inspection of a rational and sober inquiry. The glorious Queen Elizabeth herself made no scruple to direct her parliaments to abstain from discoursing of matters of state; (b) and it was the constant language of this favourite princess and her ministers, that even that august assembly "ought not to deal, to judge, or to meddle with her majesty's prerogative royal." (c) And her successor, King James the First, who had imbibed high notions of the divinity of regal sway, more than once laid it down in his speeches, that, "as it is atheism and blasphemy in a creature to dispute what the Deity may do, so it is presumption and sedition in a subject to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power: good Christians," he adds, "will be content with God's will revealed in his word; and good subjects will rest in the king's will, revealed in his law." (d)

But, whatever might be the sentiments of some of our princes, this was never the language of our ancient constitution and laws. The limitation of the regal authority was a first and essential principle in all the Gothic systems of government established in Europe; though gradually driven out and overborne, by violence and chicane, in most of the kingdoms on the continent. We have seen, in the preceding chapter, the sentiments of Bracton and Fortescue, at the distance of two centuries from each other. And Sir Henry Finch, under Charles the First, after the lapse of two centuries more, though he lays down the law of prerogative in very strong and emphatical terms, yet qualifies it with a general restriction, in regard to the liberties of the people. "The king hath a prerogative in all things, that are not injurious to the subject; for in them all it must be remembered, that the king's prerogative stretcheth not to the doing of any wrong." (e) *Nihil enim aliud potest rex, nisi id solum quod de jure potest.* [*239] (f) And here it may be some satisfaction to remark, how widely the civil law differs from our own, with regard to the authority of the laws over the prince, or, as a civilian would rather have expressed it, the authority of the prince over the laws. It is a maxim of the English law, as we have seen from Bracton, that "*rex debet esse sub lege, quia lex facit regem*;" the imperial law will tell us, that, "*in omnibus, imperatoris excipitur fortuna; cui ipsas leges Deus subjecit.*" (g) We shall not long hesitate to which of them to give the preference, as most conducive to those ends for which societies were framed, and are kept together; especially as the Roman lawyers themselves seem to be sensible of the unreasonableness of their own constitution. "*Decet tamen principem,*" says Paulus, "*servare leges, quibus ipse solutus est.*" (h) This is at once laying down the principle of despotic power, and at the same time acknowledging its absurdity.

By the word prerogative we usually understand that special pre-eminence, which the king hath over and above all other persons, and out of the ordinary course of the common law, in right of his regal dignity. It signifies, in its etymology (from *præ* and *rogo*,) something that is required or demanded before, or in preference to, all others. And hence it follows, that it must be in its nature singular and eccentric; that it can only be applied to those rights and capacities which the king enjoys alone, in contradistinction to others, and not to those which he enjoys in common with any of his subjects: for if once any one prerog-

(b) Dewes, 479.

(c) *Ibid.* 645.

(d) King James' Works, 557, 531.

(e) Finch, L. 84, 85.

(f) Bracton, l. 2, tr. 1, c. 9.

(g) Nov. 105, § 2.

(h) *Æt.* 32, l. 23.

guarded on account of the public; they are not to be extended further than the laws and constitution of the country have allowed them; but within these bounds they are entitled to every protection. Lord Kenyon, 4 T. R. 410; and see also Lord Hardwicke's observations in 3 Atk. 171.]

ative of the crown could be held in common with the subject, it would cease to be prerogative any longer. And therefore Finch (*i*) lays it down as a maxim, that the prerogative is that law in case of the king, which is law in no case of the subject.

Prerogatives are either *direct* or *incidental*. The *direct* are such positive [*240] substantial parts of the royal character and *authority, as are rooted in and spring from the king's political person, considered merely by itself, without reference to any other extrinsic circumstance; as, the right of sending ambassadors, of creating peers, and of making war or peace. But such prerogatives as are *incidental* bear always a relation to something else, distinct from the king's person; and are indeed only exceptions, in favour of the crown, to those general rules that are established for the rest of the community; such as, that no costs shall be recovered against the king; that the king can never be a joint tenant; and that his debt shall be preferred before a debt to any of his subjects. These, and an infinite number of other instances, will better be understood, when we come regularly to consider the rules themselves, to which these incidental prerogatives are exceptions. And therefore we will at present only dwell upon the king's substantive or direct prerogatives.

These substantive or direct prerogatives may again be divided into three kinds: being such as regard, first, the king's royal *character*; secondly, his royal *authority*; and, lastly, his royal *income*. These are necessary to secure reverence to his person, obedience to his commands, and an affluent supply for the ordinary expenses of government; without all of which it is impossible to maintain the executive power in due independence and vigor. Yet, in every branch of this large and extensive dominion, our free constitution has interposed such reasonable checks and restrictions, as may curb it from trampling on those liberties which it was meant to secure and establish. The enormous weight of prerogative, if left to itself, (as in arbitrary governments it is,) spreads havoc and destruction among all the inferior movements: but, when balanced and regulated (as with us) by its proper counterpoise, timely and judiciously applied, its operations are then equable and certain, it invigorates the whole machine, and enables every part to answer the end of its construction.

In the present chapter we shall only consider the two first of these divisions, [*241] *which relate to the king's political *character* and *authority*; or, in other words, his *dignity* and *regal power*; to which last the name of prerogative is frequently narrowed and confined. The other division, which forms the royal *revenue*, will require a distinct examination; according to the known distribution of feudal writers, who distinguish the royal prerogatives into the *majora* and *minora regalia*, in the latter of which classes the rights of the revenue are ranked. For to use their own words, "*majora regalia imperii præminentiam spectant; minora vero ab commodum pecuniarium immediate attinent; et hæc proprie fiscalia sunt, et ad jus fisci pertinent.*" (*k*)

First, then, of the royal dignity. Under every monarchical establishment, it is necessary to distinguish the prince from his subjects, not only by the outward pomp and decorations of majesty, but also by ascribing to him certain qualities, as inherent in his royal capacity, distinct from and superior to those of any other individual in the nation. For though a philosophical mind will consider the royal person merely as one man appointed by mutual consent to preside over many others, and will pay him that reverence and duty which the principles of society demand; yet the mass of mankind will be apt to grow insolent and refractory, if taught to consider their prince as a man of no greater perfection than themselves. The law therefore ascribes to the king, in his high political character, not only large powers and emoluments, which form his prerogative and revenue, but likewise certain attributes of a great and transcendent nature; by which the people are led to consider him in the light of a superior being, and to pay him that awful respect, which may enable him with greater

ease to carry on the business of government. This is what I understand by the royal dignity, the several branches of which we will now proceed to examine.

I. And, first, the law ascribes to the king the attribute of *sovereignty*, or pre-eminence. "*Rex est vicarius*," says Bracton, (l) "*et minister Dei in terra: omnis quidem sub eo est, et ipse *sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo.*" [*242] He is said to have *imperial* dignity; and in charters before the conquest is frequently styled *basileus* and *imperator*, the titles respectively assumed by the emperors of the east and west. (m) His realm is declared to be an *empire*, and his crown *imperial*, by many acts of parliament, particularly the statutes 24 Hen. VIII, c. 12, and 25 Hen. VIII, c. 28; (n) which at the same time declare the king to be the supreme head of the realm in matters both civil and ecclesiastical, and of consequence inferior to no man upon earth, dependent on no man, accountable to no man. Formerly there prevailed a ridiculous notion, propagated by the German and Italian civilians, that an emperor could do many things which a king could not, (as the creation of notaries and the like,) and that all kings were in some degree subordinate and subject to the emperor of Germany or Rome. The meaning, therefore, of the legislature, when it uses these terms of *empire* and *imperial*, and applies them to the realm and crown of England, is only to assert that our king is equally sovereign and independent within these his dominions, as any emperor is in his empire; (o) and owes no kind of subjection to any other potentate upon earth. Hence it is, that no suit or action can be brought against the king even in civil matters, because no court can have jurisdiction over him. For all jurisdiction implies superiority of power: authority to try would be vain and idle, without an authority to redress; and the sentence of a court would be contemptible, unless that court had power to command the execution of it; but who, says Finch, (p) shall command the king? Hence it is likewise, that by law the person of the king is sacred, even though the measures pursued in his reign be completely tyrannical and arbitrary: for no jurisdiction upon earth has power to try him in a criminal way; much less to condemn him to punishment. If any foreign jurisdiction had this power, as was formerly claimed by the pope, the independence of the kingdom would be no more; and, if such a power were vested in any domestic *tribunal, there would soon be an end of the constitution, by destroying the free agency of one of the constituent parts [*243] of the sovereign legislative power.

Are then, it may be asked, the subjects of England totally destitute of remedy, in case the crown should invade their rights, either by private injuries, or public oppression? To this we may answer, that the law has provided a remedy in both cases.

And, first, as to private injuries: if any person has, in point of property, a just demand upon the king, he must petition him in his court of chancery, where his chancellor will administer right as a matter of grace though not upon compulsion. (q) (2) And this is entirely consonant to what is laid down by the writers on natural law. "A subject," says Puffendorf, (r) "so long as he con-

(l) L. 1. c. 8.

(m) Seld. Tit. of Hon. I. 2.

(n) See also 24 Geo. II. c. 24. 5 Geo. III. c. 27.

(o) *Rex allegavit, quod ipse omnes libertates haberet in regno suo, quas imperator vindicabat in imperio.*

(p) Paris, A. D. 1095.

(q) Finch, L. 83.

(r) Finch, L. 255. See b. III. c. 17.

(r) Law of N. and N. b. 8, c. 10.

(2) A government is not liable to be sued in its own courts except by its own consent. U. S. v. Peters, 5 Cranch, 139; Osborn v. Bk. of U. S. 9 Wheat. 738; 9 How. 386. But in the American states, generally, provision is made by law for such suits, except where some state board of auditors or other like tribunal is created for the hearing and adjustment of claims against the public. And the federal government has created a court of claims for the express purpose of trying rights asserted by individuals against the nation.

An agent of the government, known to be acting in that capacity, and not expressly making himself liable by personal contract, is not answerable for articles furnished on his order, but the seller must look to the government. Macheath v. Haldimand, 1 T. R., 172; Jones v. Le Tombe, 3 Dall. 384; Gill v. Brown, 12 Johns. 385; Randall v. Van Vechten, 19 Johns. 63; Brown v. Austin, 1 Mass. 208; Adams v. Whittlesey, 3 Conn. 560; Ghent v. Adams, 2 Kelly, 214; Parks v. Ross, 11 How. 362.

tinues a subject, hath no way to *oblige* his prince to give him his due, when he refuses it; though no wise prince will ever refuse to stand to a lawful contract. And, if the prince gives the subject leave to enter an action against him, upon such contract, in his own courts, the action itself proceeds rather upon natural equity, than upon the municipal laws." For the end of such action is not to *compel* the prince to observe the contract, but to *persuade* him. And, as to personal wrongs; it is well observed by Mr. Locke, (s) "the harm which the sovereign can do in his own person not being likely to happen often, nor to extend itself far; nor being able by his single strength to subvert the laws, nor oppress the body of the people, (should any prince have so much weakness and ill-nature as to endeavour to do it)—the inconveniency therefore of some particular mischiefs, that may happen sometimes, when a heady prince comes to the throne, are well recompensed by the peace of the public and security of the government, in the person of the chief magistrate, being thus set out of the reach of danger."

[*244] *Next, as to cases of ordinary public oppression, where the vitals of the constitution are not attacked, the law hath also assigned a remedy. For as a king cannot misuse his power, without the advice of evil counsellors, and the assistance of wicked ministers, these men may be examined and punished. The constitution has therefore provided, by means of indictments, and parliamentary impeachments, that no man shall dare to assist the crown in contradiction to the laws of the land. But it is at the same time a maxim in those laws, that the king himself can do no wrong: since it would be a great weakness and absurdity in any system of positive law, to define any possible wrong, without any possible redress.

For, as to such public oppressions as tend to dissolve the constitution, and subvert the fundamentals of government, they are cases, which the law will not, out of decency, suppose: being incapable of distrusting those whom it has invested with any part of the supreme power; since such distrust would render the exercise of that power precarious and impracticable. (t) For, wherever the law expresses its distrust of abuse of power, it always vests a superior coercive authority in some other hand to correct it; the very notion of which destroys the idea of sovereignty. If therefore, for example, the two houses of parliament, or either of them, had avowedly a right to animadvert on the king, or each other, or if the king had a right to animadvert on either of the houses, that branch of the legislature, so subject to animadversion, would instantly cease to be a part of the supreme power; the balance of the constitution would be overturned; and that branch or branches, in which this jurisdiction resided, would be completely sovereign. The supposition of *law* therefore is, that neither the king nor either house of parliament, collectively taken, is capable of doing any wrong; since in such cases the law feels itself incapable of furnishing [*245] any adequate *remedy. For which reason all oppressions which may happen to spring from any branch of the sovereign power, must necessarily be out of the reach of any *stated rule* or *express legal* provision; but, if ever they unfortunately happen, the prudence of the times must provide new remedies upon new emergencies.

Indeed, it is found by experience, that whenever the unconstitutional oppressions, even of the sovereign power, advance with gigantic strides, and threaten desolation to a state, mankind will not be reasoned out of the feelings of humanity; nor will sacrifice their liberty by a scrupulous adherence to those political maxims, which were originally established to preserve it. And therefore, though the positive laws are silent, experience will furnish us with a very remarkable case, wherein nature and reason prevailed. When King James the Second invaded the fundamental constitution of the realm, the convention declared an abdication, whereby the throne was rendered vacant, which induced

(s) On Gov. p. 2, § 206.

(t) See these points more fully discussed in the *Considerations of the Law of Forfeiture*, 3d edit. page 109—126, wherein the very learned author has thrown many new and important lights on the texture of our happy constitution.

a new settlement of the crown. And so far as this precedent leads, and no further, we may now be allowed to lay down the *law* of redress against public oppression. If, therefore, any future prince should endeavour to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract between king and people, should violate the fundamental laws, and should withdraw himself out of the kingdom; we are now authorized to declare that this conjunction of circumstances would amount to an abdication, and the throne would be thereby vacant. But it is not for us to say that any one, or two, of these ingredients would amount to such a situation; for there our precedent would fail us. In these, therefore, or other circumstances, which a fertile imagination may furnish, since both law and history are silent, it becomes us to be silent too; leaving to future generations, whenever necessity and the safety of the whole shall require it, the exertion of those inherent, though latent, powers of society, which no climate, no time, no constitution, no contract, can ever destroy or diminish.

*II. Besides the attribute of sovereignty, the law also ascribes to the king, in his political capacity, absolute *perfection*. The king can do no [*246] wrong; which ancient and fundamental maxim is not to be understood, as if every thing transacted by the government was of course just and lawful, but means only two things. First, that whatever is exceptionable in the conduct of public affairs, is not to be imputed to the king, nor is he answerable for it personally to his people: for this doctrine would totally destroy that constitutional independence of the crown, which is necessary for the balance of power in our free and active, and therefore compounded, constitution. And secondly, it means that the prerogative of the crown extends not to do any injury: it is created for the benefit of the people, and therefore cannot be exerted to their prejudice. (u) (3)

The king, moreover, is not only incapable of *doing* wrong, but even of *thinking* wrong: he can never mean to do an improper thing: in him is no folly or weakness. And, therefore, if the crown should be induced to grant any franchise or privilege to a subject contrary to reason, or in any wise prejudicial to the commonwealth or a private person, the law will not suppose the king to have meant either an unwise or an injurious action, but declares that the king was deceived in his grant; and thereupon such grant is rendered void, merely upon the foundation of fraud and deception, either by or upon those agents whom the crown has thought proper to employ. For the law will not cast an imputation on that magistrate whom it intrusts with the executive power, as if he was capable of intentionally disregarding his trust; but attributes to mere imposition (to which the most perfect of sublunary beings must still continue liable) those little inadvertencies, which, if charged on the will of the prince, might lessen him in the eyes of his subjects. (4)

*Yet still, notwithstanding this personal perfection, which the law [*247] attributes to the sovereign, the constitution has allowed a latitude of

(u) Plowd. 487.

(3) Mr. Christian says that "perhaps this means that, although the king is subject to the passions and infirmities of other men, the constitution has prescribed no mode by which he can be made personally amenable for any wrong which he may actually commit. The law will therefore presume no wrong where it has provided no remedy." But the constitution *has* provided a remedy by impeachment of the king's advisers; and it therefore assumes that the executive authority can be guilty of wrong, though it holds not the nominal head of the government, but the persons who for the time being wield the political power, responsible therefor. See Todd, Parl. Gov. Vol. 1, p. 40. Jeremy Bentham says that our author in this chapter "in speaking of the royal authority, has given himself up to all the puerility of fiction," Principles of Legislation.

In the United States the president himself may be impeached. Const. art. 2, § 4.

(4) This presumption of correct motives on the part of a co-ordinate department of the government is extended to the action of the legislature, and the courts will not permit the validity of legislation to be questioned, on the ground that it was obtained by corruption in the legislative body. *Baltimore v. State*, 15 Md. 376; *People v. Draper*, 15 N. Y. 545; *Johnson v. Higgins*, 3 Met. Ky. 566; *Sunbury and Erie R. R. Co. v. Cooper*, 33 Penn. St. 278; *Ex parte Newman*, 9 Cal. 502.

supposing the contrary, in respect to both houses of parliament, each of which in its turn, hath exerted the right of remonstrating and complaining to the king even of those acts of royalty, which are most properly and personally his own; such as messages signed by himself, and speeches delivered from the throne. And yet, such is the reverence which is paid to the royal person, that though the two houses have an undoubted right to consider these acts of state in any light whatever, and accordingly treat them in their addresses as personally proceeding from the prince, yet among themselves, (to preserve the more perfect decency, and for the greater freedom of debate) they usually suppose them to flow from the advice of the administration. But the privilege of canvassing thus freely the personal acts of the sovereign (either directly, or even through the medium of his reputed advisers) belongs to no individual, but is confined to those august assemblies; and there too the objections must be proposed with the utmost respect and deference. One member was sent to the Tower (*v*) for suggesting that his majesty's answer to the address of the commons contained "high words to fright the members out of their duty;" and another, (*w*) for saying that a part of the king's speech "seemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than Great Britain, and that the king was a stranger to our language and constitution." (5)

In farther pursuance of this principle, the law also determines that in the king can be no negligence or *laches*, and therefore no delay will bar his right. *Nullum tempus occurrit regi* has been the standing maxim upon all occasions; (6) for the law intends that the king is always busied for the public good, and therefore has not leisure to assert his right within the times limited to subjects. (*y*) In the king also can be no stain or corruption of *blood; for, [*248] if the heir to the crown were attainted of treason or felony, and afterwards the crown should descend to him, this would purge the attainder *ipso facto*. (*z*) And therefore when Henry VII, who, as earl of Richmond, stood attainted, came to the crown, it was not thought necessary to pass an act of parliament to reverse this attainder; because, as Lord Bacon, in his history of that prince, informs us, it was agreed that the assumption of the crown had at once purged all attainders. Neither can the king in judgment of law, as king, ever be a minor or under age; and therefore his royal grants and assents to acts of parliament are good, though he has not in his natural capacity attained the legal age of twenty-one. (*a*) By a statute, indeed, 28 Hen. VIII, c. 17, power was given to future kings to rescind and revoke all acts of parliament that should be made while they were under the age of twenty-four; but this was repealed by the statute 1 Edw. VI, c. 11, so far as related to that prince; and both statutes are declared to be determined by 24 Geo. II, c. 24. It hath also been usually thought prudent, when the heir apparent has been very young, to appoint a pro-

(*v*) Com. Journ. 18 Nov. 1685.

(*w*) Ibid. 4 Dec. 1717.

(*y*) Finch, L. 82; Co. Litt. 90.

(*z*) Finch, L. 82.

(*a*) Co. Litt. 43. 2 Inst. proem. 3.

(5) Of late, however, freedom to discuss the speech from the throne is practically conceded, and it is difficult to perceive why it should not be, when, in a constitutional view, it is to be regarded as the speech of the ministry.

(6) There are many exceptions to this maxim. The right to institute criminal proceedings is in many cases limited to a definite period by statute, and in the case of a claim to real property, the right of the crown is also limited by statute to the same period as that of a subject.

The maxim has been recognized in the United States, and it is held that statutes of limitations do not run against the state, nor against the United States, unless it is expressly so provided. *Kemp v. Commonwealth*, 1 Hen. and M. 88; *People v. Gilbert*, 18 Johns. 228; *Hardin v. Taylor*, 4 Monr. 516; *Lindsay v. Miller's lessee*, 6 Pet. 666; *U. S. v. White*, 2 Hill, 59; *Johnston v. Irwin*, 3 S. and R. 291; *Madison Co. v. Bartlett*, 1 Scam. 70; *State Bank v. Brown*, *ibid.* 106; *People v. Arnold*, 4 N. Y. 508. Where, however, the state is assignee of an individual, it can claim no such exemption: *U. S. v. Buford*, 3 Pet. 30; and inferior municipal bodies cannot claim it. *Armstrong v. Dalton*, 4 Dev. 566; *Contra, Madison Co. v. Bartlett*, 1 Scam. 70. Except where they are simply trustees for the whole public, as in the case of lands dedicated to public uses. *Alton v. Illinois Transp. Co.*, 12 Ill. 38.

lector, guardian, or regent, for a limited time: but the very necessity of such extraordinary provision is sufficient to demonstrate the truth of that maxim of the common law, that in the king is no minority; and therefore he hath no legal guardian. (b) (7)

*III. A third attribute of the king's majesty in his *perpetuity*. The law ascribes to him, in his political capacity, an absolute immortality. [*249] The king never dies. Henry, Edward, or George, may die; but the king survives them all. For immediately upon the decease of the reigning prince in his natural capacity, his kingship or imperial dignity, by act of law, without any *interregnum* or interval, is vested at once in his heir, who is, *eo instanti*, king to all intents and purposes. And so tender is the law of supposing even a possibility of his death, that his natural dissolution is generally called his *demise*; *demissio regis, vel coronæ*: an expression which signifies merely a transfer of property; for, as is observed in Plowden, (c) when we say the demise of the crown, we mean only that, in consequence of the disunion of the king's natural body from his body politic, the kingdom is transferred or demised to his successor; and so the royal dignity remains perpetual. Thus too, when Edward the Fourth, in the tenth year of his reign, was driven from his throne for a few months, by the house of Lancaster, this temporary transfer of his dignity was denominated his *demise*; and all process was held to be discontinued, as upon a natural death of the king. (d)

*We are next to consider those branches of the royal prerogative, which invest thus our sovereign lord, thus all-perfect and immortal in [*250] his kingly capacity, with a number of authorities and powers; in the exertion whereof consists the executive part of government. This is wisely placed in a single hand by the British constitution, for the sake of unanimity, strength and dispatch. Were it placed in many hands, it would be subject to many wills: many wills, if disunited and drawing different ways, create weakness in a government; and to unite those several wills, and reduce them to one, is a work of more time and delay than the exigencies of state will afford. The king of England is therefore not only the chief, but properly the sole, magistrate of the nation, all others acting by commission from, and in due subordination to him: in like manner as, upon the great revolution in the Roman state, all the powers of the ancient magistracy of the commonwealth were concentrated in the new emperor: so that, as Gravina (e) expresses it, "*in ejus unius persona veteris reipublicæ vis atque majestas per cumulas magistratuum potestates exprimebatur.*"

After what has been premised in this chapter, I shall not (I trust) be considered as an advocate for arbitrary power, when I lay it down as a principle, that in the exertion of lawful prerogative the king is and ought to be absolute; that

(b) The methods of appointing this guardian or regent have been so various, and the duration of his power so uncertain, that from hence alone it may be collected that his office is unknown to the common law; and therefore (as Sir Edward Coke says, 4 Inst. 58.) the surest way is to have him made by authority of the great council in parliament. The earl of Pembroke, by his own authority, assumed, in very troublesome times, the regency of Henry III. who was then only nine years old, but was declared of full age by the pope at seventeen, confirmed the great charter at eighteen, and took upon him the administration of the government at twenty. A guardian and council of regency were named for Edward III. by the parliament, which deposed his father; the young king being then fifteen, and not assuming the government till three years after. When Richard II. succeeded at the age of eleven, the duke of Lancaster took upon him the management of the kingdom, till the parliament met, which appointed a nominal council to assist him. Henry V. on his death-bed, named a regent and a guardian for his infant son. Henry VI. then nine months old; but the parliament altered his disposition, and appointed a protector and council, with a special limited authority. Both these princes remained in a state of pupillage till the age of twenty-three. Edward V. at the age of thirteen, was recommended by his father to the care of the duke of Gloucester, who was declared protector by the privy council. The statutes 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12, and 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7, provided, that the successor, if a male, and under eighteen, or if a female and under sixteen, should be till such age in the government of his or her natural mother, (if approved by the king,) and such other counsellors as his majesty should by will or otherwise appoint; and he accordingly appointed his sixteen executors to have the government of his son Edward VI. and the kingdom, which executors elected the earl of Hertford protector. The statute 24 Geo. II. c. 24, in case the crown should descend to any of the children of Frederick, late prince of Wales, under the age of eighteen, appointed the princess dowager; and that of 5 Geo. III. c. 27, in case of a like descent to any of his present majesty's children, empowers the king to name either the queen, the princess dowager, or any descendant of King George II. residing in this kingdom, to be guardian and regent, till the successor attains such age, assisted by a council of regency; the powers of them all being expressly defined and set down in the several acts.

(c) Plowd. 177, 234.

(d) M. 49 Hen. VI. pl. 1-8

(e) Orig. 1, § 103.

(7) An interesting account of the proceedings in reference to a regency during the reign of Geo. III will be found in May's Const. Hist. c. 3.

is, so far absolute that there is no legal authority that can either delay or resist him. He may reject what bills, may make what treaties, may coin what money, may create what peers, may pardon what offences, he pleases; unless where the constitution hath expressly, or by evident consequence, laid down some exception or boundary; declaring, that thus far the prerogative shall go, and no farther. For otherwise the power of the crown would indeed be but a name and a shadow, insufficient for the ends of government, if where its jurisdiction is clearly established and allowed, any man or body of men were permitted to disobey it, in the ordinary course of law: I say in the *ordinary* course of law; [*251] for I do not *now speak of those *extraordinary* recourses to first principles, which are necessary when the contracts of society are in danger of dissolution, and the law proves too weak a defence against the violence of fraud or oppression. And yet the want of attending to this obvious distinction has occasioned these doctrines, of absolute power in the prince and of national resistance by the people, to be much misunderstood and perverted, by the advocates for slavery on the one hand, and the demagogues of faction on the other. The former, observing the absolute sovereignty and transcendent dominion of the crown laid down (as it certainly is) most strongly and emphatically in our law books, as well as our homilies, have denied that any case can be excepted from so general and positive a rule; forgetting how impossible it is, in any practical system of laws, to point out beforehand those eccentric remedies, which the sudden emergence of national distress may dictate, and which that alone can justify. On the other hand, over-zealous republicans, feeling the absurdity of unlimited passive obedience, have fancifully (or some times factiously) gone over to the other extreme; and because resistance is justifiable to the person of the prince when the being of the state is endangered, and the public voice proclaims such resistance necessary, they have therefore allowed to every individual the right of determining this expedience, and of employing private force to resist even private oppression. A doctrine productive of anarchy, and, in consequence, equally fatal to civil liberty, as tyranny itself. For civil liberty, rightly understood, consists in protecting the rights of individuals by the united force of society; society cannot be maintained, and of course can exert no protection, without obedience to some sovereign power; and obedience is an empty name, if every individual has a right to decide how far he himself shall obey.

In the exertion, therefore, of those prerogatives which the law has given him, the king is irresistible and absolute, according to the forms of the constitution. And yet, if the consequence of that exertion be manifestly to the grievance or [*252] dishonor of the kingdom, the parliament will call his advisers *to a just and severe account. For prerogative consisting (as Mr. Locke (*f*) has well defined it) in the discretionary power of acting for the public good, where the positive laws are silent; if that discretionary power be abused to the public detriment, such prerogative is exerted in an unconstitutional manner. Thus the king may make a treaty with a foreign state, which shall irrevocably bind the nation; and yet, when such treaties have been judged pernicious, impeachments have pursued those ministers, by whose agency or advice they were concluded.

The prerogatives of the crown (in the sense under which we are now considering them) respect either this nation's intercourse with foreign nations, or its own domestic government and civil polity.

With regard to foreign concerns, the king is the delegate or representative of his people. It is impossible that the individuals of a state, in their collective capacity, can transact the affairs of that state with another community equally numerous as themselves. Unanimity must be wanting to their measures, and strength to the execution of their counsels. In the king, therefore, as in a centre, all the rays of his people are united, and formed by that union, a consistency, splendor and power, that make him feared and respected by foreign potentates;

who would scruple to enter into any engagement that must afterwards be revised and ratified by a popular assembly. What is done by the royal authority, with regard to foreign powers, is the act of the whole nation; what is done without the king's concurrence, is the act only of private men. And so far is this point carried by our law that it hath been held, (*g*) that should all the subjects of England make war with a king in league with the king of England, without the royal assent, such war is no breach of the league. And, by the statute 2 Hen. V, c. 6, any subject committing acts of hostility upon any nation in league with the king was declared to be guilty of high treason; and, although that act was repealed by the statute 20 Hen. VI, c. 11, so far as *relates to the [*253] making this offence high treason, yet still it remains a very great offence against the law of nations, and punishable by our laws, either capitally or otherwise, according to the circumstances of the case.

I. The king therefore, considered as the representative of his people, has the sole power of sending ambassadors to foreign states, and receiving ambassadors at home. This may lead us into a short digression, by way of inquiry, how far the municipal laws of England intermeddle with or protect the rights of these messengers from one potentate to another, whom we call ambassadors.

The rights, the powers, the duties, and the privileges of ambassadors are determined by the law of nature and nations, and not by any municipal constitutions. For, as they represent the persons of their respective masters, who owe no subjection to any laws but those of their own country, their actions are not subject to the control of the private law of that state wherein they are appointed to reside. He that is subject to the coercion of laws is necessarily dependent on that power by whom those laws were made: but an ambassador ought to be independent of every power except that by which he is sent, and of consequence ought not to be subject to the mere municipal laws of that nation wherein he is to exercise his functions. If he grossly offends, or makes an ill use of his character, he may be sent home and accused before his master; (*h*) who is bound either to do justice upon him, or avow himself the accomplice of his crimes. (*i*) But there is great dispute among the writers on the laws of nations, whether this exemption of ambassadors extends to all crimes, as well natural as positive; or whether it only extends to such as are *mala prohibita*, as coining, and not to those that are *mala in se*, as murder. (*k*) Our law seems to have formerly taken in the restriction, as well as the general exemption. *For it has [*254] been held, both by our common lawyers and civilians (*l*) that an ambassador is privileged by the law of nature and nations; and yet, if he commits any offence against the law of reason and nature, he shall lose his privilege; (*m*) and that therefore, if an ambassador conspires the death of the king in whose land he is, he may be condemned and executed for treason; but if he commits any other species of treason it is otherwise, and he must be sent to his own kingdom. (*n*) And these positions seem to be built upon good appearance of reason. For, since, as we have formerly shewn, all municipal laws act in subordination to the primary law of nature, and, where they annex a punishment to natural crimes, are only declaratory of, and auxiliary to, that law; therefore to this natural universal rule of justice, ambassadors, as well as other men, are subject in all countries; and of consequence, it is reasonable that, wherever they transgress it, they shall be liable to make atonement. (*o*) But, however these principles might formerly obtain, the general practice of this country, as well as the rest of Europe, seems now to pursue the sentiments of the learned Grotius, that the security of ambassadors is of more importance than the punishment of a particular crime. (*p*) And therefore few, if any, examples have

(*g*) 4 Inst. 152.

(*h*) As was done with Count Gyllenberg the Swedish minister to Great Britain, A. D. 1717.

(*i*) Sp. L. 26, 21.

(*k*) Van Leeuwen *in Ff.* 50, 7, 17. Barbeyrac's Puff. 1, 8, c. 9, § 9, and 17. Van Bynkershoek *de foro legatorum*, c. 17, 18, 19.

(*l*) 1 Roll. Rep. 175. 3 Bulstr. 17. (*m*) 4 Inst. 153.

(*n*) 1 Roll. Rep. 185. (*o*) Forster's Reports, 188.

(*p*) *Securitas legatorum utilitati quæ ex poena est præponderat.* (*De jure b. & p.* 18, 4. 4.)

happened within a century past, where an ambassador has been punished for any offence, however atrocious in its nature. (8)

In respect to civil suits, all the foreign jurists agree that neither an ambassador, or any of his train or *comites* can be prosecuted for any debt or contract in the courts of that kingdom wherein he is sent to reside. Yet Sir Edward Coke maintains that, if an ambassador make a contract which is good *jure gentium*, he shall answer for it here. (q) But the truth is, so few cases (if any) had arisen, wherein the privilege was either claimed or disputed, even with regard to civil suits, that our law books are (in general) quite silent upon it [*255] previous to the *reign of Queen Anne; when an ambassador from Peter the Great, czar of Muscovy, was actually arrested and taken out of his coach in London, (r) for a debt of fifty pounds which he had there contracted. Instead of applying to be discharged upon his privilege, he gave bail to the action, and the next day complained to the queen. The persons who were concerned in the arrest were examined before the privy council (of which the Lord Chief Justice Holt was at the same time sworn a member,) (s) and seventeen were committed to prison; (t) most of whom were prosecuted by information in the court of queen's bench, at the suit of the attorney general, (u) and at their trial before the lord chief justice were convicted of the facts by the jury, (v) reserving the question of law, how far those facts were criminal, to be afterwards argued before the judges; which question was never determined. (9) In

(q) 4 Inst. 153.

(r) 21 July, 1708. Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne.

(s) 25 July, 1708.

Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne.

(t) 25, 29 July, 1708. *Ibid.*

(u) 23 Oct. 1708. *Ibid.*

(v) 14 Feb. 1708. *Ibid.*

(8) [In the year 1654, during the protectorate of Cromwell, Don Pataleon Sa, the brother of the Portuguese ambassador, who had been joined with him in the same commission, was tried, convicted, and executed for an atrocious murder. Lord Hale, 1 P. C. 99 approves of the proceeding; and Mr. J. Foster, p. 188, though a modern writer of law, lays it down, that "for murder and other offences of great enormity, which are against the light of nature and the fundamental laws of all society, ambassadors are certainly liable to answer in the ordinary course of justice, as other persons offending in the like manner are;" but Mr. Hume observes upon this case, that "the laws of nations were here plainly violated." 7 vol. 237. And Vattel, with irresistible ability, contends that the universal inviolability of an ambassador is an object of much greater importance to the world than their punishment for crimes, however contrary to natural justice. "A minister," says that profound writer, "is often charged with a commission disagreeable to the prince to whom he is sent. If this prince has any power over him, and especially if his authority be sovereign, how is it to be expected that the minister can execute his master's orders with a proper freedom of mind, fidelity and firmness? It is necessary he should have no snares to fear, that he cannot be diverted from his functions by any chicanery. He must have nothing to hope, and nothing to fear from the sovereign to whom he is sent. Therefore, in order to the success of his ministry, he must be independent of the sovereign's authority, and of the jurisdiction of the country, both civil and criminal:" B. 4, c. 7, § 92, where this subject is discussed in a most luminous manner. The Romans in the infancy of their state acknowledged the expediency of the independence of ambassadors; for when they had received ambassadors from the Tarquin princes whom they had dethroned, and had afterwards detected those ambassadors in secretly committing acts which might have been considered as treason against their state, they sent them back unpunished; upon which Livy observes, *et quamquam visi sunt commississe, ut hostium loco essent, jus tamen gentium valuit*. Lib. 2, c. 4. When Bomilcar, *qui Romam fide publica venerat*, was prosecuted as an accomplice in the assassination of Massiva, Sallust declares, *fit reus magis ex æquo bonoque quam ex jure gentium*. Bell, Jug. c. 35.]

When a public minister is guilty of an offence against the existence and safety of the state where he resides, if the danger is urgent, his person and papers may be seized, and he may be sent out of the country. Wheat. Int. law, pt. 3, c. 1, § 15; Halleck Int. Law, 211. See an account of the arrest of Count Gyllenberg, the Swedish minister, in 1717, in Mahon's Hist. of England, vol. 1, c. 8.

(9) [In 3 Burr. 1480, Lord Mansfield declares, that "the statute of Queen Anne was not occasioned by any doubt whether the law of nations, particularly the part relative to public ministers, was not part of the law of England, and the infraction criminal, nor intended to vary an iota of it." And he proceeds to say, that Lord Talbot, Lord Hardwicke, and Lord Holt, were clearly of the same opinion. But the infraction of the law of nations can only be a misdemeanor, punishable at the discretion of the court by fine, imprisonment and pillory; and therefore, Lord Mansfield says, the persons convicted were never brought up to receive judgment, for "no punishment would have been thought by the czar an adequate reparation. Such a sentence as the court would have given, he would have thought a fresh insult."]

the mean time the czar resented this affront very highly, and demanded that the sheriff of Middlesex and all others concerned in the arrest should be punished with instant death. (*w*) But the queen (to the amazement of that despotic court) directed her secretary to inform him, "that she could inflict no punishment upon any, the meanest, of her subjects, unless warranted by the law of the land; and therefore was persuaded that he would not insist upon impossibilities." (*x*) To satisfy, however, the clamours of the foreign ministers (who made it a common cause,) as well as to appease the wrath of Peter, a bill was brought into parliament, (*y*) and afterwards passed into a law, (*z*) to prevent and punish such outrageous insolence for the future. And with a copy of this act, elegantly engrossed and illuminated, accompanied by a letter from the queen, an ambassador extraordinary (*a*) was commissioned to appear at Moscow, (*b*) who declared "that though her majesty could not inflict such a punishment as was required, *because of the defect in that particular of the former established con-stitutions of her kingdom, yet with the unanimous consent of the parliament she had caused a new act to be passed, to serve as a law for the future." This humiliating step was accepted as a full satisfaction by the czar; and the offenders, at his request, were discharged from all farther prosecution. (10)

This statute (*c*) recites the arrest which had been made, "in contempt of the protection granted by her majesty, contrary to the law of nations, and in prejudice of the rights and privileges which ambassadors and other public ministers have at all times been thereby possessed of, and ought to be kept sacred and inviolable:" wherefore it enacts, that for the future all process whereby the person of any ambassador, or of his domestic or domestic servant, may be arrested, or his goods distrained or seized, shall be utterly null and void; and the persons prosecuting, soliciting, or executing such process, shall be deemed violators of the law of nations, and disturbers of the public repose; and shall suffer such penalties and corporal punishment as the lord chancellor and the two chief-justices, or any two of them, shall think fit. (11.) But it is expressly provided, that no trader, within the description of the bankrupt laws, who shall be in the service of any ambassador, shall be privileged or protected by this act; nor shall any one be punished for arresting an ambassador's servant, unless his name be registered with the secretary of state, and by him transmitted to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex. Exceptions that are strictly conformable to the rights

(*w*) 17 Sept. 1708. *Ibid.* (*x*) 11 Jan. 1708. *Ibid.* Mod. Un. Hist. xxxv, 454
 (*y*) Com. Journ. 23 Dec. 1708. (*z*) 21 Apr. 1709. Boyer. *ibid.* (*a*) Mr. Whitworth.
 (*b*) 8 Jan. 1709. Boyer, *ibid.* (*c*) 7 Ann. c. 12.

(10) A secretary of legation is privileged against any civil or criminal prosecution in the courts of the nation to which his superior is accredited. *Ex parte Cabrera*, 1 Wash. C. C. 232. But, if a privileged person commits an assault upon another, the latter is justified in employing the necessary force for self-defence. *United States v. Liddle*, 2 Wash. C. C. 205.

(11) By the act of congress of April 30, 1790, 1 Stat. at Large, 117, any writ or process, sued forth, or prosecuted, by any person or persons, in any of the courts of the United States or of any particular state, for the arrest or imprisonment of any ambassador or other public minister, or any domestic servant thereof, or against his goods and chattels, is made utterly null and void, and persons concerned in suing out or prosecuting the same are deemed violators of the laws of nations and disturbers of the public repose, and made liable to imprisonment not exceeding three years, and to fine in the discretion of the court. But no citizen or inhabitant of the United States who shall have contracted debts previous to having entered the service of an ambassador or public minister, which debts remain unpaid, can have any benefit from the act; nor is any one liable to punishment under the act for having prosecuted the servant of an ambassador or other public minister, unless the name of such servant is registered in the office of the secretary of state, and by him transmitted to the office of the marshal of the district in which the minister resides.

The same act punishes assaults on ambassadors and other public ministers by imprisonment not exceeding three years, and fine in the discretion of the court.

The public ministers of other nations may bring suits as plaintiffs in the courts of the country to which they are accredited, and in the United States the federal courts have jurisdiction of such suits. Const. of U. S., art. 3, § 2.

of ambassadors, (*d*) as observed in the most civilized countries. (12) And, in consequence of this statute, thus declaring and enforcing the law of nations, these [*257] privileges are *now held to be part of the law of the land, and are constantly allowed in the courts of common law. (*e*)

II. It is also the king's prerogative to make treaties, leagues, and alliances with foreign states and princes. For it is by the law of nations essential to the goodness of a league, that it be made by the sovereign power; (*f*) and then it is binding upon the whole community: and in England the sovereign power, *quoad hoc*, is vested in the person of the king. Whatever contracts therefore he engages in, no other power in the kingdom can legally delay, resist or annul. And yet, lest this plenitude of authority should be abused to the detriment of the public, the constitution (as we hinted before) hath here interposed a check, by the means of a parliamentary impeachment, for the punishment of such ministers as from criminal motives advise or conclude any treaty, which shall afterwards be judged to derogate from the honour and interest of the nation. (13)

(*d*) *Sæpe quæsitum est an comitum numero et jure habendi sunt, qui legatum comitantur, non ut instructor fiat legatio, sed unice ut lucro suo consulant, institores forte et mercatores. Et, quamvis hos sæpe defenderint et comitum loco habere voluerint legati, apparet tamen satis eo non pertinere, qui in legati legationis officio non sunt. Quum autem ea res nonnunquam turbas dederit, optimo exemplo in quibusdam aulis olim receptum fuit, ut legatus teneretur exhibere nomenclaturam comitum suorum.* Van Bynkersh. c. 15. *prope finem.*

(*e*) Fitzg. 200. Stra. 797.

(*f*) 1 *Auth. L. of N. b. 8, c. 9, § 6.*

(12) [And the exceptions are said to be agreeable to, and taken from, the law of nations. *Lockwood v. Coysgarne*, 3 Burr. 1676.

A person claiming the benefit of the 7 Ann. c. 12, as domestic servant to a public minister, must be really and bona fide his servant at the time of the arrest, and must clearly show by affidavit the general nature of his service, and the actual performance of it, and that he was not a trader or object of the bankrupt laws. 2 Stra. 797; 2 *Ld. Raym.* 1524; *Fitzg.* 200; *S. C.*, 1 Wils. 20, 78; 1 *Bla. Rep.* 471; *S. C.*, 3 Burr. 1676, 1731; 3 Wils. 33, and 3 *Campb.* 47; 4 Burr. 2016.

This privilege extends to the servants of a public minister, being natives of the country where he resides, as well as to his foreign servants: 3 Burr. 1676; and not only to servants lying in his house, for many houses are not large enough to contain and lodge all the servants of some public ministers, but also to real and actual servants lying out of his house. 2 *Str.* 797; 3 Wils. 35; 1 *Bar. and Cres.* 562. Nor is it necessary to entitle them to the privilege that their names should have been registered in the secretary of state's office, and transmitted to the sheriff's office: 4 Burr. 2017; 3 *Term. Rep.* 79; though, unless they have been so registered and transmitted, the sheriff or his officers cannot be proceeded against for arresting them. See the statute, § 5; 1 Wils. 20, and a modern order. And it is not to be expected, that every particular act of service should be specified. It is enough if an actual bona fide service be proved, and if such a service be sufficiently made out by affidavit, the court will not, upon bare suspicion, suppose it to have been merely colorable and collusive. 3 Burr. 1481. Where the servant of an ambassador did not reside in his master's house, but rented and lived in another, part of which he let in lodgings, it was held that his goods in that house, not being necessary for the convenience of the ambassador, were liable to be distrained for poor rates. *Novello v. Toogood*, 1 *Bar. and Cres.* 554. This act does not extend to *consuls*, who are therefore liable to arrest. *Viveash v. Becker*, 3 *Maule and Sel.* 284. See 1 *Chitty's Com. L.* 69, 70.]

(13) By the constitution of the United States the president has power, "by and with the consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur." Art. 2, § 1. In practice, the president, through the proper minister or secretary of state, first agrees with the foreign power upon the terms of a treaty, and, when it is drawn up in due form, submits it to the senate for ratification. The senate may either ratify the treaty as it stands, or reject it altogether; or that body may ratify it with amendments, in which case the amended treaty must be submitted to the foreign power for concurrence in the amendments.

Another clause of the constitution provides that "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." Art. 6, § 2. A treaty, although agreed to by the president, does not become binding on the United States until ratified by the senate; but by that ratification it becomes the "supreme law of the land," and as such binds all departments of the government. It has sometimes been claimed, that, when a grant of money is essential to give the treaty effect, the house of representatives can exercise their own judgment to make the grant or refuse it; but though they have the power to refuse, it seems clear that, under the constitution, they have not the right. See the discussions on this subject in the house of representatives, as connected with Jay's treaty with Great Britain in 1794, with the reciprocity convention with the same country at the close of the war of 1812, and with the treaty with Russia for Alaska in 1867.

III. Upon the same principle the king has also the sole prerogative of making war and peace. (14) For it is held by all the writers on the law of nature and nations, that the right of making war, which by nature subsisted in every individual, is given up by all private persons that enter into society, and is vested in the sovereign power: (g) and this right is given up, not only by individuals, but even by the entire body of people, that are under the dominion of a sovereign. It would indeed be extremely improper, that any number of subjects should have the power of binding the supreme magistrate, and putting him against his will in a state of war. Whatever hostilities therefore may be committed by private citizens, the state ought not to be affected thereby; unless that should justify their proceedings, and thereby become partner in the guilt. Such unauthorized volunteers in violence are not ranked among open enemies, but are treated like pirates and robbers: according to that rule of the civil law; (h) *hostes hi sunt qui nobis, aut quibus nos, publice bellum decrevimus: cæteri latrones aut prædones sunt.* And the reason which is given by Gro- [*258] tius, (i) why according to the laws of nations a denunciation of war ought always to precede the actual commencement of hostilities, is not so much that the enemy may be put upon his guard, (which is matter rather of magnanimity than right,) but that it may be certainly clear that the war is not undertaken by private persons, but by the will of the whole community; whose right of willing is in this case transferred to the supreme magistrate by the fundamental laws of society. So that, in order to make a war completely effectual, it is necessary with us in England that it be publicly declared and duly proclaimed by the king's authority; and, then, all parts of both the contending nations, from the highest to the lowest, are bound by it. And wherever the right resides of beginning a national war, there also must reside the right of ending it, or the power of making peace. And the same check of parliamentary impeachment, for improper or inglorious conduct, in beginning, conducting, or concluding a national war, is in general sufficient to restrain the ministers of the crown from a wanton or injurious exertion of this great prerogative.

IV. But, as the delay of making war may sometimes be detrimental to individuals who have suffered by depredations from foreign potentates, our laws have in some respects armed the subject with powers to impel the prerogative; by directing the ministers of the crown to issue letters of marque and reprisal upon due demand; the prerogative of granting which is nearly related to, and plainly derived from, that other of making war; this being indeed only an incomplete state of hostilities, and generally ending in a formal declaration of war. These letters are grantable by the law of nations, (k) whenever the subjects of one state are oppressed and injured by those of another; and justice is denied by that state to which the oppressor belongs. In this case letters of marque and reprisal (words used as synonymous; and signifying, the latter a taking in return, the former the passing the frontiers in order to such taking,) (l) may be obtained, in order to seize the bodies or goods of the subjects of the

(g) Puff. b. 8, c. 6, § 8, and Barbeyr. *in loc.*

(h) *Et.* 50, 16, 118.

(i) *De jure v. § p. l. 3, c. 4, § 11.*

(k) *Ibid.* l. 3, c. 2, § 4 & 5.

(l) Dufrense, tit. *Marca.*

It is proper to remark in this connection, in order to keep plainly before us the distinction between the sphere of powers of the United States as a nation, and the several states individually, that the latter are forbidden by the constitution to enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation, or to grant letters of marque and reprisal: art. 1, § 10; nor can they enter into any agreement or compact with another state or with a foreign power without the consent of congress. *Ibid.*

(14) The power to declare war has not been confided to the president of the United States, but is conferred upon congress. Const. of U. S. art. 1, § 8. The president, however, is by the same instrument made commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and it is possible for him, in the recess of congress, if sufficiently reckless of consequences, to bring on a war with a foreign nation, by employing armed forces against it in a hostile manner. Those who opposed the action of the government in the case of the war with Mexico, insisted that that war was brought on by the president wrongfully taking forcible possession of the territory in dispute; but congress justified the president, and declared that war existed "by the act of Mexico."

[*259] offending state, until satisfaction *be made, wherever they happen to be found. And indeed this custom of reprisals seems dictated by nature herself; for which reason we find in the most ancient times very notable instances of it. (*m*) But here the necessity is obvious of calling in the sovereign power, to determine when reprisals may be made; else every private sufferer would be a judge in his own cause. In pursuance of which principle, it is with us declared by the statute 4 Hen. V, c. 7, that, if any subjects of the realm are oppressed in the time of truce by any foreigners, the king will grant *marque* in due form, to all that feel themselves grieved. Which form is thus directed to be observed: the sufferer must first apply to the lord privy-seal, and he shall make out letters of request under the privy seal; and if, after such request of satisfaction made, the party required do not within convenient time make due satisfaction or restitution to the party grieved, the lord chancellor shall make him out letters of *marque* under the great seal; and by virtue of these he may attack and seize the property of the aggressor nation, without hazard of being condemned as a robber or pirate. (15)

V. Upon exactly the same reason stands the prerogative of granting safe-conducts, without which by the law of nations no member of one society has a right to intrude into another. And, therefore, Puffendorf very justly resolves, (*n*) that it is left in the power of all states to take such measures about the admission of strangers as they think convenient; those being ever excepted who are driven on the coasts by necessity, or by any cause that deserves pity or compassion. Great tenderness is shown by our laws, not only to foreigners in distress (as will appear when we come to speak of shipwrecks,) but with regard also to the admission of strangers who come spontaneously. For so long as their nation continues at peace with ours, and they themselves behave peace-

[*260] ably, they are under *the king's protection; though liable to be sent home whenever the king sees occasion. But no subject of a nation at war with us can, by the law of nations, come into the realm, nor can travel

(*m*) See the account given by Nestor, in the eleventh book of the *Iliad*, of the reprisals made by himself of the *Epelan* nation; from whom he took a multitude of cattle, as a satisfaction for a prize won at the *Elian* games by his father *Neleus*, and for debts due to many private subjects of the *Pylean* kingdom; out of which booty the king took three hundred head of cattle for his own demand, and the rest were equitably divided among the other creditors.

(*n*) Law of N. and N. b. 3, c. 3, § 9.

(15) [This manner of granting letters of *marque* has long been disused, and according to the statute of Hen. V, could only be granted to persons actually grieved. But if during a war, a subject, without any commission from the king, should take an enemy's ship, the prize would not be the property of the captor, but would be one of the *droits* of admiralty, and would belong to the king, or his grantee, the admiral. Carth. 399; 2 Woodd. 433. Therefore, to encourage merchants and others to fit out privateers or armed ships in time of war, by various acts of parliament, the lord high admiral, or the commissioners of the admiralty, are empowered to grant commissions to the owners of such ships; and the prizes captured shall be divided according to a contract entered into between the owners and the captain and crew of the privateer. But the owners, before the commission is granted, shall give security to the admiralty to make compensation for any violation of treaties between those powers with whom the nation is at peace. And by the 24 Geo. III, c. 47, they shall also give security that such armed ship shall not be employed in smuggling. These commissions in the statutes, and upon all occasions, are now called letters of *marque*. 29 Geo. II, c. 34; 19 Geo. III, c. 67; Molloy, c. 3, s. 8. The king has the right of releasing any prize captured by such ships at any time previously to condemnation. 11 East, 619. Letters of *marque* or general reprisals, as these commissions are called, are only valid during the war, and may be vacated either by express revocation, or by the misconduct of the parties, as for example, by their cruelty. 5 Rob. Rep. 9.]

In a conference held at Paris, in 1856, it was agreed by the representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, Sardinia, Prussia, Russia and Turkey, to abolish privateering, and that in time of war neutral flags and neutral goods should be inviolable. The United States was invited to concur in this modification of international law, but declined, unless the conference would go farther, and make all private property exempt from capture at sea. This offer was favorably received by France and Russia, but rejected by the British government. There the matter rested until the breaking out of the rebellion in America in 1861, when the government of the United States opened negotiations with the nations represented in the Paris conference of 1856, and proposed to withdraw the refusal to concur in the conclusions of that conference; but the offer elicited no favorable response. Since the close of the civil war in America, negotiations have been going on between the United States and the principal governments of Europe, which bid fair to result in a general agreement in substantial accord with what has always been the American view.

himself upon the high seas, or send his goods and merchandize from one place to another without danger of being seized by our subjects, unless he has letters of safe-conduct; which, by divers ancient statutes, (*o*) must be granted under the king's great seal and enrolled in chancery, or else are of no effect: the king being supposed the best judge of such emergencies as may deserve exception from the general law of arms. But passports under the king's sign-manual, or licenses from his ambassadors abroad, are now more usually obtained, and are allowed to be of equal validity. (16)

Indeed the law of England, as a commercial country, pays a very particular regard to foreign merchants in innumerable instances. One I cannot omit to mention: that by *magna carta* (*p*) it is provided, that all merchants (unless publicly prohibited before hand) shall have safe-conduct to depart from, to come into, to tarry in, and to go through England for the exercise of merchandize, without any unreasonable imposts, except in time of war: and, if a war breaks out between us and their country, they shall be attached (if in England) without harm of body or goods, till the king or his chief justiciary be informed how our merchants are treated in the land with which we are at war: and, if ours be secure in that land, they shall be secure in ours. This seems to have been a common rule of equity among all the northern nations; for we learn from Stiernhook, (*q*) that it was a maxim among the Goths and Swedes, "*quam legem exteri nobis posuere, eandem illis ponemus.*" But it is somewhat extraordinary, that it should have found a place in *magna carta*, a mere interior treaty between the king and his natural-born subjects: which occasions the learned Montesquieu to remark with a degree of admiration, "that the English have made *the protection of foreign merchants one of the articles of their national liberty." (*r*) But indeed it well justifies another observation which he [*261] has made (*s*) "that the English know better than any other people upon earth, how to value at the same time these three great advantages, religion, liberty and commerce." Very different from the genius of the Roman people; who, in their manners, their constitution, and even in their laws, treated commerce as a dishonourable employment, and prohibited the exercise thereof to persons of birth, or rank, or fortune; (*t*) and equally different from the bigotry of the canonists, who looked on trade as inconsistent with Christianity, (*u*) and determined at the council of Melfi, under Pope Urban II, A. D. 1090, that it was impossible, with a safe conscience, to exercise any traffic, or follow the profession of the law. (*w*)

These are the principal prerogatives of the king respecting this nation's intercourse with foreign nations; in all of which he is considered as the delegate or representative of his people. But in domestic affairs he is considered in a great variety of characters, and from thence there arises an abundant number of other prerogatives.

I. First, he is a constituent part of the supreme legislative power; and, as such, has the prerogative of rejecting such provisions in parliament as he judges improper to be passed. The expediency of which constitution has before been evinced at large. (*x*) I shall only farther remark, that the king is not bound by

(*o*) 15 Hen. VI. c. 3. 18 Hen. VI. c. 8. 20 Hen. VI. c. 1.

(*p*) C. 30.

(*q*) *De jure Sueon.* l. 3. c. 4.

(*r*) Sp. L. 20, 13.

(*s*) *Ibid.* 20, 6.

(*t*) *Nobiliores natalibus. et honorum luce conspicuos, et patrimonio ditiores, perniciosum urbibus mercimonium exercere prohibemus.* C. 4. 63. 3.

(*u*) *Homo mercator viz aut nunquam potest Deo placere: et ideo nullus Christianus debet esse mercator; aut si voluerit esse, projiciatur de ecclesia Dei.* Decret. 1. 88. 11.

(*w*) *Falsa sit penitentia [laici] cum penitus ab officio curiali vel negotiali non recedit, quæ sine peccatis agi ulla ratione non prævalet.* Act. Concil. apud Baron, c. 16.

(*x*) Ch. 2, page 154.

(16) The acts imposing restraints upon aliens have been very much modified and liberalized since these Commentaries were written, and an alien who is guilty of no breach of the municipal law, is not likely to be disturbed in Great Britain.

In the United States the president is empowered, in case of war with any foreign nation, to impose restraints upon the citizens or residents of such nation who may be within the United States, and to remove them from the country in his discretion. 1 Stat. at Large, 577.

any act of parliament, unless he be named therein by special and particular words. The most general words that can be devised ("any person or persons, [*262] bodies politic or corporate, &c.") affect not him in the least. if *they may tend to restrain or diminish any of his rights or interests. (y) For it would be of most mischievous consequence to the public if the strength of the executive power were liable to be curtailed without its own express consent, by constructions and implications of the subject. Yet, where an act of parliament is expressly made for the preservation of public rights and the suppression of public wrongs, and does not interfere with the established rights of the crown, it is said to be binding as well upon the king as upon the subject: (z) and, likewise, the king may take the benefit of any particular act, though he be not especially named. (a)

II. The king is considered, in the next place, as the generalissimo, or the first in military command, within the kingdom. The great end of society is to protect the weakness of individuals by the united strength of the community; and the principal use of government is to direct that united strength in the best and most effectual manner to answer the end proposed. Monarchical government is allowed to be the fittest of any for this purpose: it follows therefore, from the very end of its institution, that in a monarchy the military power must be trusted in the hands of the prince.

In this capacity, therefore, of general of the kingdom, the king has the sole power of raising and regulating fleets and armies. Of the manner in which they are raised and regulated I shall speak more when I come to consider the military state. We are now only to consider the prerogative of enlisting and of governing them: which indeed was disputed and claimed, contrary to all reason and precedent, by the long parliament of King Charles I: but, upon the restoration of his son, was solemnly declared by the statute, 13 Car. II, c. 6. to be in the king alone: for that the sole supreme government and command of the militia within all his majesty's realms and dominions, and of all forces by sea and land, and of all forts and places of strength, ever was and is [*263] the *undoubted right of his majesty, and his royal predecessors, kings and queens of England; and that both or either house of parliament cannot nor ought to pretend to the same.

This statute, it is obvious to observe, extends not only to fleets and armies, but also to forts and other places of strength within the realm; the sole prerogative as well of erecting as manning and governing of which, belongs to the king in his capacity of general of the kingdom: (b) and all lands were formerly subject to a tax for building of castles wherever the king thought proper. This was one of the three things, from contributing to the performance of which no lands were exempted; and therefore called by our Saxon ancestors the *trinoda necessitas*: *sc. pontis reparatio, arcis constructio, et expeditio contra hostem*. (c) And this they were called upon to do so often, that, as Sir Edward Coke from M. Paris assures us, (d) there were, in the time of Henry II, 1115 castles subsisting in England. The inconveniences of which, when granted out to private subjects, the lordly barons of those times, were severely felt by the whole kingdom; for, as William of Newburgh remarks in the reign of King Stephen, "*erant in Anglia quodammodo tot reges vel potius tyranni quot domini castellorum*:" but it was felt by none more sensibly than by two succeeding princes, King John and King Henry III. And, therefore, the greatest part of them being demolished in the baron's wars, the kings of after-times have been very cautious of suffering them to be rebuilt in a fortified manner: and Sir Edward Coke lays it down, (e) that no subject can build a castle, or house of strength embattled, or other fortress defensible, without the license of the king; for the danger which might ensue if every man at his pleasure might do it.

It is partly upon the same, and partly upon a fiscal foundation, to secure

(y) 11 Rep. 74.

(z) *Ibid.* 71.

(a) 7 Rep. 32.

(b) 2 Inst. 30.

(c) Cowell's Interpr. *tit. castellorum operatio*. Seld. *Jan. Angl.* 1, 42.

(d) 2 Inst. 31.

(e) 1 Inst. 5.

his marine revenue, that the king has the *prerogative of appointing [**264*] *ports* and *havens*, or such places only, for persons and merchandize to pass into and out of the realm, as he in his wisdom sees proper. By the feudal law all navigable rivers and havens were computed among the *regalia*, (*f*) and were subject to the sovereign of the state. And in England it hath always been holden, that the king is lord of the whole shore, (*g*) and particularly is the guardian of the ports and havens, which are the inlets and gates of the realm; (*h*) and therefore, so early as the reign of King John, we find ships seized by the king's officers for putting in at a place that was not a legal port. (*i*) These legal ports were undoubtedly at first assigned by the crown; since to each of them a court of portmote is incident, (*j*) the jurisdiction of which must flow from the royal authority: the *great ports* of the sea are also referred to, as well known and established by statute 4 Hen. IV, c. 20, which prohibits the landing elsewhere under pain of confiscation; and the statute 1 Eliz. c. 11, recites, that the franchise of lading and discharging had been frequently granted by the crown.

But though the king had a power of granting the franchise of havens and ports, yet he had not the power of resumption, or of narrowing and confining their limits when once established; but any person had a right to load or discharge his merchandize in any part of the haven: whereby the revenue of the customs was much impaired and diminished by fraudulent landings in obscure and private corners. This occasioned the statutes of 1 Eliz. c. 11, and 13 and 14 Car. II, c. 11, § 14, which enable the crown by commission to ascertain the limits of all ports, and to assign proper wharfs and quays in each port for the exclusive landing and loading of merchandize. (17)

The erection of beacons, light-houses and sea-marks is also a branch of the royal prerogative; whereof the first was *anciently used in order [**265*] to alarm the country, in case of the approach of an enemy; and all of them are signally useful in guiding and preserving vessels at sea, by night, as well as by day. For this purpose the king hath the exclusive power, by commission under his great seal, (*k*) to cause them to be erected in fit and convenient places, (*l*) as well upon the lands of the subject as upon the demesnes of the crown: which power is usually vested by letters patent in the office of lord high admiral. (*m*) And by statute 8 Eliz. c. 13, the corporation of the trinity-house are impowered to set up any beacons or sea-marks wherever they shall think them necessary; and if the owner of the land, or any other person, shall destroy them, or shall take down any steeple, tree or other known sea-mark, he shall forfeit 100*l*, or in case of inability to pay it, shall be *ipso facto* outlawed.

To this branch of the prerogative may also be referred the power vested in his majesty by statutes 12 Car. II, c. 4, and 29 Geo. II, c. 16, of prohibiting the exportation of arms or ammunition out of this kingdom, under severe penalties: and likewise the right which the king has, whenever he sees proper, of confining his subjects to stay within the realm, or of recalling them when beyond the seas. By the common law, (*n*) every man may go out of the realm for whatever cause he pleaseth, without obtaining the king's leave; provided he is under no injunction of staying at home: (which liberty was expressly declared in King John's great charter, though left out in that of Henry III,) but because that every man ought of right to defend the king and his realm, therefore, the king, at his pleasure, may command him by his writ that he go not beyond the seas, or out of the realm, without license; and, if he do the contrary, he shall be punished for disobeying the king's command. Some persons there anciently were, that, by reason of their stations, were under a perpetual prohibition of going abroad without license obtained; among which were reckoned all peers

(*f*) 2 Feud. t. 56; Crag. 1, 15, 15.

(*g*) F. N. B. 113.

(*h*) Dav. 9, 56.

(*i*) Madox. Hist. Exch. 530.

(*j*) 4 Inst. 148.

(*k*) 3 Inst. 204. 4 Inst. 148.

(*l*) Rot. Claus. 1 Ric. II. m. 42. Pryn. on 4 Inst. 136.

(*m*) Sid. 158. 4 Inst. 149.

(*n*) F. N. B. 85.

(17) The power to regulate commerce is vested, by the constitution of the United States, in congress; and incidental to this is the power to declare what ports shall be ports of entry, and to erect and maintain beacons, light houses, etc. See Const. art. 1, § 8.

[*266] on account of their being counsellors of *the crown ; all knights, who were expressly confined by the fourth chapter of the constitutions of Clarendon, on account of their attachment in the times of popery to the see of Rome ; all archers and other artificers, lest they should instruct foreigners to rival us in their several trades and manufactures. This was law in the times of Britton, (*o*) who wrote in the reign of Edward I : and Sir Edward Coke (*p*) gives us many instances to this effect in the time of Edward III. In the succeeding reign the affair of travelling wore a very different aspect ; an act of parliament being made, (*q*) forbidding all persons whatever to go abroad without license ; *except* only the lords and other great men of the realm ; and true and notable merchants ; and the king's soldiers. But this act was repealed by the statute 4 Jac. I, c. 1. And at present everybody has, or at least assumes, the liberty of going abroad when he pleases. Yet, undoubtedly, if the king, by writ of *ne exeat regnum*, (18) under his great seal or privy seal, thinks proper to prohibit him from so doing ; or if the king sends a writ to any man, when abroad, commanding his return ; (19) and, in either case, the subject disobeys ; it is a high contempt of the king's prerogative, for which the offender's lands shall be seized till he return ; and then he is liable to fine and imprisonment. (*r*)

III. Another capacity, in which the king is considered in domestic affairs, is as the fountain of justice and general conservator of the peace of the kingdom. By the fountain of justice, the law does not mean the *author* or *original*, but only the *distributor*. Justice is not derived from the king, as from his *free gift* ; but he is the steward of the public, to dispense it to whom it is *due*. (*s*) He is not the spring, but the reservoir, from whence right and equity are conducted, by a thousand channels, to every individual. The original power of judicature, [*267] by the fundamental principles of society, is *lodged in the society at large : but as it would be impracticable to render complete justice to every individual, by the people in their collective capacity, therefore every nation has committed that power to certain select magistrates, who with more ease and expedition can hear and determine complaints ; and in England this authority has immemorially been exercised by the king or his substitutes. He therefore has alone the right of erecting courts of judicature ; for, though the constitution of the kingdom hath intrusted him with the whole executive power of the laws, it is impossible, as well as improper, that he should personally carry into execution this great and extensive trust : it is consequently necessary that courts should be erected, to assist him in executing this power ; and equally necessary that, if erected, they should be erected by his authority. And hence it is, that all jurisdictions of courts are either mediately or immediately derived from the crown, their proceedings run generally in the king's name, they pass under his seal, and are executed by his officers.

It is probable, and almost certain, that in very early times, before our constitution arrived at its full perfection, our kings in person often heard and determined causes between party and party. But at present, by the long and uniform usage of many ages, our kings have delegated their whole judicial power to the judges of their several courts ; which are the grand depositaries of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and have gained a known and stated jurisdiction,

(*o*) C. 123.

(*p*) 3 Inst. 175.

(*q*) 5 Ric. II. c. 2.

(*r*) 1 Hawk. P. C. 22.

(*s*) *Ad hoc autem creatus, est et electus ut justitiam faciat universis.* Bract. l. 3, tr. 1, c. 9.

(18) [At first this writ was employed to hinder the clergy from going to Rome ; it was afterward extended to laymen machinating and concerting measures against the state ; and has at length been applied to prevent a subterfuge from the justice of the nation, though in matters of private concernment. It is now issuable from the court of chancery, in order to get bail for any certain, equitable and money debt, due to a person within the jurisdiction and entitled to sue the debtor for such demand, and it is granted upon affidavit of the debtor's intention to go abroad. See 2 Maddock's Ch. Pr. 279, and Beames on *Ne Exeat Regno*.]

(19) [The exercise of this prerogative has been long disused, and it is probable that it will never be resumed. For the ancient learning upon it, see 3 Inst. c. 84.]

regulated by certain and established rules, which the crown itself cannot now alter but by act of parliament. (*t*) And in order to maintain both the dignity and independence of the judges in the superior courts, it is enacted by the statute 13 Wm. III, c. 2, that their commissions shall be made (not, as formerly, *durante bene placito*, but) *quamdiu bene se gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established; but that it may be lawful to remove them on the address of both houses of parliament. And now, by the noble improvements of that law, in the statute of 1 Geo. III, c. 23, enacted at the earnest recommendation of *the king himself from the throne, the judges are continued in their [*268] offices during their good behavior, notwithstanding any demise of the crown, (which was formerly held (*w*) immediately to vacate their seats) (20) and their full salaries are absolutely secured to them during the continuance of their commissions; his majesty having been pleased to declare, that "he looked upon the independence and uprightness of the judges as essential to the impartial administration of justice; as one of the best securities of the rights and liberties of his subjects; and as most conducive to the honor of the crown."(*x*)

In criminal proceedings, or prosecutions for offences, it would be a still higher absurdity if the king personally sate in judgment; because, in regard to these, he appears in another capacity, that of *prosecutor*. All offences are either against the king's peace, or his crown and dignity; and are so laid in every indictment. For though in their consequences they generally seem (except in the case of treason, and a very few others,) to be rather offences against the kingdom than the king, yet as the public, which is an invisible body, has delegated all its power and rights, with regard to the execution of the laws to one visible magistrate; all affronts to that power, and breaches of those rights are immediately offences against him, to whom they are so delegated by the public. He is therefore the proper person to prosecute for all public offences and breaches of the peace, being the person injured in the eye of the law. And this notion was carried so far in the old Gothic constitution, (wherein the king was bound by his coronation oath to conserve the peace,) that in case of any forcible injury offered to the person of a fellow-subject, the offender was accused of a kind of perjury, in having violated the king's coronation oath, *dicebatur fregisse juramentum regis juratum*. (*y*) And hence also arises another *branch of [*269] the prerogative, that of *pardoning* offences; for it is reasonable that he only who is injured should have the power of forgiving. (21) Of prosecutions and pardons I shall treat more at large hereafter: and only mention them here,

(*t*) 2 Hawk. P. C. 2.

(*w*) Lord Raym. 747.

(*x*) Com. Journ. 8 Mar. 1761.

(*y*) Stiernh. *de jure Goth.* 1. 3, c. 3. A notion somewhat similar to this may be found in the *Mirror*, c. 1, § 5. And so also, when the Chief Justice Thorpe was condemned to be hanged for bribery, he was said *sacramentum domini regis fregisse*. *Rot. Parl.* 25 Edw. III.

(20) [All their commissions became vacant upon the demise of the crown, till they were continued for six months longer by 1 Ann. Stat. 1, c. 8.]

The judges of the courts of the United States hold their offices during good behavior, and receive for their services a compensation which cannot be diminished during their continuance in office. Const. art. 3, § 1. They are appointed by the president and confirmed by the senate. Const. art. 2, § 2. They may be removed from office by the process of impeachment, like other civil officers, and, by an act of congress passed in 1869, they may retire after ten years service, without diminution of salary, at the age of 70 years. The territorial judicial officers hold only during pleasure.

(21) ["This high prerogative is inseparably incident to the crown, and the king is intrusted with it upon special confidence that he will spare those only whose case, could it have been foreseen, the law itself may be presumed willing to have excepted out of its general rules, which the wisdom of man cannot make so perfect as to suit every particular case." Co. Lit. 114, b.; Hal. P. C. 104; 3 Inst. 233; Show, 284. The power of the crown to pardon a forfeiture and to grant restitution can only be exercised where things remain in statu quo, but not so as to affect legal rights vested in third persons. *Rex v. Amery*, 2 Term Rep. 569. This is a personal trust and prerogative in the king for a fountain of bounty and grace to his subjects, as he observes them deserving or useful to the public, which he can, neither by grant, or otherwise, extinguish: per Holt, C. J., Ld. Raym. 214. As he cannot but have the administration of public revenge, so he cannot but have a power to remit it by his pardon when he judges proper. *Idem*.]

in this cursory manner, to shew the constitutional grounds of this power of the crown, and how regularly connected all the links are in this vast chain of prerogative.

In this distinct and separate existence of the judicial power in a peculiar body of men, nominated indeed, but not removable at pleasure, by the crown, consists one main preservative of the public liberty which cannot subsist long in any state unless the administration of common justice be in some degree separated both from the legislative and also from the executive power. Were it joined with the legislative, the life, liberty, and property of the subject would be in the hands of arbitrary judges, whose decisions would be then regulated only by their own opinions, and not by any fundamental principles of law; which, though legislators may depart from, yet judges are bound to observe. Were it joined with the executive, this union might soon be an overbalance for the legislative. For which reason, by the statute of 16 Car. I, c. 10, which abolished the court of star chamber, effectual care is taken to remove all judicial power out of the hands of the king's privy council; who, as then was evident from recent instances, might soon be inclined to pronounce that for law which was most agreeable to the prince or his officers. Nothing therefore is more to be avoided, in a free constitution, than uniting the provinces of a judge and a minister of state. And, indeed, that the absolute power claimed and exercised in a neighbouring nation is more tolerable than that of the eastern empires, is in great measure owing to their having vested the judicial power in their parliaments, a body separate and distinct from both the legislative and executive; and, if ever that nation recovers its former liberty, it will owe it to the efforts of those assemblies. In Turkey, where every thing is centered in the [*270] sultan or his ministers, *despotic power is in its meridian, and wears a more dreadful aspect.

A consequence of this prerogative is the legal *ubiquity* of the king. His majesty in the eye of the law is always present in all his courts, though he cannot personally distribute justice. (z) His judges are the mirror by which the king's image is reflected. It is the regal office, and not the royal person, that is always present in court, always ready to undertake prosecutions, or pronounce judgment, for the benefit and protection of the subject. And from this ubiquity it follows, that the king can never be nonsuit; (a) for a nonsuit is the desertion of the suit or action by the non-appearance of the plaintiff in court. (22) For the same reason, also, in the forms of legal proceedings, the king is not said to appear *by his attorney*, as other men do; for in contemplation of law he is always present in court. (b)

From the same original, of the king's being the fountain of justice, we may also deduce the prerogative of issuing proclamations, which is vested in the king alone. These proclamations have then a binding force, when, (as Sir Edward Coke observes,) (c) they are grounded upon and enforce the laws of the realm. For, though the making of laws is entirely the work of a distinct part, the legislative branch of the sovereign power, yet the manner, time, and circumstances of putting those laws in execution must frequently be left to the discretion of the executive magistrate. And therefore his constitutions or edicts concerning these points, which we call proclamations, are binding upon the subject, where they do not either contradict the old laws or tend to establish new ones; but only enforce the execution of such laws as are already in being, in such manner as the king shall judge necessary. Thus the established law is, that the king may prohibit any of his subjects from leaving the realm: a proclamation therefore forbidding this in general for three weeks, by laying *an [*271] embargo upon all shipping in time of war, (d) will be equally binding

(s) Fortesc. c. 8. 2 Inst. 186.
(d) 4 Mod. 177, 179.

(a) Co. Litt. 139.

(b) Finch. l. 81.

(c) 3 Inst. 162.

(22) [But the attorney-general may enter a *non vult prosequi*, which has the effect of a nonsuit. Co. Litt. 139.]

as an act of parliament, because founded upon a prior law. But a proclamation to lay an embargo in time of peace upon all vessels laden with wheat (though in a time of a public scarcity) being contrary to law, and particularly to statute 22 Car. II, c. 13, the advisers of such a proclamation, and all persons acting under it, found it necessary to be indemnified by a special act of parliament, 7 Geo. III, c. 7. A proclamation for disarming papists is also binding, being only in execution of what the legislature has first ordained: but a proclamation for allowing arms to papists, or for disarming any protestant subjects will not bind; because the first would be to assume a dispensing power, the latter a legislative one; to the vesting of either of which in any single person the laws of England are absolutely strangers. Indeed by the statute 31 Hen. VIII, c. 8, it was enacted, that the king's proclamations should have the force of acts of parliament; a statute which was calculated to introduce the most despotic tyranny, and which must have proved fatal to the liberties of this kingdom, had it not been luckily repealed in the minority of his successor, about five years after. (e) (23)

IV. The king is likewise the fountain of honour, of office, and of privilege; and this in a different sense from that wherein he is styled the fountain of justice; for here he is really the parent of them. It is impossible that government can be maintained without a due subordination of rank; that the people may know and distinguish such as are set over them, in order to yield them their due respect and obedience; and also that the officers themselves, being encouraged by emulation and the hopes of superiority, may the better discharge their functions; and the law supposes that no one can be so good a judge of their several merits and services, as the king himself who employs them. It has, therefore, intrusted him with the sole power of conferring dignities and honours, in confidence that he will bestow them upon none but such as deserve them. And therefore all degrees of *nobility, of knighthood, and other titles, [*272] are received by immediate grant from the crown: either expressed in writing by writs or letters patent, as in the creation of peers and baronets; or by corporeal investiture, as in the creation of a simple knight. (24)

From the same principle also arises the prerogative of erecting and disposing of offices; for honours and offices are in their nature convertible and synonymous. All offices under the crown carry in the eye of the law an honour along with them; because they imply a superiority of parts and abilities, being supposed to be always filled with those that are most able to execute them. And on the other hand, all honours in their original had duties or offices annexed to them; an earl, *comes*, was the conservator or governor of a county; and a knight, *miles*, was bound to attend the king in his wars. For the same reason, therefore, that honours are in the disposal of the king, offices ought to be so likewise; and as the king may create new titles, so may he create new offices: but with this restriction, that he cannot create new offices with new fees annexed to them, nor annex new fees to old offices; for this would be a tax upon the subject, which cannot be imposed but by act of parliament. (f) Wherefore, in 13 Hen. IV, a new office being created by the king's letters patent for measuring cloths, with a new fee for the same, the letters patent were, on account of the new fee, revoked and declared void in parliament.

Upon the same, or a like reason, the king has also the prerogative of conferring privileges upon private persons. Such as granting place or precedence to

(e) Stat. 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.

(f) 2 Inst. 533.

(23) [Proclamations, and what are often equivalent to them, orders of the privy council, in respect of subjects of revenue, sometimes issue upon public grounds; but as these are always examinable in parliament, their abuse for any continued period can hardly occur; yet, being the assumption of a dispensing power, vigilance on their promulgation cannot be too strict.]

(24) Titles of nobility are forbidden to be granted by the United States, or by any of the individual states, and no person holding any office of trust or profit under them, can, without the consent of congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign state. Const. of U. S., art. 1, §§ 9 and 10.

any of his subjects, (25) as shall seem good to his royal wisdom: (g) or such as converting aliens, or persons born out of the king's dominions into denizens; (26) whereby some very considerable privileges of natural-born subjects are conferred upon them. Such also is the prerogative of erecting corporations; whereby a number of private persons are united and knit together, and enjoy [*273] many liberties, powers and immunities in their politic *capacity, which they were utterly incapable of in their natural. (27) Of aliens, denizens, natural-born, and naturalized subjects, I shall speak more largely in a subsequent chapter; as also of corporations at the close of this book of our commentaries. I now only mention them incidentally, in order to remark the king's prerogative of making them; which is grounded upon this foundation, that the king, having the sole administration of the government in his hands, is the best and the only judge in what capacities, with what privileges, and under what distinctions, his people are the best qualified to serve and to act under him. A principle which was carried so far by the imperial law, that it was determined to be the crime of sacrilege, even to doubt whether the prince had appointed proper officers in the state. (h)

V. Another light in which the laws of England consider the king with regard to domestic concerns, is as the arbiter of commerce. By commerce, I at present mean domestic commerce only. It would lead me into too large a field, if I were to attempt to enter upon the nature of foreign trade, its privileges, regulations, and restrictions; and would be also quite beside the purpose of these commentaries, which are confined to the laws of England; whereas no municipal laws can be sufficient to order and determine the very extensive and complicated affairs of traffic and merchandize; neither can they have a proper authority for this purpose. For, as these are transactions carried on between subjects of independent states, the municipal laws of one will not be regarded by the other. For which reason the affairs of commerce are regulated by a law of their own, called the law merchant or *lex mercatoria*, which all nations agree in, and take notice of. And in particular it is held to be part of the law of England, which decides the causes of merchants by the general rules which obtain in all commercial countries; and that often, even in matters relating to domestic trade, as for instance, with regard to the drawing, the acceptance, and the transfer of inland bills of exchange. (i)

[*274] *With us in England, the king's prerogative, so far as it relates to mere domestic commerce, will fall principally under the following articles:

First, the establishment of public marts, or places of buying and selling, such as markets and fairs, with the tolls thereunto belonging. These can only be set up by virtue of the king's grant, or by long and immemorial usage and prescription, which presupposes such a grant. (k) The limitation of these public resorts to such time and such place as may be most convenient for the neighbourhood, forms a part of economics, or domestic polity, which, considering the kingdom as a large family, and the king as the master of it, he clearly has a right to dispose and order as he pleases.

(g) 4 Inst. 361. (h) *Disputare de principali judicio non oportet; sacrilegii enim instar est, dubitare an is dignus sit, quem elegerit imperator.* C. 9, 29, 3. (i) Co. Litt. 172. Ld. Raym. 181, 1542. (k) 2 Inst. 220.

(25) [The king by the common law could have created a duke, earl, &c., and could have given him precedence before all others of the same rank, a prerogative not unfrequently exercised in ancient times; but it was restrained by the 31 Hen. VIII, c. 10, which settles the place or precedence of all the nobility and great officers of state.]

(26) This power in the United States is conferred upon congress. Const. art. 1, § 8.

(27) In America, the power to create corporations is a legislative power, and is not conferred upon the general government in express terms in the constitution, but has been exercised as auxiliary to powers expressly given; as in the incorporation of the United States bank, and in the act under which the present national banks are organized. See *McCulloch v. Maryland*, 4 Wheat. 316. Within the District of Columbia, congress, possessing exclusive powers of legislation, may of course charter corporations. But there, as well as in the territories generally, this power is allowed to be exercised by the local legislature.

In England the power to create corporations is exercised by the Legislature, and the royal prerogative is disused.

Secondly, the regulation of weights and measures. These, for the advantage of the public, ought to be universally the same throughout the kingdom; being the general criterions which reduce all things to the same or an equivalent value. But, as weight and measure are things in their nature arbitrary and uncertain, it is therefore expedient that they be reduced to some fixed rule or standard; which standard it is impossible to fix by any written law or oral proclamation; for no man can, by words only, give another an adequate idea of a foot-rule, or a pound-weight. It is therefore necessary to have recourse to some visible, palpable, material standard; by forming a comparison with which all weights and measures may be reduced to one uniform size: and the prerogative of fixing this standard our ancient law vested in the crown, as in Normandy it belonged to the duke. (*l*) This standard was originally kept at Winchester; and we find in the laws of King Edgar, (*m*) near a century before the conquest, an injunction that the one measure, which was kept at Winchester, should be observed throughout the realm. Most nations have regulated the standard of measures of length by *comparison with the parts of the human body; as the palm, the [*275] hand, the span, the foot, the cubit, the ell, (*ulna*, or arm,) the pace, and the fathom. But, as these are of different dimensions in men of different proportions, our ancient historians (*n*) inform us, that a new standard of longitudinal measure was ascertained by King Henry the First, who commanded that the *ulna*, or ancient ell, which answers to the modern yard, should be made of the exact length of his own arm. And, one standard of measures of length being gained, all others are easily derived from thence; those of greater length by multiplying, those of less by subdividing, that original standard. Thus, by the statute called *compositio ulnarum et perticarum*, five yards and a half make a perch; and the yard is subdivided into three feet, and each foot into twelve inches; which inches will be each of the length of three grains of barley. Superficial measures are derived by squaring those of length; and measures of capacity by cubing them. The standard of weights was originally taken from corns of wheat, whence the lowest denomination of weights we have is still called a grain; thirty-two of which are directed, by the statute called *compositio mensurarum*, to compose a penny-weight, whereof twenty make an ounce, twelve ounces a pound, and so upwards. And upon these principles the first standards were made; which, being originally so fixed by the crown, their subsequent regulations have been generally made by the king in parliament. Thus, under King Richard I, in his parliament holden at Westminster, A. D. 1197, it was ordained that there should be only one weight and one measure throughout the kingdom, and that the custody of the assize, or standard of weights and measures, should be committed to certain persons in every city and borough; (*o*) from whence the ancient office of the king's aulnager seems to have been derived, whose duty it was, for a certain fee, to measure all cloths made for sale, till the office was abolished by the statute 11 and 12 Wm. III, c. 20. In King John's time, this ordinance of King Richard was *frequently dispensed with [*276] for money, (*p*) which occasioned a provision to be made for enforcing it, in the great charters of King John and his son. (*q*) These original standards were called *pondus regis*, (*r*) and *mensura domini regis*; (*s*) and are directed by a variety of subsequent statutes to be kept in the exchequer, and all weights and measures to be made conformable thereto. (*t*) But, as Sir Edward Coke observes, (*u*) though this hath so often by authority of parliament been enacted, yet it could never be effected; so forcible is custom with the multitude. (28)

(*l*) *Gr. Coustum*, c. 18.(*m*) *Cap. 8.*(*n*) Will. Malmsh. *in vita Hen. I.* Spelm. *Hen. I.* apud Wilkins, 299.(*o*) Hoved. Matth. Paris.(*p*) Hoved, A. D. 1201.(*q*) 9 Hen. III. c. 25.(*r*) *Plac. 35 Edw. I.* apud Cowell's Interpr. *tit. pondus regis.*(*s*) *Flet.* 2, 12.(*t*) 14 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 12. 25 Edw. III. st. 5, c. 10. 16 Ric. II. c. 3. 8 Hen. VI. c. 5. 11 Hen. VI. c. 8. 11 Hen. VII. c. 4. 22 Car. II. c. 8.(*u*) 2 Inst. 41.

(28) [The regulation of weights and measures cannot with propriety be referred to the king's prerogative: for from *magna charta* to the present time there are above twenty acts of

Thirdly, as money is the medium of commerce, it is the king's prerogative, as the arbiter of domestic commerce, to give it authority or make it current. Money is an universal medium, or common standard, by comparison with which the value of all merchandize may be ascertained; or it is a sign which represents the respective values of all commodities. Metals are well calculated for this sign, because they are durable and are capable of many subdivisions; and a precious metal is still better calculated for this purpose, because it is the most portable. A metal is also the most proper for a common measure, because it can easily be reduced to the same standard in all nations: and every particular nation fixes on it its own impression, that the weight and standard (wherein consists the intrinsic value) may both be known by inspection only.

As the quantity of precious metals increases, that is, the more of them there is extracted from the mine, this universal medium, or common sign, will sink in value, and grow less precious. Above a thousand millions of bullion are calculated to have been imported into Europe from America within less than three [*277] centuries; and the quantity is daily increasing. *The consequence is, that more money must be given now for the same commodity than was given an hundred years ago. And, if any accident were to diminish the quantity of gold and silver, their value would proportionably rise. A horse, that was formerly worth ten pounds, is now perhaps worth twenty; and, by any failure of current specie, the price may be reduced to what it was. Yet is the horse in reality neither dearer nor cheaper at one time than another: for, if the metal which constitutes the coin was formerly twice as scarce as at present, the commodity was then as dear at half the price as now it is at the whole. (29)

The coining of money is in all states the act of the sovereign power; for the reason just mentioned, that its value may be known on inspection. (30) And with respect to coinage in general, there are three things to be considered therein; the materials, the impression and the denomination.

parliament to fix and establish the standard and uniformity of weights and measures. A custom or usage countervailing these statutes is void in law. On these customs, see 3 T. R. 271; 4 id. 314, 150; 5 id. 353; 6 id. 338; 4 Taunt. 102.]

In the United States, the power to regulate weights and measures, is in congress. Const. art. 1, § 8.

(29) [In considering the prices of articles in ancient times, regard must always be had to the weight of the shilling, or the quantity of silver which it contained at different periods. From the conquest till the 20th year of Edward III, a pound sterling was actually a pound troy weight of silver, which was divided into twenty shillings; so if ten pounds at that time were the price of a horse, the same quantity of silver was paid for it as is now given, if its price is thirty pounds.]

This, therefore, is one great cause of the apparent difference in the prices of commodities in ancient and modern times. About the year 1347, Edward III coined twenty-two shillings out of a pound; and five years afterwards he coined twenty-five shillings out of the same quantity. Henry V, in the beginning of his reign, divided the pound into thirty shillings, and then, of consequence, the shilling was double the weight of a shilling at present. Henry VII increased the number to forty, which was the standard number till the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. She then coined a pound sterling of silver into sixty-two shillings. And now by 56 Geo. III, c. 68, the pound troy of standard silver, eleven ounces two pennyweights fine, &c., may be coined into sixty-six shillings. See money, in the index to Hume's Hist. Dr. Adam Smith, at the end of his first volume, has given tables specifying the average prices of wheat for five hundred and fifty years back, and has reduced for each year the money of that time into the money of the present day. But in his calculation he has called the pound since Elizabeth's time sixty shillings. Taking it at that rate, we may easily find the equivalent in modern money of any sum in ancient time, if we know the number of shillings which weighed a pound, by this simple rule: as the number of shillings in a pound at that time is to sixty, so is any sum at that time to its equivalent at present; as for instance, in the time of Henry V, as thirty shillings are to sixty shillings now, so ten pounds then were equal to twenty pounds of present money.]

(30) The power to coin money and to regulate the value thereof, is, by the constitution of the United States, conferred upon congress: art. 1, § 5; and the states, by the same instrument, are forbidden to make any thing but gold and silver a legal tender in payment of debts. Art. 1, § 10. The question whether congress has the power to make any thing except the coins from these metals a legal tender, has recently become an important one, and has led to several judicial opinions which are not harmonious. The act of congress of February 25,

With regard to the materials, Sir Edward Coke lays it down, (*v*) that the money of England must either be of gold or silver; and none other was ever issued by the royal authority till 1672, when copper farthings and half-pence were coined by King Charles the Second, and ordered by proclamation to be current in all payments, under the value of sixpence, and not otherwise. But this copper coin is not upon the same footing with the other in many respects, particularly with regard to the offence of counterfeiting it. And, as to the silver coin, it is enacted by statute 14 Geo. III, c. 42, that no tender of payment in silver money, exceeding twenty-five pounds at one time, shall be a sufficient tender in law for more than its value by weight, at the rate of 5s. 2d. an ounce.

As to the impression, the stamping thereof is the unquestionable prerogative of the crown: for, though divers bishops and monasteries had formerly the privilege of coining money, yet, as Sir Matthew Hale observes, (*w*) this was usually done by special grant from the king or by prescription, which supposes one; and therefore was derived from, and not in derogation of, the royal prerogative. Besides that they had only the profit of the coinage, and not the power of instituting either the impression or denomination; but had usually [*278] the stamp sent them from the exchequer.

The denomination, or the value for which the coin is to pass current, is likewise in the breast of the king; and, if any unusual pieces are coined, that value must be ascertained by proclamation. In order to fix the value, the weight and the fineness of the metal are to be taken into consideration together. When a given weight of gold or silver is of a given fineness, it is then of the true standard, (*x*) and called esterling or sterling metal; a name for which there are various reasons given, (*y*) but none of them entirely satisfactory. (31) And of this sterling or esterling metal all the coin of the kingdom must be made, by the statute 25 Edw. III, c. 13. So that the king's prerogative seemeth not to extend to the debasing or enhancing the value of the coin, below or above the sterling value, (*z*) though Sir Matthew Hale (*a*) appears to be of another opinion. (32) The king may also, by his proclamation, legitimate foreign coin,

(*v*) 2 Inst. 577.

(*w*) 1 Hist. P. C. 191.

(*x*) This standard hath been frequently varied in former times; but hath for many years past been thus invariably settled. The pound troy of gold, consisting of twenty-two carats (or twenty-four parts, fine, and two of alloy, is divided into forty-four guineas and a half of the present value of 21s. each. And the pound troy of silver, consisting of eleven ounces and two pennyweights pure and eighteen pennyweights alloy, is divided into sixty-two shillings. (See Folkes on English Coins.)

(*y*) Spehm. Gloss. 203. Dufresne, III. 165. The most plausible opinion seems to be that adopted by those two etymologists, that the name was derived from the *Esterlingi*, or Esterlings; as those Saxons were anciently called, who inhabited that district of Germany, now occupied by the Hanse Towns and their appendages; the earliest traders in modern Europe.

(*z*) 2 Inst. 577.

(*a*) 1 Hal. P. C. 194.

1862, provided for a considerable issue of treasury notes, and while making them receivable for most dues to the United States, also provided that they should be "lawful money and legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, within the United States," except duties on imports, and interest on the public debt. The constitutional validity of this act, as applied to pre-existing debts, has frequently been before the state courts, and has generally been sustained—though not always on the same grounds—even when the obligation by its terms was made payable in gold. See *Metropolitan Bank v. Van Dyck*, 27 N. Y. 400; *Van Husan v. Kanouse*, 13 Mich. 303; *Lick v. Faulkner*, 25 Cal. 404; *Thayer v. Hedges*, 23 Ind. 141; *Breitenbach v. Turner*, 18 Wis. 140; *Wood v. Bullens*, 6 Allen, 516; *Warnibold v. Schlichting*, 16 Iowa, 244; *George v. Concord*, 45 N. H. 434; *Maynard v. Newman*, 1 Neb. 271. The supreme court of the United States has held, however, that contracts made before the act, and expressly by their terms payable in gold and silver coin: *Bronson v. Rodes*, 7 Wal. 229; and contracts where it is the clear intent of the parties that satisfaction should be made in such coin: *Butler v. Horwitz*, 7 Wal. 258; cannot be discharged by a tender of treasury notes. Afterwards that court held in *Hepburn v. Griswold*, 8 Wal. 603, that all contracts entered into when coin constituted the only legal currency can only be discharged by payment in coin. But a majority of the court has since reversed this decision, and fully sustained the constitutionality of the legal tender act. The case is not yet reported.

(31) [But since 1816 the pound troy of standard gold has been coined into 46 89-129 sovereigns, or 46l. 14s. 6d. And since the same date the pound troy of silver has been coined into sixty-six shillings. McCulloch Dic. Com. *sub voce*, Coins.]

(32) [Lord Hale refers to the case of mixed money in Davies' Reports, 48, in support of his opinion. A person in Ireland had borrowed 100l. of sterling money, and had given a bond to repay it on a certain future day. In the mean time Queen Elizabeth, for the purpose of paying her armies and creditors in Ireland, had coined mixed or base money, and by her proclamation

and make it current here, declaring at what value it shall be taken in payments. (b) But this, I apprehend, ought to be by comparison with the standard of our own coin; otherwise the consent of parliament will be necessary. There is at present no such legitimated money; Portugal coin being only current by private consent, so that any one who pleases may refuse to take it in payment. The king may also at any time decry, or cry down, any coin of the kingdom, and make it no longer current. (c)

VI. The king is, lastly, considered by the laws of England as the head and supreme governor of the national church.

To enter into the reasons upon which this prerogative is founded is matter rather of divinity than of law. I shall therefore only observe that, by statute 26 Hen. VIII, c. 1, (reciting that the king's majesty justly and rightfully is and [*279] ought *to be the supreme head of the church of England; and so had been recognized by the clergy of this kingdom in their convocation,) it is enacted, that the king shall be reputed the only supreme head in earth of the church of England, and shall have, annexed to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all jurisdictions, authorities and commodities, to the said dignity of the supreme head of the church appertaining. And another statute to the same purport, was made, 1 Eliz. c. 1.

In virtue of this authority the king convenes, prorogues, restrains, regulates, and dissolves all ecclesiastical synods or convocations. This was an inherent prerogative of the crown long before the time of Henry VIII, as appears by the statute 8 Hen. VI, c. 1, and the many authors, both lawyers and historians, vouched by Sir Edward Coke. (d) So that the statute 25 Hen. VIII, c. 19, which restrains the convocation from making or putting in execution any canons repugnant to the king's prerogative, or the laws, customs and statutes of the realm, was merely declaratory of the old common law: (e) that part of it only being new which makes the king's royal assent actually necessary to the validity of every canon. The convocation, or ecclesiastical synod, in England, differs considerably in its constitution from the synods of other Christian kingdoms: those consisting wholly of bishops; whereas with us the convocation is the miniature of a parliament wherein the archbishop presides with regal state; the upper house of bishops represents the house of lords; and the lower house, composed of representatives of the several dioceses at large, and of each particular chapter therein, resembles the house of commons, with its knights of the shire and burgesses. (f) (33) This constitution is said to be owing to the policy of Edward I, who thereby, at one and the same time, let in the inferior [*280] clergy to the privilege of forming *ecclesiastical canons (which before they had not,) and also introduced a method of taxing ecclesiastical benefices, by consent of convocation. (g)

From this prerogative also, of being the head of the church, arises the king's right of nomination to vacant bishoprics, and certain other ecclesiastical preferments; which will more properly be considered when we come to treat of the

(b) Ibid. 197.

(c) 1 Hal. P. C. 197.

(d) 4 Inst. 322, 323.

(e) 12 Rep. 72.

(f) In the diet of Sweden, where the ecclesiastics form one of the branches of the legislature, the chamber of the clergy resembles the convocation of England. It is composed of the bishops and superintendents; and also of deputies, one of which is chosen by every ten parishes or rural deanery. Mod. Un. Hist. xxxiii. 18.

(g) Gilb. Hist. of Exch. c. 4.

had ordered it to pass current, and had cried down the former coin. The debtor on the appointed day tendered 100*l.* in this base coin; and it was determined upon great consideration that it was a legal tender, and that the lender was obliged to receive it. Natural equity would have given a different decision.]

(33) [And by stat. 8 Hen. VI, c. 1, the clergy in attendance upon the convocation are privileged from arrest. If not at the period specified, as head of the church, (presuming the pope, temp. Edw. I, to have arrogated that elevated dignity,) yet as king of England, we find a remarkable exercise of power delegated by him to the bishops: "And the kynge hath grantyd to all bysshoppys that twyse in a yere they may curse all men doying against these articles." *The grete Abregement of the Statutys of Englonde untill the xxij yere of Kyng Henry the VIII.* 257. This clause is in effect found in the statute, or rather charter, *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo.* 34 Edw. I, c. 6.]

clergy. I shall only here observe that this is now done in consequence of the statute 25 Hen. VIII, c. 20.

As head of the church, the king is likewise the *dernier resort* in all ecclesiastical causes; an appeal lying ultimately to him in chancery from the sentence of every ecclesiastical judge: which right was restored to the crown by statute 25 Hen. VIII, c. 19, as will be more fully shown hereafter. (34)

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE KING'S REVENUE.

HAVING, in the preceding chapter, considered at large those branches of the king's prerogative, which contribute to his royal dignity, and constitute the executive power of the government, we proceed now to examine the king's *fiscal* prerogatives, or such as regard his *revenue*; which the British constitution hath vested in the royal person, in order to support his dignity and maintain his power: being a portion which each subject contributes of his property, in order to secure the remainder.

This revenue is either ordinary or extraordinary. The king's ordinary revenue is such as has either subsisted time out of mind in the crown; or else has been granted by parliament by way of purchase or exchange for such of the king's inherent hereditary revenues, as were found inconvenient to the subject.

When I say that it has subsisted time out of mind in the crown, I do not mean that the king is at present in the actual possession of the whole of this revenue. Much (nay, the greatest part) of it is at this day in the hands of subjects; to whom it has been granted out from time to time by the kings of England: which has rendered the crown in some measure dependent on the people for its ordinary support and subsistence. So that I must be obliged to recount, as part of the royal revenue, what lords of manors and other subjects *frequently look upon to be their own absolute inherent rights; because [*282] they are and have been vested in them and their ancestors for ages, though in reality originally derived from the grants of our ancient princes.

I. The first of the king's ordinary revenues which I shall take notice of is of an ecclesiastical kind; (as are also the three succeeding ones) viz.: the custody of the temporalities of bishops: by which are meant all the lay revenues, lands and tenements (in which is included his barony,) which belong to an archbishop's or bishop's see. And these, upon the vacancy of the bishopric, are immediately the right of the king, as a consequence of his prerogative in church matters; whereby he is considered as the founder of all archbishoprics and bishoprics, to whom during the vacancy they revert. And for the same reason, before the dissolution of abbeyes, the king had the custody of the temporalities of all such abbeyes and priories as were of royal foundation (but not of those founded by subjects) on the death of the abbot or prior. (a) Another reason may also be given why the policy of the law hath vested this custody in the king; because, as the successor is not known, the lands and possessions of the see would be liable to spoil and devastation if no one had a property therein. Therefore, the law has given the king, not the temporalities themselves, but the *custody* of the temporalities, till such time as a successor is appointed; with power of taking to himself all the intermediate profits, without any account of the successor; and with right of presenting (which the crown very frequently exercises)

(a) 2 Inst. 15.

(34) Appeals are now taken in these cases to the judicial committee of the privy council.

to such benefices and other preferments as fall within the time of vacation. (*b*) This revenue is of so high a nature that it could not be granted out to a subject, before, or even after, it accrued: but now by the statute 15 Edw. III, st. 4, c. 4 and 5, the king may, after the vacancy, lease the temporalities to the dean and chapter; saving to himself all advowsons, escheats, and the like. Our ancient kings, and particularly William Rufus, were not only remarkable for [*283] keeping the bishoprics a long time *vacant, for the sake of enjoying the temporalities, but also committed horrible waste on the woods and other parts of the estate; and to crown all, would never, when the see was filled up, restore to the bishop his temporalities again, unless he purchased them at an exorbitant price. To remedy which, King Henry the First (*c*) granted a charter at the beginning of his reign, promising neither to sell, nor let to farm, nor take any thing from the domains of the church, till the successor was installed. (1) And it was made one of the articles of the great charter, (*d*) that no waste should be committed in the temporalities of bishoprics, neither should the custody of them be sold. The same is ordained by the statute of Westminster the first; (*e*) and the statute 14 Edw. III, st. 4, c. 4, (which permits, as we have seen, a lease to the dean and chapter,) is still more explicit in prohibiting the other exactions. It was also a frequent abuse that the king would, for trifling, or no causes, seize the temporalities of bishops, even during their lives, into his own hands: but this is guarded against by statute 1 Edw. III, st. 2, c. 2.

This revenue of the king, which was formerly very considerable, is now by a customary indulgence almost reduced to nothing: for, at present, as soon as the new bishop is consecrated and confirmed, he usually receives the restitution of his temporalities quite entire, and untouched, from the king; and at the same time does homage to his sovereign: and then, and not sooner, he has a fee simple in his bishopric, and may maintain an action for the profits. (*f*)

II. The king is entitled to a corody, as the law calls it, out of every bishopric, that is, to send one of his chaplains to be maintained by the bishop, or to have a pension allowed him till the bishop promotes him to a benefice. (*g*) This is also in the nature of an acknowledgment to the king, as founder of the see, since he had formerly the same corody or pension from every abbey or priory [*284] of royal foundation. (2) It is, I *apprehend, now fallen into total disuse; though Sir Matthew Hale says, (*h*) that it is due of common right, and that no prescription will discharge it.

III. The king also, as was formerly observed, (*i*) is entitled to all the tithes arising in extraparochial places: (*k*) though perhaps it may be doubted how far this article, as well as the last, can be properly reckoned a part of the king's own royal revenue; since a corody supports only his chaplains, and these extraparochial tythes are held under an implied trust, that the king will distribute them for the good of the clergy in general.

IV. The next branch consists in the first-fruits, and tenths, of all spiritual preferments in the kingdom; both of which I shall consider together.

These were originally a part of the papal usurpations over the clergy of this kingdom; first introduced by Pandulph, the pope's legate, during the reigns of King John and Henry the Third, in the see of Norwich; and afterwards attempted to be made universal by the popes Clement V and John XXII, about the beginning of the fourteenth century. The first-fruits, *primitiæ*, or *annates*,

(*b*) Stat. 17 Edw. II. c. 14. F. N. B. 32. (*c*) Matt. Paris.

(*d*) 9 Hen. III. c. 5. (*e*) 3 Edw. I. c. 21.

(*f*) Co. Litt. 67, 341.

(*g*) F. N. B. 230.

(*k*) 2 Inst. 647.

(*h*) Notes on F. N. B. above cited.

(*i*) Page 113.

(1) [But Queen Elizabeth kept the see of Ely vacant nineteen years, in order to retain the revenue. Strype, vol. 4, 351.]

(2) [So where the foundation was not royal, it was usual for the founders to give their heirs a corody, viz.: a charge upon the particular monastery or abbey sufficient to prevent them from starving. And those persons, disinherited of the lands by their relations, were there subsisted during life.]

were the first year's whole profits of the spiritual preferment, according to a rate or *valor* made under the direction of Pope Innocent IV, by Walter, bishop of Norwich, in 38 Hen. III, and afterwards advanced in value by commission from Pope Nicholas III, A. D. 1292, 20 Edw. I; (*l*) which valuation of Pope Nicholas is still preserved in the exchequer. (*m*) (3) The tenths, or *decimæ*, were the tenth part of the annual profit of each living by the same valuation; which was also claimed by the holy see, under no better pretence than a strange misapplication of that precept of the Levitical law, which directs (*n*) that the Levites "should offer the tenth part of their tithes as a heave-offering to the Lord, and give it to Aaron the *high* priest." But *this claim of the pope met with a vigorous resistance from the English parliament; and a [*285] variety of acts were passed to prevent and restrain it, particularly the statute of 6 Hen. IV, c. 1, which calls it a horrible mischief and a damnable custom. But the popish clergy, blindly devoted to the will of a foreign master, still kept it on foot; sometimes more secretly, sometimes more openly and avowedly: so that in the reign of Henry VIII it was computed, that in the compass of fifty years 800,000 ducats had been sent to Rome for first-fruits only. And, as the clergy expressed this willingness to contribute so much of their income to the head of the church, it was thought proper (when in the same reign the papal power was abolished, and the king was declared the head of the church of England,) to annex this revenue to the crown; which was done by statute 26 Hen. VIII, c. 3, (confirmed by statute 1 Eliz. c. 4,) and a new *valor beneficiorum* was then made, by which the clergy are at present rated.

By these last mentioned statutes all vicarages under ten pounds a year, and all rectories under ten marks, are discharged from the payment of first-fruits; and if, in such livings as continue chargeable with this payment, the incumbent lives but half a year, he shall pay only one-quarter of his first-fruits; if but one whole year, then half of them; if a year and a half, three-quarters; and if two years, then the whole; and not otherwise. Likewise by the statute 27 Hen. VIII, c. 8, no tenths are to be paid for the first year, for then the first-fruits are due: and by other statutes of Queen Anne, in the fifth and sixth years of her reign, if a benefice be under fifty pounds *per annum* clear yearly value, it shall be discharged of the payment of first-fruits and tenths. (4)

Thus the richer clergy, being, by the criminal bigotry of their popish predecessors, subjected at first to a foreign exaction, were afterwards, when that yoke was shaken off, liable to a like misapplication of their revenues, through the rapacious disposition of the then reigning monarch: till at length the piety of Queen Anne restored to the church what had been *thus indirectly taken [*286] from it. This she did, not by remitting the tenths and first-fruits entirely; but, in a spirit of the truest equity, by applying these superfluities of the larger benefices to make up the deficiencies of the smaller. And to this end she granted her royal charter, which was confirmed by the statute 2 Ann. c.

(l) F. N. B. 176.

(m) 3 Inst. 154.

(n) Numb. xviii. 26.

(3) [There are several errors in the text, which Mr. Justice Coleridge has pointed out. The correct account is as follows: In 1253, Pope Innocent IV granted all the first fruits and tenths to Henry III for three years, which occasioned a taxation in the following year, sometimes called the Norwich taxation, and sometimes Innocent's valuation. In 1288, Innocent IV (not III as stated in the text,) granted the tenths to Edward I for six years; and a new valuation was commenced in the same year by the king's precept, which valuation was, so far as it extended over the province of Canterbury, finished in 1291, and as to York, also, in the following year: the whole being under the direction of John, bishop of Winton, and Oliver, bishop of Lincoln. In 1318 a third taxation, entitled *nova taxatio* was made, but this only extended over some part of the province of York.]

(4) The commissioners for the administration of what is known as Queen Anne's bounty are incorporated, and they are pursuing a scheme for the augmentation of small livings, by which an annual net income as nearly as may be of 150*l*. will be secured to the incumbent of every benefice or church with cure of souls, being either a parish, church or chapel, with a district legally assigned thereto, and having a population of 2000, and not being in the patronage of lay proprietors.

11, whereby all the revenue of first-fruits and tenths is vested in trustees forever, to form a perpetual fund for the augmentation of poor livings. This is usually called Queen Anne's bounty; which has been still farther regulated by subsequent statutes. (*o*)

V. The next branch of the king's ordinary revenue (which, as well as the subsequent branches, is of a lay or temporal nature,) consists in the rents and profits of the demesne lands of the crown. These demesne lands, *terræ dominicales regis*, being either the share reserved to the crown at the original distribution of landed property, or such as came to it afterwards by forfeitures or other means, were anciently very large and extensive; comprising divers manors, honors, and lordships; the tenants of which had very peculiar privileges, as will be shewn in the second book of these commentaries, when we speak of the tenure in ancient demesne. At present they are contracted within a very narrow compass, having been almost entirely granted away to private subjects. This has occasioned the parliament frequently to interpose; and particularly, after King William III had greatly impoverished the crown, an act passed, (*p*) whereby all future grants or leases from the crown for any longer term than thirty-one years, or three lives, are declared to be void; except with regard to houses which may be granted for fifty years. And no reversionary lease can be made, so as to exceed, together with the estate in being, the same term of three lives, or thirty-one years; that is, where there is a subsisting lease of which there are twenty years still to come, the king cannot grant a future interest, to commence after the expiration of the former, for any longer term than eleven years. The tenant must also be made liable to be punished for committing [*287] waste; *and the usual rent must be reserved, or, where there has usually been no rent, one-third of the clear yearly value. (*q*) The misfortune is, that this act was made too late, after almost every valuable possession of the crown had been granted away forever, or else upon very long leases; but may be of some benefit to posterity, when those leases come to expire.

VI. Hither might have been referred the advantages which used to arise to the king from the profits of his military tenures, to which most lands in the kingdom were subject, till the statute 12 Car. II, c. 24, which in great measure abolished them all: the explication of the nature of which tenures must be postponed to the second book of these commentaries. Hither also might have been referred the profitable prerogative of purveyance and pre-emption, which was a right enjoyed by the crown of buying up provisions and other necessities, by the intervention of the king's purveyors, for the use of his royal household, at an appraised valuation, in preference to all others, and even without consent of the owner; and also of forcibly impressing the carriages and horses of the subject, to do the king's business on the public roads, in the conveyance of timber, baggage, and the like, however inconvenient to the proprietor, upon paying him a settled price. (*5*) A prerogative, which prevailed pretty generally throughout Europe, during the scarcity of gold and silver, and the high valuation of money consequential thereupon. In those early times the king's household (as well as those of inferior lords) were supported by specific renders of corn, and other victuals, from the tenants of the respective demesnes; and there was also a continual market kept at the palace gate to furnish viands for the royal use. (*r*) And this answered all purposes, in those ages of simplicity, so long as the king's court continued in any certain place. But when it removed from one part of the kingdom to another, as was formerly very frequently done,

(*o*) 5 Ann. c. 24. 6 Ann. c. 27. 1 Geo. I. st. 2, c. 10. 3 Geo. I. c. 10. (*p*) 1 Ann. st. 1, c. 7.

(*q*) In like manner by the civil law, the inheritance or *fundi patrimoniales* of the imperial crown could not be alienated, but only let to farm. *Cod. l. 11, §. 61.* (*r*) 4 Inst. 278.

(5) [Purveyance seems to have been little less than a royal right of spoil, and was a very ancient topic of remonstrance from the house of commons. Not less than thirty-six statutes had been directed against it before the reign of James I. Hallam, *Const. Hist.* i, 414; see also Vattel's *Law of Nations*, 115, 116.]

it was found necessary to send *purveyors beforehand to get together a sufficient quantity of provisions and other necessities for the household: [*288] and, lest the unusual demand should raise them to an exorbitant price, the powers before mentioned were vested in these purveyors: who in process of time very greatly abused their authority, and became a great oppression to the subject, though of little advantage to the crown; ready money in open market (when the royal residence was more permanent, and specie began to be plenty) being found upon experience to be the best provider of any. Wherefore by degrees the powers of purveyance have declined, in foreign countries as well as our own: and particularly were abolished in Sweden by Gustavus Adolphus, towards the beginning of the last century. (s) And, with us in England, having fallen into disuse during the suspension of monarchy, King Charles at his restoration consented, by the same statute, to resign entirely these branches of his revenue and power: and the parliament, in part of recompense, settled on him, his heirs and successors, forever, the hereditary excise of fifteen pence per barrel on all beer and ale sold in the kingdom, and a proportionable sum for certain other liquors. So that this hereditary excise, the nature of which shall be farther explained in the subsequent part of this chapter, now forms the sixth branch of his majesty's ordinary revenue.

VII. A seventh branch might also be computed to have arisen from wine licenses: or the rents payable to the crown by such persons as are licensed to sell wine by retail throughout England, except in a few privileged places. These were first settled on the crown by the statute 12 Car. II, c. 25; and, together with the hereditary excise, made up the equivalent in value for the loss sustained by the prerogative in the abolition of the military tenures, and the right of pre-emption and purveyance: but this revenue was abolished by the statute 30 Geo. II, c. 19, and an annual sum of upwards of 7,000*l. per annum*, issuing out of the new stamp duties imposed on wine licenses, was settled on the crown instead.

*VIII. An eighth branch of the king's ordinary revenue is usually [*289] reckoned to consist in the profits arising from his forests. Forests are waste grounds belonging to the king, replenished with all manner of beasts of chase or venary: which are under the king's protection, for the sake of his royal recreation and delight; and, to that end, and for preservation of the king's game, there are particular laws, privileges, courts and offices belonging to the king's forests; all which will be, in their turns, explained in the subsequent books of these commentaries. What we are now to consider are only the profits arising to the king from hence, which consist principally in amercements or fines levied for offences against the forest-laws. But as few, if any, courts of this kind for levying amercements (t) have been held since 1632, 8 Car. I, and as, from the accounts given of the proceedings in that court by our histories and law books, (u) nobody would now wish to see them again revived, it is needless, at least in this place, to pursue this inquiry any farther.

IX. The profits arising from the king's ordinary courts of justice make a ninth branch of his revenue. And these consist not only in fines imposed upon offenders, forfeitures of recognizances, and amercements levied upon defaulters; but also in certain fees due to the crown in a variety of legal matters, as, for setting the great seal to charters, original writs, and other forensic proceedings, and for permitting fines to be levied of lands in order to bar entails or otherwise to insure their title. As none of these can be done without the immediate intervention of the king, by himself or his officers, the law allows him certain perquisites and profits, as a recompence for the trouble he undertakes for the public. These, in process of time, have been almost all granted out to private persons, or else appropriated to certain particular uses: so that, though our law proceedings are still loaded with their payment, very little of them is now returned

(s) Mod. Un. Hist. xxxiii, 220.

(t) Roger North, in his life of Lord Keeper North (43, 44) mentions an eyre, or *iter*, to have been held south of Trent soon after the restoration; but I have met with no report of its proceedings.

(u) 1 Jones, 267, 288.

[*290] into the king's *exchequer; for a part of whose royal maintenance they were originally intended. All future grants of them, however, by the statute 1 Ann. St. 2, c. 7, are to endure for no longer time than the prince's life who grants them.

X. A tenth branch of the king's ordinary revenue, said to be grounded on the consideration of his guarding and protecting the seas from pirates and robbers, is the right to *royal fish*, which are whale and sturgeon: and these, when either thrown ashore, or caught near the coast, are the property of the king, on account (*v*) of their superior excellence. Indeed our ancestors seem to have entertained a very high notion of the importance of this right; it being the prerogative of the kings of Denmark and the dukes of Normandy; (*w*) and from one of these it was probably derived to our princes. It is expressly claimed and allowed in the statute *de prærogativa regis*: (*w*) and the most ancient treatises of law now extant make mention of it, (*x*) though they seem to have made a distinction between whale and sturgeon, as was incidentally observed in a former chapter. (*y*)

XI. Another maritime revenue, and founded partly upon the same reason, is that of shipwrecks; which are also declared to be the king's property by the same prerogative, statute 17 Edw. II, c. 11, and were so, long before, at the common law. It is worthy observation, how greatly the law of wrecks has been altered, and the rigour of it gradually softened in favor of the distressed proprietors. Wreck, by the ancient common law, was where any ship was lost at sea, and the goods or cargo were thrown upon the land; in which case these goods so wrecked were adjudged to belong to the king; for it was held that by the loss of the ship all property was gone out of the original owner. (*z*) But this was undoubtedly adding sorrow to sorrow, and was consonant neither to reason nor humanity. Wherefore it was first *ordained by King Henry I, that [*291] if any person escaped alive out of the ship, it should be no wreck; (*a*) and afterwards King Henry II, by his charter (*b*) declared, that if on the coasts of either England, Poictou, Oleron, or Gascony, any ship should be distressed, and either man or beast should escape or be found therein alive, the goods should remain to the owners, if they claimed them within three months; but otherwise should be esteemed a wreck, and should belong to the king, or other lord of the franchise. This was again confirmed with improvements by King Richard the First; who, in the second year of his reign, (*c*) not only established these concessions, by ordaining that the owner, if he was shipwrecked and escaped, "*omnes res suas liberas et quietas haberet*," but also that, if he perished, his children, or, in default of them, his brethren and sisters, should retain the property; and, in default of brother or sister, then the goods should remain to the king. (*d*) And the law, as laid down by Bracton in the reign of Henry III, seems still to have improved in its equity. For then, if not only a dog, for instance, escaped, by which the owner might be discovered, but if any certain mark were set on the goods, by which they might be known again, it was held to be no wreck. (*e*) And this is certainly most agreeable to reason; the rational claim of the king being only founded upon this, that the true owner cannot be ascertained. Afterwards, in the statute of Westminster, the first, (*f*) the time of limitation of claims, given by the charter of Henry II, is extended to a year and a day, according to the usage of Normandy; (*g*) and it enacts, that if a man, a dog, or a cat escape alive, the vessel shall not be adjudged a wreck. These animals, as in Bracton, are only put for examples; (*h*) for it is now held, (*i*)

(v) Plowd. 315. (w) Stiernh. *de jure Sueonum*. l. 2. c. 8. *Gr. Coustum* cap. 17. (w) 17 Edw. II. c. 11. (z) Bracton, l. 3, c. 3. Britton, c. 17. Fleta, l. 1, c. 45 and 46. *Memorand. Scacch. H. 24 Edw. I. 37*, prefixed to Maynard's Year Book of Edward II.

(y) Ch. 4, page 223.

(z) Dr. and St. d. 2. c. 51.

(a) Spelm. *Cod. apud* Wilkins, 305.

(b) 26 May. A. D. 1174. 1 Rym. *Foed* 26. (c) Rog. Hoved. in *Ric. I.*

(d) In like manner Constantine the great, finding that by the imperial law the revenue of wrecks was given to the prince's treasury or *fiscus*, restrained it by an edict (*Cod. 11, 5, 1*), and ordered them to remain to the owners, adding this humane expostulation, "*Quod enim jus habet fiscus in aliena calamitate, ut de re tam luctuosa compendium sectetur?*"

(e) Bract. l. 3, c. 3.

(f) 3 Edw. I. c. 4.

(g) *Gr. Coustum*, c. 17.

(h) Flet. l. 1, c. 44. 2 Inst. 167. 5 Rep. 107. (i) Hamilton v. Davies. *Trin. 11 Geo. III. B. R.*

that not only if any live thing escape, but if proof can be made of the *property of any of the goods or lading which come to shore, they shall not be forfeited as wreck. The statute further ordains, that the sheriff [*292] of the county shall be bound to keep the goods a year and a day, (as in France for one year, agreeably to the maritime laws of Oleron, (*j*) and in Holland for a year and a half,) that if any man can prove a property in them, either in his own right or by right of representation, (*k*) they shall be restored to him without delay; but, if no such property be proved within that time, they then shall be the king's. If the goods are of a perishable nature, the sheriff may sell them, and the money shall be liable in their stead. (*l*) This revenue of wrecks is frequently granted out to lords of manors as a royal franchise; and if any one be thus entitled to wrecks in his own land, and the king's goods are wrecked thereon, the king may claim them at any time, even after the year and day. (*m*)

It is to be observed, that in order to constitute a legal wreck the goods must come to land. If they continue at sea, the law distinguishes them by the barbarous and uncouth appellations of *jetsam*, *flotsam*, and *ligan*. *Jetsam* is where goods are cast into the sea, and there sink and remain under water: *flotsam* is where they continue swimming on the surface of the waves; *ligan* is where they are sunk in the sea, but tied to a cork or buoy, in order to be found again. (*n*) These are also the king's, if no owner appears to claim them; but if any owner appears, he is entitled to recover the possession. For, even if they be cast overboard without any mark or buoy, in order to lighten the ship, the owner is not by this act of necessity construed to have renounced his property; (*o*) much less can things *ligan* be supposed to be abandoned, since the owner has done all in his power to assert and retain his property. These three are therefore accounted so far a distinct thing from the former, that by the *king's grant to a man of wrecks, things *jetsam*, *flotsam*, and *ligan* will [*293] not pass. (*p*)

Wrecks, in their legal acceptation, are at present not very frequent; for, if any goods come to land, it rarely happens, since the improvement of commerce, navigation, and correspondence, that the owner is not able to assert his property within the year and day limited by law. And in order to preserve this property entire for him, and if possible to prevent wrecks at all, our laws have made many very humane regulations; in a spirit quite opposite to those savage laws which formerly prevailed in all the northern regions of Europe, and a few years ago were still said to subsist on the coasts of the Baltic sea, permitting the inhabitants to seize on whatever they could get as lawful prize; or, as an author of their own expresses it, "*in naufragorum miseria et calamitate tanquam vulgures ad prædam currere.*" (*q*) For, by the statute 27 Edw. III, c. 13, if any ship be lost on the shore, and the goods come to land, (which cannot, says the statute, be called wreck,) they shall be presently delivered to the merchants, paying only a reasonable reward to those that saved and preserved them, which is entitled *salvage*. Also by the common law, if any persons (other than the sheriff) take any goods so cast on shore, which are not legal wreck, the owners might have a commission to inquire and find them out, and compel them to make restitution. (*r*) And by statute 12 Ann. st. 2, c. 18, confirmed by 4 George I, c. 12, in order to assist the distressed and prevent the scandalous illegal practices on some of our seacoasts, (too similar to those on the Baltic,) it is enacted, that all head officers and others of towns near the sea, shall, upon application made to them, summon as many hands as are necessary, and send them to the relief of any ship in distress, on forfeiture of 100*l.*, and, in case of assistance given, salvage shall be paid by the owners, to be assessed by three neighbouring justices. All persons that secrete any goods shall forfeit their treble value; and if they wilfully do any act whereby the ship is lost or destroyed, *by making [*294] holes in her, stealing her pumps, or otherwise, they are guilty of felony,

(*j*) § 28. (*k*) 2 Inst. 168. (*l*) Plowd. 166. (*m*) 2 Inst. 168. Bro. Abr. tit. Wreck. (*n*) 5 Rep. 106.
 (*o*) *Quæ enim res in tempestate, levandæ navis causa efficiuntur, hæc dominorum permanent.* *Quia polam est, eas non eo animo ejicit, quod quis habere velit.* Inst. 2, 1, § 48.
 (*p*) 5 Rep. 108. (*q*) *Stiernh. de jure Sueon.* 1, 3, c. 5. (*r*) F. N. B. 112.

without benefit or clergy. Lastly, by the statute 26 George II, c. 19, plundering any vessel either in distress, or wrecked, and whether any living creature be on board, or not, (for, whether wreck or otherwise, it is clearly not the property of the populace,) such plundering, I say, or preventing the escape of any person that endeavours to save his life, or wounding him with intent to destroy him, or putting out false lights in order to bring any vessel into danger, are all declared to be capital felonies; in like manner as the destroying of trees, steeples, or other stated seamarks, is punished by the statute 8 Eliz. c. 13, with a forfeiture of 100*l.* or outlawry. Moreover, by the statute of George II, pilfering any goods cast ashore is declared to be petit larceny; and many other salutary regulations are made, for the more effectually preserving ships of any nation in distress.

(s) (6)

XII. A twelfth branch of the royal revenue, the right to mines, has its original from the king's prerogative of coinage, in order to supply him with materials; and therefore those mines which are properly royal, and to which the king is entitled when found, are only those of silver and gold. (t) By the old common law, if gold or silver be found in mines of base metal, according to the opinion of some, the whole was a royal mine, and belonged to the king; though others held that it only did so, if the quantity of gold or silver was of greater value than the quantity of base metal. (u) (7) But now by the statutes 1 W. and M. st. 1, c. 30, and 5 W. and M., c. 6, this difference is made immaterial; it being enacted, that no mines of copper, tin, iron, or lead, shall be looked upon as royal mines, notwithstanding gold or silver may be extracted from them in any [*295] quantities; but that the king, or *persons claiming royal mines under his authority, may have the ore, (other than tin-ore in the counties of Devon and Cornwall, paying for the same a price stated in the act. This was an extremely reasonable law; for now private owners are not discouraged from working mines, through a fear that they may be claimed as royal ones; neither does the king depart from the just rights of his revenue, since he may have all the precious metal contained in the ore, paying no more for it than the value of the base metal which it is supposed to be; to which base metal the land-owner is by reason and law entitled.

XIII. To the same original may in part be referred the revenue of treasure-trove (derived from the French word *trover*, to find,) called in Latin *thesaurus inventus*, which is where any money or coin, gold, silver, plate, or bullion, is found hidden in the earth, (8) or other private place, the owner thereof being unknown; in which case the treasure belongs to the king; but if he that hid it be known, or afterwards found out, the owner, and not the king, is entitled to it. (v) Also if it be found in the sea, or upon the earth, it doth not belong to the king, but the finder, if no owner appears. (w) So that it seems it is the *hiding*, and not the *abandoning* of it, that gives the king a property: Bracton (x) defining it, in the words of the civilians, to be "*vetus depositio pecuniæ*." This difference clearly arises from the different intentions, which the law implies

(s) By the civil law, to destroy persons ship-wrecked, or prevent their saving the ship, is capital. And to steal even a plank from a vessel in distress or wrecked, makes the party liable to answer for the whole ship and cargo. (*Ff.* 47, 9, 3.) The laws also of the Wisigoths, and the most early Neapolitan constitutions, punished with the utmost severity all those who neglected to assist any ship in distress, or plundered any goods cast on shore. (Lindenbrog. *Cod. LL. an. tit.* 146, 715.)

(t) 2 Inst. 577.

(u) Plowd. 336.

(v) 3 Inst. 132.

Dalt. of Sheriffs, c. 16.

(w) Britt. c. 17. Finch, L. 177.

(x) L. 3, c. 3, § 4.

(6) For the statute of the United States, punishing similar offenses, see 4 Statutes at Large, 115.

(7) And it is said, that though the king grants lands in which mines are, and all mines in them, yet royal mines do not pass. Plowd. 336.

In California it was held, that on the organization of the state government, the right to the precious metals in the soil of the public lands passed to the state; Stokes v. Barrett, 5 Cal. 36; and still later it was decided that when the government granted the title in fee simple to individuals, the right to the precious metals vested absolutely in the grantees. Boggs v. Merced, &c., Co., 14 Cal. 279; Moore v. Smaw, 17 id. 199.

(8) [Not upon the land. Staunf. Pl. Cor. 39. But it is not said to be treasure-trove if it be other metal than gold or silver. 3 Inst. 132.]

in the owner. The man that hides his treasure in a secret place evidently does not mean to relinquish his property, but reserves a right of claiming it again, when he sees occasion; and if he dies, and the secret also dies with him, the law gives it to the king, in part of his royal revenue. But a man that scatters his treasure into the sea, or upon the public surface of the earth, is construed to have absolutely abandoned his property, and returned it into the common stock, without any intention of reclaiming it; and therefore it belongs, as in a state of nature, to the first occupant, or finder, unless the owner appear and assert his right, which *then proves that the loss was by accident, and not with [*296] an intent to renounce his property.

Formerly all treasure-trove belonged to the finder; (*y*) as was also the rule of the civil law. (*z*) Afterwards it was judged expedient for the purposes of the state, and particularly for the coinage, to allow part of what was so found to the king; which part was assigned to be all *hidden* treasure; such as is *casually lost* and unclaimed, and also such as is *designedly abandoned*, still remaining the right of the fortunate finder. And that the prince shall be entitled to this hidden treasure is now grown to be, according to Grotius, (*a*) "*jus commune, et quasi gentium*:" for it is not only observed, he adds, in England, but in Germany, France, Spain, and Denmark. The finding of deposited treasure was much more frequent, and the treasures themselves more considerable, in the infancy of our constitution than at present. When the Romans, and other inhabitants of the respective countries which composed their empire, were driven out by the northern nations, they concealed their money under-ground: with a view of resorting to it again when the heat of the irruption should be over, and the invaders driven back to their deserts. But, as this never happened, the treasures were never claimed; and on the death of the owners the secret also died along with them. The conquering generals, being aware of the value of these hidden mines, made it highly penal to secrete them from the public service. In England, therefore, as among the feudists, (*b*) the punishment of such as concealed from the king the finding of hidden treasure was formerly no less than death; but now it is only fine and imprisonment. (*c*)

XIV. Waifs, *bona waviata* are goods stolen, and waived or thrown away by the thief in his flight, for fear of being apprehended. (*9*) These are given to the king by the law, as a punishment upon the owner, for not himself pursuing the felon, and taking away his goods from him. (*d*) And therefore *if the [*297] party robbed do his diligence immediately to follow and apprehend the thief, (which is called making fresh *suit*,) or do convict him afterwards, or procure evidence to convict him, he shall have his goods again. (*e*) Waived goods do also not belong to the king, till seized by somebody for his use; for if the party robbed can seize them first, though at the distance of twenty years, the king shall never have them. (*f*) If the goods are hid by the thief, or left any where by him, so that he had them not about him, when he fled, and therefore did not throw them away in his flight; these also are not *bona waviata*, but the owner may have them again when he pleases. (*g*) The goods of a foreign merchant though stolen and thrown away in flight, shall never be waifs: (*h*) the reason whereof may be, not only for the encouragement of trade, but also because there is no wilful default in the foreign merchant's not pursuing the thief; he being generally a stranger to our laws, our usages, and our language.

XV. Estrays are such valuable animals as are found wandering in any manor or lordship, and no man knoweth the owner of them; in which case the law

(*y*) Bracton, l. 3, c. 3, 3 Inst. 133.

(*z*) *Ff.* 41, l. 31.

(*c*) 3 Inst. 133.

(*h*) *Fitz. Abr. tit. Estray.* 1. 3 Bulstr. 19.

(*a*) *De jur. b. & p. l. 2, c. 8, § 7.*

(*d*) Cro Eliz. 694.

(*e*) Finch, L. 212.

(*b*) Glanv. l. 1, c. 2. Crag. 1, 16, 46.

(*f*) *Ibid.*

(*g*) 5 Rep. 100.

(9) [And this though left by him at a common inn. 2 Rol. 809, c. 15. If so left to ease him in his flight. For if he leave a stolen horse at a common inn for his meal, it is no waif. *Id.* c. 10.]

This doctrine does not obtain in America. Goods waived may be reclaimed by the real owner. 2 Kent, 358.

gives them to the king as the general owner and lord paramount of the soil, in recompence for the damage which they may have done therein: and they now most commonly belong to the lord of the manor, by special grant from the crown. But, in order to vest an absolute property in the king, or his grantees, they must be proclaimed in the church and two market towns next adjoining to the place where they are found: and then, if no man claims them, after proclamation and a year and a day passed, they belong to the king or his substitute without redemption; (i) even though the owner were a minor, or under any other legal incapacity. (k) A provision similar to which obtained in the old Gothic constitution, with regard to all things that were found, which were to be thrice proclaimed; *primum coram comitibus et viatoribus obviis, deinde in proxima villa vel pago, postremo coram ecclesia vel judicio*; and the space [*298] of a year was allowed for the owner to reclaim his property. (l) If the owner claims them within the year and day he must pay the charges of finding, keeping and proclaiming them. (m) (10) The king or lord has no property till the year and day passed: for if a lord keepeth an estray three-quarters of a year, and within the year it strayeth again, and another lord getteth it, the first lord cannot take it again. (n) Any beasts may be estrays that are by nature tame or reclaimable, and in which there is a valuable property, as sheep, oxen, swine and horses, which we in general call cattle; and so Fleta (o) defines them, *pecus vagans, quod nullus petit, sequitur vel advocat*. For animals upon which the law sets no value, as a dog or cat, and animals *feræ naturæ*, as a bear or wolf, cannot be considered as estrays. So swans may be estrays, but not any other fowl; (p) whence they are said to be royal fowl. The reason of which distinction seems to be, that, cattle and swans being of a reclaimed nature, the owner's property in them is not lost merely by their temporary escape; and they also, from their intrinsic value, are a sufficient pledge for the expense of the lord of the franchise in keeping them the year and day. For he that takes an estray is bound, so long as he keeps it, to find it in provisions and preserve it from damage; (q) and may not use it by way of labour, but is liable to an action for so doing. (r) Yet he may milk a cow, or the like; for that tends to the preservation, and is for the benefit of the animal. (s)

Besides the particular reasons before given why the king should have the several revenues of royal fish, shipwrecks, treasure-trove, waifs, and estrays, there is also one general reason which holds for them all; and that is, because they are *bona vacantia*, or goods in which no one else can claim a property. And therefore by the law of nature they belong to the first occupant or finder; and [*299] so continued under the *imperial law. But, in settling the modern constitutions of most of the governments in Europe, it was thought proper (to prevent that strife and contention, which the mere title of occupancy is apt to create and continue, and to provide for the support of public authority in a manner the least burthensome to individuals,) that these rights should be annexed to the supreme power by the positive laws of the state. And so it came to pass

(i) Mirr. c. 3, § 19.

(k) 5 Rep. 108. Bro. Abr. tit. Estray. Cro. Eliz. 716. (l) Stiernh. de jur. Gothor. l. 3, c. 5.

(m) Dalt. Sh. 79. (n) Finch. L. 177. (o) L. 1, c. 43. (p) 7 Rep. 17.

(q) 1 Roll. Abr. 889. (r) Cro. Jac. 147. (s) Cro. Jac. 148. Noy. 119.

(10) [But if any other person finds and takes care of another's property, not being entitled to it as an estray (nor being saved at sea, or in other cases where the law of salvage applies,) the owner may recover it or its value, without being obliged to pay the expenses of keeping. 2 Bl. Rep. 1117; 2 Hen. Bl. 254.]

By statutes in the several states of the Union, provision is made for taking charge of estrays, either by a township officer designated for the purpose, or by the person taking them; and after a reasonable period, and duly advertising the same, if the owner does not reclaim the estray, it is sold to satisfy charges. Any surplus that may remain is retained for the owner, or devoted to some charitable purpose. These statutes must be followed strictly, or the title of the owner will not be divested by them. *Newsom v. Hart*, 14 Mich. 233; *Hyde v. Pryor*, 13 Ill. 64; *Smith v. Ewers*, 21 Ala. 38.

that, as Bracton expresses it, (*t*) *hæc quæ nullius in bonis sunt, et olim fuerunt inventoris de jure naturali, jam efficiuntur principis de jure gentium.* (11)

XVI. The next branch of the king's ordinary revenue consists in forfeitures of lands and goods for offences; *bona confiscata*, as they are called by the civilians, because they belong to the *fiscus* or imperial treasury; or, as our lawyers term them, *forisfacta*; that is, such whereof the property is gone away or departed from the owner. The true reason and only substantial ground of any forfeiture for crimes consist in this: that all property is derived from society, being one of those civil rights which are conferred upon individuals, in exchange for that degree of natural freedom which every man must sacrifice when he enters into social communities. If therefore a member of any national community violates the fundamental contract of his association, by transgressing the municipal law, he forfeits his right to such privileges as he claims by that contract; and the state may very justly resume that portion of property, or any part of it, which the laws have before assigned him. Hence, in every offence of an atrocious kind, the laws of England have exacted a total confiscation of the movables or personal estate; and in many cases a perpetual, in others only a temporary, loss of the offender's immovables or landed property; and have vested them both in the king, who is the person supposed to be offended, being the one visible magistrate in whom the majesty of the public resides. The particulars of these forfeitures will be more properly recited when we treat of crimes and misdemeanors. I therefore only mention them here, for *the sake [*300] of regularity, as a part of the *census regalis*; and shall postpone for the present the farther consideration of all forfeitures, excepting one species only, which arises from the misfortune rather than the crime of the owner, and is called a *deodand*. (12)

By this is meant whatever personal chattel is the immediate occasion of the death of any reasonable creature: which is forfeited to the king, to be applied to pious uses, and distributed in alms by his high almoner; (*v*) though formerly destined to a more superstitious purpose. It seems to have been originally designed, in the blind days of popery, as an expiation for the souls of such as were snatched away by sudden death; and for that purpose ought properly to have been given to holy church: (*w*) in the same manner as the apparel of a stranger, who was found dead, was applied to purchase masses for the good of his soul. And this may account for that rule of law, that no deodand is due where an infant under the age of discretion is killed by a fall from a cart, or horse, or the like, not being in motion; (*x*) whereas, if an adult person falls from

(*t*) L. 1, c. 12.

(*v*) 1 Hal. P. C. 419. Fleta, l. 1, c. 25.

(*w*) Fitzh. Abr. tit. *Enditement*, pl. 27. Staunf. P. C. 20, 21.

(*x*) 3 Inst. 57. 1 Hal. P. C. 422.

(11) [This passage has been thought inconsistent with the doctrine stated supra p. 295, viz.: that all things found in the sea or upon the earth belong not to the king, but to the finder, which is undoubtedly the general rule. But in the particular cases enumerated in the text, the positive law has, for certain special reasons, given the enumerated articles to the crown; and in this passage Blackstone is merely assigning as an additional reason why the crown should have them, this circumstance, that the operation of the general rule would confer them on the first finder, as being *bona vacantia*.]

(12) [The statute of 54 Geo. III, c. 145, greatly relaxed the law of forfeiture, so far as landed property is concerned; and the statute of 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 106, s. 10, is still more liberal. No attainder of felony now extends to the disinheriting of any heir, or to the prejudice of the right or title of any other person than the offender, except during his natural life only. And with respect to forfeitures of personal property, the crown exercises its rights very leniently; in cases where indulgence to the families of offenders can reasonably be asked, a proper representation rarely (I believe never) fails to meet attention. Homicide, not felonious, now entails no forfeiture, by virtue of the stat. 9 Geo. IV, c. 31, s. 10.]

By the constitution of the United States "no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted." Forfeitures of estate and corruption of blood for offenses against the United States were abolished by statute in 1790: 1 Stat. at Large, 117; and although during the late civil war statutes were passed for the confiscation of property of persons convicted of treason, but few proceedings were had under them, and the property seized was for the most part relieved from them under the president's power to reprieve and pardon.

thence and is killed, the thing is certainly forfeited. For the reason given by Sir Mathew Hale seems to be very inadequate, *viz.*: because an infant is not able to take care of himself; for why should the owner save his forfeiture, on account of the imbecility of the child, which ought rather to have made him more cautious to prevent any accident of mischief? The true ground of this rule seems rather to have been, that the child, by reason of its want of discretion, was presumed incapable of actual sin, and therefore needed no deodand to purchase propitiatory masses; but every adult, who died in actual sin, stood in need of such atonement, according to the humane superstition of the founders of the English law.

Thus stands the law if a person be killed by a fall from a thing standing still. [*301] But if a horse, or ox, or other animal, *of his own motion, kill as well an infant as an adult, or if a cart run over him, they shall in either case be forfeited as deodands; (*y*) which is grounded upon this additional reason, that such misfortunes are in part owing to the negligence of the owner, and therefore he is properly punished by such forfeiture. A like punishment is in like cases inflicted by the Mosaical law: (*z*) "if an ox gore a man that he die, the ox shall be stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten." And, among the Athenians, (*a*) whatever was the cause of a man's death, by falling upon him, was exterminated or cast out of the dominions of the republic. (13) Where a thing not in motion, is the occasion of a man's death, that part only which is the immediate cause is forfeited; as, if a man be climbing up the wheel of a cart, and is killed by falling from it, the wheel alone is a deodand: (*b*) but, wherever the thing is in motion, not only that part which immediately gives the wound, (as the wheel, which runs over his body,) but all things which move with it and help to make the wound more dangerous (as the cart and loading, which increase the pressure of the wheel,) are forfeited. (*c*) It matters not whether the owner were concerned in the killing or not; for, if a man kills another with my sword, the sword is forfeited (*d*) as an accursed thing. (*e*) And therefore, in all indictments for homicide, the instrument of death and the value are presented and found by the grand jury, (as, that the stroke was given by a certain penknife, value sixpence,) that the king or his grantee may claim the deodand; for it is no deodand unless it be presented as such by a jury of twelve men. (*f*) No deodands are due for accidents happening upon the high sea, that being out of the [*302] jurisdiction of the common law: but if a *man falls from a boat or ship in fresh water, and is drowned, it hath been said, that the vessel and cargo are in strictness of law a deodand. (*g*) But juries have of late very frequently taken upon themselves to mitigate these forfeitures, by finding only some trifling thing, or part of an entire thing, to have been the occasion of the death. And in such cases, although the finding by the jury be hardly warrantable by law, the court of king's bench hath generally refused to interfere on behalf of the lord of the franchise, to assist so unequitable a claim. (*h*) (14)

(*y*) *Omnia, quæ movent ad mortem, sunt Deo danda.* Bracton, l. 3, c. 5.

(*z*) Exod. xxi. 28.

(*a*) Æchin. cont. Ctesiph. Thus, too, by our ancient law, a well in which a person was drowned was ordered to be filled up, under the inspection of the coroner. Flet. l. 1, c. 25, § 10. Fitzh. Abr. t. corone. 418.

(*b*) 1 Hal. P. C. 422.

(*c*) 1 Hawk. P. C. c. 26.

(*d*) A similar rule obtained among the ancient Goths. *Si quis, me nesciente, quocunque meo telo vel instrumento in perniciem suam abutatur; vel ex ædibus meis cadat. vel incidat in puteum meum, quantumvis tectum et munitum. vel in cataractam, et sub molendino meo confringatur, ipse aliqua multa plectar; ut in parte infelicitatis meæ numeratur, habuisse vel ædificasse aliquod quo homo periret.* Stiernhook, de jure Goth. l. §. c. 4.

(*e*) Dr. and St. d. 2, c. 51.

(*f*) 3 Inst. 57.

(*g*) 3 Inst. 58. 1 Hal. P. C. 423. Molloy, de Jur. Maritim. 2, 225.

(*h*) Foster, of Homicide, 266.

(13) [This was one of Draco's laws; and perhaps we may think the judgment, that a statue should be thrown into the sea for having fallen upon a man, less absurd, when we reflect that there may be sound policy in teaching the mind to contemplate with horror the privation of human life, and that our familiarity even with an insensible object which has been the occasion of death, may lessen that sentiment. Though there may be wisdom in withdrawing such a thing from public view, yet there can be none in treating it as if it was capable of understanding the ends of punishment.]

(14) [Deodands were abolished by stat. 9 and 10 Vic. c. 62, which enacts that "there shall be no

Deodands, and forfeitures in general, as well as wrecks, treasure trove, royal fish, mines, waifs, and estrays, may be granted by the king to particular subjects, as a royal franchise: and indeed they are for the most part granted out to the lords of manors, or other liberties: to the perversion of their original design.

XVII. Another branch of the king's ordinary revenue arises from escheats of lands, which happen upon the defect of heirs to succeed to the inheritance; whereupon they in general revert to and vest in the king, who is esteemed, in the eye of the law, the original proprietor of all the lands in the kingdom. But the discussion of this tropic more properly belongs to the second book of these commentaries, wherein we shall particularly consider the manner in which lands may be acquired or lost by escheat. (15)

XVIII. I proceed therefore to the eighteenth and last branch of the king's ordinary revenue; which consists in the custody of idiots, from whence we shall be naturally led to consider also the custody of lunatics.

An idiot, or natural fool, is one that hath had no understanding from his nativity; and therefore is by law presumed never likely to attain any. For which reason the custody of *him and of his lands was formerly vested in the lord of the fee: (*h*) (and therefore still, by special custom, in some [*303] manors the lord shall have the ordering of idiot and lunatic copyholders,) (*i*) but, by reason of the manifold abuses of this power by subjects, it was at last provided by common consent, that it should be given to the king, as the general conservator of his people; in order to prevent the idiot from wasting his estate, and reducing himself and his heirs to poverty and distress. (*k*) This fiscal prerogative of the king is declared in parliament by statute, 17 Edw. II, c. 9, which directs (in affirmance of the common law,) (*l*) that the king shall have ward of the lands of natural fools, taking the profits without waste or destruction, and shall find them necessaries; and after the death of such idiots he shall render the estate to the heirs: in order to prevent such idiots from aliening their lands, and their heirs from being disinherited. (16)

By the old common law there is a writ *de idiota inquirendo*, to inquire whether a man be an idiot or not: (*m*) which must be tried by a jury of twelve men: and, if they find him *purus idota*, the profits of his lands, and the custody of his person may be granted by the king to some subject, who has interest enough to obtain them. (*n*) This branch of the revenue hath been long considered as a hardship upon private families: and so long ago as in the 8 Jac. I, it was under the consideration of parliament, to vest this custody in the relations of the party, and to settle an equivalent on the crown in lieu of it; it being then proposed to share the same fate with the slavery of the feudal tenures, which has been since abolished. (*o*) Yet few instances can be given of the oppressive exertion of it, since it seldom happens that a jury finds a man an idiot *a nativitate*,

(*h*) Flet. l. 1. c. 11, § 10.

(*i*) Dyer. 302. Hutt. 17. Nov. 27.

(*k*) F. N. B. 232.

(*l*) 4 Rep. 126. Memorand. Scacc. 20 Edw. I. (prefixed to Maynard's Year Book of Edw. II.) fol. 20, 24.

(*m*) F. N. B. 232.

(*n*) This power, though of late very rarely exerted, is still alluded to in common speech, by that usual expression of *begging* a man for a fool.

(*o*) 4 Inst. 203. Com. Journ. 1610.

forfeiture of any chattel for or in respect of the same having moved to or caused the death of man."

(15) Within the states of the American Union, escheats for defect of heirs are to the state in which the property is situate, and not to the United States.

(16) [The jurisdiction which the chancellor has generally, or perhaps always, exercised over the persons and estates of lunatics and idiots, is not necessarily annexed to the custody of the great seal; for it has been declared by the house of lords, "that the custody of idiots and lunatics was in the power of the king, who might delegate the same to such person as he should think fit." And upon every change of the great seal, a special authority under his majesty's royal sign manual is granted to the new chancellor for that purpose. Hence no appeal lies from the chancellor's orders upon this subject to the house of lords, but to the king in council. Dom. Proc. 14 Feb. 1726, 3 P. Wms. 108.]

but only *non compos mentis* from some particular time; which has an operation very different in point of law.

[*304] *A man is not an idiot, (*p*) if he hath any glimmering of reason, so that he can tell his parents, his age, or the like common matters. But a man who is born deaf, dumb and blind, is looked upon by the law as in the same state with an idiot; (*q*) he being supposed incapable of any understanding, as wanting all those senses which furnish the human mind with ideas. (17)

A lunatic, or *non compos mentis*, is one who hath had understanding, but by disease, grief, or other accident, hath lost the use of his reason. (*r*) A lunatic is indeed properly one that hath lucid intervals; sometimes enjoying his senses, and sometimes not, and that frequently depending upon the changes of the moon. (18) But under the general name of *non compos mentis* (which, Sir Edward Coke says, is the most legal name,) (*s*) are comprised not only lunatics, but persons under frenzies; or who lose their intellects by disease; those that *grow* deaf, dumb, and blind, not being born so; or such, in short, as are judged by the court of chancery incapable of conducting their own affairs. To these, also, as well as idiots, the king is guardian, but to a very different purpose. For the law always imagines, that these accidental misfortunes may be removed; and therefore only constitutes the crown a trustee for the unfortunate persons, to protect their property, and to account to them for all profits received, if they recover, or after their decease to their representatives. And therefore it is declared by the statute 17 Edw. II, c. 10, that the king shall provide for the custody and sustentation of lunatics, and preserve their lands and the profits of them for their use, when they come to their right mind; and the king shall take nothing to his own use; and, if the parties die in such estate, the residue shall be distributed for their souls by the advice of the ordinary, and of course (by the subsequent amendments of the law of administration,) shall now go to their executors or administrators.

[*305] *On the first attack of lunacy, or other occasional insanity, while there may be hope of a speedy restitution of reason, it is usual to confine the unhappy objects in private custody under the direction of their nearest friends and relations; and the legislature, to prevent all abuses incident to such private custody, hath thought proper to interpose its authority by statute 14 Geo. III, c. 49, (continued by 19 Geo. III, c. 15,) for regulating private madhouses. But, when the disorder is grown permanent, and the circumstances of the party will bear such additional expense, it is proper to apply to the royal authority to warrant a lasting confinement. (19)

The method of proving a person *non compos* is very similar to that of proving him an idiot. The lord chancellor, to whom, by special authority from the king, the custody of idiots and lunatics is intrusted, (*t*) upon petition or information, grants a commission in nature of the writ *de idiota inquirendo*, (20) to

(*p*) F. N. B. 233.

(*q*) Co. Litt. 42. Fleta, l. 6, c. 40

(*r*) *Idiota a casu et infirmitate.* (Mem. Scacch. 20 Edw. I. in Maynard's Year Book of Edw. II. 20.)

(*s*) 1 Inst. 246.

(*t*) 3 P. Wms. 108.

(17) This, however, is a mere presumption, and may be rebutted by evidence of capacity. *Rex v. Dyson*, 7 C. and P. 305; *Rex v. Pritchard*, Ibid. 303; *Commonwealth v. Hill*, 14 Mass. 207; *Brower v. Fisher*, 4 Johns. Ch. 441; *Christmas v. Mitchell*, 3 Ired. Ch. 535. Persons only deaf and dumb, it has been declared, are to be considered idiots; but this idea may be said to be obsolete. See *Rushton's case*, 1 Leach, C. C. 455; *Morrison v. Leonard*, 3 C. and P. 127. Indeed the presumption of idiocy in the case of persons born deaf, dumb and blind is a very faint one since the capacity of this class of unfortunate persons for instruction has been so thoroughly demonstrated of late years. See *Weir v. Fitzgerald*, 2 Bradf. Sur. R. 42.

(18) [The influence of the moon upon the human mind, or rather the dependence of any state of the human mind upon the changes of the moon, is doubted or denied by the best practical writers upon mental disorders.]

(19) See stat. 2 and 3 Wm. IV, c. 107, and 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 36, which are late statutes on this subject.

(20) [Or a writ *de lunatico inquirendo*, which is the more common form. From the strictness with which the ancient writs, and the commissions framed thereon, were worded, they could not be sustained against any person who was not, in the most absolute import of the

inquire into the party's state of mind; and if he be found *non compos*, he usually commits the care of his person, with a suitable allowance for his maintenance, to some friend, who is then called his committee. However, to prevent sinister practices, the next heir is seldom permitted to be this committee of the person; because it is his interest that the party should die. But, it hath been said, there lies not the same objection against his next of kin, provided he be not his heir; for it is his interest to preserve the lunatic's life, in order to increase the personal estate by savings, which he or his family may hereafter be entitled to enjoy.^(u) The heir is generally made the manager or committee of the estate, it being clearly his interest by good management to keep it in condition: accountable, however, to the court of chancery, and to the *non compos* himself, if he recovers; or otherwise to his administrators.⁽²¹⁾

In this case of idiots and lunatics, the civil law agrees with ours, by assigning them tutors to protect their persons, and curators to manage their estates. But, in another instance, the Roman law goes much beyond the English. For, if a man, by notorious prodigality, was in danger of wasting his estate, he was looked upon as *non compos*, and committed to the care of curators or tutors by the prætor.^(v) And, by the laws of Solon, such prodigals were branded with perpetual infamy.^(w) But with us, when a man on an inquest of idiocy hath been *returned an *unthrif*, and not an *idiot*,^(x) no farther proceedings [*306] have been had. And the propriety of the practice itself seems to be very questionable. It was doubtless an excellent method of benefiting the individual, and of preserving estates in families; but it hardly seems calculated for the genius of a free nation, who claim and exercise the liberty of using their own property as they please. "*Sic utere tuo, ut alienum non lædas*," is the only restriction our laws have given with regard to economical prudence. And the frequent circulation and transfer of lands, and other property, which cannot be effected without extravagance somewhere, are perhaps not a little conducive towards keeping our mixed constitution in its due health and vigour.

This may suffice for a short view of the king's *ordinary* revenue, or the proper patrimony of the crown; which was very large formerly, and capable of being increased to a magnitude truly formidable; for there are very few estates in the kingdom that have not, at some period or other since the Norman conquest, been vested in the hands of the king by forfeiture, escheat, or otherwise. But, fortunately for the liberty of the subject, this hereditary landed revenue, by a series of improvident management, is sunk almost to nothing; and the casual profits arising from the other branches of the *census regalis* are likewise almost all of them alienated from the crown: in order to supply the deficiencies of which we are now obliged to have recourse to new methods of raising money, unknown to our early ancestors; which methods constitute the king's *extraordinary* revenue. For, the public patrimony being got into the hands of private

(u) 2 P. Wms. 638.

(v) *Solent prætores, si talem hominem invenerint, qui neque tempus neque finem expensarum habet, sed bona sua dilacerando et dissipando profundit, curatorem ei dare, exemplo furiosi: et tamdiu erunt ambo in curatione, quamdiu vel furiosus sa nitatem, vel ille bonos mores, receperit.* ff. 27, 10. 1.

(w) Potter, Antiq. b. 1, c. 38.

(x) Bro. Abr. tit. *Idiot*, 4.

terms, an idiot or a lunatic: but in order to include parties who, although they could not strictly be described as idiots or lunatics, were *non compos mentis*, and exposed to every species of fraud and injustice, commissions were framed in the *nature* only of the writs formerly in use. The modern commissions are made out by letters patent, under the great seal, and are held to extend to all persons of unsound mind. *Ex parte Southcote*, Ambli. 111; *Ridgeway v. Darwin*, 8 Ves. 65. And by virtue of the statute of 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 36, such commissions may, if the lord chancellor thinks fit, be directed to one commissioner only, in order to save expense. Formerly, three commissioners were held to be necessary in all cases.]

(21) The rule that the next of kin of a lunatic, if entitled to his estate upon his decease, must not be committee of the person, is no longer adhered to. See *ex parte Cockayne*, 7 Ves. 591; *matter of Livingston*, 1 Johns. Ch. 436. The manifest propriety of appointing near relatives is conceded: *Lady Mary Cope's Case*, 2 Ch. Cas. 239; *ex parte Le Heup*, 18 Ves. 227: and personal fitness will be principally regarded in the selection. See *matter of Livingston*, 1 Johns. Ch. 436. See also, as bearing on the point, *matter of Taylor*, 9 Paige, 611.

subjects, it is but reasonable that private contributions should supply the public service. Which, though it may perhaps fall harder upon some individuals, whose ancestors have had no share in the general plunder, than upon others; yet, taking the nation throughout, it amounts to nearly the same, provided the gain by the extraordinary should appear to be no greater than the loss by the [*307] ordinary revenue. And, perhaps, if every *gentleman in the kingdom was to be stripped of such of his lands as were formerly the property of the crown; was to be again subject to the inconveniences of purveyance and pre-emption, the oppression of forest laws, and the slavery of feudal tenures; and was to resign into the king's hands all his royal franchises of waifs, wrecks, estrays, treasure-trove, mines, deodands, forfeitures, and the like; he would find himself a greater loser than by paying his *quota* to such taxes as are necessary to the support of government. The thing therefore to be wished and aimed at in a land of liberty is by no means the total abolition of taxes, which would draw after it very pernicious consequences, and the very supposition of which is the height of political absurdity. For as the true idea of government and magistracy will be found to consist in this, that some few men are deputed by many others to preside over public affairs, so that individuals may the better be enabled to attend their private concerns; it is necessary that those individuals should be bound to contribute a portion of their private gains, in order to support that government, and reward that magistracy, which protects them in the enjoyment of their respective properties. But the things to be aimed at are wisdom and moderation, not only in granting, but also in the method of raising the necessary supplies; by contriving to do both in such a manner as may be most conducive to the national welfare, and at the same time most consistent with economy and the liberty of the subject; who, when properly taxed, contributes only, as was before observed, (y) some part of his property, in order to enjoy the rest.

These extraordinary grants are usually called by the synonymous names of aids, subsidies, and supplies; and are granted, we have formerly seen, (z) by the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled: who, when they have voted a supply to his majesty, and settled the *quantum* of that supply, usually resolve themselves into what is called a committee of ways and means, to consider the ways and means of raising the supply so voted. And in this committee every [*308] *member, (though it is looked upon as the peculiar province of the chancellor of the exchequer,) may propose such scheme of taxation as he thinks will be least detrimental to the public. The resolutions of this committee, when approved by a vote of the house, are in general esteemed to be, as it were, final and conclusive. For, though the supply cannot be actually raised upon the subject till directed by an act of the whole parliament, yet no monied man will scruple to advance to the government any quantity of ready cash, on the credit of a bare vote of the house of commons, though no law be yet passed to establish it.

The taxes, which are raised upon the subject, are either annual or perpetual. The usual annual taxes are those upon land and malt.

1. The land-tax, in its modern shape, has superseded all the former methods of rating either property, or persons in respect of their property, whether by tenths or fifteenths, subsidies on land, hydages, scutages or talliages; a short explication of which will, however, greatly assist us in understanding our ancient laws and history.

Tenths, and fifteenths, (a) were temporary aids issuing out of personal property, and granted to the king by parliament. They were formerly the real tenth or fifteenth part of all the movables belonging to the subject; when such movables, or personal estates, were a very different and a much less considerable thing than what they usually are at this day. Tenths are said to have been first granted under Henry the Second, who took advantage of the fashionable zeal for croisades, to introduce this new taxation, in order to defray the expense of a

(y) Page 282.

(z) Page 169.

(a) 2 Inst. 77. 4 Inst. 34.

pious expedition to Palestine, which he really or seemingly had projected against Saladine, emperor of the Saracens; whence it was originally denominated the Saladine tenth. (*b*) But afterwards fifteenths were more usually granted than tenths. Originally the amount of these taxes was *uncertain, being [**309*] levied by assessments new made at every fresh grant of the commons, a commission for which is preserved by Matthew Paris: (*c*) but it was at length reduced to a certainty in the eighth year of Edward III, when, by virtue of the king's commission, new taxations were made of every township, borough, and city in the kingdom, and recorded in the exchequer; which rate was, at the time, the fifteenth part of the value of every township, the whole amounting to about 29,000*l.*, and therefore it still kept up the name of a fifteenth, when, by the alteration of the value of money, and the increase of personal property, things came to be in a very different situation: so that when, of later years, the commons granted the king a fifteenth, every parish in England immediately knew their proportion of it; that is, the same identical sum that was assessed by the same aid in the eighth of Edward III; and then raised it by a rate among themselves, and returned it into the royal exchequer.

The other ancient levies were in the nature of a modern land-tax: for we may trace up the original of that charge as high as to the introduction of our military tenures; (*d*) when every tenant of a knight's fee was bound, if called upon, to attend the king in his army for forty days in every year. But this personal attendance growing troublesome in many respects, the tenants found means of compounding for it, by first sending others in their stead, and in process of time by making a pecuniary satisfaction to the crown in lieu of it. This pecuniary satisfaction at last came to be levied by assessments, at so much for every knight's fee, under the name of scutages; which appear to have been levied for the first time in the fifth year of Henry the Second, on account of his expedition to Toulouse, and were then, I apprehend, mere arbitrary compositions, as the king and the subject could agree. But this precedent being afterwards abused into a means of oppression, (in levying scutages on the landholders by the royal authority only, whenever our kings went to war, in *order to [**310*] hire mercenary troops and pay their contingent expenses) it became thereupon a matter of national complaint; and King John was obliged to promise in his *magna carta*, (*e*) that no scutage should be imposed without the consent of the common council of the realm. This clause was indeed omitted in the charters of Henry III, where (*f*) we only find it stipulated, that scutages should be taken as they were used to be in the time of King Henry the Second. Yet afterwards, by a variety of statutes under Edward I, and his grandson, (*g*) it was provided, that the king shall not take any aids or tasks, any talliage or tax, but by the common assent of the great men and commons in parliament.

Of the same nature with scutages upon knight's fees were the assessments of hydage upon all other lands, and of talliage upon cities and burghs. (*h*) But they all gradually fell into disuse upon the introduction of subsidies, about the time of King Richard II, and King Henry IV. These were a tax, not immediately imposed upon property, but upon persons in respect of their reputed estates, after the nominal rate of 4*s.* in the pound for lands, and 2*s.* 8*d.* for goods; and for those of aliens in a double proportion. But this assessment was also made according to an ancient valuation; wherein the computation was so very moderate, and the rental of the kingdom was supposed to be so exceeding low, that one subsidy of this sort did not, according to Sir Edward Coke, (*i*) amount to more than 70,000*l.*, whereas a modern land-tax, at the same rate, produces two millions. It was anciently the rule never to grant more than one subsidy, and two fifteenths at a time; but this rule was broken through for the first time on a very pressing occasion, the Spanish invasion in 1588; when the parliament gave Queen Elizabeth two subsidies and four fifteenths. After-

(b) Hoved. A. D. 1188. Carte. 1. 719. Hume, 1. 329.

(c) A. D. 1233.

(d) See the second book of these Commentaries.

(e) Cap. 14.

(f) 9 Hen. III. c. 37.

(g) 25 Edw. I. c. 5 and 6. 34 Edw. I. st. 4. c. 1.

14 Edw. III. st. 2. c. 1.

(h) Madox, Hist. Exch. 480.

(i) 4 Inst. 33.

wards, as money sunk in value, more subsidies were given; and we have an instance in the first parliament of 1640, of the king's desiring twelve subsidies [*311] of the *commons, to be levied in three years; which was looked upon as a startling proposal: though Lord Clarendon says, (*k*) that the speaker, Serjeant Glanville, made it manifest to the house, how very inconsiderable a sum twelve subsidies amounted to, by telling them he had computed what he was to pay for them himself; and when he named the sum, he being known to be possessed of a great estate, it seemed not worth any farther deliberation. And indeed, upon calculation, we shall find that the total amount of these twelve subsidies, to be raised in three years, is less than what is now raised in one year, by a land-tax of two shillings in the pound.

The grant of scutages, talliages, or subsidies, by the commons, did not extend to spiritual preferments; those being usually taxed at the same time by the clergy themselves in convocation: which grants of the clergy were confirmed in parliament, otherwise they were illegal, and not binding: as the same noble writer observes of the subsidies granted by the convocation, which continued sitting after the dissolution of the first parliament, in 1640. A subsidy granted by the clergy was after the rate of 4s. in the pound, according to the valuation of their livings in the king's books; and amounted, as Sir Edward Coke tells us, (*l*) to about 20,000*l*. While this custom continued, convocations were wont to sit as frequently as parliaments; but the last subsidies thus given by the clergy were those confirmed by statute 15 Car. II, cap. 10, since which another method of taxation has generally prevailed, which takes in the clergy as well as the laity; in recompence for which the beneficed clergy have from that period been allowed to vote at the election of knights of the shire; (*m*) and thenceforward also the practice of giving ecclesiastical subsidies hath fallen into total disuse.

The lay subsidy was usually raised by commissioners appointed by the crown, or the great officers of state; and therefore in the beginning of the civil wars [*312] between Charles I and *his parliament, the latter having no other sufficient revenue to support themselves and their measures, introduced the practice of laying weekly and monthly assessments (*n*) of a specific sum upon the several counties of the kingdom; to be levied by a pound rate on lands and personal estates; which were occasionally continued during the whole usurpation, sometimes at the rate of 120,000*l*., a month, sometimes at inferior rates. (*o*) After the restoration, the ancient method of granting subsidies, instead of such monthly assessments, was twice and twice only, renewed; viz., in 1663, when four subsidies were granted by the temporality, and four by the clergy; and in 1670, when 800,000*l*. was raised by way of subsidy, which was the last time of raising supplies in that manner. (22) For the monthly assessments being now established by custom, being raised by commissioners named by parliament, and producing a more certain revenue; from that time forwards we hear no more of subsidies, but occasional assessments were granted, as the national emergencies required. These periodical assessments, the subsidies which preceded them, and the more ancient scutage, hydrag and talliage, were to all intents and purposes a land-tax; and the assessments were sometimes expressly called so. (*p*) Yet a popular opinion has prevailed, that the land-tax was first introduced in the reign of King William III; because in the year 1692 a new assessment or

(*k*) Hist. b. 2.

(*l*) 4 Inst. 83.

(*m*) Dalt. of Sheriffs. 418. Gilb. Hist. of Exch. c. 4.

(*n*) 29 Nov., 4 Mar. 1642.

(*o*) One of these bills of assessment, in 1656, is preserved in Scobell's Collection, 400.

(*p*) Com. Journ. 26 June, 9 Dec. 1678.

(22) [No subsidies were granted either by the laity or clergy after 1663. 15 Car. II, c. 9 and 10. The learned judge has been misled by the title to the act of the 22 and 23 Car. II, c. 3, in the year 1670, when he declares it was the last time of raising supplies by way of subsidy; for the title of it is, "An act to grant a subsidy to his majesty for supply of his extraordinary occasions." All the material clauses of which are copied *verbatim* in that of the 4 W. and M. c. 1 (the land-tax act); the act of Charles is not printed in the common edition of the Statutes at Large, but it is given at length in Keble's edition. The scheme of taxing landed property was not a novelty, for it was first introduced in time of the commonwealth.]

valuation of estates was made throughout the kingdom; which, though by no means a perfect one, had this effect, that a supply of 500,000*l.* was equal to 1*s.* in the pound of the value of the estates given in. And according to this enhanced valuation, from the year 1693 to the present, a period of above fourscore years, the land-tax has continued an annual charge upon the subject; above half the time at 4*s.* in the pound, sometimes at 3*s.*, sometimes at 2*s.*, twice (*q*) at 1*s.*, but without any total intermission. The medium has been 3*s.* 3*d.* in the pound, being equivalent with twenty-three ancient subsidies, and amounting annually *to more than a million and a half of money. The method of raising [*313] it, is by charging a particular sum upon each county, according to the valuation given in A. D. 1692; and this sum is assessed and raised upon individuals (their personal estates, as well as real, being liable thereto) by commissioners appointed in the act, being the principal landholders of the county, and their officers.

II. The other annual tax is the malt-tax; which is a sum of 750,000*l.*, raised every year by parliament, ever since 1697, by a duty of 6*d.* in the bushel on malt, and a proportionable sum on certain liquors, such as cider and perry, which might otherwise prevent the consumption of malt. This is under the management of the commissioners of the excise; and is, indeed, itself no other than an annual excise, the nature of which species of taxation I shall presently explain; only premising at present, that in the year 1760 an additional perpetual excise of 3*d.* per bushel was laid upon malt; to the produce of which a duty of 15 per cent. or nearly an additional halfpenny per bushel, was added in 1779; and that in 1763 a proportionable excise was laid upon cider and perry, but so new-modelled in 1766, as scarce to be worth collecting.

The perpetual taxes are, (23)

I. The customs; or the duties, toll, tribute, or tariff, payable upon merchandise exported and imported. The considerations upon which this revenue (or the more ancient part of it, which arose only from exports,) was invested in the king, were said to be two: (*r*) 1. Because he gave the subject leave to depart the kingdom, and to carry his goods along with him. 2. Because the king was bound of common right to maintain and keep up the ports and havens, and to protect the merchants from pirates. Some have imagined they are called with us customs, because they were the inheritance of the king by immemorial usage and the common law, and not granted him by any statute: (*s*) but Sir Edward Coke hath clearly shewn, (*t*) that the king's first claim to them was by *grant of parliament 3 Edw. I, though the record thereof is not now extant. And indeed this is in express words confessed by statute 25 [*314] Edw. I, c. 7, wherein the king promises to take no customs from merchants without the common assent of the realm, "saving to us and our heirs, the customs on wool, skins and leather, formerly granted to us by the commonalty aforesaid." These were formerly called the hereditary customs of the crown; and were due on the exportation only of the said three commodities, and of none other; which were styled the *staple* commodities of the kingdom, because they were obliged to be brought to those ports where the king's staple was established, in order to be there first rated, and then exported. (*u*) They were denominated, in the barbarous Latin of our ancient records, *custuma*, (*v*) not *consuetudines*, which is the language of our law whenever it means merely usages. The duties on wool, sheep-skins, or woollens, and leather, exported, were called *cus-*

(*q*) In the years 1732 and 1733.

(*r*) Dyer, 165.

(*s*) Dyer, 43, pl. 24.

(*t*) 2 Inst. 58, 59.

(*u*) Dav. 9.

(*v*) This appellation seems to be derived from the French word *coutum* or *coutum*, which signifies toll or tribute, and owes its own etymology to the word *coust*, which signifies price, charge, or, as we have adopted it in English, *cost*.

(23) The land and malt taxes are now perpetual also.

An income tax of ten per cent was introduced by Mr. Pitt, in 1798, which was removed in 1802, but again imposed under the name of property tax in 1803, and continued in force till 1816. It was re-imposed by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, and from that time has been continued to the present, though the rate has varied.

tuma antiqua sive magna: and were payable by every merchant, as well native as stranger; with this difference, that merchant strangers paid an additional toll, viz.: half as much again as was paid by natives. The *custuma parva et nova* were an impost of 3*d.* in the pound, due from merchant strangers only, for all commodities, as well imported as exported; which was usually called the alien's duty, and was first granted in 31 Edw. I, (*w*) But these ancient hereditary customs, especially those on wool and woollfells, came to be of little account, when the nation became sensible of the advantages of a home manufacture, and prohibited the exportation of wool by statute 11 Edw. III, c. 1.

There is also another very ancient hereditary duty belonging to the crown, called the *prisage* or *butlerage* of wines, which is considerably older than the customs, being taken notice of in the great roll of the exchequer, 8 Ric. I, still [*315] extant. (*x*) *Prisage* was a right of *taking* two tons of wine from *every ship (English or foreign) importing into England twenty tons or more, one before and one behind the mast; which by charter of Edward I, was exchanged into a duty of 2*s.* for every ton imported by merchant strangers, and called *butlerage*, because paid to the king's butler. (*y*)

Other customs payable upon exports and imports were distinguished into subsidies, tonnage, poundage, and other imposts. Subsidies were such as were imposed by parliament upon any of the staple commodities before mentioned, over and above the *custuma antiqua et magna*; tonnage was a duty upon all wines imported, over and above the *prisage* and *butlerage* aforesaid: poundage was a duty imposed *ad valorem*, at the rate of 12*d.* in the pound, on all other merchandize whatsoever; and the other imposts were such as were occasionally laid on by parliament, as circumstances and times required. (*z*) These distinctions are now in a manner forgotten, except by the officers immediately concerned in this department; their produce being in effect all blended together under the one denomination of the customs.

By these we understand, at present, a duty or subsidy paid by the merchant at the quay upon all imported as well as exported commodities, by authority of parliament; unless where, for particular national reasons, certain rewards, bounties, or drawbacks, are allowed for particular exports or imports. Those of tonnage and poundage, in particular, were at first granted, as the old statutes (and particularly 1 Eliz. c. 10,) express it, for the defence of the realm, and the keeping and safeguard of the seas, and for the intercourse of merchandize safely to come into and pass out of the same. They were at first usually granted only for a stated term of years: as, for two years in 5 Ric. II; (*a*) but in Henry the Sixth's time they were granted him for life by a statute in the thirty-first year of his reign; and again to Edward IV, for the term of his life also: since which time they were regularly granted to all his successors for life, sometimes at the first, sometimes at other subsequent, parliaments, till the reign of Charles the

[*316] *First; when, as the noble historian expresses it, (*b*) his ministers were not sufficiently solicitous for a renewal of this legal grant. And yet these imposts were imprudently and unconstitutionally levied and taken, without consent of parliament, for fifteen years together; which was one of the causes of those unhappy discontents, justifiable at first in too many instances, but which degenerated at last into causeless rebellion (24) and murder. For as in

(*w*) 4 Inst. 29.

(*x*) Madox, Hist. Exch. 526, 532.

(*y*) Dav. 8. 2 Bulst. 254. Stat. Estr. 16 Edw. II. Com. Journ. 27 April, 1689.

(*z*) Dav. 11, 12.

(*a*) Dav. 12.

(*b*) Hist. Rebell. b. 3.

(24) [The causes of resistance were numerous, and to the last hour of the pending treaty of Uxbridge some of them existed. Not one of the supposed prerogatives, against the future exertion of which security was sought by the treaty, but had operated some grievance upon the subject. The king, at a meeting on the occasion of that treaty, had actually agreed to sign it; but, as the discussion of its several items had been long and late, the mere signing was adjourned to eight o'clock the next morning. The unfortunate king appeared to part with the commissioners in excellent temper and with seeming good will towards them; they anticipated nothing else than the completion of the treaty. But the event showed that they were not justified in placing any reliance upon the monarch, who, it appears, could not rely

every other, so in this particular case, the king (previous to the commencement of hostilities) gave the nation ample satisfaction for the errors of his former conduct, by passing an act, (c) whereby he renounced all power in the crown of levying the duty of tonnage and poundage without the express consent of parliament; and also all power of imposition upon any merchandizes whatever. Upon the restoration, this duty was granted to King Charles the Second for life, and so it was to his two immediate successors; but now by three several statutes, 9 Ann. c. 6, 1 Geo. I, c. 12, and 3 Geo. I, c. 7, it is made perpetual, and mortgaged for the debt of the public. The customs thus imposed by parliament are chiefly contained in two books of rates, set forth by parliamentary authority; (d) one signed by Sir Harbottle Grimston, speaker of the house of commons in Charles the Second's time; and the other an additional one signed by Sir Spenser Compton, speaker in the reign of George the First; to which also subsequent additions have been made. Aliens pay a larger proportion than natural subjects, which is what is now generally understood by the aliens' duty; to be exempted from which is one principal cause of the frequent applications to parliaments for acts of naturalization. (25)

These customs are then, we see, a tax immediately paid by the merchant, although ultimately by the consumer. And yet these are the duties felt least by the people; and, if prudently managed, the people hardly consider that they pay them at all. For the merchant is easy, being sensible he does not pay them for himself; and the consumer, who really *pays them, confounds them [*317] with the price of the commodity; in the same manner, as Tacitus observes, that the Emperor Nero gained the reputation of abolishing the tax of the sale of slaves, though he only transferred it from the buyer to the seller: so that it was, as he expresses it, "*remissum magis specie, quam vi: quia, cum venditor pendere juberetur, in partem pretii emptoribus accrescebat.*" (e) But this inconvenience attends it, on the other hand, that these imposts, if too heavy, are a check and cramp upon trade; and especially when the value of the commodity bears little or no proportion to the quantity of the duty imposed. This, in consequence, gives rise also to smuggling, which then becomes a very lucrative employment; and its natural and most reasonable punishment, viz.: confiscation of the commodity, is in such cases quite ineffectual; the intrinsic value of the goods, which is all that the smuggler has paid, and therefore all that he

(c) 16 Car. I, c. 8.

(d) Stat. 12 Car. II, c. 4. 11 Geo. I, c. 7.

(e) Hist. 1. 13.

upon himself. In the night he received letters from the queen, announcing French aid at hand; and, at the time appointed in the morning for that purpose, the king refused to sign the treaty. The house was sitting when the news of the refusal arrived; disappointment and regret clouded every brow. The event is too well known. The king lost his life, but he was not murdered. It became a question of self-preservation and of power, and Cromwell and his supporters prevailed. If it be conceded that the death of the first Charles shall rightly be called a murder, how are the deaths of Lord Stafford, in the subsequent reign, and those of Sir Henry Vane and others, to be designated? That the king, a papist, might not seem to favor popery, he allowed the poor old peer to be murdered; and, in violation of his word that the life of Vane should be spared, the king permitted him to be judicially destroyed. His noble reply, when he was urged to become a suppliant to the restored monarch, deserves to be remembered: "If the king do not think himself more concerned for his honor and his word, than I do for my life, they may take it." None of these judicial acts are excusable on any ground of justice, policy, or expediency; but Charles, had he survived and resumed his power, would have immolated more martyrs to liberty than its champions sacrificed of those to royalty. Let the student look at the facts; not through Hume's glazing, or Lord Clarendon's beautiful apology, but through the public events, state papers, and proceedings of the period. Then let him turn to the recorded deeds of the profligacy of one son, and to those indicating the fatuity of the other; and he will not fail to perceive that the subsequent revolution became necessary to the preservation of the state and people; and, if it was so necessary, then a justification for the resistance, rebellion, if that word be thought more appropriate, opposed to this family, beginning with the father, will be read.]

(25) The statutes imposing custom duties have been repeatedly modified since these Commentaries were written, and are likely to be so often from time to time as to make it not worth while to give even a synopsis of them in a work of this character. Information concerning them is not only obtainable in the statutes and official publications, but also in the Encyclopædias, and other works readily accessible.

can lose, being very inconsiderable when compared with his prospect of advantage in evading the duty. Recourse must therefore be had to extraordinary punishments to prevent it, perhaps even to capital ones; which destroys all proportion of punishment, (*f*) and puts murderers upon an equal footing with such as are really guilty of no natural, but merely a positive, offence.

There is also another ill consequence attending high imposts on merchandize, not frequently considered, but indisputably certain; that the earlier any tax is laid on a commodity, the heavier it falls upon the consumer in the end; for every trader through whose hands it passes must have a profit, not only upon the raw material and his own labour and time in preparing it, but also upon the very tax itself which he advances to the government; otherwise he loses the use and interest of the money which he so advances. To instance, in the article of foreign paper. The merchant pays a duty upon importation, which he does not receive again till he sells the commodity, perhaps at the end of three months.

[*318] He is therefore equally entitled to a profit upon that duty *which he pays at the custom-house, as to a profit upon the original price which he pays to the manufacturer abroad, and considers it accordingly in the price he demands of the stationer. When the stationer sells it again, he requires a profit of the printer or bookseller upon the whole sum advanced by him to the merchant; and the bookseller does not forget to charge the full proportion to the student or ultimate consumer; who therefore does not only pay the original duty, but the profits of these three intermediate traders who have successively advanced it for him. This might be carried much farther in any mechanical, or more complicated, branch of trade.

II. Directly opposite in its nature to this is the excise duty, which is an inland imposition, paid sometimes upon the consumption of the commodity, or frequently upon the retail sale, which is the last stage before the consumption. This is doubtless, impartially speaking, the most economical way of taxing the subject; the charges of levying, collecting, and managing the excise duties, being considerably less in proportion than in other branches of the revenue. It also renders the commodity cheaper to the consumer than charging it with customs to the same amount would do; for the reason just now given, because generally paid in a much later stage of it. But, at the same time, the rigour and arbitrary proceedings of excise laws seem hardly compatible with the temper of a free nation. For the frauds that might be committed in this branch of the revenue, unless a strict watch is kept, make it necessary, wherever it is established, to give the officers a power of entering and searching the houses of such as deal in excisable commodities at any hour of the day, and, in many cases, of the night likewise. And the proceedings in case of transgressions are so summary and sudden, that a man may be convicted in two days' time in the penalty of many thousand pounds by two commissioners or justices of the peace, to the total exclusion of the trial by jury, and disregard of the common law.

[*319] For which reason, though Lord *Clarendon tells us, (*g*) that to his knowledge the Earl of Bedford (who was made lord treasurer by King Charles the First, to oblige his parliament) intended to have set up the excise in England, yet it never made a part of that unfortunate prince's revenue; being first introduced, on the model of the Dutch prototype, by the parliament itself after its rupture with the crown. Yet such was the opinion of its general unpopularity, that when in 1642 "aspersions were cast by malignant persons upon the house of commons, that they intended to introduce excises, the house for its vindication therein did declare, that these rumours were false and scandalous, and that their authors should be apprehended and brought to condign punishment." (*h*) However, its original (*i*) establishment was in 1643,

(*f*) Montesq. Sp. L. b. 13, c. 8. (*g*) Hist. b. 3. (*h*) Com. Journ. 8 Oct. 1642.

(*i*) The translator and continuator of Petavius's Chronological History (Lond. 1659, fol.) informs us that it was first moved for 28 Mar. 1643, by Mr. Prynne. And it appears from the journals of the commons that on that day the house resolved itself into a committee to consider of raising money, in consequence of which the excise was afterwards voted. But Mr. Prynne was not a member of parliament till 7 Nov. 1643; and published in 1654, "A protestation against the illegal, detestable, and oft-condemned tax and extortion of excise in general." It is probably therefore a mistake of the printer for Mr. Pymme, who was intended for chancellor of the exchequer under the Earl of Bedford. *Lord Clar.* b. 7.

and its progress was gradual; being at first laid upon those persons and commodities where it was supposed the hardship would be least perceivable, viz. the makers or venders of beer, ale, cider, and perry, (*k*) and the royalists at Oxford soon followed the example of their brethren at Westminster by imposing a similar duty; both sides protesting that it should be continued no longer than to the end of the war, and then be utterly abolished. (*l*) But the parliament at Westminster soon after imposed on it flesh, wine, tobacco, sugar, and such a multitude of other commodities, that it might fairly be denominated general: in pursuance of the plan laid down by Mr. Pymme, (who seems to have been the father of the excise,) in his letter to Sir John Hotham, (*m*) signifying "that they had proceeded in the excise to many particulars, and intended to go on farther: but that it *would be necessary to use the people to it by [*320] little and little." And afterwards, when the nation had been accustom- to it for a series of years, the succeeding champions of liberty boldly and openly declared, "the impost of excise to be the most easy and indifferent levy that could be laid upon the people;" (*n*) and accordingly continued it during the whole usurpation. Upon King Charles's return, it having then been long established, and its produce well known, some part of it was given to the crown, in 12 Car. II, by way of purchase (as was before observed) for the feudal tenures and other oppressive parts of the hereditary revenue. But, from its first original to the present time, its very name has been odious to the people of England. It has nevertheless been imposed on abundance of other commodities in the reigns of King William III, and every succeeding prince, to support the enormous expenses occasioned by our wars on the continent. Thus brandies and other spirits are now excised at the distillery; printed silks and linens, at the printer's; starch and hair powder, at the maker's; gold and silver wire, at the wire-drawer's; plate, in the hands of the vendor, who pays yearly for a license to sell it; lands and goods sold by auction, for which a pound-rate is payable by the auctioneer, who also is charged with an annual duty for his license; and coaches and other wheel carriages, for which the occupier is excised, though not with the same circumstances of arbitrary strictness, as in most of the other instances. To these we may add coffee and tea, chocolate and cocoa paste, for which the duty is paid by the retailer; all artificial wines, commonly called sweets; paper and paste-board, first when made, and again if stained or printed; malt, as before mentioned; vinegars, and the manufacture of glass; for all which the duty is paid by the manufacturer; hops, for which the person that gathers them is answerable; candles and soap, which are paid for at the maker's; malt liquors brewed for sale, which are excised at the brewery; cider and perry, at the vendor's; and leather and skins, at the tanner's. A list, which no friend to his country would wish to see farther increased.

*III. I proceed therefore to a third duty, namely, that upon salt; [*321] which is another distinct branch of his majesty's extraordinary revenue, and consists in an excise of 3s. 4d. *per* bushel imposed upon all salt, by several statutes of King William and other subsequent reigns. This is not generally called an excise, because under the management of different commissioners: but the commissioners of the salt duties have, by statute 1 Ann. c. 21, the same powers, and must observe the same regulations, as those of other excises. This tax had usually been only temporary; but by statute 26 Geo. II, c. 3, was made perpetual. (26)

(*k*) Com. Journ. 17 May, 1643.

(*l*) Lord Clar. b. 7.

(*m*) 30 May, 1643. Dugdale, of the Troubles, 120.

(*n*) Ord. 14 Aug. 1649, c. 50. Scobel, 453.

(26) The duty has since been made almost nominal.

It may be proper to give in this place a brief statement of the revenue system of the United States.

Congress has power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises; but all duties, imposts and excises must be uniform throughout the United States. Const. of U. S. art. 1, § 8. No capitation or other direct tax can be laid, unless in proportion to representative population, and no tax or duty can be laid on articles exported from any state. Ibid. art. 1, § 9. No

IV. Another very considerable branch of the revenue is levied with greater cheerfulness, as, instead of being a burden, it is a manifest advantage to the public. I mean the post-office, or duty for the carriage of letters. As we have traced the original of the excise to the parliament of 1643, so it is but justice to observe that this useful invention owes its first legislative establishment to the same assembly. It is true, there existed postmasters in much earlier times. but I apprehend their business was confined to the furnishing of post-horses to persons who were desirous to travel expeditiously, and to the dispatching of extraordinary packets upon special occasions. King James I originally erected a post-office under the control of one Matthew De Quester, or De l'Equester, for the conveyance of letters to and from foreign parts; which office was afterwards claimed by Lord Stanhope, (o) but was confirmed and continued to William Frizell and Thomas Witherings by King Charles I, A. D. 1632, for the better accommodation of the English merchants. (p) In 1635 the same prince erected a letter-office for England and Scotland, under the direction of the same Thomas Witherings, and settled certain rates of postage: (q) but this extended only to a few of the principal roads; the times of carriage were uncertain, and the postmasters on each road were required to furnish the mail with horses at the rate [*322] of $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ a mile. *Witherings was superseded for abuses in the exertion of both his offices, in 1640; and they were sequestered into the hands of Philip Burlamachy, to be exercised under the care and oversight of the king's principal secretary of state. (r) On the breaking out of the civil war, great confusions and interruptions were necessarily occasioned in the conduct of the letter-office. And, about that time, the outline of the present more extended and regular plan seems to have been conceived by Mr. Edmond Prideaux, who was appointed attorney-general to the commonwealth after the murder of King Charles. He was chairman of a committee in 1642 for considering what rates should be set upon inland letters; (s) and afterwards appointed postmaster by an ordinance of both the houses, (t) in the execution of which office he first established a *weekly* conveyance of letters into *all* parts of the nation; (u) thereby saving to the public the charge of maintaining postmasters to the amount of 7000*l.* *per annum.* And, his own emoluments being probably very considerable, the common council of London endeavoured to

(o) Latch. Rep. 87.
(r) 20 Rym. 429.

(p) 19 Rym. *Foed.* 385.
(s) Com. Journ. 23 Mar. 1642.

(q) *Ibid.* 650. 20 Rym. 192.
(t) *Ibid.* 7 Sept. 1644.

(u) *Ibid.* 21 Mar. 1649.

state can, 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 net 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. *Ibid.* art. 1, § 10. The general policy of the country has been to make the duties on imports produce sufficient revenue for the ordinary wants of the government, and but little reliance has been placed on other sources of revenue, except when the pressure of national necessities has been unusually great, and the expenditures extraordinary. Excise duties, and other internal taxes, were levied during the administrations of Washington and John Adams, while the weight of the revolutionary debt was still oppressive, and again during the war of 1812: but from 1817 to 1861 the country enjoyed relief from this species of taxation. When the civil war broke out, resort to extraordinary means of taxation became a necessity, and an elaborate scheme of excise and stamp duties was devised, which, with many modifications, is still in force. The customs duties were also increased generally, and an income tax was imposed of five per cent. upon net incomes, after allowing a deduction of \$600—afterwards increased to \$1,000—and also deductions for taxes paid, repairs on dwellings, and interest on indebtedness. This tax was reduced to two and a half per cent. in 1870, and the exemption increased to \$2,000, besides taxes, &c. After 1871, it is to be wholly discontinued. It has been decided by the United States supreme court that a tax on carriages was not a "direct tax," which, under the constitution, was required to be apportioned among the states. *Hylton v. United States*, 3 Dall. 171. Also that the income tax was not a direct tax. *Pacific Ins. Co. v. Soule*, 7 Wal. 433. The state courts decided that it was not competent for congress to require writs issued by state courts to be stamped; *Warren v. Paul*, 22 Ind. 279; *Jones v. Estate of Keep*, 19 Wis. 369; *Fifield v. Close*, 15 Mich. 509; *Union Bank v. Hill*, 3 Cold. (Tenn.) 325; and congress seems to have accepted these decisions by repealing the provisions of the statute which required such stamping. It was also intimated in Massachusetts that congress had no power to provide that unstamped contracts should not be admissible in evidence in the state courts. *Carpenter v. Snelling*, 97 Mass. 452. And see note *ante*, page xiii.

erect another post-office in opposition to his; till checked by a resolution of the house of commons, (*w*) declaring that the office of postmaster is and ought to be in the sole power and disposal of the parliament. This office was afterwards farmed by one Manly in 1654. (*x*) But, in 1657, a regular post-office was erected by the authority of the protector and his parliament, (*y*) upon nearly the same model as has been ever since adopted, and with the same rates of postage as continued to the reign of Queen Anne. (*y*) After the restoration a similar office, with some improvements, was established by statute 12 Car. II, c. 35, but the rates of letters were altered, and some farther regulations added, by the statutes 9 Ann. c. 10; 6 Geo. I, c. 21; 26 Geo. II, c. 12; 5 Geo. III, c. 25; and 7 Geo. III, c. 50; and penalties were enacted in order to confine the carriage of letters to the public office only, except in some few cases: a provision which is absolutely necessary; for nothing but *an exclusive right can support [*323] an office of this sort: many rival independent offices would only serve to ruin one another. The privilege of letters coming free of postage, to and from members of parliament, was claimed by the house of commons, in 1660, when the first legal settlement of the present post-office was made; (*z*) but afterwards dropped (*a*) upon a private assurance from the crown, that this privilege should be allowed the members. (*b*) (28) And accordingly a warrant was constantly issued to the postmaster-general, (*c*) directing the allowance thereof, to the extent of two ounces in weight; till at length it was expressly confirmed by statute 4 Geo. III, c. 24; which adds many new regulations, rendered necessary by the great abuses crept into the practice of franking; whereby the annual amount of franked letters had gradually increased from 23,600*l.*, in the year 1715, to 170,700*l.*, in the year 1763. (*d*) There cannot be devised a more eligible method than this of raising money upon the subject: for therein both the government and the people find a mutual benefit. The government acquires a large revenue; and the people do their business with greater ease, expedition, and cheapness, than they would be able to do if no such tax (and of course no such office) existed. (29)

(*w*) *Ibid.* 24 Mar. 1649

(*z*) *Com. Journ.* 17 Dec. 1660.

(*c*) *Ibid.* 26 Feb. 1734.

(*x*) *Scobell*, 358.

(*a*) *Ibid.* 22 Dec. 1660.

(*d*) *Ibid.* 28 Mar. 1764.

(*y*) *Com. Journ.* 9 June, 1657. *Scobell*, 511.

(*b*) *Ibid.* 16 Apr. 1735.

(27) [The preamble of the ordinance states, that the establishing one general post-office, besides the benefit to commerce and the convenience of conveying public dispatches, "will be the best means to discover and prevent many dangerous and wicked designs against the commonwealth."

The policy of having the correspondence of the kingdom under the inspection of government is still continued; for, by a warrant from one of the principal secretaries of state, letters may be detained and opened; but if any person shall wilfully detain or open a letter delivered to the post-office without such authority, he shall forfeit 20*l.* and be incapable of having any future employment in the post-office. 9 Ann. c. 10, s. 40. But it has been decided that no person is subject to this penalty but those who are employed in the post-office. 5 T. R. 101.]

The post-office is no longer regarded in England as a means of detecting conspiracies. Letters passing through the mails are sometimes still opened on the warrant of the secretary of state, but the occurrence is very rare, and would be sanctioned by public opinion only in extreme cases. See May's Const. Hist., c. 11. No officer in America has a right to open letters addressed to other persons and deposited in the post-office.

(28) [The following account of it in the 23 vol. Parl. Hist. p. 56, is curious, and proves what originally were the sentiments of the two houses respecting this privilege. "Col. Titus reported the bill for the settlement of the post-office, with the amendments: Sir Walter Carle delivered a proviso for the letters of all members of parliament to go free during their sitting: Sir Heneage Finch said, It was a *poor mendicant proviso*, and below the honor of the house. Mr. Prynne spoke also against the proviso: Mr. Bunckley, Mr. Boscawen, Sir George Downing, and Serjeant Charlton for it; the latter saying, 'The council's letters went free.' The question being called for, the speaker, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, was unwilling to put it; saying, *he was ashamed of it*; nevertheless, the proviso was carried, and made part of the bill, which was ordered to be engrossed." This proviso the lords disagreed to, and left it out of the bill: and the commons agreed to their amendment. 3 Hats. 82.]

(29) In 1849 a great experiment was made in Great Britain, by the reduction of postage on letters within the United Kingdom to a uniform rate of one penny for a single half ounce, and by a proportionate reduction on letters to the colonies, and on books, papers, &c. The

V. A fifth branch of the perpetual revenue consists in the stamp duties, which are a tax imposed upon all parchment and paper whereon any legal proceedings, or private instruments of almost any nature whatsoever, are written; and also upon licenses for retailing wines, letting horses to hire, and for certain other purposes; and upon all almanacks, newspapers, advertisements, cards, dice, and pamphlets containing less than six sheets of paper. These imposts are very various, according to the nature of the thing stamped, rising gradually from a penny to ten pounds. This is also a tax, which, though in some instances it may be heavily felt, by greatly increasing the expense of all mercantile as well as legal proceedings, yet if moderately imposed, is of service to the public [*324] in general by authenticating *instruments, and rendering it much more difficult than formerly to forge deeds of any standing; since, as the officers of this branch of the revenue vary their stamps frequently, by marks perceptible to none but themselves, a man that would forge a deed of King William's time, must know and be able to counterfeit the stamp of that date also. In France and some other countries the duty is laid on the contract itself, not on the instrument in which it is contained; (as, with us too, besides the stamp on the indentures, a tax is laid by statute 8 Ann. c. 9, of 6*d.* in the pound, upon every apprentice-fee, if it be 50*l.* or under; and 1*s.* in the pound, if it be a greater sum;) but this tends to draw the subject into a thousand nice disquisitions and disputes concerning the nature of his contract, and whether taxable or not; in which the farmers of the revenue are sure to have the advantage.(*e*) Our general method answers the purposes of the state as well, and consults the ease of the subject much better. The first institution of the stamp duties was by statutes 5 and 6 W. and M. c. 21, and they have since in many instances been increased to ten times their original amount.

VI. A sixth branch is the duty upon houses and windows. As early as the conquest, mention is made in domesday book of fumage or fuage, vulgarly called smoke farthings; which were paid by custom to the king for every chimney in the house. And we read that Edward the Black Prince (soon after his successes in France) in imitation of the English custom, imposed a tax of a florin upon every hearth in his French dominions.(*f*) But the first parliamentary establishment of it in England was by statute 13 and 14 Car. II, c. 10, whereby an hereditary revenue of 2*s.* for every hearth, in all houses paying to church and poor, was granted to the king forever. And, by subsequent statutes for the more regular assessment of this tax, the constable and two other substantial inhabitants of the parish, to be appointed yearly, (or the surveyor, appointed by the crown, together with such constable or other public officer,) were once in [*325] every *year empowered to view the inside of every house in the parish. But, upon the revolution, by statute 1 W. and M. st. 1, c. 10, hearth-money was declared to be "not only a great oppression to the poorer sort, but a badge of slavery upon the whole people, exposing every man's house to be entered into, and searched at pleasure, by persons unknown to him; and therefore, to erect a lasting monument of their majesties' goodness in every house in the kingdom, the duty of hearth-money was taken away and abolished." This monument of goodness remains among us to this day: but the prospect of it was somewhat darkened, when in six years afterwards, by statute 7 Wm. III, c. 18, a tax was laid upon all houses (except cottages) of 2*s.* now advanced to 3*s.* *per annum*, and a tax also upon all windows, if they exceeded nine, in such house. Which rates have been from time to time, (*g*) varied, being now extended to all windows exceeding six: and power is given to surveyors, appointed by the

(*e*) Sp. of L. b. xiii. c. 9.

(*f*) Mod. Un. Hist. xxviii. 463. Spelm. Gloss. *tit. Fuage*.

(*g*) Stat. 20 Geo. II, c. 3. 31 Geo. II c. 22. 2 Geo. III, c. 8. 6 Geo. III, c. 38.

hope of those who favored this reduction was, that the increase in correspondence in consequence would be so great, that the government would actually be gainer thereby; and this hope has been fully justified by the result. Mr. Rowland Hill was the person principally entitled to the credit of this reform. The franking privilege was at the same time abolished.

crown, to inspect the outside of houses, and also to pass through any house two days in the year, into any court or yard, to inspect the windows there. A new duty from 6*d.* to 1*s.* in the pound, was also imposed by statutes 18 Geo. III, c. 26, and 19 Geo. III, c. 59, on every dwelling-house inhabited, together with the offices and gardens therewith occupied: which duty as well as the former, is under the direction of the commissioners of the land-tax.

VII. The seventh branch of the extraordinary perpetual revenue is a duty of 21*s.* *per annum* for every male servant retained or employed in the several capacities specifically mentioned in the act of parliament, and which almost amount to an universality, except such as are employed in husbandry, trade or manufactures. This was imposed by statute 17 Geo. III, c. 39, amended by 19 Geo. III, c. 59, and is under the management of the commissioners of the land and window tax.

VIII. An eighth branch is the duty arising from licenses to hackney coaches and chairs in London, and the parts adjacent. In 1654 two hundred hackney coaches were allowed within London, Westminster, and six miles round, under the direction of the court of aldermen. (*h*) By statute 13 and 14 Car. II, c. 2, four hundred were licensed; and the money arising thereby was applied to repairing the streets. (*i*) This number was increased to seven hundred by statute 5 W. and M. c. 22, and the duties vested in the crown: and by the statute 9 Ann. c. 23, and other subsequent statutes for their government (*j*) there are now a thousand coaches and four hundred chairs. This revenue is governed by commissioners of its own, and *is, in truth, a benefit to the subject; as [*326] the expense of it is felt by no individual, and its necessary regulations have established a competent jurisdiction whereby a very refractory race of men may be kept in some tolerable order.

IX. The ninth and last branch of the king's extraordinary perpetual revenue is the duty upon offices and pensions; consisting in an annual payment of 1*s.* in the pound (over and above all other duties) (*k*) out of all salaries, fees, and perquisites, of offices and pensions payable by the crown, exceeding the value of 100*l.* *per annum*. This highly popular taxation was imposed by statute 31 Geo. II, c. 22, and is under the direction of the commissioners of the land-tax.

The clear net produce of these several branches of the revenue, after all charges of collecting and management paid, amounts at present annually to about seven millions and three quarters sterling; besides more than two millions and a quarter raised by the land and malt tax. How these immense sums are appropriated is next to be considered. And this is, first and principally, to the payment of the interest of the national debt.

In order to take a clear and comprehensive view of the nature of this national debt, it must first be premised, that after the revolution, when our new connexions with Europe introduced a new system of foreign politics, the expenses of the nation, not only in settling the new establishment, but in maintaining long wars, as principals, on the continent, for the security of the Dutch barrier, reducing the French monarchy, settling the Spanish succession, supporting the house of Austria, maintaining the liberties of the Germanic body, and other purposes, increased to an unusual degree: insomuch that it was not thought advisable to raise all the expenses of any one year by taxes to be levied within that year, lest the unaccustomed weights of them should create murmurs among the people. It was therefore the policy of the times to anticipate the revenues of their posterity, by borrowing immense sums for the current service of the state, and to lay no more taxes upon the subject than would suffice to pay the annual

(*h*) Scobell, 313.

(*i*) Com. Journ. 14 Feb. 1661.

(*j*) 10 Ann. c. 19, § 158. 12 Geo. I, c. 15. 7 Geo. III, c. 44. 10 Geo. III, c. 44. 11 Geo. III, c. 24, 28. 12 Geo. III, c. 49.

(*k*) Previous to this, a deduction of 6*d.* in the pound was charged on all pensions and annuities, and all salaries, fees, and wages of all offices of profit granted by or derived from the crown; in order to pay the interest at the rate of three *per cent.* on one million, which was raised for discharging the debts on the civil list, by statutes 7 Geo. I, st. 1, c. 27. 11 Geo. I, c. 17, and 12 Geo. I, c. 2. This million, being charged on this particular fund is not considered as any part of the national debt.

[*327] interest of the sums so borrowed: by this means converting *the principal debts into a new species of property, transferable from one man to another at any time and in any quantity. A system which seems to have had its original in the state of Florence, A. D. 1344: which government then owed about 60,000*l.* sterling; and being unable to pay it, formed the principal into an aggregate sum, called metaphorically a *mount* or *bank*, the shares whereof were transferable like our stocks, with interest at five *per cent.*, the prices varying according to the exigencies of the state. (1) The policy of the English parliament laid the foundation of what is called the national debt: for a few long annuities created in the reign of Charles II, will hardly deserve that name. And the example then set has been so closely followed during the long wars in the reign of Queen Anne, and since, that the capital of the national debt (funded and unfunded) amounted, at the close of the session in June, 1777, to about an hundred and thirty-six millions: (30) to pay the interest of which together with certain annuities for lives and years, and the charges of management, amounting annually to upwards of four millions and three-quarters, the extraordinary revenues just now enumerated (excepting only the land-tax and annual malt-tax,) are in the first place mortgaged, and made perpetual by parliament. Perpetual, I say; but still redeemable by the same authority that imposed them: which, if it at any time can pay off the capital, will abolish those taxes which are raised to discharge the interest.

By this means the quantity of property in the kingdom is greatly increased in idea, compared with former times; yet, if we coolly consider it, not at all increased in reality. We may boast of large fortunes, and quantities of money in the funds. But where does this money exist? It exists only in name, in paper, in public faith, in parliamentary security; and that is undoubtedly sufficient for the creditors of the public to rely on. But then what is the pledge which the public faith has pawned for the security of these debts? The land, the trade, and the personal industry of the subject; from which the money must arise that supplies the several taxes. In these, therefore, and these only, [*328] the property of the public *creditors does really and intrinsically exist; and of course the land, the trade, and the personal industry of individuals, are diminished in their true value just so much as they are pledged to answer. If A.'s income amounts to 100*l.* *per annum*; and he is so far indebted to B. that he pays him 50*l.* *per annum* for his interest; one-half the value of A.'s property is transferred to B., the creditor. The creditor's property exists in the demand which he has upon the debtor, and no where else; and the debtor is only a trustee to his creditor for one-half of the value of his income. In short, the property of a creditor of the public consists in a certain portion of the national taxes: by how much therefore he is the richer, by so much the nation, which pays these taxes, is the poorer.

The only advantage that can result to the nation from the public debts is the increase of circulation, by multiplying the cash of the kingdom, and creating a new species of currency, assignable at any time and in any quantity; always therefore ready to be employed in any beneficial undertaking, by means of this its transferable quality, and yet producing some profit even when it lies idle and unemployed. A certain proportion of debt seems therefore to be highly useful to a trading people; but what that proportion is, it is not for me to determine. Thus much is indisputably certain, that the present magnitude of our national

(1) *Pro tempore, pro spe, pro commodo, minuitur eorum pretium atque augetur.* Aretin. See Mod. Un. Hist. xxxvi. 116.

(30) [The national debt in 1755, previous to the French war, was 72,289,000*l.*; interest, 2,654,000*l.*

In January, 1776, before the American war, it was 123,964,000*l.*; interest, 4,411,000*l.*

In 1786, previous to which the whole debt of the last war was not funded, it was 239,154,000*l.*: interest, 9,275,000*l.* Exclusive of a capital of 1,991,000*l.*, granted by parliament to the American loyalists, as a compensation for their loss of property. Brief. Exam. 10.]

The funded national debt of Great Britain on March 31, 1869, was 741,190,328*l.*

incumbrances very far exceeds all calculations of commercial benefit, and is productive of the greatest inconveniences. For, first, the enormous taxes, that are raised upon the necessities of life for the payment of the interest of this debt, are a hurt both to trade and manufactures, by raising the price as well of the artificer's subsistence as of the raw material, and of course in a much greater proportion, the price of the commodity itself. Nay, the very increase of paper circulation itself, when extended beyond what is requisite for commerce or foreign exchange, has a natural tendency to increase the price of provisions as well as of all other merchandize. For, as its effect is to multiply the cash of the kingdom, and this to such an extent that much must remain unemployed, that cash (which is the *universal measure of the respective values of all other [*329] commodities) must necessarily sink in its own value, (*m*) and every thing grow comparatively dearer. Secondly, if part of this debt be owing to foreigners, either they draw out of the kingdom annually a considerable quantity of specie for the interest, or else it is made an argument to grant them unreasonable privileges, in order to induce them to reside here. Thirdly, if the whole be owing to subjects only, it is then charging the active and industrious subject, who pays his share of the taxes, to maintain the indolent and idle creditor who receives them. Lastly, and principally, it weakens the internal strength of a state, by anticipating those resources which should be reserved to defend it in case of necessity. The interest we now pay for our debts would be nearly sufficient to maintain any war that any national motives could require. And if our ancestors in King William's time had annually paid, so long as their exigencies lasted, even a less sum than we now annually raise upon their accounts, they would in the time of war have borne no greater burdens than they have bequeathed to and settled upon their posterity in time of peace, and might have been eased the instant the exigence was over.

The respective produces of the several taxes before mentioned were originally separate and distinct funds; being securities for the sums advanced on each several tax, and for them only. But at last it became necessary, in order to avoid confusion, as they multiplied yearly, to reduce the number of these separate funds, by uniting and blending them together; superadding the faith of parliament for the general security of the whole. So that there are now only three capital funds of any account, the *aggregate* fund, and the *general* fund, so called from such union and addition; and the *south sea* fund, being the produce of the taxes appropriated to pay the interest of such part of the national debt as was advanced by that company and its annuitants. Whereby the separate funds, which were thus united, are become mutual securities for each other; and the whole produce of them, thus aggregated, liable to pay such interest or annuities as were *formerly charged upon each distinct fund; the faith of the [*330] legislature being moreover engaged to supply casual deficiencies. (31)

The customs, excises, and other taxes, which are to support these funds, depending upon contingencies, upon exports, imports, and consumptions, must necessarily be of a very uncertain amount; but though some of them have proved unproductive, and others deficient, the sum total hath always been considerably more than sufficient to answer the charge upon them. The surpluses therefore of the three great national funds, the *aggregate*, *general*, and *south sea* funds, over and above the interest and annuities charged upon them, are directed, by statute 3 Geo. I, c. 7, to be carried together, and to attend the disposition of parliament; and are usually denominated the *sinking* fund, because originally destined to sink and lower the national debt. To this have been since added many other entire duties, granted in subsequent years; and the annual

(*m*) See page 276.

(31) The gross revenue of Great Britain for the year ending March 31, 1869, was 72,680,197*l.* of which 22,422,472 was from customs, 41,827,604 from excise, stamp, income and other internal taxes, 4,553,580 from the post-office, 446,174 from crown lands, and 3,555,992 from miscellaneous sources.

interest of the sums borrowed on their respective credits is charged on and payable out of the produce of the sinking fund. However, the net surpluses and savings, after all deductions paid, amount annually to a very considerable sum. For as the interest on the national debt has been at several times reduced, (by the consent of the proprietors, who had their option either to lower their interest or be paid their principal,) the savings from the appropriated revenues came at length to be extremely large. This sinking fund is the last resort of the nation; its only domestic resource on which must chiefly depend all the hopes we can entertain of ever discharging or moderating our incumbrance. And therefore the prudent and steady application of the large sums now arising from this fund, is a point of the utmost importance, and well worthy the serious attention of parliament; which was thereby enabled, in the year 1765, to reduce above two millions sterling of the public debt; and several additional millions in several succeeding years.

But, before any part of the aggregate fund (the surpluses whereof are one of [*331] the chief ingredients that form the sinking *fund) can be applied to diminish the principal of the public debt, it stands mortgaged by parliament to raise an annual sum for the maintenance of the king's household and the civil list. For this purpose, in the late reigns, the produce of certain branches of the excise and customs, the post-office, the duty on wine licenses, the revenues of the remaining crown lands, the profits arising from courts of justice, (which articles include all the hereditary revenues of the crown,) and also a clear annuity of 120,000*l.* in money, were settled on the king for life, for the support of his majesty's household, and the honour and dignity of the crown. And, as the amount of these several branches was uncertain, (though in the last reign they were computed to have sometimes raised almost a million,) if they did not arise annually to 800,000*l.* the parliament engaged to make up the deficiency. But his present majesty having, soon after his accession, spontaneously signified his consent that his own hereditary revenues might be so disposed of as might best conduce to the utility and satisfaction of the public; and, having graciously accepted the limited sum of 800,000*l. per annum* for the support of his civil list, the said hereditary and other revenues were carried into and made a part of the aggregate fund, and the aggregate fund was charged, (*n*) with the payment of the whole annuity to the crown of 800,000*l.*, which, being found insufficient, was increased in 1777 to 900,000*l. per annum*. Hereby the revenues themselves, being put under the same care and management as the other branches of the public patrimony, produced more, and are better collected, than heretofore; and the public is still a gainer of near 100,000*l. per annum* by this disinterested conduct of his majesty. The civil list, thus liquidated, together with the four millions and three-quarters interest of the national debt, and more than two millions produced from the sinking fund, make up the seven millions and three-quarters *per annum*, net money, which were before stated to be the annual produce of our *perpetual* taxes; besides the immense, though uncertain, sums arising from the *annual* taxes on land and malt, but which at [*332] an average *may be calculated at more than two millions and a quarter; and, added to the preceding sum, make the clear produce of the taxes (exclusive of the charge of collecting) which are raised yearly on the people of this country, amount to about ten millions sterling.

The expenses defrayed by the civil list are those that in any shape relate to civil government; as, the expenses of the royal household; the revenues allotted to the judges, previous to the year 1758; all salaries to officers of state, and every of the king's servants; the appointments to foreign ambassadors; the maintenance of the queen and royal family; the king's private expenses, or privy purse; and other very numerous outgoings, as secret service money, pensions, and other bounties; which sometimes have so far exceeded the revenues appointed for that purpose, that application has been made to parliament to discharge the debts contracted on the civil list; as particularly in 1724, when

(*n*) Stat. 1 Geo. III, c. 1.

one million (*o*) was granted for that purpose by the statute 11 Geo. I, c. 17, and in 1769 and 1777, when half a million and 600,000*l.* were appropriated to the like uses by the statutes 9 Geo. III, c. 34, and 17 Geo. III, c. 47.

The civil list is indeed properly the whole of the king's revenue in his own distinct capacity; the rest being rather the revenue of the public or its creditors, though collected and distributed again in the name and by the officers of the crown: it now standing in the same place as the hereditary income did formerly; and, as that has gradually diminished, the parliamentary appointments have increased. The whole revenue of Queen Elizabeth did not amount to more than 600,000*l.* a year: (*p*) that of King Charles I, was (*q*) 800,000*l.*, and the revenue voted for King Charles II, was (*r*) 1,200,000*l.*, though complaints were made (in the first years at least) that it did not amount to so much. (*s*) But it must be observed, that under these sums were included all manner of public expenses; among which Lord Clarendon, in his speech to parliament, computed that the charge of the navy and land forces amounted annually to 800,000*l.*, which was ten times *more than before the former troubles. (*t*) [*333] The same revenue, subject to the same charges, was settled on King James II: (*u*) but, by the increase of trade and more frugal management, it amounted on an average to a million and a half *per annum*, (besides other additional customs, granted by parliament, (*v*) which produced an annual revenue of 400,000*l.*) out of which his fleet and army were maintained at the yearly expense of (*w*) 1,100,000*l.* After the revolution, when the parliament took into its own hands the annual support of the forces, both maritime and military, (32) a civil list revenue was settled on the new king and queen, amounting, with the hereditary duties, to 700,000*l.* *per annum*; (*x*) and the same was continued to Queen Anne and King George I. (*y*) That of King George II, we have seen, was nominally augmented to (*z*) 800,000*l.*, and in fact was considerably more; and that of his present majesty is avowedly increased to the limited sum of 900,000*l.* And upon the whole it is doubtless much better for the crown, and also for the people, to have the revenue settled upon the modern footing rather than the ancient. For the crown, because it is more certain, and collected with greater ease: for the people, because they are now delivered from the feudal hardships, and other odious branches of the prerogative. And though complaints have sometimes been made of the increase of the civil list, yet if we consider the sums that have been formerly granted, the limited extent under which it is now established, the revenues and prerogatives given up in lieu of it by the crown, the numerous branches of the present royal family, and, above all, the diminution of the value of money, compared with what it was worth in the

(*o*) See page 327. (*p*) Lord Clar. Continuation, 163. (*q*) Com. Journ. 4 Sept. 1690. (*r*) *Ibid.*
 (*s*) Com. Journ. 4 Jun. 1663. Lord Clar. Continuation, 163.
 (*t*) Lord Clar. 165. (*u*) Stat. 1 Jac. II, c. 1. (*v*) *Ibid.* c. 3 and 4.
 (*w*) Com. Journ. 1 Mar., 20 Mar. 1688. (*x*) *Ibid.* 14 Mar. 1701.
 (*y*) *Ibid.* 17 Mar. 1701, 11 Aug. 1714. (*z*) Stat. 1 Geo. II, c. 1.

(32) [This great principle that parliamentary grants may be appropriated by the parliament, and if appropriated can only be applied by the treasury to the specified items of expenditure, was introduced in the reign of Charles II, and with the exception of the parliament of 1685, has been universally followed by succeeding parliaments. The lords of the treasury, by a clause annually repeated in the appropriation act of every session, are forbidden, under severe penalties, to issue any warrants ordering the payment of any moneys out of the exchequer except for the purposes to which such moneys had been appropriated by the parliament; the officers of the exchequer being also forbidden to obey any such warrant if issued. In time of war, or when the house is apprehensive of war breaking out during the recess of parliament, it has not been very uncommon to grant considerable sums on a vote of credit, to be applied by the crown at its discretion. Mr. Hallam remarks: Const. Hist. 111, 159; that it is to this transference of the executive government (for the phrase is hardly too strong) from the crown to the house of commons, that we owe the proud altitude which England has maintained in the eyes of Europe since the revolution; so extraordinarily dissimilar to her condition under the Stuarts; the supplies which were meted out with niggardly caution by former parliaments to sovereigns whom they could not trust, having flowed with redundant profuseness when parliament could judge of their necessity and direct their application.]

last century, we must acknowledge these complaints to be void of any rational foundation; and that it is impossible to support that dignity, which a king of Great Britain should maintain, with an income in any degree less than what is now established by parliament.

[*334] *This finishes our inquiries into the fiscal prerogatives of the king, or his revenue, both ordinary and extraordinary. We have therefore now chalked out all the principal outlines of this vast title of the law, the supreme executive magistrate, or the king's majesty, considered in his several capacities and points of view. But, before we entirely dismiss this subject, it may not be improper to take a short comparative review of the power of the executive magistrate, or prerogative of the crown, as it stood in former days, and as it stands at present. And we cannot but observe, that most of the laws for ascertaining, limiting, and restraining this prerogative have been made within the compass of little more than a century past; from the petition of right in 3 Car. I, to the present time. So that the powers of the crown are now to all appearance greatly curtailed and diminished since the reign of King James the First; particularly by the abolition of the star chamber and high commission courts in the reign of Charles the First, and by the disclaiming of martial law, and the power of levying taxes on the subject, by the same prince; by the disuse of forest laws for a century past; and by the many excellent provisions enacted under Charles the Second, especially the abolition of military tenures, purveyance, and pre-emption, the *habeas corpus* act and the act to prevent the discontinuance of parliaments for above three years; and since the revolution, by the strong and emphatical words in which our liberties are asserted in the bill of rights and act of settlement; by the act for triennial, since turned into septennial, elections; by the exclusion of certain officers from the house of commons; by rendering the seats of the judges permanent, and their salaries liberal and independent; and by restraining the king's pardon from obstructing parliamentary impeachments. Besides all this, if we consider how the crown is impoverished and stripped of all ancient revenues, so that it must greatly rely on the liberality of parliament for its necessary support and maintenance, we may perhaps be led to think that the balance is inclined pretty strongly to the popular scale, and that the executive magistrate has neither independence nor power enough left to form that check upon the lords and commons which the founders of our constitution intended.

[*335] *But on the other hand, it is to be considered that every prince, in the first parliament after his accession, has by long usage a truly royal addition to his hereditary revenue settled upon him for his life; and has never any occasion to apply to parliament for supplies, but upon some public necessity of the whole realm. This restores to him that constitutional independence which at his first accession seems, it must be owned, to be wanting. And then, with regard to power, we may find perhaps that the hands of government are at least sufficiently strengthened; and that an English monarch is now in no danger of being overborne by either the nobility or the people. The instruments of power are not perhaps so open and avowed as they formerly were, and therefore are the less liable to jealous and invidious reflections, but they are not the weaker upon that account. In short, our national debt and taxes (besides the inconveniences before mentioned) have also in their natural consequences thrown such a weight of power into the executive scale of government as we cannot think was intended by our patriot ancestors, who gloriously struggled for the abolition of the then formidable parts of the prerogative, and, by an unaccountable want of foresight, established this system in their stead. The entire collection and management of so vast a revenue, being placed in the hands of the crown, have given rise to such a multitude of new officers created by and removable at the royal pleasure, that they have extended the influence of government to every corner of the nation. Witness the commissioners and the multitude of dependents on the customs, in every port of the kingdom; the commissioners of excise, and their numerous subalterns, in every inland district; the post-masters, and their

servants, planted in every town, and upon every public road: the commissioners of the stamps, and their distributors, which are full as scattered, and full as numerous; the officers of the salt duty, which, though a species of excise, and conducted in the same manner, are yet made a distinct corps from the ordinary managers of that revenue; the surveyors of houses and windows; the receivers of the land-tax; the managers of lotteries, (33) and the commissioners of hackney coaches; all of which *are either mediately or immediately appointed [*336] by the crown, and removable at pleasure, without any reason assigned: these, it requires but little penetration to see, must give that power on which they depend for subsistence an influence most amazingly extensive. To this may be added the frequent opportunities of conferring particular obligation, by preference in loans, subscriptions, tickets, remittances, and other money transactions, which will greatly increase this influence; and that over those persons whose attachment, on account of their wealth, is frequently the most desirable. All this is the natural, though perhaps the unforeseen, consequence of erecting our funds of credit, and to support them, establishing our present perpetual taxes: the whole of which is entirely new since the restoration in 1660, and by far the greatest part since the revolution in 1688. And the same may be said with regard to the officers in our numerous army, and the places which the army has created. All which put together give the executive power so persuasive an energy with respect to the persons themselves, and so prevailing an interest with their friends and families, as will amply make amends for the loss of external prerogative.

But, though this profusion of offices should have no affect on individuals, there is still another newly acquired branch of power; and that is, not the influence only, but the force of a disciplined army: paid indeed ultimately by the people, but immediately by the crown: raised by the crown, officered by the crown, commanded by the crown. They are kept on foot, it is true, only from year to year, and that by the power of parliament; but during that year they must, by the nature of our constitution, if raised at all, be at the absolute disposal of the crown. And there need but few words to demonstrate how great a trust is thereby reposed in the prince by his people; a trust that is more than equivalent to a thousand little troublesome prerogatives.

Add to all this, that, besides the civil list, the immense revenue of almost seven millions sterling which is annually paid to the creditors of the public, or carried to the sinking *fund, is first deposited in the royal exchequer, and [*337] thence issued out to the respective offices of payment. This revenue the people can never refuse to raise, because it is made perpetual by act of parliament; which also, when well considered, will appear to be a trust of great delicacy and high importance.

Upon the whole, therefore, I think it is clear, that whatever may have become of the *nominal*, the *real* power of the crown has not been too far weakened by any transactions in the last century. Much is indeed given up; but much is also acquired. The stern commands of prerogative have yielded to the milder voice of influence; the slavish and exploded doctrine of non-resistance has given way to a military establishment by law; and to the disuse of parliaments has succeeded a parliamentary trust of an immense perpetual revenue. When, indeed by the free operation of the sinking fund, our national debts shall be lessened; when the posture of foreign affairs, and the universal introduction of a well-planned and national militia, will suffer our formidable army to be thinned and regulated; and when, in consequence of all, our taxes shall be gradually reduced; this adventitious power of the crown will slowly and imperceptibly diminish, as it slowly and imperceptibly rose. But till that shall happen, it will be our especial duty, as good subjects and good Englishmen, to reverence the crown, and yet guard against corrupt and servile influence from those who are intrusted with its authority; to be loyal, yet free; obedient, and

yet independent; and, above every thing, to hope that we may long, very long, continue to be governed by a sovereign who, in all those public acts that have personally proceeded from himself, hath manifested the highest veneration for the free constitution of Britain; hath already in more than one instance remarkably strengthened its outworks; and will, therefore, never harbour a thought, or adopt a persuasion, in any the remotest degree detrimental to public liberty.

CHAPTER IX.

OF SUBORDINATE MAGISTRATES.

IN a former chapter of these Commentaries (a) we distinguished magistrates into two kinds: supreme, or those in whom the sovereign power of the state resides; and subordinate, or those who act in an inferior secondary sphere. We have hitherto considered the former kind only: namely, the supreme legislative power or parliament, and the supreme executive power, which is the king: and are now to proceed to inquire into the rights and duties of the principal subordinate magistrates.

And herein we are not to investigate the powers and duties of his majesty's great officers of state, the lord treasurer, lord chamberlain, the principal secretaries, or the like; because I do not know that they are, in that capacity, in any considerable degree the objects of our laws, or have any very important share of magistracy conferred upon them: except that the secretaries of state are allowed the power of commitment, in order to bring offenders to trial. (b) Neither shall I here treat of the office and authority of the lord chancellor, or the other judges of the superior courts of justice; because they will find a more proper place in the third part of these Commentaries. Nor shall I enter into any minute disquisitions with regard to the rights and dignities of mayors and [*339] *aldermen, or other magistrates of particular corporations; because these are mere private and strictly municipal rights, depending entirely upon the domestic constitution of their respective franchises. But the magistrates and officers, whose rights and duties it will be proper in this chapter to consider, are such as are generally in use, and have a jurisdiction and authority dispersedly throughout the kingdom: which are, principally, sheriffs, coroners, justices of the peace, constables, surveyors of highways, and overseers of the poor. In treating of all which I shall inquire into, first, their antiquity and original; next, the manner in which they are appointed and may be removed; and, lastly, their rights and duties. And first of sheriffs.

I. The sheriff is an officer of very great antiquity in this kingdom, his name being derived from two Saxon words *scire* *gerefa*, the reeve, bailiff, or officer of the shire. He is called in Latin, *vice-comes*, as being the deputy of the earl or *comes*; to whom the custody of the shire is said to have been committed at the first division of this kingdom into counties. But the earls in process of time, by reason of their high employments and attendance on the king's person, not being able to transact the business of the county, were delivered of that burden: (c) reserving to themselves the honour, but the labour was laid on the sheriff. So that now the sheriff does all the king's business in the county; and though he be still called *vice-comes*, yet he is entirely independent of, and not subject to, the earl; the king by his letters patent committing *custodiam comitatus* to the sheriff, and him alone.

(a) Ch. ii. p. 148.

(b) 1 Leon. 78. 2 Leon. 175. Comb. 148. 5 Mod. 84. Salk. 347. Carth. 291.

(c) Dalton of Sheriffs, c. 1.

Sheriffs were formerly chosen by the inhabitants of the several counties. In confirmation of which it was ordained by statute 28 Edw. I. c. 8, that the people should have election of sheriffs in every shire where the shrievalty is not of inheritance. For anciently in some counties the sheriffs were hereditary; as I apprehend they were in Scotland till the statute 20 Geo. II, c. 43; and still continue in the county of Westmoreland to this day; *the city of [*340] London having also the inheritance of the shrievalty of Middlesex [*340] vested in their body by charter. (d) The reason of these popular elections is assigned in the same statute, c. 13, "that the commons might choose such as would not be a burden to them." And herein appears plainly a strong trace of the democratical part of our constitution; in which form of government it is an indispensable requisite, that the people should choose their own magistrates. (e) This election was in all probability not absolutely vested in the commons, but required the royal approbation. For, in the Gothic constitution, the judges of the county courts (which office is executed by our sheriff) were elected by the people, but confirmed by the king: and the form of their election was thus managed, the people, or *incolæ territorii*, chose *twelve* electors, and they nominated *three* persons, *ex quibus rex unum confirmabat*. (f) But with us in England these popular elections, growing tumultuous, were put an end to by the statute 9 Edw. II, st. 2, which enacted that the sheriffs should from thenceforth be assigned by the chancellor, treasurer, and the judges; as being persons in whom the same trust might with confidence be reposed. By statutes 14 Edw. III, c. 7, 23 Hen. VI, c. 8, and 21 Hen. VIII, c. 20, the chancellor, treasurer, president of the king's council, *chief* justices, and *chief* baron are to make this election; and that on the morrow of All Souls in the exchequer. And the king's letters patent, appointing the new sheriffs, used commonly to bear date the 6th day of November. (g) The statute of Cambridge, 12 Ric. II, c. 2, ordains, that the chancellor, treasurer, keeper of the privy seal, steward of the king's house, the king's chamberlain, clerk of the rolls, the justices of the one bench and the other, barons of the exchequer, and all other that shall be called to ordain, name, or make justices of the peace, *sheriffs*, and other officers of the king, shall be sworn to act indifferently, and to appoint no man that sueth either privily or openly to be put in office, but such only as they shall judge to be the best and most sufficient. And the custom now is (and has been at least *ever [*341] since the time of Fortescue, (h) who was chief justice and chancellor [*341] to Henry the Sixth) that all the judges, together with the other great officers and privy counsellors, meet in the exchequer on the morrow of All Souls yearly, (which day is now altered to the Morrow of St. Martin by the last act for abbreviating Michaelmas term,) and then and there the judges propose three persons, to be reported (if approved of) to the king, who afterwards appoints one of them to be sheriff. (1)

This custom, of the *twelve* judges proposing *three* persons, seems borrowed from the Gothic constitution before mentioned; with this difference, that among the

(d) 3 Rep. 72.

(e) Montesq. Sp. L. b. 2, c. 2.

(f) Stiernh. *de jure Goth.* l. 1, c. 3.

(g) Stat. 12 Edw. IV, c. 1.

(h) *De L. L.* c. 24.

(1) The following is the present mode of appointing the sheriffs: On the morrow of St. Martin, (12 Nov.) the lord chancellor, first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and the judges of the superior courts of the common law, meet in the exchequer chamber, the chancellor of the exchequer presiding. The judges then report the names of three fit persons in each county, and of these the first on the list is chosen, unless he assigns good reasons for exemption. The list thus made is again considered at a meeting of the cabinet held on the morrow of purification, (3 Feb.,) at the president of the council's, and attended by the clerks of the council, when the excuses of the parties nominated are again examined, and the names are finally determined on for approval of the queen, who, at a meeting of the privy council, pierces the parchment with a punch opposite the name of the person selected for each county; and hence has arisen the expression of "pricking the sheriffs." The judges annually add to their lists the requisite number, by inserting those recommended by the retiring sheriff.

In Westmoreland the office of sheriff is hereditary in the family of the Earl of Thanet.

Goths the twelve nominors were first elected by the people themselves. And this usage of ours at its first introduction, I am apt to believe, was founded upon some statute, though not now to be found among our printed laws; first, because it is materially different from the direction of all the statutes before mentioned: which it is hard to conceive that the judges would have countenanced by their concurrence, or that Fortescue would have inserted in his book, unless by the authority of some statute: and also, because a statute is expressly referred to in the record, which Sir Edward Coke tells us, (i) he transcribed from the council book of 3 March, 34 Henry VI, and which is in substance as follows. The king had of his own authority appointed a man sheriff of Linconshire, which office he refused to take upon him: whereupon the opinions of the judges were taken what should be done in this behalf. And the two chief justices, Sir John Fortescue and Sir John Prisot, delivered the unanimous opinion of them all; "that the king did an error when he made a person sheriff, that was not chosen and presented to him according to the *statute*; that the person refusing was liable to no fine for disobedience, as if he had been one of the *three* persons chosen according to the tenor of the *statute*; (2) (that they would advise the king to have recourse to the *three* persons that were chosen according to the *statute*, or that some other thrifty man be entreated to occupy the office for this year; and that, the next year, to eschew such inconveniences, the order of the *statute* in this behalf made be observed." But notwithstanding this unanimous resolution of *all the judges of England thus entered in the council book, [*342] and the statute 34 and 35 Hen. VIII, c. 26, § 61, which expressly recognizes this to be the law of the land, some of our writers (j) have affirmed, that the king, by his prerogative, may name whom he pleases to be sheriff, whether chosen by the judges or no. This is grounded on a very particular case in the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth, when, by reason of the plague, there was no Michaelmas term kept at Westminster; so that the judges could not meet there *in crastino animarum* to nominate the sheriffs: whereupon the queen named them herself, without such previous assembly, appointing for the most part one of the two remaining in the last year's list. (k) And this case, thus circumstanced, is the only authority in our books for the making these extraordinary sheriffs. It is true, the reporter adds, that it was held that the queen by her prerogative might make a sheriff without the election of the judges, *non obstante aliquo statuto in contrarium*: but the doctrine of *non obstante's*, which sets the prerogative above the laws, was effectually demolished by the bill of rights at the revolution, and abdicated Westminster-hall when King James abdicated the kingdom. However, it must be acknowledged, that the practice of occasionally naming what are called pocket-sheriffs, by the sole authority of the crown, hath uniformly continued to the reign of his present majesty; in which, I believe, few, (if any) compulsory instances have occurred. (3)

(i) 2 Inst. 559.

(j) Jenkins, 229.

(k) Dyer, 225.

(2) [In *The King v. Woodrow*, 2 T.R. 731, an information was granted against a person so refusing, and the reason assigned was, "because the vacancy of the office occasioned a stop of public justice." It should also seem, that indictment would properly have lain, but that the information was granted because the year would be nearly expired before the indictment could be tried.]

(3) [When the king appoints a person sheriff who is not one of the three nominated in the exchequer, he is called a pocket-sheriff. It is probable, that no compulsory instance of the appointment of a pocket-sheriff ever occurred; and the unanimous opinion of the judges, preserved in the record cited by the learned commentator from 2 Inst. 559, precludes the possibility of such a case. Formerly, if a person refused to take upon him the office of sheriff, he was punished in the star-chamber; but now, if he refuses to take the office, or the oaths, or officiates as sheriff before he has qualified himself, he may be proceeded against by information in the king's bench: Carth. 307; 3 Lev. 116; 2 Mod. 300; Dyer, 167; and this though he was excommunicated, whereby he cannot take the test to qualify himself; 2 Mod. 300: or was not qualified by taking the sacrament within a year preceding. Vide 4 Mod. 269; Salk. 167. 1 Ld. Raym. 29. 2 Vent. 248.]

The sacramental test is no longer required. Stat. 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72.

Sheriffs, by virtue of several old statutes, are to continue in their office no longer than one year: and yet it hath been said (*l*) that a sheriff may be appointed *durante bene placito*, or during the king's pleasure; and so is the form of the royal writ. (*m*) Therefore, till a new sheriff be named his office cannot be determined, unless by his own death, or the demise of the king; in which last case it was usual for the successor to send a new writ to the old sheriff; (*n*) but now by statute 1 Ann. st. 1, c. 8, all officers appointed by the *preceding [*343] king may hold their offices for six months after the king's demise, unless sooner displaced by the successor. We may farther observe, that by statute 1 Ric. II, c. 11, no man that has served the office of sheriff for one year, can be compelled to serve the same again within three years after.

We shall find it is of the utmost importance to have the sheriff appointed according to law, when we consider his power and duty. These are either as a judge, as the keeper of the king's peace, as a ministerial officer of the superior courts of justice, or as the king's bailiff.

In his judicial capacity he is to hear and determine all causes of forty shillings value and under, in his county court, of which more in its proper place; and he has also a judicial power in divers other civil cases. (*o*) He is likewise to decide the elections of knights of the shire, (subject to the control of the house of commons,) of coroners, and of verderors; to judge of the qualification of voters (*4*) and to return such as he shall determine to be duly elected.

As the keeper of the king's peace, both by common law and special commission, he is the first man in the county, and superior in rank to any nobleman therein, during his office. (*p*) He may apprehend, and commit to prison, all persons who break the peace, or attempt to break it; and may bind any one in a recognizance to keep the king's peace. He may, and is bound *ex officio* to pursue, and take all traitors, murderers, felons, and other misdoers, and commit them to gaol for safe custody. He is also to defend his county against any of the king's enemies when they come into the land: and for this purpose, as well as for keeping the peace and pursuing felons, he may command all the people of his county to attend him; which is called the *posse comitatus*, or power of the county: (*q*) and this summons every person above fifteen years old, and under the degree of a peer, is bound to attend upon warning, (*r*) *under pain [*344] of fine and imprisonment. (*s*) But though the sheriff is thus the principal conservator of the peace in his county, yet by the express directions of the great charter, (*t*) he, together with the constable, coroner, and certain other officers of the king, are forbidden to hold any pleas of the crown, or, in other words, to try any criminal offence. For it would be highly unbecoming, that the executioners of justice should be also the judges; should impose, as well as levy, fines and amercements: should one day condemn a man to death, and personally execute him the next. Neither may he act as an ordinary justice of the peace during the time of his office: (*u*) for this would be equally inconsistent; he being in many respects the servant of the justices.

In his ministerial capacity the sheriff is bound to execute all process issuing from the king's courts of justice. (*5*) In the commencement of civil causes, he is to serve the writ, to arrest, and to take bail; when the cause comes to trial,

(*l*) 4 Rep. 32.

(*m*) Dalt. of Sheriffs, 8.

(*n*) Dalt. of Sheriffs, 7.

(*o*) Dalt. c. 4.

(*p*) 1 Roll. Rep. 237.

(*q*) Dalt. c. 95.

(*r*) Lamb. Eiren. 315.

(*s*) Stat. Hen. V, c. 8.

(*t*) Cap. 17.

(*u*) Stat. 1 Mar. st 2. c. 8.

(4) This duty no longer devolves upon the sheriff.

(5) [By the common law sheriffs are to some purposes considered as officers of the courts, as the constable is to the justices of the peace. Salk. 175; 2 Lord. Ray. 1195; Fortes. 129; Tidd. 8 ed. 52. As writs and process are directed to the sheriff, neither he nor his officers are to dispute the authority of the court out of which they issue, but he and his officers are at their peril truly to execute the same, and that according to the command of the said writs, and hereunto they are sworn: Dalt. 104; and he must do the duty of his office and show no favor, nor be guilty of oppression. Dalt. 109. But the sheriff ought to be favored before any private person. 4 Co. 33.]

he must summon and return the jury; when it is determined, he must see the judgment of the court carried into execution. In criminal matters, he also arrests and imprisons, he returns the jury, he has the custody of the delinquent, and he executes the sentence of the court, though it extend to death itself.

As the king's bailiff, it is his business to preserve the rights of the king within his bailiwick; for so his county is frequently called in the writs; a word introduced by the princes of the Norman line; in imitation of the French, whose territory is divided into bailiwicks, as that of England into counties. (*w*) He must seize to the king's use all lands devolved to the crown by attainder or escheat; must levy all fines and forfeitures; must seize and keep all waifs, wrecks, estrays, and the like, unless they be granted to some subject; and must also collect the king's rents within the bailiwick, if commanded by process from the exchequer. (*x*)

[*345] *To execute these various offices, the sheriff has under him many inferior officers; an under-sheriff, bailiffs, and gaolers; who must neither buy, sell, nor farm their offices, on forfeiture of 500*l.* (*y*) (6)

(*w*) Fortesc. de L. L. c. 24.

(*x*) Dalt. c. 9.

(*y*) Stat. 3 Geo. I, c. 15.

Although a sheriff is not, in general, to dispute the authority of the court of which he is an officer, yet if the court should assume to act in a case in which it had no jurisdiction, he could not be made liable for refusing to serve the process. *Earl v. Camp*, 16 Wend. 562; *Loomis v. Wheeler*, 21 Wis. 271. Indeed, if a sheriff should seize property on a writ issued by a court without jurisdiction of the case, the sheriff could not, under his writ, defend his possession of the property as against replevin by the true owner. *Beach v. Botsford*, 1 Doug. Mich. 199. But an officer, in an action of trespass, is protected by process which, on its face, apprises him of no defect of authority in the court issuing it. *Fox v. Wood*, 1 Rawle, 143; *Ortman v. Greenman*, 4 Mich. 91; *Foster v. Pettibone*, 20 Barb. 350; *Brown v. Mason*, 40 Vt. 157; *Chase v. Ingalls*, 97 Mass. 524.

(6) [The sheriff is not bound to make an under-sheriff: *Hob. 13*, sed vid. 1 and 2 P. and M. c. 12; and the sheriff may remove him when he pleases, and this though he makes him irremovable. Id. The under-sheriff is appointed by deed, which is afterwards filed in the king's remembrancer's office in the exchequer. *Hob. 12*. By the 27 Eliz. c. 12, the under-sheriff, except of counties in Wales and county Palatine of Chester, must take an oath which is now prescribed by the 3 Geo. I, c. 15. He was formerly required also to take the oaths of allegiance, &c., in the same manner as the high-sheriff, and within the same time; but those are not now required.

For security to the sheriff, the under-sheriff usually gives a bond of indemnity to save the sheriff harmless; to make account in the exchequer, and procure the high-sheriff's discharge, to return juries with the privy of the sheriff, to execute no process of weight without the sheriff's privy, to account to the sheriff and attend him, to be ready to attend the sheriff; for his good behavior in his office, to take or use no extortion, to give attendance at the king's court. See *Dalt. c. 2*, p. 20. To indemnify him from escapes. *Hob. 14*. But a bond or covenant that the under-sheriff shall not execute process, &c., without the sheriff's consent, is void; for, when the sheriff appoints his under-sheriff, he consequently gives him authority to exercise all the ordinary office of the high-sheriff himself. *Hob. 13*.

The under-sheriff may do all that the sheriff himself can do except that which the sheriff himself ought to do in person, as to execute a writ of waste, redisseisin, partition, dower, &c.: 6 Co. 12; *Hob. 13*; *Dalt. 34*; *Jenk. 181*; for in all cases where the writ commands the sheriff to go in person, there the writ is his commission, from which he cannot deviate. *Dalt. 34*. The under-sheriff hath not, nor ought to have, any interest in the office itself, neither may he do any thing in his own name: *Salk. 96*; but only in the name of the high sheriff, who is answerable for him, because the writs are directed to the high-sheriff. If the sheriff dies before his office is expired, his under-sheriff or deputy shall continue in office, and execute the same in the deceased sheriff's name until a new sheriff be sworn, and he shall be answerable, and the security given by the under-sheriff to the deceased sheriff is to continue during the interval. 3 Geo. I, c. 15, s. 8.

By 3 Geo. I, c. 15, none shall sell, buy, let or take to farm the office of under-sheriff, &c., or other office belonging to the office of high-sheriff, nor contract for the same for money or other consideration directly or indirectly, &c., on pain of 500*l.*, a moiety to the king and a moiety to him who shall sue, provided the suit be in two years; provided that nothing in that act shall prevent the sheriff, under-sheriff, &c., from taking the just fees and perquisites of his office, or from accounting for them to the sheriff, or giving security to do so, or from giving, taking, or securing a salary or recompense to the under-sheriff, or from the under-sheriff in case of sheriff's death from constituting a deputy. *Dalt. 3*, 514; *Hob. 13*; 2 Brownl. 281.

If an action is brought for a breach of duty in the office of sheriff, it should be against the high-sheriff, as for an act done by him, and not against the under-sheriff; and if it proceeds from a fault of the under-sheriff or bailiff, that is a matter to be settled between them and the

The under-sheriff usually performs all the duties of the office; (7) a very few only excepted, where the personal presence of the high sheriff is necessary. But no under-sheriff shall abide in his office above one year; (z) and if he does, by statute 23 Hen. VI, c. 8, he forfeits 200*l.*, a very large penalty in those early days. And no under-sheriff or sheriff's officer shall practice as an attorney, during the time he continues in such office: (a) (8) for this would be a great inlet to partiality and oppression. But these salutary regulations are shamefully evaded, by practicing in the names of other attorneys, and putting in sham deputies by way of nominal under-sheriffs; by reason of which, says Dalton, (b) the under-sheriffs and bailiffs do grow so cunning in their several places, that they are able to deceive and, it may well be feared, that many of them do deceive, both the king, the high-sheriff, and the county.

Bailiffs, or sheriff's officers, are either bailiffs of hundreds, or special bailiffs. (9) Bailiffs of hundreds are officers appointed over those respective districts by the sheriffs, to collect fines therein; to summon juries; to attend the judges and justices at the assizes, and quarter sessions; and also to execute writs and process in the several hundreds. But, as these are generally plain men, and not thoroughly skillful in this latter part of their office, that of serving writs, and making arrests and executions, it is now usual to join special bailiffs with them; who are generally mean persons, employed by the sheriffs on account only of their adroitness and dexterity in hunting and seizing their prey. The sheriff being *answerable for the misdemeanors (10) of these bailiffs, they are [*346] therefore usually bound in an obligation with sureties for the due execution of their office, and thence are called bound-bailiffs; which the common people have corrupted into a much more homely appellation.

Gaolers are also the servants of the sheriffs, and he must be responsible for their conduct. (11) Their business is to keep safely all such persons as are

(a) Stat. 42 Ed. III, c. 9.

(a) Stat. 1 Hen. V, c. 4.

(b) Of Sheriffs, c. 115.

high-sheriff. Cowp. Rep. 403. In Ireland, however, this is otherwise, except the wrong complained of was the immediate act or default of the high-sheriff. 57 Geo. III, c. 68, s. 9.

If the attorney for the defendant was under-sheriff, that would be ground of challenge to the array, but not for a motion for a new trial. 1 Smith's Rep. 304.]

(7) [In Laicoock's case, 9 R. 49, Latch. 187, s. c. the action was brought against the under-sheriff for a false return of *non est inventus*. It appeared that while the writ was pending, and before the return, the under-sheriff had sight of the defendant; but ruled, that the action did not lie against the under-sheriff, for the high-sheriff only is chargeable, and not the under-sheriff.]

(8) There is no such prohibition now in the case of under-sheriffs. See statute 6 and 7 Vic. c. 73. And deputy sheriffs are now appointed in England with general power to execute and return process. Statute 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 42.

(9) [No sheriff's officer, bailiff, or other person, can be bail in any action: R. M. 14 Geo. II; 2 Strange, 890; 2 Bla. Rep. 797; Loft. 155; see Tidd. 8th ed. 79; nor take any warrant of attorney: R. E. 15 Car. II.]

Of the duties of bailiffs, see Impey, Off. of Sheriff, 43; Hawk. P. C. Index, tit. Bailiff.

If the sheriff appoint a special bailiff to arrest defendant at request of plaintiff, he cannot be ruled to return the writ: 4 T. R. 119; 1 Chitty's Rep. 613; but he is, notwithstanding, responsible for the safe custody of defendant after arrested. 8 Term Rep. 505.]

(10) [See Drake v. Sykes, 7 T. R. 113; Doe d. James v. Brawn, 5 B. and A. 243.]

(11) [The keeper must not put prisoners in irons, unless in case of necessity. 4 Geo. IV, c. 64, s. 10; and see as to this 1 Hale, 601; 2 Hawk. c. 22, s. 32; 2 Inst. 381.]

In some cases gross cruelty on the part of the gaoler causing death would amount even to murder. See Post. 322; 17 How. St. Tri. 398; 2 Stra. 856; 1 East, P. C. 331; Post. 321; Hale, 432; 2 id. 57; 1 Russel on Crimes, 667.

In criminal cases, if a gaoler assist a felon in making an actual escape, it is felony at common law: 2 Leach, 671; and in some cases, it is an escape to suffer a prisoner to have greater liberty than can be by law allowed him, as to admit him to bail at law, or suffer him to go beyond the limits of the prison. Hawk. b. 2, c. 19, s. 5.

A voluntary escape amounts to the same kind of crime, and is punishable in the same way as the original offender, whether he be attainted, indicted, or only in custody on suspicion. 1 Hale, 234; 2 Hawk. c. 19, s. 22. And a person who wrongfully takes on himself the office of gaoler is as much liable as if he were duly appointed. 1 Hale, 594.

But no one can be punishable in this degree for the default of a deputy. 1 Salk. 272, note. Nor can any gaoler be a felon, in respect of a voluntary escape, unless at the time the offence

committed to them by lawful warrant; and, if they suffer any such to escape, the sheriff shall answer it to the king, if it be a criminal matter; or, in a civil case, to the party injured. (c) And to this end the sheriff must (d) have lands sufficient within the county to answer the king and his people. The abuses of gaolers and sheriff's officers, toward the unfortunate persons in their custody, are well restrained and guarded against by statute 32 Geo. II, c. 28, and by statute 14 Geo. III, c. 59, provisions are made for better preserving the health of prisoners, and preventing the gaol distemper. (12)

The vast expense, which custom has introduced in serving the office of high-sheriff, was grown such a burthen to the subject, that it was enacted, by statute 13 and 14 Car. II, c. 21, that no sheriff (except of London, Westmoreland, and towns which are counties of themselves) should keep any table at the assizes, except for his own family, or give any presents to the judges or their servants, or have more than forty men in livery; yet, for the sake of safety and decency, he may not have less than twenty men in England and twelve in Wales; upon forfeiture, in any of these cases, of 200*l*.

II. The coroner's is also a very ancient office at the common law. He is called coronor, *coronator*, because he hath principally to do with pleas of the crown, or such wherein the king is more immediately concerned. (e) And in this light the lord chief justice of the king's bench is the principal coroner in the kingdom; and may, if he pleases, exercise the jurisdiction of a coroner in any part of [*347] the realm. (f) But *there are also particular coroners for every county of England, usually four, but sometimes six, and sometimes fewer. (g) This office (h) is of equal antiquity with the sheriff; and was ordained together with him to keep the peace, when the earls gave up the wardship of the county.

He is still chosen by all the freeholders in the county-court; (13) as by the

(c) Dalt. c. 118. 4 Rep. 34.

(d) Stat. 9 Edw. II, st. 2. 2 Edw. III, c. 4. 4 Edw. III, c. 9. 5 Edw. III, c. 4. 13 and 14 Car. II, c. 21, § 7.

(e) 2 Inst. 31. 4 Inst. 271.

(f) 4 Rep. 57.

(g) F. N. B. 163.

(h) Mirror, c. 1, § 3.

of his prisoner was felony, and cannot be made so by its becoming so afterwards. 1 Hale, 591. Neither can he be thus indicted till after the attainder of the principal: Hawk. b. 2, c. 19, s. 26; though he may be fined for the misprision. Id.

A *negligent* escape may be punished by fine at common law: 2 Hawk. c. 19, s. 31; and a sheriff is thus liable for the default of his duty. Id. One instance of such negligence does not amount to a forfeiture of the gaoler's office, though a repetition of such misfeasance will enable the court to oust him in their discretion. Hawk. b. 2, c. 19, s. 30. When a gaol is broken by thieves the gaoler is answerable; not so if broken by king's enemies. 3 Inst. 52. The king may pardon a voluntary escape before it is committed: 2 Hawk. c. 19, s. 32; and see further as to prison breach and rescue, *post*, book 4, 130, 131.

In *civil* cases, if the sheriff's gaoler suffer a prisoner to escape, the action must be brought against the sheriff, not against the gaoler; for an escape out of the gaoler's custody is, by intendment of law, out of the sheriff's custody. 2 Lev. 159; 2 Jones, b. 2; 2 Mod. 124; 5 id. 414, 416. But an action lies against a gaoler for a voluntary escape, as well as against the sheriff, it being in the nature of a rescue: 2 Salk. 441; 3 id. 18; and see further as to the action for escape, *post*, book 3, 165.]

(12) The general powers and duties of sheriffs in the United States are much the same as in England; their liabilities also correspond. In the United States, however, this officer is chosen by popular vote. The statutes generally allow him to appoint as many general deputies as he sees fit, and also an under-sheriff, who, besides possessing the powers of a general deputy, will succeed the sheriff in case of vacancy until an election can be had under the law. The sheriff may also depute persons for the service of particular process, whose powers will be limited to such service. A general deputy cannot appoint a deputy, but it seems that he may authorize a person to serve a particular writ. Hunt v. Burrell, 5 Johns. 137.

The sheriff is liable for all neglects of duty by the under-sheriff and deputies, and for all acts *colore officii*. McIntyre v. Trumbull, 7 Johns. 35; Knowlton v. Bartlett, 1 Pick. 271. And this even though they may be trespasses; as where, on a writ against one person, he seizes the goods of another. Ackworth v. Kempe, Doug. 40; Grinnell v. Phillips, 1 Mass. 530; Tuttle v. Cook, 15 Wend. 274. And actions for breach of duty must be brought against the sheriff, and not against a deputy. Paddock v. Cameron, 8 Cow. 212; Harlan v. Lumsden, 1 Duvall, 86.

The officer who serves the process of the federal courts is called a marshal. He is appointed by the president, with the advice and consent of the senate; he appoints deputies, and his powers, duties and liabilities correspond to those of sheriff.

(13) The statute 7 and 8 Vic. c. 92, regulates the election.

policy of our ancient laws the sheriffs, and conservators of the peace, and all other officers were, who were concerned in matters that affected the liberty of the people; (*i*) and as verderors of the forest still are, whose business it is to stand between the prerogative and the subject in the execution of the forest laws. For this purpose there is a writ at common law *de coronatore eligendo*; (*j*) in which it is expressly commanded the sheriff "*quod talem eligi faciat, qui melius et sciat, et velit, et possit, officio illi intendere.*" And in order to effect this the more surely, it was enacted by the statute (*k*) of Westm. 1, that none but lawful and discreet knights should be chosen: and there was an instance in the 5 Edw. III, of a man being removed from this office, because he was only a merchant. (*l*) But it seems it is now sufficient if a man hath lands enough to be made a knight, whether he be really knighted or not: (*m*) for the coroner ought to have an estate sufficient to maintain the dignity of his office, and answer any fines that may be set upon him for his misbehavior; (*n*) and if he hath not enough to answer, his fine shall be levied on the county as the punishment for electing an insufficient officer. (*o*) Now indeed, through the culpable neglect of gentlemen of property, this office has been suffered to fall into disrepute, and get into low and indigent hands, so that, although, formerly no coroners would condescend to be paid for serving their country, and they were, by the aforesaid statute of Westm. 1, expressly forbidden to take a *reward, [*348] under pain of a great forfeiture to the king; yet for many years past [*348] they have only desired to be chosen for the sake of their perquisites: being allowed fees for their attendance by the statute 3 Hen. VII, c. 1, which Sir Edward Coke complains of heavily; (*p*) though, since his time, those fees have been much enlarged. (*q*) (14)

The coroner is chosen for life; but may be removed, either by being made sheriff, or chosen verderor, which are offices incompatible with the other; or, by the king's writ *de coronatore exonerando*, for a cause to be therein assigned, as that he is engaged in other business, is incapacitated by years or sickness, hath not a sufficient estate in the county, or lives in an inconvenient part of it. (*r*) And by the statute 25 Geo. II, c. 29, extortion, neglect, or misbehaviour, are also made causes of removal.

The office and power of a coroner are also, like those of the sheriff, either judicial or ministerial; but principally judicial. This is in great measure ascertained by statute 4 Edw. I, *de officio coronatoris*; and consists, first, in inquiring, when any person is slain, or dies suddenly, or in prison, concerning the manner of his death. And this must be "*super visum corporis*;" (*s*) (15) for, if the body be not found, the coroner cannot sit. (*t*)

(*i*) 2 Inst. 558. (*j*) F. N. B. 163. (*k*) 3 Edw. I, c. 10. (*o*) Mirr. c. 1, § 3. 2 Inst. 175.
 (*l*) 2 Inst. 32. (*m*) F. N. B. 163, 164. (*n*) *Ibid.* (*p*) 4 Inst. 271.
 (*q*) 2 Inst. 216. (*r*) Stat. 25 Geo. II, c. 29. (*s*) F. N. B. 163, 164. (*t*) 4 Inst. 271.
 (*t*) Thus, in the Gothic constitution, before any fine was payable by the neighborhood, for the slaughter of a man therein, "*de corpore delicti constare oportebat; i. e. non tam fuisse aliquem in territorio isto mortuum inventum, quam vulneratum et corpus. Potest enim homo etiam ex alia causa subito mori.*" Stiernhook de Jure Gothor. 1, 3. c. 4.

(14) Fees are now abolished, and coroners are paid by salary. Statute 23 and 24 Vic. c. 116. And it may be added that the office is usually held by men of respectable character and standing.

(15) [When an unnatural death happens, the township are bound, under pain of amercement, to give notice to the coroner. 1 Burn. J. 25th ed. 786. Indeed, it seems indictable to bury a party who died an unnatural death, without a coroner's inquest: *Id.*; and if the township suffer the body to putrify, without sending for the coroner, they shall be amerced. *Id.* When notice is given to the coroner, he should issue a precept to the constable of the four, five or six next townships, to return a competent number of good and lawful men of their townships, to appear before him in such a place, to make an inquisition touching that matter; or he may send his precept to the constable of the hundred. 2 Hale, 59; 4 Edw. I, st. 2; Wood. Inst. b. 4, c. 1. As to form of inquisition, see 2 Lord Ray. 1305; Burn, J. 1 vol. 25th ed. 787, 789. If the constable make no return, or the jurors returned appear not, they may be amerced. 2 Hale, 59. It seems that a coroner ought to execute his office in person, and not by deputy, for he is a judicial officer. *Id.* 58; Wood. Inst. b. 4, c. 1; 1 Burn, J. 24th ed. 787, 789; 3 Barn. and Ald. 260. The jury appearing is to be sworn, and charged by the coroner to inquire,

He must also sit at the very place where the death happened; (16) and his inquiry is made by a jury from four, five or six, of the neighboring towns, over whom he is to preside. If any be found guilty by this inquest, of murder or other homicide, he is to commit them to prison for farther trial, and is also to inquire concerning their lands, goods, and chattels, which are forfeited thereby: but whether, it be homicide or not, he must inquire whether any deodand has [*349] accrued to the king, or the *lord of the franchise, by this death; and must certify the whole of this inquisition (under his own seal and the seals of his jurors, (u) together with the evidence thereon,) to the court of king's bench, or the next assizes. Another branch of his office is to enquire concerning shipwrecks; and certify whether wreck or not, and who is in possession of the goods. Concerning treasure-trove, he is also to inquire who were the finders, and where it is, and whether any one be suspected of having found and concealed a treasure; "and that may be well perceived (saith the old statute of Edw. I,) where one liveth riotously, haunting taverns, and hath done so of long time:" whereupon he might be attached, and held to bail, upon this suspicion only.

The ministerial office of the coroner is only as the sheriff's substitute. For when just exception can be taken to the sheriff, for suspicion of partiality, (as that he is interested in the suit, or of kindred to either plaintiff or defendant,) the process must then be awarded to the coroner, instead of the sheriff, for execution of the king's writs. (v) (17)

III. The next species of subordinate magistrates, whom I am to consider, are justices of the peace; the principal of whom is the *custos rotulorum*, or keeper of the records of the county. The common law hath ever had a special care and regard for the conservation of the peace; for peace is the very end and foundation of civil society. And therefore, before the present constitution of justices was invented, there were peculiar officers appointed by the common law for the maintenance of the public peace. Of these some had, and still have, this power annexed to other offices which they hold; others had it merely by itself, and were thence named *custodes*, or *conservatores pacis*. Those that were so, *virtute officii*, still continue; but the latter sort are superseded by the modern justices.

(u) Stat. 33 Hen. VIII, c. 12. 1 and 2 P. and M. c. 13. 2 West. Symbol. § 310. Crompt. 264. Tremain P. C. 621. (v) 4 Inst. 271.

upon the view of the body, how the party came by his death. 2 Hale, 60. See form of charge, 4 Edw. I, st. 2, called the statute de officio coronatoris. 1 Burn, J. 24th ed. 789.

The coroner must hear evidence on all hands, if offered to them, and that upon oath. 2 Hale, 157; 1 Leach, 43.

When the inquest is determined, the body may be buried 4 Edw. I, st. 2.

As to the manner of holding inquests, &c., on parties dying in prisons, see Umfreville's Coron. 212; 2 Hale, 61; 1 Burn, J. 24th ed. 789; 3 B. and A. 260. If the body be interred before the coroner come, he must dig it up; which may be done lawfully within any convenient time, as in fourteen days. 2 Hawk. c. 9, s. 23; 1 Burn, J. 24th ed. 787. If the body cannot be viewed, the coroner can do nothing: but the justices of the peace, or of oyer and terminer, may inquire of it. 1 East, P. C. 379; Hawk. b. 1, c. 27, s. 12, 13; 1 Burr. 17.

But it is not necessary that the inquisition be taken at the same place where the body was viewed: but they may adjourn to a place more convenient. 2 Hawk. c. 9, s. 25.]

(16) [It seems probable that in ancient times the whole inquisition was taken with the body lying before the coroner and jury, or at least that the body was not buried till the inquisition was concluded. Now, however, it is sufficient if the coroner and jury have together a view of the body (such a view as enables them to ascertain whether there are any marks of violence on it, or any appearances explanatory of the cause of death), and the latter are there sworn by the former in the presence of the body. These two, however, are indispensable conditions to the proceeding by the coroner: see R. v. Ferrand, 3 B. and A. 260: where, therefore, circumstances render a compliance with them impossible, the coroner cannot inquire, unless indeed he have a special commission for the purpose; but justices of the peace, or of oyer and terminer may. 2 Hawk. P. C. c. 9, s. 25.]

(17) In the United States coroners are generally chosen in the same manner as sheriffs, and possess powers and duties corresponding to those of coroners in England. There is no similar office under the federal system, but for the service of process, when the marshal is disqualified, a special designation is made of a disinterested person by the court or a judge thereof. 1 Stat. at Large 87.

The king's majesty (*w*) is, by his office and dignity royal, the principal conservator of the peace within all his dominions; *and may give authority [*350] to any other to see the peace kept, and to punish such as break it: hence it is usually called the king's peace. The lord chancellor, or keeper, the lord treasurer, the lord high steward of England, the lord mareschal, the lord high constable of England, (when any such officers are in being,) and all the justices of the court of king's bench, (by virtue of their offices,) and the master of the rolls (by prescription) are general conservators of the peace throughout the whole kingdom, and may commit all breakers of it, or bind them in recognizances to keep it: (*x*) the other judges are only so in their own courts. The coroner is also a conservator of the peace within his own county; (*y*) as is also the sheriff; (*z*) and both of them may take a recognizance or security for the peace. Constables, tything-men, and the like, are also conservators of the peace within their own jurisdictions; and may apprehend all breakers of the peace and commit them, till they find sureties for their keeping it. (*a*)

Those that were, without any office, simply and merely conservators of the peace, either claimed that power by prescription; (*b*) or were bound to exercise it by the tenure of their lands; (*c*) or lastly, were chosen by the freeholders in full county court before the sheriff; the writ for their election directing them to be chosen "*de probioribus et potentioribus comitatus sui in custodes pacis.*" (*d*) But when Queen Isabel, the wife of Edward II, had contrived to depose her husband by a forced resignation of the crown, and had set up his son Edward III, in his place; this, being a thing then without example in England, it was feared would much alarm the people: especially as the old king was living, though hurried about from castle to castle, till at last he met with an untimely death. To prevent therefore any risings or other disturbance of the peace, the new king sent writs to all the sheriffs in England, the form of which is preserved by *Thomas Walsingham, (*e*) giving a plausible account of the manner of his obtaining the crown, to wit: that it was done *ipsius patris beneplacito* [*351] and withal commanding each sheriff that the peace be kept throughout his bailiwick, on pain and peril of disinherittance, and loss of life and limb. And in a few weeks after the date of these writs, it was ordained in parliament, (*f*) that for the better maintaining and keeping of the peace in every county, good men and lawful, which were no maintainers of evil, or barretors in the country, should be assigned to keep the peace. And in this manner, and upon this occasion, was the election of the conservators of the peace taken from the people, and given to the king; (*g*) this assignment being construed to be by the king's permission. (*h*) But still they were only called conservators, wardens, or keepers of the peace, till the statute 34 Edw. III, c. 1, gave them the power of trying felonies; and then they acquired the more honourable appellation of justices. (*i*)

These justices are appointed by the king's special commission under the great seal, the form of which was settled by all the judges, A. D. 1590. (*j*) This appoints them all, (*k*) jointly and severally, to keep the peace, and any two or more of them to inquire of and determine felonies and other misdemeanors: in which number some particular justices, or one of them, are directed to be always included, and no business to be done without their presence; the words of the commission running thus, "*quorum aliquem vestrum A. B. C. D. &c. unum esse volumus;*" whence the persons so named are usually called justices of the *quorum*. And formerly it was customary to appoint only a select number of justices, eminent for their skill and discretion, to be of the *quorum*; but now the practice is to advance almost all of them to that dignity, naming them all over again in the *quorum* clause, except perhaps only some one inconsiderable person for the sake of propriety; and no exception is now allowable, *for [*352] not expressing in the form of warrants, &c., that the justice who issued

(w) Lambard, Eirenarch, 12.

(x) Lamb. 12.

(y) Britton, 3.

(z) F. N. B. 81.

(a) Lamb. 14.

(b) Lamb. 15.

(c) Lamb. 17.

(d) Lamb. 16.

(e) Hist. A. D. 1327.

(f) Stat. 1 Edw. III, c. 16.

(g) Lamb. 20.

(h) Stat. 4 Edw. III, c. 2.

(i) 18 Edw. III, st. 2, c. 2.

(j) Lamb. 23.

(k) Lamb. 43.

(l) See the form itself, Lamb. 35.

Burn. tit. Justices, § 1.

them is of the *quorum*. (l) When any justice intends to act under this commission, he sues out a writ of *dedimus potestatem*, from the clerk of the crown in chancery, empowering certain persons therein named to administer the usual oaths to him; which done, he is at liberty to act.

Touching the number and qualifications of these justices, it was ordained by statute 18 Edw. III, c. 2, that *two* or *three*, of the best reputation in each county, shall be assigned to be keepers of the peace. But these being found rather too few for that purpose, it was provided by statute 34 Edw. III, c. 1, that one lord, and three or four of the most worthy men in the county, with some learned in the law, shall be made justices in every county. But afterwards the number of justices, through the ambition of private persons, became so large, that it was thought necessary, by statute 12 Ric. II, c. 10, and 14 Ric. II, c. 11, to restrain them at first to six, and afterward to eight only. But this rule is now disregarded, and the cause seems to be (as Lambard observed long ago,) (m) that the growing number of statute laws, committed from time to time to the charge of justices of the peace, have occasioned also (and very reasonably) their increase to a larger number. And as to their qualifications, the statutes just cited direct them to be of the best reputation, and most worthy men in the county; and the statute 13 Ric. II, c. 7, orders them to be of the most sufficient knights, esquires, and gentlemen of the law. Also by statute 2 Hen. V, st. 1, c. 4, and st. 2, c. 1, they must be resident in their several counties. And because, contrary to these statutes, men of small substance had crept into the commission, whose poverty made them both covetous and contemptible, it was enacted by statute 18 Hen. VI, c. 11, that no justice should be put in commission if he had not lands to the value of 20*l. per annum*. And, the rate of money being greatly altered since that time, it is now enacted by statute 5 Geo. II, c. 18, that every [*353] justice, except *as is therein excepted, shall have 100*l. per annum* clear of all deductions; and, if he acts without such qualification, he shall forfeit 100*l.* This qualification (n) is almost an equivalent to the 20*l. per annum* required in Henry the Sixth's time; and of this (o) the justice must now make oath. Also it is provided by the act 5 Geo. II, that no practicing attorney, solicitor, or proctor, shall be capable of acting as a justice of the peace. (18)

As the office of these justices is conferred by the king, so it subsists only during his pleasure; and is determinable, 1. By the demise of the crown; that is,

(l) Stat. 28 Geo. II, c. 27. See also stat. 7 Geo. III, c. 21.

(m) Lamb. 34.

(n) See Bishop Fleetwood's calculations in his *chronicon pretorium*.

(o) Stat. 18 Geo. II, c. 20.

(18) By the 18 Geo. II, c. 20, a party, to become a justice of the peace, must have in possession, either in law or equity, for his own use and benefit, a freehold, copyhold, or customary estate for life, or for some greater estate, or an estate for some long term of years, determinable upon one or more life or lives, or for a certain term originally created for twenty-one years, or more, in lands, tenements, or hereditaments, in England, or Wales, of the clear yearly value of 100*l.* above all incumbrances, &c., or else must be entitled to the immediate reversion or remainder of and in such lands, &c., leased for one or more lives, or for a term determinable on the death of one or more lives, upon reserved rents of the yearly value of 300*l.*, and he must take the the oath thereby prescribed of his being so qualified, and if he be not so qualified, he forfeits 100*l.* for acting. But by sec. 13, 14, 15, there is a proviso, that this act does not extend to corporation justices, to peers, &c., or the eldest son or heir apparent of any peer or person qualified to serve as a knight of the shire or to officers of the board of green cloth, &c., or to the principal officers of the navy, under secretaries of state, heads of college, or to the mayors of Cambridge and Oxford.

It has been decided that a person to be qualified for the office must have a clear estate of 100*l. per annum* in law or equity, for his own use, in possession. Holt. C. N. P. 458.

The acts of a justice of the peace, who has not duly qualified, are absolutely void; and therefore, persons seizing goods under a warrant of distress, signed by a justice who had not taken the oaths at the general sessions, nor delivered in the certificate required, are not trespassers, though the magistrate be liable to the penalty, and to be indicted. 3 B. and A. 266.

So much of 5 Geo. II, c. 18, as excludes attorneys and solicitors from acting as justices of the peace, was repealed by 6 and 7 Vic. c. 73, s. 1; but by s. 33, of the same act, this prohibition was renewed, with a proviso, s. 34, that it should not extend to any city, town, cinque port or liberty, having justices of the peace within their respective limits and precincts by charter, commission or otherwise. And under the corporation reform act, 5 and 6 Wm. IV, c. 76, borough justices are not required to have any qualification by estate.

in six months after. (*p*) But if the same justice is put in commission by the successor, he shall not be obliged to sue out a new *dedimus*, or to swear to his qualification afresh: (*q*) nor, by reason of any new commission, to take the oaths more than once in the same reign. (*r*) 2. By express writ under the great seal, (*s*) discharging any particular person from being any longer justice. 3. By superseding the commission by writ of *supersedeas*, which suspends the power of all the justices, but does not totally destroy it; seeing it may be revived again by another writ called a *procedendo*. 4. By a new commission, which virtually, though silently, discharges all the former justices that are not included therein; for two commissions cannot subsist at once. 5. By accession of the office of sheriff or coroner. (*t*) Formerly it was thought, that if a man was named in any commission of the peace, and had afterwards a new dignity conferred upon him, that this determined his office; he no longer answering the description of the commission; but now (*u*) it is provided, that, notwithstanding a new title of dignity, the justice on whom it is conferred shall still continue a justice.

The power, office, and duty, of a justice of the peace depend on his commission, and on the several statutes which *have created objects of his jurisdiction. His commission, first, empowers him singly to conserve the * [354] peace; and thereby gives him all the power of the ancient conservators at the common law, in suppressing riots and affrays, in taking securities for the peace, and in apprehending and committing felons and other inferior criminals. It also empowers any two or more to hear and determine all felonies and other offenses; which is the ground of their jurisdiction at sessions, of which more will be said in its proper place. And as to the powers, given to one, two, or more justices by the several statutes, which from time to time have heaped upon them such an infinite variety of business, that few care to undertake, and fewer understand, the office; they are such and of so great importance to the public, that the country is greatly obliged to any worthy magistrate that, without sinister views of his own, will engage in this troublesome service. And therefore if a well-meaning justice makes any undesigned slip in his practice, great lenity and indulgence are shewn to him in the courts of law; and there are many statutes made to protect him in the upright discharge of his office; (*w*) (19) which, among other privileges, prohibit such justices from being sued for any oversights without notice beforehand; (20) and stop all suits begun, on tender made of sufficient

(*p*) Stat. 1 Ann. c. 8.

(*q*) Stat. 1 Geo. III. c. 13.

(*r*) Stat. 7 Geo. III. c. 9.

(*s*) Lamb. 67.

(*t*) Stat. 1 Mar. st. 1, c. 8.

(*u*) Stat. 1 Edw. VI. c. 7.

(*w*) Stat. 7 Jac. I. c. 5; 21 Jac. I. c. 12; 24 Geo. II. c. 44.

(19) The principal statute now in force on this subject is 11 and 12 Vic. c. 44; which is even more liberal than the statutory provisions mentioned in the text.

(20) [A justice of the peace acts ministerially or judicially. *Ministerially*, in preserving the peace, hearing charges against offenders, issuing summons or warrants thereon, examining the informant and his witnesses and taking their examinations, binding over the parties and witnesses to prosecute and give evidence, bailing the supposed offender, or committing him for trial, &c. See the conduct to be observed: 1 Chitty's Crim. L. 31 to 116. In cases where a magistrate proceeds ministerially, rather than judicially, if he acts illegally he is liable to an action at the suit of the party injured; as if he maliciously issues a warrant for felony, without previous oath of a felony having been committed. 2 T. R. 225; 1 East, 64; Sir W. Jones, 178; Hob. 53; 1 Bulst. 64. So if he refuse an examination on the statute hue and cry. 1 Leon. 323. *Judicially*, as when he convicts for an offence. His conviction, drawn up in due form, and unappealed against, is conclusive, and cannot be disputed in an action. 1 Brod. and Bing. 432; 3 Moore, 294; 16 East, 13; 7 T. R. 633, n. a.; though if the commitment thereon was illegal, trespass lies: Wicks v. Clutterbuck, M. T. 1824; J. B. Moore's Rep. C. P.; and if he corruptly and maliciously, without due ground, convict a party: Rex. v. Price, Caldecot, 305; or refuse a license, he is punishable by information or indictment, though not by action. 1 Burr. 556; 2 id. 653; 3 id. 1317, 1716, Bac. Ab. Justices of the Peace, F.; 1 Chitty's Crim. L. 873 to 877. So an information will be granted for improperly *granting* an ale license. See 1 T. R. 692; J. Burn, J. 24th ed. 48, tit. Alehouses; 4 T. R. 451. In some cases a mere improper interference appears to be thus punishable: thus, where two sets of magistrates have a concurrent jurisdiction, and one set appoint a meeting to license alehouses, their jurisdiction attaches so as to exclude the others, though they may all meet together on the first

amends. But, on the other hand, any malicious or tyrannical abuse of their office is usually severely punished; and all persons who recover a verdict against a justice, for any wilful or malicious injury, are entitled to double costs. (21)

It is impossible upon our present plan to enter minutely into the particulars of the accumulated authority thus committed to the charge of these magistrates. I must therefore refer myself at present to such subsequent part of these Commentaries, as will in their turns comprise almost every object of the justices' jurisdiction; and, in the mean time recommend to the student the perusal of Mr. Lambard's *Eirenarcha*, and Dr. Burn's *Justice of the Peace*, wherein he will find every thing relative to this subject, both in ancient and modern practice, collected with great care and accuracy, and disposed in a most clear and judicious method.

*I shall next consider some officers of lower rank than those which [*355] have gone before, and of more confined jurisdiction; but still such as are universally in use through every part of the kingdom.

IV. Fourthly, then, of the constable. The word *constable* is frequently said to be derived from the Saxon, *koning* ~~the~~ *apæl*, and to signify the support of the king. But, as we borrowed the name as well as the office of constable from the French, I am rather inclined to deduce it, with Sir Henry Spelman and Dr. Cowel, from that language; wherein it is plainly derived from the Latin *comes stabuli*, an officer well known in the empire; so called because, like the great constable of France, as well as the lord high constable of England, he was to regulate all matters of chivalry, tilts, tournaments, and feats of arms, which were performed on horseback. This great office of lord high constable hath been disused in England, except only upon great and solemn occasions, as the king's coronation and the like, ever since the attainder of Stafford duke of Buck-

day; and if, after such appointment, the other set meet, and grant licenses on a subsequent day, the proceeding is illegal and subjects them to an indictment. 4 Term Rep. 451.

Where a criminal information is applied for against a magistrate, the question for the court is not whether the act done be found on investigation to be strictly right or not, but whether it proceeded from an unjust, oppressive, or corrupt motive, (amongst which fear and favor are generally included,) or from mistake or error only. In the latter case, the court will not grant the rule. 3 B. and A. 432; and see 1 Burr. 556; 2 id. 1162; 3 id. 1317, 1716; 1 Wils. 7; 1 Term Rep. 692.

In general the court will not grant a criminal information, unless an application for it is made within the second term after the offence committed, there being no intervening assizes, and notice of the application be previously given to the justice. 13 East, 270. And the court will not grant a rule nisi for a criminal information against a magistrate, so late in the second term after the imputed offence, as to preclude him from the opportunity of showing cause against it in the same term. 13 East, 322. And in a case where the facts tending to criminate a magistrate took place twelve months before the application to the court, they refused to grant a criminal information, though the prosecutor, in order to excuse the delay, stated that the facts had not come to his knowledge till very shortly previous to the application. 5 B. and A. 612.

In an action against a magistrate for a malicious conviction, it is not sufficient for the plaintiff to show that he was innocent of the offence of which he was convicted, but he must also prove, from what passed before the magistrate, that there was a want of probable cause for the magistrate to convict. 1 Marsh. 220.]

(21) [It has been held in many cases that if the defendant honestly intended to act as a magistrate, and the act done was in a matter within the jurisdiction of magistrates, he is within the protection of the statutes, though he exceeded his powers and transgressed the law. *Briggs v. Evelyn*, 2 H. Black. 114; *Weller v. Toke*, 9 East, 364.]

The authority of a justice of the peace is special and limited, and he must obtain jurisdiction of each particular case in the manner prescribed by law, or his proceedings will be void, and he will be liable to an action. *Johnson v. Thompson*, 1 Bald. 571; *Bigelow v. Stearns*, 19 Johns. 39; *Adkins v. Brewer*, 3 Cow. 206; *Evertson v. Sutton*, 5 Wend. 281; *Spencer v. Spencer*, 4 Shep. 255; *State v. Hartwell*, 35 Me. 129; *Clark v. Holmes*, 1 Doug. Mich. 390. And if he loses jurisdiction of a case by the service of certiorari, and takes any action therein afterward, he is equally liable. *Case v. Shepherd*, 2 Johns. Cas. 27.

But where he has jurisdiction, he is not liable for irregularities or errors of judgment, unless he acts corruptly or maliciously. *Horton v. Auchmoody*, 7 Wend. 200; *Little v. Moore*, 1 South. 74; *Gregory v. Brown*, 4 Bibb, 28; *Bullitt v. Clement*, 16 B. Monr. 193; *Hetfield v. Towsley*, 3 Greene, Iowa, 584.

ingham under King Henry VIII; as in France it was suppressed about a century after by an edict of Louis XIII: (*x*) but from his office, says Lambard, (*y*) this lower constableness was at first drawn and fetched, and is, as it were, a very finger of that hand. For the statute of Winchester, (*z*) which first appoints them, directs that for the better keeping of the peace, two constables in every hundred and franchise shall inspect all matters relating to *arms* and *armour*.

Constables are of two sorts, high constables and petty constables. The former were first ordained by the statute of Winchester, as before mentioned; are appointed at the court leets of the franchise or hundred over which they preside, or, in default of that, by the justices at their quarter sessions; and are removable by the same authority that *appoints them. (*a*) (22) The petty constables are inferior officers in every town and parish, subordinate to the high constable of the hundred, first instituted about the reign of Edw. III, (*b*) These petty constables have two offices united in them: the one ancient, the other modern. Their ancient office is that of headborough tithingman, or borsholder, of whom we formerly spoke, (*c*) and who are as ancient as the time, of King Alfred: their more modern office is that of constable merely; which was appointed, as we observed, so lately as the reign of Edward III, in order to assist the high constable. (*d*) And in general the ancient headboroughs, tithing-men, and borsholders, were made use of to serve as petty constables; though not so generally, but that in many places they still continue distinct officers from the constable. They are all chosen by the jury at the court leet; or, if no court leet be held, are appointed by two justices of the peace. (*e*)

The general duty of all constables, both high and petty, as well as of the other officers, is to keep the king's peace in their several districts; and to that purpose they are armed with very large powers, of arresting and imprisoning, of breaking open houses, and the like; of the extent of which powers, considering what manner of men are for the most part put into these offices, it is perhaps very well that they are generally kept in ignorance. (23) One of their principal duties,

(*x*) Phillip's Life of Pole, ii. 111.

(*y*) Of Constables, 5.

(*z*) 13 Edw. I., c. 6.

(*a*) Salk. 150.

(*b*) Spelm. Gloss. 148.

(*c*) Page, 115.

(*d*) Lamb. 9.

(*e*) Stat. 14 and 15 Car. II., c. 12.

(22) [It should seem that a constable cannot, in case of an affray, arrest without a warrant from a magistrate, unless an actual breach of the peace be committed in his presence, or in other words, *flagrante delicto*. He cannot arrest of his own authority, after the affray is over. 2 Camp. 367, 371; 2 Lord Ray. 1296; 1 Russell, book 3, c. 3, on manslaughter, to sec. 4; and see 2 Bar. and Cres. 699; and see further as to the powers and duties of constables acting without warrants, or otherwise, *post*, book 4, 292; 1 Chit. Crim. Law, 20 to 24.

A constable executing his warrant out of his district was formerly a trespasser: 1 H. Bla. 15: and in a late case it was held, that where a warrant was directed "to A. B., to constables, of W., and to all other his majesty's officers," the constables of W. (their names not being inserted in the warrant) could not execute it out of that district. 1 Bar. & C. 288. But now, by 5 Geo. IV, c. 18, constables may execute warrants out of their precincts, provided it be within the jurisdiction of the justice granting or backing the same.

It is the duty of a constable to present a highway within his district for non-repair, and he is entitled to the costs of the prosecution. 3 M. and S. 465.]

Petty constables are now to great extent superseded by a county constabulary.

(23) [Every one who reflects upon the subject must surely dissent from the proposition in the text; which contains by implication, a censure both upon the legislature and the executive. It is manifestly absurd to presume, that a man who is ignorant of the extent of his authority is less likely to abuse it than he who clearly understands its due limit. Admitting that the ignorant officer from fear, or from a more laudable motive, restricts himself within bounds much more contracted than the law has prescribed, it is clear he must sometimes fail in the discharge of his duty, to the great detriment of public justice. How much better would it be that the duty of these officers should be accurately defined, and that they should be chosen from among men of intelligence, who would have the good sense to know the extent of their power, and the good feeling not to exceed it.]

A constable has not the right to break open houses for the service of civil process generally, but he may do so in the service of search warrants, which specially direct it, and he may also do so for the service of other criminal process upon the occupant, but not against the will of the occupant to search for a third person against whom he has a warrant. See *Hawkins v. Commonwealth*, 14 B. Monr. 395.

If a private individual makes an arrest without warrant, on a charge of felony, he may justify the arrest if a felony has actually been committed; but a constable has broader protec-

arising from the statute of Winchester, which appoints them, is to keep watch and ward in their respective jurisdiction. Ward, guard, or *custodia*, is chiefly applied to the daytime, in order to apprehend rioters, and robbers on the highways; the manner of doing which is left to the discretion of the justices of the peace and the constable: (*f*) the hundred being however, answerable for all robberies committed therein, by daylight, for having kept negligent guard. Watch is properly applicable to the night only, (being called among our Teutonic ancestors *wacht* or *watch*, (*g*) and it *begins at the time when [*357] ward ends, and ends when that begins: for, by the statute of Winchester, in walled towns the gates shall be closed from sunset to sunrise, and watch shall be kept in every borough and town especially in the summer season, to apprehend all rogues, vagabonds, and night-walkers, and make them give an account of themselves. The constable may appoint watchmen at his discretion, regulated by the custom of the place; and these, being his deputies, have for the time being the authority of their principal. But, with regard to the infinite number of other minute duties that are laid upon constables by a diversity of statutes, I must again refer to Mr. Lambard and Dr. Burn; in whose compilations may be also seen what powers and duties belong to the constable or tithing-man indifferently, and what to the constable only; for the constable may do whatever the tithing-man may; but it does not hold *e converso*, the tithing-man not having an equal power with the constable.

V. We are next to consider the surveyors of the highways. Every parish is bound of common right to keep the high roads that go through it in good and sufficient repair; unless, by reason of the tenure of lands or otherwise, this care is consigned to some particular private person. From this burthen no man was exempt by our ancient laws, whatever other immunities he might enjoy: this being part of the *trinoda necessitas* to which every man's estate was subject, viz.: *expeditio contra hostem, arcium constructio, et pontium reparatio*. For, though the reparation of bridges only is expressed, yet that of roads also must be understood; as in the Roman law, *ad instructiones reparationesque itinerum et pontium, nullum genus hominum, nulliusque dignitatis ac venerationis meritis, cessare oportet*. (*h*) And indeed now, for the most part, the care of the roads only seems to be left to parishes, that of bridges being in great measure devolved upon the county at large, by statute 22 Hen. VIII, c. 5. If the parish neglected these repairs, they might formerly, as they may still, be indicted for such their neglect: but it was not then *incumbent on any particular officer to call [*358] the parish together, and set them upon this work; for which reason, by the statute 2 and 3 Ph. and M. c. 8, surveyors of the highways were ordered to be chosen in every parish. (*i*)

These surveyors were originally, according to the statutes of Phillip and Mary, to be appointed by the constable and church-wardens of the parish: but now they are constituted by two neighbouring justices, out of such inhabitants or others, as are described in statute 13 Geo. III, c. 78, and may have salaries allotted them for their trouble. (24)

Their office and duty consists in putting in execution a variety of laws for the repairs of the public highways; that is, of ways leading from one town to another: all which are now reduced into one act by statute 13 Geo. III, c. 78, which enacts, 1. That they may remove all annoyances in the highways, or give

(*f*) Dalt. Just. c. 104.

(*g*) *Excubus et explanationes quas vactas vocant. Capitular. Hludov. Pii. Cap. 1. A. D. 815.*

(*h*) C. 11. 74, 4.

(*i*) This office, Mr. Dalton (Just. cap. 50,) says, exactly answers that of the *curatores viarum* of the Romans: but it should seem that theirs was an office of rather more dignity and authority than ours; not only from comparing the method of making and mending the Roman ways with those of our country parishes; but also because one Thermus, who was the curator of the Flaminian way, was candidate for the consulship with Julius Cæsar. (Cic. ad Attic. l. 1. ep. 1.)

tion, and is justified if he had information of a felony which he had reason to rely upon. Holley v. Mix, 3 Wend. 350; Russel v. Shuster, 8 W. and S. 308; Rohan v. Sawin, 5 Cush. 281; Beckwith v. Philby, 6 B. and C. 605; Davis v. Russell, 5 Bing. 354.

(24) These officers are now chosen annually by the inhabitants.

notice to the owner to remove them; who is liable to penalties on non-compliance. 2. They are to call together all the inhabitants and occupiers of lands, tenements, and hereditaments within the parish, six days in every year, to labour in fetching materials, or repairing the highways; all persons keeping draughts, (of three horses, &c.) or occupying lands, being obliged to send a team for every draught, and for every 50*l.* a year which they keep or occupy: persons keeping less than a draught, or occupying less than 50*l.* a year, to contribute in a less proportion; and all other persons chargeable, between the ages of eighteen and sixty-five, to work or find a labourer. But they may compound with the surveyors, at certain easy rates established by the act. And every cartway leading to any market-town must be made twenty feet wide at the least, if the fences will permit; and may be increased by two justices, at the expense of the parish, to the breadth of thirty feet. 3. The surveyors may lay out their own money in purchasing materials for repairs, in erecting guide-posts and making drains, and shall be reimbursed by a rate to be allowed at a special sessions. *4. In case [*359] the personal labour of the parish be not sufficient, the surveyors with the consent of the quarter sessions, may levy a rate on the parish, in aid of the personal duty not exceeding, in any one year, together with the other highway rates, the sum of 9*d.* in the pound; for the due application of which they are to account upon oath. As for turnpikes, which are now pretty generally introduced in aid of such rates, and the law relating to them, these depend principally on the particular powers granted in the several road acts, and upon some general provisions which are extended to all turnpike roads in the kingdom, by statute 13 Geo. III, c. 84, amended by many subsequent acts. (*k*)

VI. I proceed therefore, lastly, to consider the overseers of the poor; their original, appointment and duty.

The poor of England, till the time of Henry VIII, subsisted entirely upon private benevolence, and the charity of well disposed Christians. For, though it appears by the mirror, (*l*) that by the common law the poor were to be "sustained by parsons, rectors of the church, and the parishioners, so that none of them die for default of sustenance;" and though, by the statutes 12 Ric. II, c. 7, and 19 Hen. VII, c. 12, the poor are directed to abide in the cities or towns wherein they were born, or such wherein they had dwelt for three years, (which seemed to be the first rudiments of parish settlements,) yet, till the statute 27 Hen. VIII, c. 55, I find no compulsory method chalked out for this purpose; but the poor seem to have been left to such relief as the humanity of their neighbours would afford them. The monasteries were, in particular, their principal resource; and, among other bad effects which attended the monastic institutions, it was not perhaps one of the least (though frequently esteemed quite otherwise) that they supported and fed a very numerous and very idle poor, whose sustenance depended upon what was daily distributed in alms at the gates *of the religious houses. But, upon the total dissolution of these [*360] the inconvenience of thus encouraging the poor in habits of indolence and beggary was quickly felt throughout the kingdom; and abundance of statutes were made in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and his children, for providing for the poor and impotent; which, the preambles to some of them recite, had of late years greatly increased. These poor were principally of two sorts: sick and impotent, and therefore unable to work; idle and sturdy, and therefore able, but not willing, to exercise any honest employment. To provide in some measure for both of these, in and about the metropolis, Edward the Sixth founded three royal hospitals; Christ's and St. Thomas's, for the relief of the impotent through infancy or sickness; and Bridewell, for the punishment and employment of the vigorous and idle. But these were far from being sufficient for the care of the poor throughout the kingdom at large; and therefore, after many other fruitless experiments, by statute 43 Eliz. c. 2, overseers of the poor were appointed in every parish.

By virtue of the statute last mentioned, these overseers are to be nominated

(*k*) Stat. 14 Geo. III, c. 14, 36, 57, 32. 16 Geo. III, c. 39. 18 Geo. III, c. 23. (*l*) C. 1, § 3.

yearly in Easter-week, or within one month after, (though a subsequent nomination will be valid,) (*m*) by two justices dwelling near the parish. They must be substantial householders, and so expressed to be in the appointment of the justices. (*n*)

Their office and duty, according to the same statute, are principally these: first, to raise competent sums for the necessary relief of the poor, impotent, old, blind, and such other, being poor and not able to work: and secondly, to provide work for such as are able, and cannot otherwise get employment: but this latter part of their duty, which, according to the wise regulations of that salutary statute, should go hand in hand with the other, is now most shamefully neglected.

[*361] However, for these joint purposes, they are empowered to *make and levy rates upon the several inhabitants of the parish, by the same act of parliament; which has been further explained and enforced by several subsequent statutes.

The two great objects of this statute seem to have been, 1. To relieve the impotent poor, and them only. 2. To find employment for such as are able to work; and this principally, by providing stocks of raw materials to be worked up at their separate homes, instead of accumulating all the poor in one common workhouse; a practice which puts the sober and diligent upon a level (in point of their earnings) with those who are dissolute and idle; depresses the laudable emulation of domestic industry and neatness, and destroys all endearing family connections, the only felicity of the indigent. Whereas, if none were relieved but those who are incapable to get their livings, and that in proportion to their incapacity; if no children were removed from their parents, but such as are brought up in rags and idleness; and if every poor man and his family were regularly furnished with employment, and allowed the whole profits of their labour;—a spirit of busy cheerfulness would soon diffuse itself through every cottage; work would become easy and habitual, when absolutely necessary for daily subsistence; and the peasant would go through his task without a murmur, if assured that he and his children, when incapable of work through infancy, age, or infirmity, would then, and then only, be entitled to support from his opulent neighbours.

This appears to have been the plan of the statute of Queen Elizabeth; in which the only defect was confining the management of the poor to small parochial districts; which are frequently incapable of furnishing proper work, or providing an able director. However, the laborious poor were then at liberty to seek employment wherever it was to be had: none being obliged to reside in the places of their settlement, but such as were unable or unwilling to work; and [*362] those places of settlement being only such where they *were *born* or had made their *abode*, originally for three years, (*o*) and afterwards (in the case of vagabonds) for one year only. (*p*)

After the restoration, a very different plan was adopted, which has rendered the employment of the poor more difficult, by authorizing the subdivisions of parishes; has greatly increased their number, by confining them all to their respective districts; has given birth to the intricacy of our poor laws, by multiplying and rendering more easy the methods of gaining settlements; and, in consequence, has created an infinity of expensive law-suits between contending neighborhoods, concerning those settlements and removals. By the statute 13 and 14 Car. II, c. 12, a legal settlement was declared to be gained by *birth*, or by *inhabitaney*, *apprenticeship*, or *service* for forty days: within which period all intruders were made removable from any parish by two justices of the peace, unless they settled in a tenement of the annual value of 10*l*. The frauds, naturally consequent upon this provision, which gave a settlement by so short a residence, produced the statute 1 Jac. II, c. 17, which directed *notice* in writing to be delivered to the parish officers, before a settlement could be gained by such residence. Subsequent provisions allowed other circumstances of notoriety to

(*m*) *Str.* 1123.

(*n*) 2 *Lord Raym.* 1394.

(*o*) *Stat.* 19 *Hen.* VII, c. 12. 1 *Edw.* VI, c. 8. 3 *Edw.* VI, c. 16. 14 *Eliz.* c. 5,

(*p*) *Stat.* 30 *Eliz.* c. 4.

be equivalent to such notice given; and those circumstances have from time to time been altered, enlarged or restrained, whenever the experience of new inconveniences, arising daily from new regulations, suggested the necessity of a remedy. And the doctrine of *certificates* was invented, by way of counterpoise, to restrain a man and his family from acquiring a new settlement by any length of residence whatever, unless in two particular excepted cases; which makes parishes very cautious of giving such certificates, and of course confines the poor at home, where frequently no adequate employment can be had.

The law of settlements may be therefore now reduced to the following general heads; or, a settlement in a parish may be acquired, 1. By *birth*; for, wherever a child is first known *to be, that is always *prima facie* the [*363] place of settlement, until some other can be shewn. (*q*) This is also [*363] generally the place of settlement of a bastard child; (*r*) for a bastard having in the eye of the law no father, cannot be referred to *his* settlement as other children may. (*s*) But, in legitimate children, though the place of birth be *prima facie* the settlement, yet it is not conclusively so; for there are, 2. Settlements by *parentage*, being the settlement of one's father or mother: all legitimate children being really settled in the parish where their parents are settled, until they get a new settlement for themselves. (*t*) A new settlement may be acquired several ways; as, 3. By *marriage*. For a woman marrying a man that is settled in another parish changes her own settlement: the law not permitting the separation of husband and wife. (*u*) But if the man has no settlement, hers is suspended during his life, if he remains in England and is able to maintain her; but in his absence, or after his death, or during, perhaps, his inability, she may be removed to her old settlement. (*v*) The other methods of acquiring settlements in any parish are all reducible to this one, of *forty days' residence* therein: but this forty days' residence (which is construed to be lodging or lying there) must not be by fraud or stealth, or in any clandestine manner; but made notorious by one or other of the following concomitant circumstances. The next method therefore of gaining a settlement is, 4. By forty days' residence, and *notice*. For if a stranger comes into a parish, and delivers notice in writing of his place of abode, and number of his family, to one of the overseers (which must be read in the church and registered,) and resides there unmolested for forty days after such notice, he is legally settled thereby. (*w*) For the law presumes that such a one at the time of notice is not likely to become chargeable, else he would not venture to give it; or that, in such case, the parish would take care to remove him. But there are also other circumstances equivalent to such notice: therefore, 5. *Renting* for a year *a tenement of the yearly [*364] value of ten pounds, and residing forty days in the parish, gains a settlement without notice; (*x*) upon the principle of having substance enough to gain credit for such a house. 6. Being charged to and paying the public *taxes* and levies of the parish; excepting those for scavengers, highways, (*y*) and the duties on houses and windows; (*z*) and, 7. Executing, when legally appointed, any public parochial *office* for a whole year in the parish, as churchwarden, &c., are both of them equivalent to notice, and gain a settlement, (*a*) if coupled with a residence of forty days. 8. Being *hired* for a year, when unmarried and childless, and *serving* a year in the same service; and 9. Being bound an *apprentice*, give the servant and apprentice a settlement without notice, (*b*) in that place wherein they serve the last forty days. This is meant to encourage application to trades, and going out to reputable services. 10. Lastly, the having an *estate* of one's own, and residing thereon forty days, however small the value may be, in case it be acquired by act of law, or of a third person, as by descent, gift, devise, &c., is a sufficient settlement: (*c*) but if a man acquire it by his own act, as by purchase, (in its popular sense, in consideration of money paid,) then

(*q*) Carth. 433. Comb. 364. Salk. 485. 1 Lord Raym. 567. (*r*) See p. 459. (*s*) Salk. 427.
 (*t*) Salk. 528. 2 Lord Raym. 1473. (*u*) Stra. 544. (*v*) Foley, 249, 251, 252. Burr. Set. C. 370.
 (*w*) Stat. 13 and 14 Car. II, c. 12. 1 Jac. II, c. 17. 8 and 4 W. and Mar. c. 11.
 (*x*) Stat. 13 and 14 Car. II, c. 12. (*y*) Stat. 9 Geo. I, c. 7. § 6.
 (*z*) Stat. 21 Geo. II, c. 10. 18 Geo. III, c. 26. (*a*) Stat. 3 and 4 W. and M. c. 11.
 (*b*) Stat. 3 and 4 W. and M. c. 11. 8 and 9 W. III, c. 10. 30 Geo. II, c. 11. (*c*) Salk. 524.

unless the consideration advanced *bona fide* be 30*l.*, it is no settlement for any longer time than the persons shall inhabit thereon. (*d*) He is in no case removable from his own property; but he shall not, by any trifling or fraudulent purchase of his own, acquire a permanent and lasting settlement.

All persons, not so settled, may be removed to their own parishes, on complaint of the overseers, by two justices of the peace, if they shall adjudge them likely to become chargeable to the parish into which they have intruded: unless they are in a way of getting a legal settlement, as by having hired a [*365] house of 10*l.* per annum, or living in an *annual service; for then they are not removable. (*e*) And in all other cases, if the parish to which they belong will grant them a certificate, acknowledging them to be *their* parishioners, they cannot be removed merely because *likely* to become chargeable, but only when they become *actually* chargeable. (*f*) But such certificated person can gain no settlement by any of the means above mentioned, unless by renting a tenement of 10*l.* per annum, or by serving an annual office in the parish being legally placed therein; neither can an apprentice or servant to such certificated person gain a settlement by such their service. (*g*)

These are the general heads of the laws relating to the poor, which, by the resolutions of the courts of justice thereon within a century past, are branched into a great variety. (25) And yet, notwithstanding the pains that have been taken about them, they still remain very imperfect, and inadequate to the purposes they are designed for: a fate that has generally attended most of our statute laws, where they have not the foundation of the common law to build on. When the shires, the hundreds, and the tithings were kept in the same admirable order in which they were disposed by the great Alfred, there were no persons idle, consequently none but the impotent that needed relief: and the statute of 43 Eliz. seems entirely founded on the same principle. But when this excellent scheme was neglected and departed from, we cannot but observe with concern what miserable shifts and lame expedients have from time to time been adopted in order to patch up the flaws occasioned by this neglect. There is not a more necessary or more certain maxim in the frame and constitution of society, than that every individual must contribute his share in order to the well-being of the community: and surely they must be very deficient in sound policy, who suffer one-half of a parish to continue idle, dissolute, and unemployed; and are at length amazed to find that the industry of the other half is not able to maintain the whole.

(*d*) Stat. 9 Geo. I, c. 7.

(*e*) Salk. 472.

(*f*) Stat. 8 and 9 W. III, c. 30.

(*g*) Stat. 12 Ann. c. 18.

(25) [The duty of relieving or removing our poor formerly devolved on the overseers, but by the 4 and 5 Wm. IV, c. 76, the poor law commissioners, and by the 12 and 13 Vic. c. 103, the poor law board were empowered to consolidate any number of parishes into one union for the relief of the poor. This being done, each parish has to elect one or more guardians, who act for the relief of the poor in the union, subject to the rules of the poor law board. In this case the overseers have nothing to do with giving relief, except in cases of sudden emergencies; they have, however, certain duties to perform in relation to the election of guardians. They are bound to make and levy the poor rates, and have other duties imposed upon them, most of which, however, may be discharged by an assistant overseer, a paid officer whom the inhabitants of each parish may appoint if they think fit.]

In the United States the care of the dependent poor devolves upon the individual states, and provision is made in them all for that object. Township and county officers are chosen to administer the public bounty, and asylums are provided for those who need permanent relief. The reader will consult the statutes of his state for information concerning the system of relief for the poor there established.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE PEOPLE, WHETHER ALIENS, DENIZENS OR NATIVES.

HAVING, in the eight preceding chapters, treated of persons as they stand in the public relations of *magistrates*, I now proceed to consider such persons as fall under the denomination of the *people*. And herein all the inferior and subordinate magistrates treated of in the last chapter are included.

The first and most obvious division of the people is into aliens and natural-born subjects. (1) Natural-born subjects are such as are born within the dominions of the crown of England; that is, within the ligeance, or, as it is generally called, the allegiance of the king; and aliens, such as are born out of it. Allegiance is the tie, or *ligamen*, which binds the subject to the king, in return for that protection which the king affords the subject. The thing itself, or substantial part of it, is founded in reason and the nature of government; the name and the form are derived to us from our Gothic ancestors. Under the feudal system, every owner of lands held them in subjection to some superior or lord, from whom or whose ancestors the tenant or vassal had received them; and there was a mutual trust or confidence subsisting between the lord and vassal, that the lord should protect the vassal in the enjoyment of the territory he had granted him, and, on the *other hand, that the vassal should be [367] faithful to the lord, and defend him against all his enemies. This obligation on the part of the vassal was called *fidelitas*, or fealty; and an oath of fealty was required, by the feudal law, to be taken by all tenants to their landlord, which is couched in almost the same terms as our ancient oath of allegiance; (a) except that in the usual oath of fealty there was frequently a saving or exception of the faith due to a superior lord by name, under whom the landlord himself was perhaps only a tenant or vassal. But when the acknowledgment was made to the absolute superior himself, who was vassal to no man, it was no longer called the oath of fealty, but the oath of allegiance; and therein the tenant swore to bear faith to his sovereign lord, in opposition to all men, without any saving or exception: "*contra omnes homines fidelitatem fecit.*" (b) Land held by this exalted species of fealty was called *feudum ligium*, a liege fee; the vassals *homines ligii*, or liege men; and the sovereign their *dominus ligius*, or liege lord. And when sovereign princes did homage to each other, for lands held under their respective sovereignties, a distinction was always made between *simple* homage, which was only an acknowledgment of tenure, (c) and *liege*

(a) 2 Feud. 5, 6, 7.

(b) 2 Feud. 99.

(c) 7 Rep. Calvin's case, 7.

(1) [Natural-born subjects are persons born within the allegiance, power, or protection of the crown of England, which terms embrace not only persons born within the dominions of his majesty, or of his homagers and the children of subjects in the *service* of the king abroad, and the king's children, and the heirs of the crown, all of whom are natural-born subjects by the *common law*; but also under various statutes, all persons, though born abroad, whose father and grandfather by the *father's* side were natural-born subjects at common law, unless the father or paternal grandfather, through whom the claim is made, was at the time of the birth of such children liable, in case of his return into this country, to the penalties of treason or felony, or was in the actual service of any foreign prince then at enmity with the crown of England.]

Persons born in transmarine territories belonging to the king of England, in any other right than that of the *English crown*, as for instance, the Hanoverians, and persons doing service to the king, as officers of such transmarine territories, are not natural-born subjects. See Vaughan, 286.

A child born out of the allegiance of the crown of England is not entitled to be deemed a natural-born subject, unless the father be at the time of the birth of the child not a subject only, but a subject by birth. Therefore, children born in the United States of America, since the recognition of their independence, of parents born there before that time, and continuing to reside there afterwards, are aliens, and cannot inherit lands here. 2 Bar. and Cres. 779; 4 D. and R. 394, S. C.

homage, which included the fealty before mentioned, and the services consequent upon it. Thus when our Edward III. in 1329, did homage to Philip VI. of France, for his ducal dominions on that continent, it was warmly disputed of what species the homage was to be, whether *liege* or *simple* homage. (*d*) But with us in England, it becoming a settled principle of tenure that *all* lands in the kingdom are holden of the king as their sovereign and lord paramount, no oath but that of fealty could ever be taken to inferior lords, and the oath of allegiance was necessarily confined to the person of the king alone. By an easy analogy, the term of allegiance was soon brought to signify all other engagements which are due from subjects to their prince, as well as those duties which were simply and merely territorial. And the oath of allegiance, as administered for *upwards of six hundred years, (*e*) contained a promise "to be true and faithful to the king and his heirs, and truth and faith to bear of life and limb and terrene honour, and not to know or hear of any ill or damage intended him, without defending him therefrom." Upon which Sir Matthew Hale (*f*) makes this remark, that it was short and plain, not entangled with long or intricate causes or declarations, and yet is comprehensive of the whole duty from the subject to his sovereign. But at the revolution, the terms of this oath being thought perhaps to favour too much the notion of non-resistance, the present form was introduced by the convention parliament, which is more general and indeterminate than the former; the subject only promising "that he will be faithful and bear *true* allegiance to the king," without mentioning "his heirs," or specifying in the least wherein that allegiance consists. The oath of supremacy is principally calculated as a renunciation of the pope's pretended authority; and the oath of abjuration, introduced in the reign of King William, (*g*) very amply supplies the loose and general texture of the oath of allegiance; it recognizing the right of his majesty, derived under the act of settlement; engaging to support him to the utmost of the juror's power; promising to disclose all traitorous conspiracies against him; and expressly renouncing any claim of the descendants of the late pretender, in as clear and explicit terms as the English language can furnish. This oath must be taken by all persons in any office, trust, or employment; and may be tendered by two justices of the peace to any person whom they shall suspect of disaffection. (*h*) And the oath of allegiance may be tendered (*i*) to all persons above the age of twelve years, whether natives, denizens, or aliens, either in the court-leet of the manor, or in the sheriff's tourn, which is the court-leet of the county. (2)

But, besides these express engagements, the law also holds that there is an implied, original, and virtual allegiance, *owing from every subject to his sovereign, antecedently to any express promise; and although the subject never swore any faith or allegiance in form. For as the king, by the very descent of the crown, is fully invested with all the rights, and bound to all

(*d*) 2 Cart. 401. Mod. Un. Hist. xxiii. 420.

(*e*) Mirror, c. 3, § 35. Fleta, 3, 16. Britton, c. 29. 7 Rep. Calvin's case, 6. (*f*) 1 Hal. P. C. 63.

(*g*) Stat. 13 W. III. c. 6. (*h*) Stat. I, Geo. I. c. 13. 6 Geo. III. c. 53. (*i*) 2 Inst. 121. 1 Hal. P. C. 61.

(2) As regards these oaths great changes have from time to time been made by statute, which it will not be necessary for us to follow here. The subject is now covered by statute 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72, under which no person can be "required or authorized to take the oaths of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration, or any of such oaths, or any oath substituted for such oaths or any of them," except the persons indicated in that act, in the Clerical Subscription Act, 1865," (as to which see next chapter) and the "Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866." The general purpose of the statute 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72, as well as of other statutes which preceded it, was to relieve Roman Catholics and other persons having religious scruples which precluded their taking the oaths formerly required, from the disabilities under which they lay in consequence, and to enable them to serve the state in positions of honor and responsibility in common with their fellow subjects. The oath of allegiance now required is simply that the juror "will be faithful and bear true allegiance to her majesty Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors according to law;" and the oath required of officers generally is, that they will well and truly serve her majesty in their respective offices; while judicial officers are to add to the same a further pledge, that they "will do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages of this realm, without fear or favor, affection or ill will."

the duties, of sovereignty, before his coronation; so the subject is bound to his prince by an intrinsic allegiance, before the superinduction of those outward bonds of oath, homage, and fealty; which were only instituted to remind the subject of this his previous duty, and for the better securing its performance. (*k*) The formal profession, therefore, or oath of subjection, is nothing more than a declaration in words of what was before implied in law. Which occasions Sir Edward Coke very justly to observe, (*l*) that "all subjects are equally bounden to their allegiance as if they had taken the oath; because it is written by the finger of the law in their hearts, and the taking of the corporal oath is but an outward declaration of the same." The sanction of an oath, it is true, in case of violation of duty, makes the guilt still more accumulated, by superadding perjury to treason: but it does not increase the civil obligation to loyalty; it only strengthens the *social* tie by uniting it with that of *religion*.

Allegiance, both express and implied, is however distinguished by the law into two sorts or species, the one natural, the other local; the former being also perpetual, the latter temporary. Natural allegiance is such as is due from all men born within the king's dominions immediately upon their birth. (*m*) For, immediately upon their birth, they are under the king's protection: at a time, too, when (during their infancy) they are incapable of protecting themselves. Natural allegiance is therefore a debt of gratitude; which cannot be forfeited, cancelled, or altered by any change of time, place, or circumstance, nor by any thing but the united concurrence of the legislature. (*n*) An Englishman who removes to France, or to China, owes the same allegiance *to the king [*370] of England there as at home, and twenty years hence as well as now. For it is a principal of universal law, (*o*) that the natural-born subject of one prince cannot by any act of his own, no, not by swearing allegiance to another, put off or discharge his natural allegiance to the former: for this natural allegiance was intrinsic, and primitive, and antecedent to the other; and cannot be divested without the concurrent act of that prince to whom it was first due. (3) Indeed the natural-born subject of one prince, to whom he owes allegiance, may be entangled by subjecting himself absolutely to another; but it is his own act that brings him into these straits and difficulties, of owing service to two masters; and it is unreasonable that, by such voluntary act of his own, he should be able at pleasure to unloose those bands by which he is connected to his natural prince. (4)

(*k*) 1 Hal. P. C. 61.(*l*) 2 Inst. 121.(*m*) 7 Rep. 7.(*n*) 2 P. Wms. 124.(*o*) 1 Hal. P. C. 68.

(3) [And this seems to have guided the courts both of England and America, since the peace between these powers, which ended in the declaration and acknowledgment of the independence of America. It has been determined that the effect of the concurrent acts of the two governments was to divest a natural-born subject of the British king, adhering to the United States of America, of his right to inherit land in England; and so in K. B., it has been determined that the treaty virtually prevented Americans adhering to the crown from inheriting lands in America. See the English case, *Doe d. Thomas v. Acklam*, 2 B. and C. 779, which cites 7 Wheaton's R. 535.]

(4) [Sir Michael Foster observes, that "the well-known maxim, which the writers upon our law have adopted and applied to this case, *nemo potest exuere patriam*, comprehendeth the whole doctrine of natural allegiance." Fost. 184. And this is exemplified by a strong instance in the report which that learned judge has given of *Aeneas Macdonald's* case. He was a native of Great Britain, but had received his education from his early infancy in France, had spent his riper years in a profitable employment in that kingdom, and had accepted a commission in the service of the French king; acting under that commission, he was taken in arms against the king of England, for which he was indicted and convicted of high treason; but was pardoned upon condition of his leaving the kingdom, and continuing abroad during his life. Ib. 59.]

The doctrine here stated has been accepted by the courts of America as a part of our inheritance of the common law of England. See the cases of *Talbot v. Janson*, 3 Dall. 133; *Isaac Williams's Case*, 2 Cranch, 82; *Murray v. The Charming Betsey*, Id. 124; *United States v. Gillies*, 1 Pet. C. C. 159; *The Santissima Trinidad*, 7 Wheat 283; *Shanks v. Dupont*, 3 Pet. 242; *Ainslie v. Martin*, 9 Mass. 461. To say however that it is "a principle of universal law," is to occupy disputed ground. Chancellor Kent, who declared and defended the doctrine, admits that the writers on public law have generally spoken in favor of the right of a subject to

Local allegiance is such as is due from an alien or stranger born, for so long time as he continues within the king's dominion and protection: (*p*) and it ceases the instant such stranger transfers himself from this kingdom to another. Natural allegiance is therefore perpetual, and local, temporary only; and that for this reason, evidently founded upon the nature of government; that allegiance is a debt due from the subject, upon an implied contract with the prince, that so long as the one affords protection, so long the other will demean himself faithfully. As therefore the prince is always under a constant tie to protect his natural-born subjects, at all times and in all countries, for this reason their allegiance due to him is equally universal and permanent. But, on the other hand, as the prince affords his protection to an alien, only during his residence in this realm, the allegiance of an alien is confined, in point of time, to the duration of such his residence, and, in point of locality, to the dominions of the British empire. From which considerations Sir Mathew Hale (*q*) deduces this consequence, that though there be an usurper of the crown, yet it is treason for any subject, while the usurper is in full possession of the sovereignty to [*371] *practice any thing against his crown and dignity; wherefore, although the true prince regain the sovereignty, yet such attempts against the usurper (unless in defence or aid of the rightful king) have been afterwards punished with death; because of the breach of that temporary allegiance, which was due to him as king *de facto*. And upon this footing, after Edward IV recovered the crown, which had been long detained from his house by the line of Lancaster, treasons committed against Henry VI were capitally punished, though Henry had been declared an usurper by parliament.

This oath of allegiance, or rather the allegiance itself, is held to be applicable not only to the political capacity of the king, or regal office, but to his natural person and blood-royal; and for the misapplication of their allegiance, viz.: to the regal capacity or crown, exclusive of the person of the king, were the Spencers banished in the reign of Henry II. (*r*) And from hence arose that principle of personal attachment, and affectionate loyalty, which induced our forefathers (and, if occasion required, would doubtless induce their sons) to hazard all that was dear to them, life, fortune, and family, in defence and support of their liege lord and sovereign.

This allegiance, then, both express and implied, is the duty of all the king's subjects, under the distinctions here laid down, of local and temporary, or universal and perpetual. Their rights are also distinguishable by the same criterions of time and locality; natural-born subjects having a great variety of

(*p*) 7 Rep. 6.

(*q*) 1 Hal. P. C. 60.

(*r*) 1 Hal. P. C. 67.

emigrate and abandon his native country, unless there is some positive restraint by law, or he is at the time in possession of a public trust, or unless his country is in distress or in war, and stands in need of his assistance. And he quotes the declaration of Cicero, that it was the immutable foundation of Roman liberty, that every man is master of his rights of citizenship, and may retain or renounce them at his pleasure. "*Ne quis invitatus civitate mutetur; nec in civitate maneat invitatus. Hæc sunt enim fundamenta firmissima nostræ libertatis, sui quemque juris et retinendi et dimittendi esse dominum.*" Mr. Lawrence, in his edition of Wheaton's International Law has discussed this subject on general principles, taking a view opposed to that of the English and American courts, and more in harmony with that which has generally prevailed among the American people and in the executive councils. The claim on the part of Great Britain of a right to search American vessels for British seamen, which brought on the war of 1812, was based upon this doctrine of perpetual allegiance, and though resisted on other grounds, was denied also as inconsistent with a general principle of international law, which permitted expatriation where emigration was not forbidden. The supreme court of Kentucky has declared the right of expatriation to be a practical and fundamental American doctrine, and that where no statute regulation on the subject exists, the citizen may in good faith abjure his country and his allegiance, and the assent of the government was to be presumed. *Alsberry v. Hawkins*, 9 Dana, 178. This view is in harmony with the prevailing American sentiment, to which the government is at this time endeavoring to give effect by treaties with European nations. Negotiations were opened with the European courts, with this end in view, during the administration of President Johnson, and at the present time there is every prospect of their being generally successful.

rights, which they acquire by being born within the king's ligeance, and can never forfeit by any distance of place or time, but only by their own misbehaviour; the explanation of which rights is the principal subject of the two first books of these Commentaries. The same is also in some degree the case of aliens; though their rights are much more circumscribed, being acquired only by residence here, and lost whenever they remove. I shall however here endeavour to chalk out some of the principal lines, whereby *they are distinguished from natives, descending to farther particulars when they come in course. [*372]

An alien born may purchase lands, or other estates: but not for his own use, for the king is thereupon entitled to them.^(s) (5) If an alien could acquire a permanent property in lands, he must owe an allegiance, equally permanent with that property, to the king of England, which would probably be inconsistent with that which he owes to his own natural liege lord: besides that thereby the nation might in time be subject to foreign influence, and feel many other inconveniences. Wherefore by the civil law such contracts were also made void: (t) but the prince had no such advantage of forfeiture thereby, as with us in England. Among other reasons which might be given for our constitution, it seems to be intended by way of punishment for the alien's presumption, in attempting to acquire any landed property; for the vendor is not affected by it, he having resigned his right, and received an equivalent in exchange. Yet an alien may acquire a property in goods, money and other personal estate, or may hire a house for his habitation: (u) for personal estate is of a transitory and movable nature; and besides, this indulgence to strangers is necessary for the advancement of trade.⁽⁶⁾ Aliens also may trade as freely as other people, only they are subject to certain higher duties at the custom-house; ⁽⁷⁾ and there are also some obsolete statutes of Hen. VIII prohibiting alien artificers to work for themselves in this kingdom; but it is generally held that they were virtually repealed by statute 5 Eliz. c. 7. Also an alien may bring an action concerning personal property, and make a will, and dispose of his personal estate: (w) not as it is in France, where the king at the death of an alien is entitled to all he is worth, by the *droit d'aubaine* or *jus albinatus*, (x) unless he has a peculiar exemption.⁽⁸⁾ When I mention these rights of an alien, I must be understood of alien friends only, or such whose countries are in peace with ours; for alien enemies have no *rights, no privileges, unless by the king's special favour, during the [*373] time of war.⁽⁹⁾

When I say, that an alien is one who is born out of the king's dominions, or allegiance, this also must be understood with some restrictions. The common

(s) Co. Litt. 2.

(t) Cod. l. 11, tit. 55.

(u) 7 Rep. 17.

(w) Lutw. 34.

(x) A word derived from *alibi natus*. Spelm. Gl. 24.

(5) The lands which aliens take, by deed or devise, they may hold as against all persons except the sovereign. *People v. Conkling*, 2 Hill, 67; *Wadsworth v. Wadsworth*, 12 N. Y. 376; *Wright v. Saddler*, 20 id. 320; *Cross v. De Valle*, 1 Wal. 1; *Wilbur v. Tobey*, 16 Pick. 179. Whether inquest of office is necessary, see book 2, p. 249, n. (10).

An alien has no inheritable blood through which title may be deduced, and consequently one cannot take lands by descent who must claim by representation through an alien. *Jackson v. Green*, 7 Wend. 333; *Levy v. McCartee*, 6 Pet. 102. But one brother may inherit from another, notwithstanding the father is an alien; the descent as to the brothers being immediate. *Collingwood v. Pace*, Sid. 193.

Some of the American states have abolished the disability of aliens to hold lands, which, as to those states, rest upon no sound reasons.

(6) By statute 7 and 8 Vic. c. 66, an alien friend may hold every species of personal property except chattels real, and may take and hold any lands, houses and other tenements for the purpose of residence or occupation, or for the purpose of any business, trade or manufacture, for any term not exceeding twenty-one years.

(7) [Repealed, except as to some city duties, by statute 24 Geo. II, st. 2, c. 16.]

(8) [But by the *Code Civile* the *droit d'aubaine* does not exist against natives of countries wherein such right is not enforced against Frenchmen.]

(9) During the late civil war in the United States, it was held that the people within the limits occupied by the insurgents, and controlled by their military forces, were to be regarded as being, and as having the rights only of, alien enemies, irrespective of their sympathies as between the belligerents. *Alexander's Cotton*, 2 Wal. 404.

law, indeed, stood absolutely so, with only a very few exceptions; so that a particular act of parliament became necessary after the restoration,(y) "for the naturalization of children of his majesty's English subjects, born in foreign countries during the late troubles." And this maxim of the law proceeded upon a general principle, that every man owes natural allegiance where he is born, and cannot owe two such allegiances, or serve two masters, at once. Yet the children of the king's ambassadors born abroad were always held to be natural subjects:(z) for as the father, though in a foreign country, owes not even a local allegiance to the prince to whom he is sent; so, with regard to the son also, he was held (by a kind of *postliminium*) to be born under the king of England's allegiance, represented by his father the ambassador. To encourage also foreign commerce, it was enacted by statute 25 Edw. III, st. 2, that all children born abroad, provided *both* their parents were at the time of the birth in allegiance to the king, and the mother had passed the seas by her husband's consent, might inherit as if born in England; and accordingly it hath been so adjudged in behalf of merchants.(a) But by several more modern statutes (b) these restrictions are still farther taken off; so that all children, born out of the king's ligeance, whose *fathers* (or *grandfathers* by the father's side) were natural-born subjects, are now deemed to be natural-born subjects themselves to all intents and purposes; unless their said ancestors were attainted, or banished beyond sea, for high treason; or were at the birth of such children in the service of a prince at enmity with Great Britain.(10) Yet the grandchildren of such ancestors shall not be privileged in respect of the alien's duty, except they be protestants, and actually reside within the realm; nor shall be enabled to claim any estate or interest, unless the claim be made within five years after the same shall accrue.

The children of aliens, born here in England, are, generally speaking, natural-born subjects, and entitled to all the *privileges of such.(11) In which [*374] the constitution of France differs from ours; for there, by their *jus albinatus*, if a child be born of foreign parents, it is an alien.(c) (12)

A denizen is an alien born, but who has obtained *ex donatione regis* letters patent to make him an English subject: a high and incommunicable branch of the royal prerogative.(d) A denizen is in a kind of middle state, between an alien and natural-born subject, and partakes of both of them. He may take land by purchase or devise, which an alien may not; but cannot take by inheritance:(e) for his parent, through whom he must claim, being an alien, had no inheritable blood; and therefore could convey none to the son. And, upon a like defect of hereditary blood, the issue of a denizen, born *before* denization, cannot inherit to him; but his issue born *after* may.(f) A denizen is not excused (g) from paying the alien's duty, and some other mercantile burthens. And no denizen can be of the privy council, or either house of parliament, or have any office or trust, civil or military, or be capable of any grant of lands, &c., from the crown.(h)

Naturalization cannot be performed but by act of parliament: for by this an alien is put in exactly the same state as if he had been born in the king's lige-

(y) Stat. 29 Car. II, c. 6.

(z) 7 Rep. 18.

(a) Cro. Car. 601. Mar. 91. Jenk. Cent. 3.

(b) 7 Ann. c. 5. 4 Geo. II, c. 21, and 13 Geo. III, c. 21.

(c) Jenk. Cent. 3, cites *Treasure Francois*, 313.

(d) 7 Rep. Calvin's case, 25.

(e) 11 Rep. 67.

(f) Co. Litt. 8. Vaugh. 285.

(g) Stat. 22 Hen. VIII c. 8.

(h) Stat. 12 W. III, c. 3.

(10) By statute 7 and 8 Vic. c. 66, s. 3, every person born abroad, of a mother who is a natural-born subject of the United Kingdom, is "capable of taking to him, his heirs, executors or administrators, any estate, real or personal, by devise or purchase, or inheritance of succession."

(11) And they may trace title by inheritance through ancestors born out of the allegiance, Statute 11 and 12 Wm. III, c. 6, and 25 Geo. II, c. 39.

By statute 21 and 22 Vic. c. 20, a proceeding is allowed to be had in the court for divorce and matrimonial causes, for determining the right of any person to be deemed a natural-born subject of the crown; but the proceeding will not affect the right of third persons not cited or made parties thereto.

(12) ["In this respect there is not any difference between our laws and those of France. In each country birth confers the right of naturalization." 1 Woodd. 386.]

ance; except only that he is incapable, as well as a denizen, of being a member of the privy council, or parliament, holding offices, grants, &c. (*i*) No bill for naturalization can be received in either house of parliament without such disabling clause in it: (*j*) nor without a clause disabling the person from obtaining any immunity in trade thereby in any foreign country, unless he shall have resided in Britain for seven years next after the commencement of the session in which he is naturalized. (*k*) Neither can any person be naturalized or restored in blood unless he hath received the sacrament of the Lord's supper within one month before the bringing in of the bill; and unless he also takes the oaths of allegiance and supremacy in the presence of the parliament. (*l*) But these provisions have been usually dispensed with by special acts of (*m*) parliament, previous to bills of naturalization of any foreign princes or princesses. (*13*)

*These are the principal distinctions between aliens, denizens, and natives: distinctions, which it hath been frequently endeavoured since [*375] the commencement of this century to lay almost totally aside, by one general naturalization act for all foreign protestants. An attempt which was once carried into execution by the statute 7 Ann. c. 5; but this, after three years' experience of it, was repealed by the statute 10 Ann. c. 5, except one clause, which was just now mentioned, for naturalizing the children of English parents born abroad. However, every foreign seamen, who in time of war serves two years on board an English ship, by virtue of the king's proclamation, is *ipso facto* naturalized under the like restrictions as in statute 12 Wm. III, c. 2; (*n*) and all foreign protestants, and Jews, upon their residing seven years in any of the American colonies, without being absent above two months at a time, and all foreign protestants serving two years in a military capacity there, or being three years employed in the whale fishery, without afterwards absenting themselves from the king's dominions for more than one year, and none of them falling within the incapacities declared by statute 4 Geo. II, c. 21, shall be, (upon taking the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, or in some cases, an affirmation to the same effect) naturalized to all intents and purposes, as if they had been born in this kingdom; except as to sitting in parliament or in the privy council, and holding offices or grants of lands, &c., from the crown within the kingdoms of Great Britain or Ireland, (*o*) They therefore are admissible to all other privileges, which protestants or Jews born in this kingdom are entitled to. What those privileges are, with respect to Jews (*p*) in particular, was the subject of very high debates about the time of the famous Jew-bill; (*q*) which enables all Jews to prefer bills of naturalization in parliament, without receiving the sacrament, as ordained by statute 7 Jac. I. (*14*) It is not my intention to revive this controversy again; for the act lived only a few months, and was then repealed: (*r*) therefore peace be now to its *manes*. (*15*)

(*i*) *Ibid.* (*j*) Stat. 1 Geo. I, c. 4. (*k*) Stat. 14 Geo. III, c. 84. (*l*) Stat. 7 Jac. I. c. 2.

(*m*) Stat. 4 Ann. c. 1. 7 Geo. II, c. 8. 9 Geo. II, c. 24. 4 Geo. III, c. 4. (*n*) Stat. 12 Geo. II, c. 3.

(*o*) Stat. 12 Geo. II, c. 7. 20 Geo. III, c. 44. 22 Geo. II, c. 45. 2 Geo. III, c. 25. 13 Geo. III, c. 25.

(*p*) A pretty accurate account of the Jews till their banishment in 8 Edward I, may be found in Prynne's *Demurrer*, and in Molloy *de jure Maritime*, b. 3, c. 6.

(*q*) Stat. 26 Geo. II, c. 28. (*r*) Stat. 27 Geo. II, c. 1.

(13) [And now an alien is enabled, on complying with the provisions of the recent statute 7 and 8 Vic. c. 66, to obtain from a principal secretary of state a certificate of naturalization, conferring upon him all the rights and capacities of a natural-born British subject, except the capacity of being a member of the privy council, or of either house of parliament, and such rights and capacities, if any, as may be specially excepted in the certificate. By the same statute it is moreover enacted that any woman married or who shall be married to a natural-born subject or person naturalized, shall be deemed and taken to be herself naturalized, and shall have all the rights and privileges of a natural-born subject.]

(14) Jews were excluded from holding civil offices, not by any direct enactment, but solely by the form of the asseveration appended to the abjuration oath, and the declaration required by 9 Geo. IV, c. 17, which was to be made "upon the true faith of a Christian." By statute 8 and 9 Vic. c. 52, this declaration was dispensed with in the case of corporate offices, and under statute 23 and 24 Vic. c. 63, Jews are now admitted to the house of commons.

(15) By the constitution of the United States, congress is empowered "to establish a uniform rule of naturalization." Art. 1, § 8. The requirement of uniformity necessarily

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE CLERGY.

THE people, whether aliens, denizens, or natural-born subjects, are divisible into two kinds; the clergy and laity: the clergy, comprehending all persons in holy orders, and in ecclesiastical offices, will be the subject of the following chapter. (1)

excludes legislation by the states on the same subject. It is competent for congress, however, when they have established a uniform rule, to give to the state courts jurisdiction under it. *State v. Penney*, 6 Eng. 621.

The following are the provisions of congressional legislation now in force:

That any alien, being a free white person, may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States, or any of them, on the following conditions, and not otherwise:

First. That he shall have declared on oath or affirmation, before the supreme, superior, district or circuit court of some one of the states, or of the territorial districts of the United States, or a circuit or district court of the United States, or a clerk of any such court, two years at least before his admission, that it was *bona fide* his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and to renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty whatever, and particularly the prince, potentate, state or sovereignty whereof such alien may at the time be a citizen or subject.

Second. That he shall at the time of his application to be admitted declare on oath or affirmation, before some one of the courts aforesaid, that he will support the constitution of the United States, and that he doth absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty whereof he was before a citizen or subject.

Third. He must satisfy the court by evidence that he has resided within the United States five years at least, and within the state or territory where the court is held one year at least, and during that time behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same.

Fourth. He shall at the time renounce any hereditary title or order of nobility, if any such he may have or belong to.

Any alien, being a free white person and a minor under the age of twenty-one years, who shall have resided in the United States three years next preceding his arriving at the age of twenty-one years, and who shall continue to reside therein to the time of making application, may, after becoming twenty-one, and after having resided five years within the United States, including the three years of minority, be admitted a citizen without the preliminary declaration hereinbefore mentioned.

Any alien of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, who enlisted or shall enlist in the armies of the United States, either the regular or volunteer forces, and has been or shall be honorably discharged therefrom, may be admitted to become a citizen without any previous declaration, and on proof of one year's residence within the United States.

The children of parents duly naturalized, being under the age of twenty-one at the time of such naturalization, shall, if dwelling within the United States, be considered as citizens.

If an alien who shall have declared his intentions shall die before he is actually naturalized, his widow and children shall be considered as citizens on taking the oaths prescribed by law.

No alien who shall be a citizen, denizen or subject of any country, state or sovereign with whom the United States shall be at war at the time of his application, shall be then admitted to be a citizen of the United States.

The statutes establishing the foregoing regulations, and also special regulations for classes of aliens resident within the country prior to the 18th day of June 1812, will be found as follows: Act of April 14, 1802, 2 Statutes at Large, 315; act of March 26, 1804, 2 id. 292; act of March 3, 1813, 2 id. 811; act of March 22, 1816, 3 id. 259; act of 26 May, 1824, 4 id. 69; act of 24 May, 1828, id. 310; act of 26 June, 1848, 9 id. 240; act of July 17, 1862, id. 1861-2, Little & Brown's ed. 597.

If an alien is naturalized, he thereby acquires all the rights of a natural born citizen, including the right to take real property by descent. *Ainslie v. Martin*, 9 Mass. 454. A married woman may be naturalized without the concurrence of her husband. *Priest v. Cummings*, 16 Wend. 617. The residence and good moral character of the applicant cannot be proved by affidavits taken out of court; the witnesses must be present for examination. *Anonymous*, 7 Hill, 137. The naturalization of a father *ipso facto*, makes his son, then residing in the United States and a minor, a citizen. *State v. Penney*, 5 Eng. 621.

Distinctions of color, so far as they are made important by the statutes above referred to, are perhaps inconsistent with the fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, and are abolished by act of Congress of July 14, 1870.

(1) Most of what is said in this chapter is entirely inapplicable in the United States, where no established church exists.

This venerable body of men, being separate and set apart from the rest of the people, in order to attend the more closely to the service of Almighty God, have thereupon large privileges allowed them by our municipal laws: and had formerly much greater, which were abridged at the time of the reformation on account of the ill use which the popish clergy had endeavoured to make of them. For, the laws having exempted them from almost every personal duty, they attempted a total exemption from every secular tie. But it is observed by Sir Edward Coke, (a) that, as the overflowing of waters doth many times make the river to lose its proper channel, so in times past ecclesiastical persons, seeking to extend their liberties beyond their true bounds, either lost or enjoyed not those which of right belonged to them. The personal exemptions do indeed for the most part continue. A clergyman cannot be compelled to serve on a jury, nor to appear at a court-leet or view of frank-pledge; which almost every other

(a) 2 Inst. 4.

The constitution of the United States expressly prohibits congress passing any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. 1st amendment. The several state constitutions also contain provisions on the same subject, some of which are still more comprehensive, but the general purpose of all is the same. Complete separation of church and state, and complete freedom in religious worship and in the expression of religious belief, are the rule throughout the states. In none of them can preferences of one religious sect over another be established by law, nor compulsory support, by taxation or otherwise, of religious worship, or attendance thereon, be required, or restraints upon the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of the conscience be imposed. Nevertheless, the common law of the land recognizes the fact that the prevailing religion is Christian, and it will not suffer one with impunity to shock the moral sense by utterances which a Christian community would regard as profane or blasphemous. *Updegraph v. Commonwealth*, 11 S. and R. 394; *People v. Ruggles*, 8 Johns. 293; *State v. Chandler*, 2 Harr. 555; *Commonwealth v. Kneeland*, 20 Pick. 234. Nor is the recognition of religion and of a superintending providence by the appointment of chaplains for the army and navy and for legislative bodies and the like, opposed to the constitutional provisions referred to, though the spirit of those provisions would require impartiality as between religious denominations in making such appointments. Nor are laws for the compulsory observance of the Christian Sabbath unconstitutional. *Commonwealth v. Wolf*, 3 S. and R. 50; *Commonwealth v. Lisher*, 17 id. 160; *Shover v. State*, 5 Eng. 559; *Cincinnati v. Rice*, 15 Ohio, 225; *State v. Amba*, 20 Mo. 214; *Voglesong v. State*, 9 Ind. 112; *Frolickstein v. Mayor of Mobile*, 40 Ala. 725.

The religious societies which exist throughout the states are quite different in their organization from those which exist in England, and still more different in the relations they sustain to the state. They are for the most part formed under general laws, which permit the voluntary incorporation of societies of attendants upon religious worship, under such regulations as they shall see fit to establish for themselves, and with power to hold real and personal property for the purposes of their organization, but for no other purpose. *Trustees of Quaker Society v. Dickinson*, 1 Dev. 189. Chancellor Walworth described such a society as consisting of "a voluntary association of individuals or families, united for the purpose of having a common place of worship, and to provide a proper teacher to instruct them in religious doctrines and duties, and to administer the ordinances of baptism, &c. Although a church or body of professing Christians is almost uniformly connected with such a society or congregation, the members of the church have no other or greater rights than any other members of the society who statedly attend with them for the purposes of divine worship. Over the church, as such, the legal or temporal tribunals of the state do not profess to have any jurisdiction whatever, except so far as is necessary to protect the civil rights of others, and to preserve the public peace. All questions relating to the faith and practice of the church and its members belong to the church judicatories, to which they have voluntarily subjected themselves. But, as a general principle, those ecclesiastical judicatories cannot interfere with the temporal concerns of the congregations, or society, with which the church or the members thereof are connected." *Baptist Church v. Witherell*, 3 Paige, 301. Such a society, when duly incorporated, is not an ecclesiastical, but a private civil corporation, the members of the society being the corporators, and the trustees the managing officers, with such powers as the statute confers, and the ordinary discretionary powers of officers in civil corporations. *Robertson v. Bullions*, 11 N. Y. 243. The church connected with the society, if any there be, is not recognized in the law; the corporators in the society are not necessarily members thereof, and the society may change its government, faith, form of worship, discipline and ecclesiastical relations at will, subject only to the restraints imposed by their articles of association and to the general laws of the state. *Robertson v. Bullions*, 11 N. Y. 243; *Parish of Bellport v. Tooker*, 29 Barb. 256; same case, 21 N. Y. 267; *Burrell v. Associated Reform Church*, 44 Barb. 282. The articles of association will determine who shall vote where the state law does not prescribe qualifications: *State v. Crowell*, 4 Halst. 390; and the

[*377] person is obliged to do: (*b*) but if a layman is *summoned on a jury, and before the trial takes orders, he shall notwithstanding appear and be sworn. (*c*) Neither can he be chosen to any temporal office; as bailiff, reeve, constable, or the like: in regard of his own continual attendance on the sacred function. (*d*) During his attendance on divine service he is privileged from arrests in civil suits. (*e*) In cases also of felony, a clerk in orders shall have the benefit of his clergy, without being branded in the hand; and may likewise have it more than once, (2) in both which particulars he is distinguished from a layman. (*f*) But as they have their privileges, so also they have their disabilities, on account of their spiritual avocations. Clergymen, we have seen, (*g*) are incapable of sitting in the house of commons; and, by statute 21 Hen. VIII, c. 13, are not, in general, allowed to take any lands or tenements to farm, upon pain of 10*l.* *per* month, and total avoidance of the lease; (3) nor upon like pain to keep any tanhouse or brewhouse; nor shall engage in any manner of trade, nor sell any merchandize, under forfeiture of the treble value: which prohibition is consonant to the canon law.

In the frame and constitution of ecclesiastical polity there are divers ranks and degrees; which I shall consider in their respective order, merely as they are taken notice of by the secular laws of England: without intermeddling with the canons and constitutions, by which the clergy have bound themselves. And under each division I shall consider, 1. The method of their appointment. 2. Their rights and duties: and 3. The manner wherein their character or office may cease.

I. An archbishop or bishop is elected by the chapter of his cathedral church, by virtue of a license from the crown. Election was, in very early times, the usual mode of elevation to the episcopal chair throughout all Christendom; and this was promiscuously performed by the laity as well as the clergy: (*h*) till at [*378] length becoming tumultuous, the *emperors and other sovereigns of the respective kingdoms of Europe took the appointment, in some degree, into their own hands, by reserving to themselves the right of confirming these elections, and of granting investiture of the temporalities, which now began almost universally to be annexed to this spiritual dignity; without which confirmation and investiture, the elected bishop could neither be consecrated nor

(*b*) F. N. B. 100. 2 Inst. 4.

(*c*) 4 Leon. 190.

(*d*) Finch. L. 88.

(*e*) Stat. 30 Edw. III, c. 5. 1 Ric. II, c. 16.

(*f*) 2 Inst. 637: stat. 4 Hen. VII, c. 13, and 1 Edw. VI, c. 12.

(*g*) Page 175.

(*h*) *Per Clerum et populum*. Palm. 25. 2 Roll. Rep. 102. M. Paris, A. D. 1096.

society may establish such rules as they may think proper for preserving order when met for public worship, and use the necessary force to remove a person who is disturbing the society by willful violation of these rules. *McLain v. Matlock*, 7 Ind. 525. If there should be a disruption of the society, the title to the corporate property will remain with that part of it which is acting in harmony with its own law; seceders will be entitled to no part of it. *McGinnis v. Watson*, 41 Penn. St. 9; *M. E. Church of Cincinnati v. Wood*, 5 Ohio, 283; *Keyser v. Stansifer*, 6 Ohio, 363; *Ferraria v. Vasconcelles*, 23 Ill. 456. And this will be true, notwithstanding a change in doctrine on the part of the controlling majority. *Keyser v. Stansifer*, 6 Ohio, 363. The courts of the state do not interfere with the control of these corporations, or with the administration of church rules or discipline, unless civil rights become involved, and then only for the protection of such rights. *Hendrickson v. Decow*, Sax. Ch. 577; *Baptist Church v. Witherell*, 3 Paige, 301. But it is very common to provide by statute that the real estate of such corporations shall only be sold by the trustees, after obtaining a license from some designated court of record.

It is not necessary that churches should be incorporated in order to become the beneficiaries of gifts to charitable uses; as to which see Hill on Trustees, 99 and note; *Adams' Equity*, 65 and note; *Story Eq. Juris*. § 1137, et seq.; *Tiffany and Bullard on Trusts*, 232.

(2) Benefit of clergy was abolished in England by statutes 7 and 8 Geo. IV, c. 28, and in Ireland by statute 9 Geo. IV, c. 54, and the learning on this subject has ceased to be of practical importance. Besides what our commentator has on the subject in book 4, c. 28, the curious reader will peruse with interest, *Hale*, P. C. c. 45; *Barrington's Observations* on the statutes; *Hobart's Rep.* 288; *State Trials*, vol. 12, p. 631, note; vol. 13, p. 1015; vol. 20, p. 650, note.

(3) The law on this subject has recently been consolidated and amended by statutes 1 and 2 Vic. c. 106; 2 and 3 Vic. c. 49; and 3 and 4 Vic. c. 86. See *Hale v. Hale*, 4 Beav. 369; *Hall v. Franklin*, 3 M. and W. 259; *Lewis v. Bright*, 4 El. and Bl. 917.

receive any secular profits. This right was acknowledged in the Emperor Charlemagne, A. D. 773, by Pope Hadrian I, and the council of Lateran, (i) and universally exercised by other Christian princes: but the policy of the court of Rome at the same time began by degrees to exclude the laity from any share in these elections, and to confine them wholly to the clergy, which at length was completely effected; the mere form of election appearing to the people to be a thing of little consequence, while the crown was in possession of an absolute negative, which was almost equivalent to a direct right of nomination. Hence the right of appointing to bishopricks is said to have been in the crown of England (k) (as well as other kingdoms of Europe) even in the Saxon times; because the rights of confirmation and investiture were in effect, though not in form, a right of complete donation. (l) But when, by length of time, the custom of making elections by the clergy only was fully established, the popes began to except to the usual method of granting these investitures, which was *per annulum et baculum*, by the prince's delivering to the prelate a ring, and pastoral staff or crosier; pretending that this was an encroachment on the church's authority, and an attempt by these symbols to confer a spiritual jurisdiction: and Pope Gregory VII, towards the close of the eleventh century, published a bull of excommunication against all princes who should dare to confer investitures, and all prelates who should venture to receive them. (m) This was a bold step towards effecting the plan then adopted by *the Roman see, of rendering [*379] the clergy entirely independent of the civil authority: and long and [*379] eager were the contests occasioned by this papal claim. But at length, when the Emperor Henry V agreed to remove all suspicion of encroachment on the spiritual character, by conferring investitures for the future *per sceptrum* and not *per annulum et baculum*; and when the kings of England and France consented also to alter the form in their kingdoms, and receive only homage from the bishops for their temporalities, instead of investing them by the ring and crosier; the court of Rome found it prudent to suspend for a while its other pretensions. (n)

This concession was obtained from King Henry the First in England, by means of that obstinate and arrogant prelate, Archbishop Anselm: (o) but King John, about a century afterwards, in order to obtain the protection of the pope against his discontented barons, was also prevailed upon to give up by a charter, to all the monasteries and cathedrals in the kingdom, the free right of electing their prelates, whether abbots or bishops: reserving only to the crown the custody of the temporalities during the vacancy; the form of granting a license to elect, (which is the original of our *conge d'eslire*), on refusal whereof the electors might proceed without it; and the right of approbation afterwards, which was not to be denied without a reasonable and lawful cause. (p) This grant was expressly recognized and confirmed in King John's *magna carta* (q) and was again established by statute 25 Edw. III, st. 6, § 3.

But by statute 25 Hen. VIII, c. 20, the ancient right of nomination was, in effect, restored to the crown; (4) it being enacted, that at every future avoidance of a bishoprick, the king may send the dean and chapter his usual license to proceed to election; which is always to be accompanied with a letter missive from the king, containing the name of the person whom he would have them elect: and, if the dean and chapter delay their election above twelve days, the

(i) Decret. 1 dist. 63, c. 22.

(k) Palm. 28.

(l) "Nulla electio prelatorum (sunt verba Ingulph) erat mere libera et canonica: sed omnes dignitates tam episcoporum. quam abbatum, per annulum et baculum regis curia pro sua complacencia conferebat." Penes clericos et monachos fuit electio, sed electum a rege postulabant. Selden, Jan. Ang. L. 1, § 39.

(m) Decret. 2 caus. 16. qu. 7. c. 12 and 13.

(n) Mod. Un. Hist. xxv. 363, xxix. 115.

(o) M. Paris, A. D. 1107.

(p) M. Paris, A. D. 1214.

1 Rym. Foed. 198.

(q) Cap. 1, Edit. Oxon. 1759.

(4) [This statute was repealed by 1 Edw. VI, c. 2, but revived by 1 and 2 P. and M. c. 8, and 1 Eliz. c. 1. See 12 Rep. 7; Co. Litt. 134, a. n. 5; 26 and 27 Vic. c. 125.]

But the bishoprics of the new foundation, that is to say, Gloucester and Bristol, (now united) Peterborough, Oxford, Chester, Ripon and Manchester, have been and still are donative.

[*380] *nomination shall devolve to the king, who may by letters patent appoint such person as he pleases. This election or nomination, if it be of a bishop, must be signified by the king's letters patent to the archbishop of the province; if it be of an archbishop, to the other archbishop and two bishops, or to four bishops; requiring them to confirm, invest, and consecrate the person so elected: which they are bound to perform immediately, without any application to the see of Rome. After which the bishop elect shall sue to the king for his temporalities, shall make oath to the king and none other, and shall take restitution of his secular possessions out of the king's hands only. And if such dean and chapter do not elect in the manner by this act appointed, or if such archbishop or bishop do refuse to confirm, invest, and consecrate such bishop elect, they shall incur all the penalties of a *præmunire*. (5)

An archbishop is the chief of the clergy in a whole province; (6) and has the inspection of the bishops of that province, as well as of the inferior clergy, and may deprive them on notorious cause. (7) The archbishop has also his own diocese, wherein he exercises episcopal jurisdiction; as in his province he exercises archiepiscopal. As archbishop he, upon receipt of the king's writ, calls the bishops and clergy of his province to meet in convocation: but, without the king's writ, he cannot assemble them. (8) To him all appeals are made from inferior jurisdictions within his province; and, as an appeal lies from the bishops in person to him in person, so it also lies from the consistory courts of each diocese to his archiepiscopal court. During the vacancy of any see in his province, he is guardian of the spiritualities thereof, as the king is of the temporalities; and he executes all ecclesiastical jurisdiction therein. If an archiepiscopal see be vacant, the dean and chapter are the spiritual guardians, ever since the office of prior of Canterbury was abolished at the reformation. (9) The archbishop is entitled to present by lapse to all the ecclesiastical livings in the disposal of his

[*381] *diocesan bishops, if not filled within six months. And the archbishop has a customary prerogative, when a bishop is consecrated by him, to name a clerk or chaplain of his own to be provided for by such suffragan bishop; in lieu of which it is now usual for the bishop to make over by deed to the archbishop, his executors and assigns, the next presentation of such dignity or benefice in the bishop's disposal within that see, as the archbishop himself shall choose; which is therefore called his *option*: (10) which options are only binding on the bishop himself who grants them, and not on his successor. (7) The prerogative itself seems to be derived from the legatine power formerly annexed by the popes to the metropolitan of Canterbury. (11) And we may add, that the papal claim itself (like most others of that encroaching see) was probably set up in imitation of the imperial prerogative called *primæ* or *primariæ preces*; whereby the emperor exercises, and hath immemorially exercised, (12) a right of naming to the first prebend that becomes vacant after his accession in every church of the empire. (13) A right that was also exercised by the crown of Eng-

(7) Lord Raym. 541.

(8) 4 Inst. 322, 323.

(9) 2 Roll. Abr. 22.

(10) Cowell's Interp. tit. *option*.

(11) Sherlock of Options, 1.

(12) Goldast *Constit. Imper. tom. 3*, page 406.

(13) Dufresne V. 806. Mod. Univ. Hist. xxix. 5.

(5) [In Reg. v. Archbishop of Canterbury, 11 Q. B. 483, the question whether, under the above statute, it is imperative on the metropolitan to confirm the bishop designate without taking notice of objections put forward thereto, was discussed on an application for a mandamus, but the court being equally divided, no order was made.]

(6) [The archbishop of Canterbury hath the precedency of all the clergy; next to him the archbishop of York; next to him the bishop of London; next to him the bishop of Durham; next to him the bishop of Winchester; and then all the other bishops of both provinces after the seniority of their consecration; but if any of them be a privy councillor he takes place after the bishop of Durham. Stat. 31 Hen. VIII, c. 10; Co. Litt. 94.]

(7) [Options seem however to have been abolished, perhaps undesignedly, by statutes 3 and 4 Vic. c. 113, s. 42, which enacts that "it shall not be lawful for any spiritual person to sell or assign any patronage or presentation belonging to him by virtue of any dignity or spiritual office held by him, and that every such sale or assignment shall be null and void to all intents and purpose."]

land in the reign of Edward I; (z) and which probably gave rise to the royal corodies which were mentioned in a former chapter.(a) It is likewise the privilege, by custom, of the archbishop of Canterbury, to crown the kings and queens of this kingdom. And he hath also, by the statute 25 Hen. VIII, c. 21, the power of granting dispensations in any case, not contrary to the holy scriptures and the law of God, where the pope used formerly to grant them: which is the foundation of his granting special licenses, to marry at any place or time, to hold two livings,(8) and the like; and on this also is founded the right he exercises of conferring degrees,(9) in prejudice of the two universities.(b)

*The power and authority of a bishop, besides the administration of [*382] certain holy ordinances peculiar to that sacred order, consist principally in inspecting the manners of the people and clergy, and punishing them in order to reformation, by ecclesiastical censures.(10) To this purpose he has several courts under him, and may visit at pleasure every part of his diocese. His chancellor is appointed to hold his courts for him, and to assist him in matters of ecclesiastical law; (11) who, as well as all other ecclesiastical officers, if lay or married, must be a doctor of the civil law, so created in some university.(c) It is also the business of a bishop to institute, and to direct induction, to all ecclesiastical livings in his diocese.

Archbishopricks and bishopricks may become void by death, deprivation for any very gross and notorious crime, and also by resignation. All resignations must be made to some superior.(d) Therefore a bishop must resign to his metropolitan; but the archbishop can resign to none but the king himself.

II. A dean and chapter are the council of the bishop, to assist him with their advice in affairs of religion, and also in the temporal concerns of his see.(e) When the rest of the clergy were settled in the several parishes of each diocese, as hath formerly (f) been mentioned, these were reserved for the celebration of divine service in the bishop's own cathedral; and the chief of them, who presided over the rest, obtained the name of *decanus* or dean, being probably at first appointed to superintend *ten* canons or prebendaries.

All ancient deans are elected by the chapter, by *conge d' eslire* from the king, and letters missive of recommendation; in the same manner as bishops: (12) but in those chapters, that were founded by Henry VIII out of the spoils of the dissolved monasteries, the deanery is donative, and the installation*merely [*383] by the king's letters patent.(g) The chapter, consisting of canons or prebendaries, are sometimes appointed by the king, sometimes by the bishop, and sometimes elected by each other.

The dean and chapter are, as was before observed, the nominal electors of a bishop. The bishop is their ordinary and immediate superior; and has, generally speaking, the power of visiting them, and correcting their excesses and enormities. They had also a check on the bishop at common law; for till the

(z) *Rez. ꝑc., salutem. Scribatis Episcopo Karli quod—Roberto de Icard pensionem suam, quam ad preces regis predicto Roberto concessit, de cetero solvat; et de proxima ecclesia vacatura de collatione predicti episcopi, quam ipse Robertus acceptaverit, respiciat. Brev. 11 Edw. I. 3 Pryn. 1204.* (a) Ch. viii, page 284.

(b) See the bishop of Chester's case. Oxon, 1721. (c) Stat. 37. Hen. VIII, c. 17.

(d) Gibs. Cod. 822.

(e) 3 Rep. 75.

Co. Lit. 103, 300.

(f) Page 113, 114.

(g) Gibs. Cod. 173.

(8) [Now regulated by statute 1 and 2 Vic. c. 106, ss. 5-7.]

(9) [But although the archbishop can confer all the degrees which are taken in the universities, yet the graduates of the two universities, by various acts of parliament and other regulations, are entitled to many privileges which are not extended to what is called a Lambeth degree; as, for instance, those degrees which are a qualification for a dispensation to hold two livings are confined by 21 Hen. VIII, c. 13, s. 23, to the two universities.]

(10) For proceedings by the bishop in the case of clergymen charged with offences against the laws ecclesiastical, or concerning whom there may exist scandal or evil report, see 3 and 4 Vic. c. 86.

(11) [Besides his chancellor, the bishop has his archdeacon, dean and chapter, and vicar general to assist him. Every bishop may retain four chaplains. 21 Hen. VIII, c. 13, s. 16; 8 Eliz. c. 1.]

(12) [The ancient deaneries are now, however, by statutes 3 and 4 Vic. c. 113, s. 24, in the direct patronage of the queen, who appoints thereto by letters patent.]

statute 32 Hen. VIII, c. 28, his grant or lease would not have bound his successors, unless confirmed by the dean and chapter.(h)

Deaneries and prebends may become void, like a bishoprick, by death, by deprivation, or by resignation to either the king or the bishop.(i) Also I may here mention, once for all, that if a dean, prebendary, or other spiritual person be made a bishop, all the preferments of which he was before possessed are void; and the king may present to them in right of his prerogative royal. But they are not void by the election, but only by the consecration.(j)

III. An archdeacon hath an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, immediately subordinate to the bishop, throughout the whole of his diocese, or in some particular part of it.(13) He is usually appointed by the bishop himself; and hath a kind of episcopal authority, originally derived from the bishop, but now independent and distinct from his.(k) He therefore visits the clergy; and has his separate court for punishment of offenders by spiritual censures, and for hearing all other causes of ecclesiastical cognizance.

IV. The rural deans are very ancient officers of the church,(l) but almost grown out of use; though their deaneries still subsist as an ecclesiastical division of the diocese, or archdeaconry. They seem to have been deputies of the [*384] *bishop, planted all round his diocese, the better to inspect the conduct of the parochial clergy, to inquire into and report dilapidations, and to examine the candidates for confirmation; and armed, in minuter matters, with an inferior degree of judicial and coercive authority.(m) (14)

V. The next, and indeed the most numerous, order of men in the system of ecclesiastical polity, are the parsons and vicars of churches: in treating of whom I shall first mark out the distinction between them; shall next observe the method by which one may become a parson or vicar; shall then briefly touch upon their rights and duties; and shall, lastly, shew how one may cease to be either.

A parson, *persona ecclesiæ*, is one that hath full possession of all the rights of a parochial church. He is called parson, *persona*, because by his person the church, which is an invisible body, is represented; and he is in himself a body corporate, in order to protect and defend the rights of the church, which he personates, by a perpetual succession.(n) He is sometimes called the rector, or governor, of the church: but the appellation of *parson*, however it may be depreciated by familiar, clownish, and indiscriminate use, is the most legal, most beneficial, and most honorable title that a parish priest can enjoy; because such a one, Sir Edward Coke observes, and he only is said *vicem seu personam ecclesiæ gerere*. A parson has, during his life, the freehold in himself of the parsonage house, the glebe, the tithes, and other dues. But these are sometimes appropriated; that is to say, the benefice is perpetually annexed to some spiritual corporation, either sole or aggregate, being the patron of the living; which the law esteems equally capable of providing for the service of the church, as any single private clergyman. This contrivance seems to have sprung from the policy of the monastic orders, who have never been deficient in subtle inventions for the increase of their own power and emoluments. At the first establishment of parochial clergy, the tithes of the parish were distributed in a

(h) Co. Lit. 103.

(i) Plowd. 498.

(j) Bro. Abr. t. presentation, 3, 61. Cro. Eliz. 542, 790. 2 Roll. Abr. 352. 4 Mod. 200. Salk. 137.

(k) 1 Burn. Eccl. Law, 68, 69.

(l) Kennet, Par. Antiq. 633.

(m) Gibs. Cod. 972, 1550.

(n) Co. Litt. 300.

(13) If an archdeaconry be in the gift of a layman, the patron presents to the bishop, who institutes in like manner as to another benefice, and then the dean and chapter induct him; that is, after some ceremonies, place him in a stall in the cathedral church to which he belongs, whereby he is said to have a place in the choir. Wats. c. 15.

An archdeacon is a ministerial officer, and cannot refuse to swear a churchwarden elected by the parish. Lord Ray. 138.]

(14) [But this office, *decanus ruralis*, is wholly extinguished, if it ever had separate existence; and now the archdeacon, and chancellor of the diocese, execute the authority formerly attached to it.]

fourfold division: one, for the use of the bishop; another, for maintaining *the fabric of the church; a third, for the poor; and the fourth, to provide for the incumbent. When the sees of the bishops became otherwise amply endowed, they were prohibited from demanding their usual share of these tithes, and the division was into three parts only. And hence it was inferred by the monasteries, that a small part was sufficient for the officiating priest; and that the remainder might well be applied to the use of their own fraternities, (the endowment of which was construed to be a work of the most exalted piety,) subject to the burthen of repairing the church and providing for its constant supply. And therefore they begged and bought, for masses and obits, and sometimes even for money, all the advowsons within their reach, and then appropriated the benefices to the use of their own corporation. But, in order to complete such appropriation effectually the king's license, and consent of the bishop, must first be obtained: because both the king and the bishop may some time or other have an interest, by lapse, in the presentation to the benefice; which can never happen if it be appropriated to the use of a corporation, which never dies: and also because the law reposes a confidence in them, that they will not consent to any thing that shall be to the prejudice of the church. The consent of the patron also is necessarily implied, because, as was before observed, the appropriation can be originally made to none, but to such spiritual corporation as is also the patron of the church; the whole being indeed nothing else, but an allowance for the patrons to retain the tithes and glebe in their own hands, without presenting any clerk, they themselves undertaking to provide for the service of the church. (o) When the appropriation is thus made, the appropriators and their successors are perpetual parsons of the church; and must sue and be sued, in all matters concerning the rights of the church, by the name of parsons. (v)

This appropriation may be severed, and the church become disappropriate, two ways: as, first, if the patron or appropriator presents a clerk, who is instituted and inducted *to the parsonage; for the incumbent so instituted and inducted is to all intents and purposes complete parson; and the appropriation, being once severed, can never be re-united again, unless by a repetition of the same solemnities. (q) And, when the clerk, so presented, is distinct from the vicar, the rectory thus vested in him becomes what is called a *sinecure*; because he hath no cure of souls, having a vicar under him to whom that cure is committed. (r) Also, if the corporation which has the appropriation is dissolved, the parsonage becomes disappropriate at common law; because the perpetuity of person is gone, which is necessary to support the appropriation.

In this manner, and subject to these conditions, may appropriations be made at this day: and thus were most, if not all, of the appropriations at present existing originally made; being annexed to bishopricks, prebends, religious houses, nay even to nunneries, and certain military orders, all of which were spiritual corporations. At the dissolution of monasteries by statutes 27 Hen. VIII, c. 28, and 31 Hen. VIII, c. 13, the appropriations of the several parsonages, which belonged to those respective religious houses, (amounting to more than one third of all the parishes in England) (s) would have been by the rules of the common law disappropriated, had not a clause in those statutes intervened, to give them to the king in as ample a manner as the abbots, &c., formerly held the same, at the time of their dissolution. This, though perhaps scarcely defensible, was not without example; for the same was done in former reigns, when the alien priories, that is, such as were filled by foreigners only, were dissolved and given to the crown. (t) And from these two roots have sprung all the lay appropriations or secular parsonages, which we now see in the kingdom; they having been afterwards granted out from time to time by the crown. (u)

(o) Plowd, 496-500.

(p) Hob. 307.

(q) Co. Litt. 46.

(r) *Sinecures* might also be created by other means. 2 Burn's Eccl. Law, 347.

(s) Seld. Review of Tith. c. 9; Speim. Apology. 35.

(t) 2 Inst. 564.

(u) Sir H. Spelman (of tithes, c. 29,) says, these are now called *impropriations*, as being *improperly* in the lands of laymen.

[*387] *These appropriating corporations, or religious houses, were wont to depute one of their own body to perform divine service, and administer the sacraments, in those parishes of which the society was thus the parson. This officiating minister was in reality no more than a curate, deputy, or vicergerent of the appropriator, and therefore called *vicarius*, or *vicar*. His stipend was at the discretion of the appropriator, who was however bound of common right to find somebody, *qui illi de temporalibus, episcopo de spiritualibus, debeat respondere.* (w) But this was done in so scandalous a manner, and the parishes suffered so much by the neglect of the appropriators, that the legislature was forced to interpose: and accordingly it is enacted by statute 15 Ric. II, c. 6, that in all appropriations of churches, the diocesan bishop shall ordain, in proportion to the value of the church, a competent sum to be distributed among the poor parishioners annually: and that the vicarage shall be *sufficiently* endowed. It seems the parishes were frequently sufferers, not only by the want of divine service, but also by withholding those alms, for which, among other purposes, the payment of tithes was originally imposed: and therefore in this act a pension is directed to be distributed among the poor parochians, as well as a sufficient stipend to the vicar. But he, being liable to be removed at the pleasure of the appropriator, was not likely to insist too rigidly on the legal sufficiency of the stipend: and therefore, by statute, 4 Hen. IV, c. 12, it is ordained, that the vicar shall be a secular person, not a member of any religious house; that he shall be vicar perpetual, not removable at the caprice of the monastery; and that he shall be canonically instituted and inducted, and be sufficiently endowed, at the discretion of the ordinary, for these three express purposes; to do divine service, to inform the people, and to keep hospitality. The endowments in consequence of these statutes have usually been by a portion of the glebe, or land, belonging to the parsonage, and a particular share of the tithes, which the appropriators found it most troublesome to collect, and which are *therefore generally called *privy* or *small tithes*; [*388] the greater, or *predial*, tithes being still reserved to their own use. But one and the same rule was not observed in the endowment of all vicarages. Hence some are more liberally, and some more scantily, endowed; and hence the tithes of many things, as wood in particular, are in some parishes rectorial, and in some vicarial tithes.

The distinction therefore of a parson and vicar is this: the parson has for the most part the whole right to all the ecclesiastical dues in his parish: but a vicar has generally an appropriator over him, entitled to the best part of the profits, to whom he is in effect perpetual curate, with a standing salary. (15) Though in some places the vicarage has been considerably augmented by a large share of the great tithes; which augmentations were greatly assisted by the statute 29 Car. II, c. 8, enacted in favour of poor vicars and curates, which rendered such temporary augmentations, when made by the appropriators, perpetual. (16)

The method of becoming a parson or vicar is much the same. To both there are four requisites necessary; holy orders, presentation, institution, and induction. The method of conferring the holy orders of deacon and priest, according to the liturgy and canons, (x) is foreign to the purpose of these Commentaries; any farther than as they are necessary requisites to make a complete parson or vicar. By common law, a deacon of any age might be instituted and inducted to a parsonage or vicarage; but it was ordained by statute 13 Eliz. c. 12, that no

(w) Seld. Tith. c. 11, 1.

(x) See 2 Burn. Eccl. Law, 103.

(15) The law upon the subject of this and the preceding paragraph has been greatly changed by a series of statutes which are collected in Cripp's Law of Church and Clergy, 4th ed. vol. 3, c. 1.

(16) A radical change in the law of tithes was introduced by statutes 6 and 7 William IV, c. 71, the purpose of which was to commute this vexatious and irritating burden into a rent charge, adjusted to the average price of corn. The commutation, if not made voluntarily, might be compulsory, under the direction of tithe commissioners.

person under twenty-three years of age, and in deacon's orders, should be presented to any benefice with cure; and if he were not ordained priest within one year after his induction, he should be *ipso facto* deprived; and now, by statute 13 and 14 Car. II, c. 4, no person is capable to be admitted to any benefice, unless he hath been first ordained a priest; (17) and then he is, in the language of the law, a clerk in orders. But if he obtains orders, or a license *to preach, [*389] by money or corrupt practices, (which seems to be the true, though not the common, notion of simony,) the person giving such orders forfeits (y) 40*l*. and the person receiving 10*l*., and is incapable of any ecclesiastical preferment for seven years afterwards.

Any clerk may be presented (z) to a parsonage or vicarage; that is, the patron to whom the advowson of the church belongs, may offer his clerk to the bishop of the diocese to be instituted. Of advowsons, or the right of presentation, being a species of private property, we shall find a more convenient place to treat in the second part of these Commentaries. But when a clerk is presented, the bishop may refuse him upon many accounts. As, 1. If the patron is excommunicated, and remains in contempt forty days. (a) Or, 2. If the clerk be unfit: (b) which unfitness is of several kinds. First, with regard to his person; as if he be a bastard, an outlaw, an excommunicate, an alien, under age, or the like. (c) Next, with regard to his faith or morals; as for any particular heresy, or vice that is *malum in se*; but if the bishop alleges only in generals, as that he is *schismaticus inveteratus*, or objects a fault that is *malum prohibitum* merely, as haunting taverns, playing at unlawful games, or the like; it is not good cause of refusal. (d) Or, lastly, the clerk may be unfit to discharge the pastoral office for want of learning. In any of which cases the bishop may refuse the clerk. In case the refusal is for heresy, schism, inability of learning, or other matter of ecclesiastical cognizance, there the bishop must give notice to the patron of such his cause of refusal, who, being usually a layman, is not supposed to have knowledge of it, else he cannot present by lapse; but, if the cause be temporal, there he is not bound to give notice. (e)

*If an action at law be brought by the patron against the bishop for refusing his clerk, the bishop must assign the cause. If the cause be of [*390] a temporal nature, and the fact admitted, (as, for instance, outlawry,) the judges of the king's courts must determine its validity, or, whether it be sufficient cause of refusal; but, if the fact be denied, it must be determined by a jury. If the cause be of a spiritual nature, (as heresy, particularly alleged,) the fact, if denied, shall also be determined by a jury; and, if the fact be admitted or found, the court, upon consultation and advice of learned divines, shall decide its sufficiency. (f) If the cause be want of learning, the bishop need not specify in what points the clerk is deficient, but only allege that he is deficient: (g) for the statute 9 Edw. II, st. 1, c. 13, is express, that the examination of the fitness of a person presented to a benefice belongs to the ecclesiastical judge. But, because it would be nugatory in this case to demand the reason of refusal from the ordinary, if the patron were bound to abide by his determination, who has already pronounced his clerk unfit: therefore, if the bishop returns the clerk to be *minus sufficiens in literatura*, the court shall write to the metropolitan to re-examine him, and certify his qualifications; which certificate of the archbishop is final. (h)

If the bishop hath no objections, but admits the patron's presentation, the clerk so admitted is next to be instituted by him, which is a kind of investiture

(y) Stat. 31 Eliz. c. 6.

(z) A layman may also be presented; but he must take priest's orders before his admission. 1 Burn 103.

(a) 2 Roll. Abr. 355.

(b) Glanv. L. 13. c. 20.

(c) 2 Roll. Abr. 356. 2 Inst. 632. Stat. 3 Ric. II, c. 3. 7 Ric. II, c. 12.

(d) 5 Rep. 58.

(e) 2 Inst. 632.

(f) 2 Inst. 632.

(g) 5 Rep. 58. 3 Lev. 313.

(h) 2 Inst. 632.

(17) [By canon 34, no one shall be admitted to the order of a deacon till he be twenty-three years old; and by that canon, and also by 13 Eliz. c. 12, no one can take the order of a priest till he be full four and twenty years old. 3 Burn's Ec. L. 27.]

of the spiritual part of the benefice; for by institution the care of the souls of the parish is committed to the charge of the clerk. When a vicar is instituted, he, besides the usual forms, takes, if required by the bishop, an oath of perpetual residence; (18) for the maxim of law is, that *vicarius non habet vicarium*: and as the non-residence of the appropriators was the cause of the perpetual establishment of vicarages, the law judges it very improper for them to defeat the end of their constitution, and by absence to create the very mischiefs which they [*391] were appointed *to remedy: especially as, if any profits are to arise from putting in a curate and living at a distance from the parish, the appropriator, who is the real parson, has undoubtedly the elder title to them. When the ordinary is also the patron, and *confers* the living, the presentation and institution are one and the same act, and are called a collation to a benefice. By institution or collation the church is full, so that there can be no fresh presentation till another vacancy, at least in the case of a common patron; but the church is not full against the king till induction; nay, even if a clerk is instituted upon the king's presentation, the crown may revoke it before induction, and present another clerk. (i) Upon institution, also, the clerk may enter on the parsonage-house and glebe, and take the tithes; but he cannot grant or let them or bring an action for them, till induction.

Induction is performed by a mandate from the bishop to the archdeacon, who usually issues out a precept to other clergymen to perform it for him. It is done by giving the clerk corporal possession of the church, as by holding the ring of the door, tolling a bell, or the like; and is a form required by law, with intent to give all the parishioners due notice, and sufficient certainty of their new minister, to whom their tithes are to be paid. This therefore is the investiture of the temporal part of the benefice, as institution is of the spiritual. And when a clerk is thus presented, instituted, and inducted into a rectory, he is then, and not before, in full and complete possession, and is called in law *persona impersonata*, or parson impersonated. (k)

The rights of a parson or vicar, in his tithes and ecclesiastical dues, fall more properly under the second book of these Commentaries: and as to his duties, they are principally of ecclesiastical cognizance; those only excepted which are laid upon him by statute. And those are indeed so numerous, that it is impracticable to recite them here with any tolerable conciseness or accuracy. Some [*392] of them we may remark, as they *arise in the progress of our inquiries; but for the rest I must refer myself to such authors as have compiled treatises expressly upon this subject. (l) I shall only just mention the article of residence, upon the supposition of which the law doth style every parochial minister an incumbent. (19) By statute 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13, persons wilfully absenting themselves from their benefices, for one month together, or two months, in the year, incur a penalty of 5*l.* to the king, and 5*l.* to any person that will sue for the same, except chaplains to the king, or others therein mentioned, (m) during their attendance in the household of such as retain them: and also except (n) all heads of houses, magistrates, and professors in the universities, and all students under forty years of age residing there, *bona fide*, for study. Legal residence is not only in the parish, but also in the parsonage house, if there be one: for it hath been resolved, (o) that the statute intended residence,

(i) Co. Litt. 344.

(k) Co. Litt. 300.

(l) These are very numerous; but there are few which can be relied on with certainty. Among these are Bishop Gibson's *Codex*, Dr. Burn's *Ecclesiastical Law*, and the earlier editions of the *Clergyman's Law*, published under the name of Dr. Watson, but compiled by Mr. Place, a barrister.

(m) Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 16. 33 Hen. VIII. c. 28.

(n) Stat. 28 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

(o) 6 Rep. 21.

(18) This oath is no longer required. See statutes 1 and 2 Vic. c. 106, s. 61. The oath to be taken is prescribed by the "clerical subscription act, 1865."

(19) Although an oath of residence is not now required, yet any spiritual person holding a benefice, who absents himself therefrom for any period exceeding three months, forfeits thereby a portion of the annual value, varying from one-third to three-fourths of the whole, according to the time of absence. See statutes 1 and 2 Vic. c. 106, and 13 and 14 Vic. c. 98. In particular cases the bishop may grant licenses for non-residence. See the statutes above cited for the law as to pluralities.

not only for serving the cure, and for hospitality; but also for maintaining the house, that the successor also may keep hospitality there: and, if there be no parsonage house, it hath been holden that the incumbent is bound to hire one, in the same or some neighbouring parish, to answer the purposes of residence. For the more effectual promotion of which important duty among the parochial clergy, a provision is made by the statute 17 Geo. III, c. 53, for raising money upon ecclesiastical benefices, to be paid off by annually decreasing instalments, and to be expended in rebuilding or repairing the houses belonging to such benefices.

We have seen that there is but one way whereby one may become a parson or vicar: there are many ways by which one may cease to be so. 1. By death. 2. By cession, in taking another benefice. For, by statute 21 Hen. VIII, c. 13, if any one having a benefice of *8l. per annum*, or upwards (according to the present valuation in the king's books) (*p*) accepts any other, the first shall be adjudged void unless he obtains a dispensation which no one is entitled to have, but the chaplains of the king and others therein mentioned, the brethren and sons of lords and knights, and doctors and bachelors of divinity and law admitted by the universities of this realm. And a vacancy thus made, for want of a dispensation, is called cession, (20) 3. By consecration; for, as was mentioned before, when a clerk is promoted to a bishoprick, all his other *pre-ferments are void the instant that he is consecrated. But there is a [*393] method by the favour of the crown, of holding such livings *in commendam*. *Commenda*, or *ecclesia commendata*, is a living commended by the crown to the care of a clerk, to hold till a proper pastor is provided for it. This may be temporary for one, two, or three years; or perpetual: being a kind of dispensation to avoid the vacancy of the living, and is called a *commenda retinere*. (21) There is also a *commenda recipere*, which is to take a benefice *de novo*, in the bishop's own gift, or the gift of some other patron consenting to the same; and this is the same to him as institution and induction are to another clerk. (*q*) 4. By resignation. But this is of no avail, till accepted by the ordinary; into whose hands the resignation must be made. (*r*) 5. By deprivation; either, first by sentence declaratory in the ecclesiastical court, for fit and sufficient causes allowed by the common law; such as attainder of treason or felony, (*s*) or conviction of other infamous crime in the king's courts; for heresy, infidelity, (*t*) gross immorality, and the like; or, secondly, in pursuance of divers penal statutes, which declare the benefice void, for some nonfeasance or neglect, or else some malfeasance or crime: as, for simony; (*u*) for maintaining any doctrine in derogation of the king's supremacy, or of the thirty-nine articles, or the book of common-prayer; (*v*) for neglecting after institution to read the liturgy and articles in the church, or make the declarations against popery, or take the abjuration oath; (*w*) for using any other form of prayer than the liturgy of the church of England; (*x*) or for absenting himself sixty days in one year from a benefice belonging to a popish patron, to which the clerk was presented by either of the universities; (*y*) in all which, and similar cases, (*z*) the benefice is *ipso facto* void, without any formal sentence of deprivation.

VI. A curate is the lowest degree in the church; being in the same state that a vicar was formerly, an officiating temporary minister, instead of the proper

(*p*) Cro. Car. 486.

(*q*) Hob. 144.

(*r*) Cro. Jac. 198.

(*s*) Dyer, 108. Jonk. 210.

(*t*) Fitz. Abr. tit. Trial, 54.

(*u*) Stat. 31 Eliz. c. 6. 13 Ann. c. 12.

(*v*) Stat. 1 Eliz. c. 1 and 2.

13 Eliz. c. 12.

(*w*) Stat. 13 Eliz. c. 12.

14 Car. II, c. 4. 1 Geo. I, c. 6.

(*x*) Stat. 1 Eliz. c. 2.

(*y*) Stat. 1 W. and M. c. 26.

(*z*) 6 Rep. 29. 30.

(20) By s. 11 of 1 and 2 Vic. c. 106, the acceptance of preferment by any spiritual person holding any other preferment or benefice, vacates the former preferment. In general two livings cannot now be held by the same person, unless the benefices be within ten miles of each other, or, if the population of one such benefice exceed 3000, or their joint yearly value exceed 1000*l.*, unless the yearly value of one be less than 150*l.* and its population more than 2000, in which case the two may be held jointly. See statutes above mentioned.

(21) These commendams are now abolished. Statutes 6 and 7 Wm. IV, c. 77.

[*394] incumbent. Though *there are what are called *perpetual* curacies, where all the tithes are appropriated, and no vicarage endowed, (being for some particular reasons (a) exempted from the statute of Hen. IV,) but, instead thereof, such perpetual curate is appointed by the appropriator. With regard to the other species of curates, they are the objects of some particular statutes, which ordain, that such as serve a church during its vacancy shall be paid such stipend as the ordinary thinks reasonable, out of the profits of the vacancy: or, if that be not sufficient, by the successor within fourteen days after he takes possession: (b) and that, if any rector or vicar nominates a curate to the ordinary to be licensed to serve the cure in his absence, the ordinary shall settle his stipend under his hand and seal, not exceeding 50*l. per annum*, nor less than 20*l.* and on failure of payment may sequester the profits of the benefice. (c) (22)

Thus much of the clergy, properly so called. There are also certain inferior ecclesiastical officers of whom the common law takes notice; and that principally to assist the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, where it is deficient in powers. On which officers I shall make a few cursory remarks.

VII. Churchwardens are the guardians or keepers of the church, and representatives of the body of the parish. (d) They are sometimes appointed by the minister, sometimes by the parish, sometimes by both together, as custom directs. (23) They are taken, in favour of the church, to be for some purposes a kind of corporation at the common law; that is, they are enabled by that name to have property in goods and chattels, and to bring actions for them, for the use and profit of the parish. Yet they may not waste the church goods, but may be removed by the parish, and then called to account by action at the common law; but there is no method of calling them to account but by first removing them; for none can legally do it but those who are put in their place.

[*395] *As to lands, or other real property, as the church, churchyard, &c., they have no sort of interest therein; but, if any damage is done thereto, the parson only or vicar shall have the action. Their office also is to repair the church, and make rates and levies for that purpose: but these are recoverable only in the ecclesiastical court. (24) They are also joined with the overseers in the care and maintenance of the poor. They are to levy (e) a shilling forfeiture on all such as do not repair to church on Sundays and holidays, and are empowered to keep all persons orderly while there; to which end it has been held that a churchwarden may justify the pulling off a man's hat, without being guilty of either an assault or trespass. (f) (25) There are also a multitude of other petty parochial powers committed to their charge by divers acts of parliament. (g)

VIII. Parish clerks, and sextons are also regarded by the common law as persons who have freeholds in their offices; and therefore though they may be punished, yet they cannot be deprived, by ecclesiastical censures. (h) (26) The par-

(a) 1 Burn's Eccl. Law, 427.

(b) Stat. 28 Hen. VIII, c. 11.

(c) Stat. 12 Ann. st. 2, c. 12.

(d) In Sweden they have similar officers, whom they call *kiorcktiowartandes*. Stjernhook, L. 3, c. 7.

(e) Stat. 1 Eliz. c. 2.

(f) 1 Lev. 198.

(g) See Lambard of Churchwardens, at the end of his *Eirenarcha*; and Dr. Burn, tit. *Church, Churchwardens, Visitations*.

(h) 2 Roll. Abr. 234.

(22) Upon this general subject see statutes 1 and 2 Vic. c. 106, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 117.

(23) [2 Atk. 650; 2 Stra. 1246; 1 Vent. 267. But where there is no such custom, the election must be according to the directions of the canons of the church (can. 89, 90), which direct that all churchwardens or quest men in every parish shall be chosen by the joint consent of the minister and the parishioners, if it may be; but if they cannot agree upon such choice, then the minister is to choose one, and the parishioners another; and without such joint or several choice, none shall take upon themselves to be churchwardens. Gibs. Cod. 241; 1 Stra. 145; 2 id. 1246.]

(24) The payment of these is no longer compulsory. Statutes 31 and 32 Vic. c. 109.

(25) See *Hawe v. Planner*, 1 Saund. 13; *Burton v. Henson*, 10 M. and W. 105.

(26) These are removable for wilful neglect or misbehaviour under statute 7 and 8 Vic. c. 59. The parish clerk, in if orders, is licensed and removable in like manner as a stipendiary curate. *Ibid.* A woman may hold the office of sexton. Str. 1114.

ish clerk was formerly very frequently in holy orders, and some are so to this day. He is generally appointed by the incumbent, but by custom may be chosen by the inhabitants; and, if such custom appears, the court of king's bench will grant a *mandamus* to the archdeacon to swear him in, for the establishment of the custom turns it into a temporal or civil right. (*i*)

CHAPTER XII. OF THE CIVIL STATE.

THE lay part of his majesty's subjects, or such of the people as are not comprehended under the denomination of clergy, may be divided into three distinct states, the civil, the military, and the maritime.

That part of the nation which falls under our first and most comprehensive division, the civil state, includes all orders of men from the highest nobleman to the meanest peasant, that are not included under either our former division, of clergy, or under one of the two latter, the military and maritime states: and it may sometimes include individuals of the other three orders; since a nobleman, a knight, a gentleman, or a peasant, may become either a divine, a soldier, or a seaman.

The civil state consists of the nobility and the commonalty. (1) Of the nobility, the peerage of Great Britain, or lords temporal, as forming, together with the bishops, one of the supreme branches of the legislature, I have before sufficiently spoken: we are here to consider them according to their several degrees, or titles of honour.

All degrees of nobility and honour are derived from the king as their fountain: (*a*) and he may institute what new titles he pleases. Hence it is that all degrees of nobility are not of equal antiquity. Those now in use are dukes, marquesses, earls viscounts and barons. (*b*) (2)

*1. A *duke*, though he be with us, in respect of his title of nobility, [*397] inferior in point of antiquity to many others, yet is superior to all of them in rank; his being the first title of dignity after the royal family. (*c*) Among the Saxons, the Latin name of dukes, *duces*, is very frequent, and signified, as among the Romans, the commanders or leaders of their armies, whom, in their own language, they called *hepiscoza*; (*d*) and in the laws of Henry I, as translated by Lambard, we find them called *heretochii*. But after the Norman conquest, which changed the military polity of the nation, the kings themselves continuing for many generations *dukes* of Normandy, they would

(*a*) Cro. Car. 589. (*a*) 4 Inst. 363.

(*b*) For the original of these titles on the continent of Europe, and their subsequent introduction into this island, see Mr. Selden's *Titles of Honour*.

(*c*) Camden, Britan. tit. *Ordines*.

(*d*) This is apparently derived from the same root as the German *hertzen*, the ancient appellation of dukes in that country. Seld. tit. Hon. 2, 1, 12.

(1) A decided jealousy of titles, as inconsistent with our institutions and dangerous to liberty, has always appeared in America. By the constitution of the United States, both the national and state governments are forbidden to grant titles of nobility. Art. 1, §§ 9 and 10. And no person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, can accept an office or title of any kind, from any king, prince or foreign state, unless by the consent of congress. Art. 1, § 9. Any alien possessing a foreign title, or belonging to an order of nobility, is required to renounce the same before being admitted to citizenship. Act of Congress of April 14, 1802, 1 Story's Laws, 850.

Perhaps the jealousy spoken of was never more forcibly illustrated than in the debates in congress at the time the government was first put in operation, respecting the proper formula of address to the president. See 4 Hildreth's U. S. 59; Annals of Congress, vol. 1, pp. 247, 318; Benton's Abridgement of Debates, vol. 1, p. 11, et seq.

(2) See further upon this subject Hallam's Middle Ages, ch. 2, part 1.

not honour any subjects with the title of duke, till the time of Edward III, who claiming to be king of France, and thereby losing the ducal in the royal dignity, (3) in the eleventh year of his reign created his son, Edward the Black Prince, duke of Cornwall: and many, of the royal family especially, were afterwards raised to the like honour. However, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1572, (e) the whole order became utterly extinct; but it was revived about fifty years afterwards by her successor, who was remarkably prodigal of honours, in the person of George Villers, duke of Buckingham.

2. A *marquess*, *marchio*, is the next degree of nobility. His office formerly was (for dignity and duty were never separated by our ancestors) to guard the frontiers and limits of the kingdom; which were called the marches, from the Teutonic word, *marche*, a limit: such as, in particular, were the marches of Wales and Scotland, while each continued to be an enemy's country. The persons who had command there were called lords marchers, or marquesses, whose authority was abolished by statute 27 Hen. VIII, c. 27, though the title had long before been made a mere ensign of honour; Robert Vere, earl of Oxford, being created marquess of Dublin by Richard II, in the eighth year of his reign. (f)

[*398] *3. An *earl* is a title of nobility so ancient, that its original cannot clearly be traced out. Thus much seems tolerably certain; that among the Saxons they were called *ealdormen*, *quasi* elder men, signifying the same as *senior* or *senator* among the Romans; and also *schiremen*, because they had each of them the civil government of a several division or shire. On the irruption of the Danes, they changed the name to *eorles*, which according to Camden, (g) signified the same in their language. In Latin they are called *comites* (a title first used in the empire) from being the king's attendants: "*a societate nomen sumpserunt, reges enim tales sibi associant.*" (h) After the Norman conquest, they were for some time called *counts* or *countees*, from the French; but they did not long retain that name themselves, though their shires are from thence called counties to this day. The name of *earls* or *comites* is now become a mere title, they having nothing to do with the government of the county; which, as has been more than once observed, is now entirely devolved on the sheriff, the earl's deputy, or *vice-comes*. In writs and commissions, and other formal instruments, the king, when he mentions any peer of the degree of an earl, usually styles him "trusty and well-beloved *cousin*," an appellation as ancient as the reign of Henry IV, who being either by his wife, his mother, or his sisters, actually related or allied to every earl then in the kingdom, artfully and constantly acknowledged that connexion in all his letters and other public acts; from whence the usage has descended to his successors, though the reason has long ago failed.

4. The name of *vice-comes* or *viscount*, was afterwards made use of as an arbitrary title of honour, without any shadow of office pertaining to it, by Henry the Sixth; when, in the eighteenth year of his reign, he created John Beaumont a peer, by the name of Viscount Beaumont, which was the first instance of the kind. (i)

5. A *baron's* is the most general and universal title of nobility; for originally [*399] every one of the peers of superior rank *had also a barony annexed to his other titles. (k) (4) But it hath sometimes happened that, when an an-

(e) Camden, Britan. tit. *Ordines*. Spelman, *Gloss.* 191.
(h) Bracton, l. 1, c. 8. Flet. l. 1, c. 6.

(f) 2 Inst. 5.

(g) Britan. tit. *Ordines*.

(i) 2 Inst. 5.

(k) 2 Inst. 5, 6.

(3) [Com. Dig. Dignity, B. 2; 9 Co. 49, a. This order of nobility was created before Edward assumed the title of king of France. Dr. Henry, in his excellent history of England, informs us, that "about a year before Edward III assumed the title of king of France, he introduced a new order of nobility, to inflame the military ardor and ambition of his earls and barons, by creating his eldest son, Prince Edward, duke of Cornwall. This was done with great solemnity in full parliament at Westminster, March 17. A. D. 1337."]

(4) [At the time of the conquest, the temporal nobility consisted only of earls and barons; and by whatever right the earls and the mitred clergy before that time might have attended the great council of the nation, it abundantly appears that they afterwards sat in the feudal parliament in the character of barons. It has been truly said, that, for some time after the

cient baron hath been raised to a new degree of peerage, in the course of a few generations the two titles have descended differently; one perhaps to the male descendants, the other to the heirs general; whereby the earldom or other superior title hath subsisted without a barony; and there are also modern instances where earls and viscounts have been created without annexing a barony to their other honours: so that now the rule doth not hold universally, that all peers are barons. The original and antiquity of baronies has occasioned great inquiries among our English antiquaries. The most probable opinion seems to be, that they were the same with our present lords of manors; to which the name of court baron (which is the lord's court, and incident to every manor,) gives some countenance. (5) It may be collected from King John's *magna carta*, (l) that originally all lords of manors, or barons, that held of the king *in capite*, had seats in the great council or parliament; till about the reign of that prince the conflux of them became so large and troublesome, that the king was obliged to divide them, and summon only the greater barons in person; leaving the small ones to be summoned by the sheriff, and, as it is said, to sit by representation in another house; which gave rise to the separation of the two houses of parliament. (m) By degrees the title came to be confined to the greater barons, or lords of parliament only; and there were no other barons among the peerage but such as were summoned by writ, in respect of the tenure of their lands or baronies, till Richard the Second first made it a mere title of honour, by conferring it on divers persons by his letters patent. (n)

(l) Cap. 14

(m) Gilb. Hist. of Exch. c. 3. Seld. Tit. of Hon. 2, 5. 21.

(n) 1 Inst. 9. Seld. Jan. Angl. 2, § 66.

conquest, wealth was the only nobility, as there was little personal property at that time, and a right to a seat in parliament was entirely territorial, or depended upon the tenure of landed property. Ever since the conquest, it is true that all land is held either immediately or mediately of the king; that is, either of the king himself, or of a tenant of the king, or it might be after two or more subinfeudations. And it was also a general principle in the feudal system, that every tenant of land, or land owner, had both a right and obligation to attend the court of his immediate superior. Hence every tenant *in capite*, i. e., the tenant of the king, was at the same time entitled and bound to attend the king's court or parliament, being the great court baron of the nation. It will not be necessary here to enlarge farther upon the original principles of the feudal system, and upon the origin of peerage; but we will briefly abridge the account which Selden has given in the second part of his *Titles of Honor*, c. 5, beginning at the 17th section, being perhaps the clearest and most satisfactory that can be found. He divides the time from the conquest into three periods: 1. From the conquest to the latter end of the reign of King John. 2. From that time to the 11th of Richard II. 3. From that period to the time he is writing, which may now be extended to the present time. In the first period, all who held any quantity of land of the king had, without distinction, a right to be summoned to parliament; and this right being confined solely to the king's tenants, of consequence all the peers of parliament during that period sat by virtue of tenure and a writ of summons.

In the beginning of the second period, that is, in the last year of the reign of King John, a distinction, very important in its consequences (for it eventually produced the lower house of parliament), was introduced, viz.: a division of these tenants into greater and lesser barons: for King John, in his *magna charta*, declares *faciemus summoneri archiepiscopos, episcopos, abates, comites et majores barones regni sigillatim perlitteras nostras, et præterea faciemus summoneri in generali per vicecomites et ballivos nostros omnes alios, qui in capite tenent de nobis ad certum diem, &c.* It does not appear that it ever was ascertained what constituted a greater baron, and it probably was left to the king's discretion to determine; and no great inconvenience could have resulted from its remaining indefinite, for those who had not the honor of the king's letter would have, what in effect was equivalent, a general summons from the sheriff. But in this second period, tenure began to be disregarded, and persons were summoned to the parliament by writ, who held no lands of the king. This continued to be the case till the 11th of Richard II, when the practice of creating peers by letters patent first commenced.

In that year John de Beauchamp, steward of the household to Richard II, was created by patent Lord Beauchamp, baron of Kidderminster in tail *male*; and since that time peerages have been created both by writ and patent, without any regard to tenure or estate.]

(5) [Lords of manors, who had granted to others, by subinfeudation, part of that estate which they held of the king, would necessarily be barons; but it does not follow conversely that a baron was of necessity a lord of a manor, for the king's tenant, who retained all the estate granted him, and alienated no part of it, would certainly be as complete a baron as a lord of a manor.

Having made this short inquiry into the original of our several degrees of nobility, I shall next consider the manner in which they may be created. The right of peerage seems to have been originally territorial; that is, annexed to lands, honours, castles, manors, and the like, the proprietors and possessors of [*400] which were, in right of those estates, allowed to be *peers of the realm, and were summoned to parliament to do suit and service to their sovereign; and, when the land was alienated, the dignity passed with it as appendant. Thus the bishops still sit in the house of lords in right of succession to certain ancient baronies annexed, or supposed to be annexed, to their episcopal lands; (o) and thus, in 11 Hen. VI, the possession of the castle of Arundel was adjudged to confer an earldom on its possessor. (p) But afterwards, when alienations grew to be frequent, the dignity of peerage was confined to the lineage of the party ennobled, and instead of territorial became personal. Actual proof of a tenure by barony became no longer necessary to constitute a lord of parliament; but the record of the writ of summons to him or his ancestors was admitted as a sufficient evidence of the tenure.

Peers are now created either by writ, or by patent: for those who claim by prescription must suppose either a writ or patent made to their ancestors; though by length of time it is lost. The creation by writ, or the king's letter, is a summons to attend the house of peers, by the style and title of that barony, which the king is pleased to confer; that by patent is a royal grant to a subject of any dignity and degree of peerage. The creation by writ is the more ancient way; but a man is not ennobled thereby, unless he actually take his seat in the house of lords: (6) and some are of opinion that there must be at least two writs of summons, and a sitting in two distinct parliaments, to evidence an hereditary barony: (q) and therefore the most usual, because the surest, way is to grant the dignity by patent, which enures to a man and his heirs, according to the limitations thereof, though he never himself makes use of it. (r) Yet it is frequent to call up the eldest son of a peer to the house of lords by writ of summons in the name of his father's barony; because in that case there is no danger of his children's losing the nobility in case he never takes his seat; for they will succeed to their grandfather. (7) Creation by writ has also one advantage over that by patent: for a person created by writ holds the dignity to him [*401] and his *heirs, (8) without any words to that purport in the writ; but in letters patent there must be words to direct the inheritance, else the dignity enures only to the grantee for life. (s) For a man or woman may be created noble for their own lives, and the dignity not descend to their heirs at all, or descend only to some particular heirs: as, where a peerage is limited to a man, and the heirs male of his body by Elizabeth, his present lady, and not to such heirs by any former or future wife. (9)

(o) Glan. 1. 7, c. 1.

(r) Co. Litt. 16.

(p) Seld. Tit. of Hon. b. 2, c. 9, § 5.

(s) Co. Litt. 9, 10.

(q) Whitlocks of Parl. ch. 144.

(6) See the Wharton Peerage case 12 Cl. and Fin. 295.

(7) [And where the father's barony is limited by patent to him and the heirs male of his body, and his eldest son is called up to the house of lords by writ with the title of this barony, the writ in this case will not create a fee or a general estate tail, so as to make a female capable of inheriting the title, but upon the death of the father the two titles unite, or become one and the same. Case of the claim to the barony of Sidney of Penshurst disallowed Dom. Proc. 17 June, 1782.]

(8) [But every claimant of the title must be descended from the person first ennobled. 1 Woodd. 37.]

(9) [Peerage may be gained for life by act of law, as if a duke take a wife, she is a duchess in law by the intermarriage; so of a marquess, earl, &c. Co. Litt. 16, b. Also the dignity of an earl may descend to a daughter, if there be no son, who shall be a countess; and if there are many daughters, it is said the king shall dispose of the dignity to which daughter he pleases. Co. Litt. 165, a. If a person has been summoned as a baron to parliament by writ, and after sitting, die, leaving two or more daughters, who all die, one of them only leaving issue, a son, such issue has a right to demand a seat in the house of peers. Skin. 441.]

The practice of granting peerages for life was never common in England, and in a debate in parliament on the subject in 1856, it was stated that for four hundred years there was no

Let us next take a view of a few of the principal incidents attending the nobility, exclusive of their capacity as members of parliament, and as hereditary counsellors of the crown; both of which we have before considered. And first we must observe, that in criminal cases a nobleman shall be tried by his peers. (10) The great are always obnoxious to popular envy: were they to be judged by the people, they might be in danger from the prejudice of their judges; and would, moreover, be deprived of the privilege of the meanest subject, that of being tried by their equals, which is secured to all the realm, by *magna carta*, c. 29. It is said, that this does not extend to bishops; who, though they are lords of parliament, and sit there by virtue of their baronies, which they hold *jure ecclesiæ*, yet are not ennobled in blood, and consequently not peers with the nobility. (11) As to peeresses, there was no precedent for their trial when accused of treason or felony, till after Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester, wife to the lord protector, was accused of treason, and found guilty of witchcraft, in ecclesiastical synod through the intrigues of Cardinal Beaufort. This very extraordinary trial gave occasion to a special statute, 20 Hen. VI, c. 9, which declares (u) the law to be, that peeresses, either in their own right or by marriage, shall be tried before the same

(t) 3 Inst. 30, 31.

(u) Moor, 769. 2 Inst. 60. 6 Rep. 52. Standf. P. C. 152.

instance on record in which any man had been admitted to a seat in the house of lords as a peer for life. Many life peerages however had been created, principally by Charles II, and the first two Georges. In the year above mentioned it was proposed to increase the judicial strength of the house of peers by admitting some of the more eminent judges to seats there for life only, and Sir James Parke received letters patent creating him Lord Wensleydale for life. But the right to a seat under these letters was disputed, and the question referred to a committee of the house, upon whose report it was resolved, after full examination of precedents, that "neither the letters patent, nor the letters patent with the usual writ of summons issued in pursuance thereof, can entitle the grantee to sit and vote in parliament." The crown was forced to submit to this decision, and Lord Wensleydale soon after took his seat under a new patent, as hereditary peer. Later than this the lords resolved to empower the queen by statute to confer life-peerages with seats in parliament upon two judges, but the commons refused their assent. See Hansard's Debates, 3d series, vol. 160, p. 1152, et seq.; id. vol. 162, pp. 780, 899, 1059; id. vol. 163, pp. 428, 583, 613. Also 5 H. L. Cas. 958.

(10) [But this is only in treason, felony, and misprision of the same. See *magna charta*, 9 Henry III, 29; 2 Inst. 49. And a peer, it seems, cannot waive the trial by his peers. Kel. 56; 1 State Trials 265; 2 Rush. 64. And, if he refuse to put himself on his peers, he may be dealt with as one who stands mute: yet if one who has a title to peerage be indicted and arraigned as a commoner, and plead not guilty, and put himself upon the country, he cannot afterwards suggest he is a peer, and pray trial by his peers. 2 Hawk. P. C. c. 44, s. 19; and see further, *post*, book 4, 260.

In all misdemeanors, as libels, riots, perjury, conspiracies, &c., a peer is tried like a commoner by a jury: 3 Inst. 30; Hawk. P. C. b. 2, c. 44, ss. 13, 14. So in case of an appeal of felony he is to be tried by a jury: 9 Co. Rep. 30; 2 Inst. 49; and the indictments of peers for treason or felony, are to be found by freeholders of the county, and then the peers are to plead before the high steward, &c. 1 Inst. 156; 3 id. 28.

Peers (Fortesc. 359) and members of parliament have no exemption from arrest in case of treason, felony, or actual breach of the peace. 4 Inst. 24, 25; 2 Wils. 159, 160; 11 Hargr. St. Tr. 305. But a peer menacing another person, whereby the latter fears his life is in danger, no writ of *supplicavit*, but a subpoena issues, and when the peer appears, instead of surety, he only promises to keep the peace. 35 Hen. VI.

The privilege of peers does not extend to foreign noblemen, who have no more privileges here than commoners. Co. Litt. 156; 2 Inst. 48; Lex. Const. 80, 81.

The peers of Scotland or Ireland had no privilege in this kingdom before the union; but, by clauses in the respective articles of union, the elected peers have all the privileges of peers of parliament; also all the rest of the peers of Scotland and Ireland have all the privileges of the peerage of England, excepting only that of sitting and voting in parliament; and Irish peers, who are members of the house of commons, are not entitled to the privilege of peerage. An Irish peer ought not to serve upon a grand jury unless he is a member of the house of commons. Russell & Ryl. Cro. C. 117.]

(11) [The bishops being summoned to parliament as peers might thereby have become entitled to trial by peers; but, unless bishops were to try bishops, none others are properly peers of bishops. These peers of lords are peculiarly designated spiritual. It may be observed that, although lords of parliament, they never sit upon matters of treason or of blood; and it would be a strange anomaly, that upon a bishop all other lords of parliament, save bishops, who are also lords, might, in capital cases, pass judgment of death. Bishops Cranmer and Fisher were tried by jury.]

judicature as other peers of the realm. If a woman, noble in her own right, marries a commoner, she still remains noble, (12) and shall be tried by her peers: but, if she be only noble by marriage, then, by a second marriage with a commoner, she loses her dignity; for as by marriage it is gained, by marriage it is also lost. (v) (13) Yet if a duchess dowager marries a baron, she continues a duchess still; for all the *nobility are *pares*, and therefore it is no degradation. (w) A peer, or peeress, either in her own right or by marriage, cannot be arrested in civil cases: (x) and they have also many peculiar privileges annexed to their peerage in the course of judicial proceedings. (14) A peer, sitting in judgment gives not his verdict upon oath, like an ordinary jurymen, but upon his honour: (y) he answers also to bills in chancery upon his honour, and not upon his oath; (z) but, when he is examined as a witness either in civil or criminal cases, he must be sworn: (a) for the respect which the law shows to the honour of a peer, does not extend so far as to overturn a settled maxim, that *in judicio non creditur nisi juratis*. (b) The honour of peers is, however, so highly tendered by the law, that it is much more penal to spread false reports of them and certain other great officers of the realm, than of other men: scandal against them being called by the peculiar name of *scandalum magnatum*, and subjected to peculiar punishments by divers ancient statutes. (c)

A peer cannot lose his nobility, but by death or attainder; though there was an instance in the reign of Edward the Fourth, of the degradation of George Nevile, duke of Bedford, by act of parliament, (d) on account of his poverty, which rendered him unable to support his dignity. (e) But this is a singular instance, which serves at the same time, by having happened, to shew the power of parliament; and by having happened but once, to shew how tender the parliament hath been in exerting so high a power. It hath been said, indeed, (f) that if a baron wastes his estate so that he is not able to support the degree, the king may degrade him: but it is expressly held by later authorities, (g) that a peer cannot be degraded but by act of parliament.

*The commonalty, like the nobility, are divided into several degrees; [*403] and, as the lords, though different in rank, yet all of them are peers in respect of their nobility, so the commoners, though some are greatly superior to others, yet all are in law peers, in respect of their want of nobility. (h)

The first name of dignity, next beneath a peer, was anciently that of *vidames*, *vice-domini*, or *valvasors*: (i) who are mentioned by our ancient lawyers (j) as *virī magnæ dignitatis*: and Sir Edward Coke (k) speaks highly of them. Yet they are now quite out of use; and our legal antiquaries are not agreed upon even their original or ancient office.

Now, therefore, the first personal dignity, after the nobility, is a *knight* of the order of St George, or *of the garter*; first instituted by Edward III, A. D. 1344. (l) Next, (but not till after certain official dignities, as privy-counsellors, the chancellors of the exchequer and duchy of Lancaster, the chief justice of the king's bench, the master of the rolls, and the other English judges,) follows a *knight*

(v) Dyer, 79. Co. Litt. 16. (w) 2 Inst. 50. (x) Finch. l. 355. 1 Vent. 298.

(y) 2 Inst. 49. (z) 1 P. Wms. 146. (a) Salk. 512. (b) Cro. Car. 64.

(c) Edw. I. c. 34. 2 Ric. II, st. 1, c. 5. 12 Ric. II, c. 11. (d) 4 Inst. 355.

(e) The preamble to the act is remarkable: "Forasmuch as oftentimes it is seen, that when any lord is called to high estate, and hath not convenient livelihood to support the same dignity, it induceth great poverty and indigence, and causeth oftentimes great extortion, embracery, and maintenance to be had, to the great trouble of all such countries where such estate shall happen to be: therefore," &c.

(f) Moor. 678. (g) 12 Rep. 107. 12 Mod. 56. (h) 2 Inst. 29. (i) Camden, *Britan. t. Ordines*.

(j) Bracton, l. 1, c. 8. (k) 2 Inst. 667. (l) Seld. Tit. of Hon. 2, 5, 41.

(12) [But she communicates no rank or title to her husband. Harg. Co. Litt. 326, b.]

(13) [Yet she is commonly called and addressed by the style and title which she bore before her second marriage, but this is only by courtesy; as the daughters of dukes, marquesses, and earls, are usually addressed by the title of lady, though in law they are commoners. Dyer, 79.]

(14) [See Tidd, 8th ed. 194. This privilege does not protect them from attachments for not obeying the process of the courts: 1 Wils. 332; nor does it extend to peeresses by marriage, if they afterwards intermarry with commoners. Co. Litt. 16. The servants of peers are liable to arrest. 10 Geo. III, c. 50. And see 1 Chit. Rep. 83. Peers of the realm cannot be bail. 2 Marsh. 232. And see 1 D. and R. 126.]

banneret; who indeed by statutes 5 Ric. II, st. 2, c. 4, and 14 Ric. II, c. 11, is ranked next after barons: and his precedence before the younger sons of viscounts was confirmed to him by order of King James I, in the tenth year of his reign. (*m*) But, in order to entitle himself to this rank, he must have been created by the king in person, in the field, under the royal banners, in time of open war. (*n*) Else he ranks after *baronets*, who are the next order; which title is a dignity of inheritance, created by letters patent, and usually descendible to the issue male. It was first instituted by King James the First, A. D. 1611, in order to raise a competent sum for the reduction of the province of Ulster in Ireland; (15) for which reason all baronets have the arms of Ulster superadded to their family coat. Next follow *knights of the bath*; an order instituted by King Henry IV, *and revived by King George the First. They [*404] are so called from the ceremony of bathing the knight before their creation. The last of these inferior nobility are *knights bachelors*; the most ancient though the lowest, order of knighthood amongst us: (16) for we have an instance (*o*) of King Alfred's conferring this order on his son Athelstan. The custom of the ancient Germans was to give their young men a shield and a lance in the great council: this was equivalent to the *toga virilis* of the Romans: before this they were not permitted to bear arms, but were accounted as part of the father's household; after it, as part of the community. (*p*) Hence, some derive the usage of knighting, which has prevailed all over the western world, since its reduction by colonies from those northern heroes. Knights are called in Latin *equites aurati*: *aurati*, from the gilt spurs they wore; and *equites*, because they always served on horseback: for it is observable, (*q*) that almost all nations call their knights by some appellation derived from an horse. They are also called in our law *milites*, because they formed a part of the royal army, in virtue of their feudal tenures; one condition of which was, that every one who held a knight's fee immediately under the crown, which in Edward the Second's time (*r*) amounted to 20*l. per annum*, was obliged to be knighted, and attend the king in his wars, or fine for his non-compliance. The exertion of this prerogative, as an expedient to raise money in the reign of Charles the First, gave great offence; though warranted by law, and the recent example of Queen Elizabeth; (17) but it was, by the statute 16 Car. I, c. 16, abolished; and this kind of knighthood has, since that time, fallen into great disregard.

These, Sir Edward Coke says, (*s*) are all the names of *dignity* in this kingdom, esquires and gentlemen being only names of *worship*. But before these last (*t*)

(*m*) *Ibid.* 2. 11. 3.

(*n*) 4 Inst. 6.

(*o*) Will. Malmsh. lib. 2.

(*p*) Tac. *de Morib. Germ.* 13.

(*q*) Camd. *ibid.* Co. Litt. 74.

(*r*) Stat. *de Milit.* 1 Edw. II.

(*s*) 2 Inst. 667.

(*t*) The rules of precedence in England may be reduced to the following table: in which those marked * are entitled to the rank here allotted them, by statute 31 Hen. VIII, c. 10; marked †, by statute 1 W. and M. c. 21; marked ‡, by letters patent, 9, 10, and 14 Jac. I, which see in Seld. Tit. of Hon. ii. 5, 46, and ii. 11, 8; marked §, by ancient usage and established custom; for which see, among others, Camden's Britannia, *Tit. Ordines*. Milles's Catalogue of Honour, *edit.* 1610; and Chamberlayne's Present State of England, b. 3, ch. 3.

TABLE OF PRECEDENCE.

* The king's children and grandchildren.
* ————— brethern.
* ————— uncles.
* ————— nephews.
* Archbishop of Canterbury (18)
* Lord Chancellor or Keeper, if a baron.
* Archbishop of York.
* Lord Treasurer
* Lord President of the Council, } if barons.
* Lord Privy Seal,

* Lord Great Chamberlain. But }
see private stat. 1 Geo. I, c. 3,
* Lord High Constable,
* Lord Marshal,
* Lord Admiral,
* Lord Steward of the household
* Lord Chamberlain of the house- }
hold,
* Dukes.
* Marquesses.

} above all peers of their own degree.

(15) [One hundred gentlemen advanced each one thousand pounds; for which this title was conferred upon them. 2 Rap. 185, fo.]

(16) [There are also other orders of knights; as knights of the chamber; knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem; knights of Malta; knight marshal; knights of the Rhodes; knights of the shire; knights templars; knights of the thistle, and knights of St. Patrick.]

(17) [Considerable fees accrued to the king upon the performance of the ceremony.]

(18) [It is said, that before the conquest, by a constitution of Pope Gregory, the two archbishops were equal in dignity, and in the number of bishops subject to their authority; and that William the Conqueror thought it prudent to give precedence and superiority to the archbishop of Canterbury; but Thomas, archbishop of York, was unwilling to acknowledge his inferiority to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and appealed to the pope, who referred

[*405] the heralds rank all *colonels, sergeants at law, and doctors in the three learned professions.

[*406] *Esquires and gentlemen are confounded together by Sir Edward Coke, who observes, (*u*) that every esquire is a gentleman, and a gentleman is defined to be one *qui arma gerit*, who bears coat armour, the grant of which adds gentility to a man's family: in like manner as civil nobility, among the Romans, was founded in the *jus imaginum*, or having the image of one ancestor at least, who had borne some curule office. It is indeed a matter somewhat unsettled, what constitutes the distinction, or who is a real *esquire*; for it is not an estate, however large, that confers this rank upon its owner. Camden, who was himself a herald, distinguishes them the most accurately; and he reckons up four sorts of them: (*v*) 1. The eldest sons of knights, and their eldest sons in perpetual succession: (*w*) 2. The eldest sons of younger sons of peers, and their eldest sons in like perpetual succession: both which species of esquires Sir Henry Spelman entitles *armigeri natalitii*. (*x*) 3. Esquires created by the king's letters patent, or other investiture; (19) and their eldest sons. 4. Esquires by

† Dukes' eldest sons.
* Earls.
† Marquesses' eldest sons.
† Dukes' younger sons.
* Viscounts.
† Earls' eldest sons.
† Marquesses' younger sons.
* Secretary of State, if a bishop.
* Bishop of London.
* ——— Durham.
* ——— Winchester.
* Bishops.
* Secretary of State, if a baron.
* Barons.
† Speaker of the House of Commons.
† Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal.
† Viscounts' eldest sons.
† Earls' younger sons.
† Barons' eldest sons.
† Knights of the Garter.
† Privy Counsellors.
† Chancellor of the Exchequer.
† Chancellor of the Duchy.
† Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

† Master of the Rolls.
† Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.
† Chief Baron of the Exchequer.
† Judges, and Barons of the Coif.
† Knights Bannerets, royal.
† Viscounts' younger sons.
† Barons' younger sons.
† Baronets.
† Knights Bannerets.
† Knights of the Bath.
† Knights Bachelor.
† Baronets' eldest sons.
† Knights' eldest sons.
† Baronets' younger sons.
† Knight's younger sons.
† Colonels.
† Serjeants-at-law.
† Doctors.
† Esquires.
† Gentlemen.
† Yeomen.
† Tradeamen.
† Artificers.
† Labourers. [20]

N. B. Married women and widows are entitled to the same rank among each other, as their husbands would respectively have borne between themselves, except such rank is merely professional or official; and unmarried women to the same rank as their eldest brothers would bear among men, during the lives of their fathers.

(*u*) 2 Inst. 668.

(*v*) 2 Inst. 668.

(*w*) 2 Inst. 667.

(*x*) Gloss. 43.

the matter to the king and barons; and in a council held at Windsor-castle, they decided in favor of the archbishop of Canterbury. Godw. Comm. de Præsul. 665.

But the archbishops of York long afterwards refused to acquiesce in this decision, for bishop Godwin relates a curious and ludicrous struggle which took place in the reign of Henry II, above one hundred years afterwards, between Roger, archbishop of York, and Richard archbishop of Canterbury, for the chair on the right hand of the pope's legate. Ib. 79. Perhaps to this decision, and their former equality, we may refer the present distinction between them; viz.: that the archbishop of Canterbury is primate of all England, and the archbishop of York is primate of England.]

(19) Now disused.

(20) The present order of precedence is as follows:

The Prince of Wales.	Dukes.
The Sovereign's younger sons and grandsons.	Marquises.
“ “ brothers.	Dukes' eldest sons
“ “ nephews.	Earls.
“ “ uncles.	Marquises' eldest sons.
Archbishop of Canterbury.	Dukes' youngest sons.
Lord Chancellor.	Viscounts.
Archbishop of York.	Earl's eldest sons.
“ “ Armagh.	Marquises' younger sons.
“ “ Dublin.	Bishop of London.
Lord President of the Council,	“ “ Durham.
Lord Privy Seal,	“ “ Winchester.
Lord Great Chamberlain,	Bishops.
Earl Marshal,	Secretary of State, if a baron.
Lord Steward of the household,	Barons.
Lord Chamberlain of the household,	Speaker of House of Commons,
	Treasurer of the household.

} if a baron.
} above all
} peers of
} their own
} degree.

virtue of their offices; as justices of the peace, and others who bear any office of trust under the crown. To these may be added, the esquires of knights of the bath, each of whom constitutes three at his installation; and all foreign, nay, Irish peers; for not only these, but the eldest sons of peers of Great Britain, though frequently titular lords, are only esquires in the law, and must be so named in all legal proceedings. (y) As for *gentlemen*, says Sir Thomas Smith, (z) they be made good cheap in this kingdom: for whosoever studieth the laws of the realm, who studieth in the universities, who professeth the liberal sciences, and, to be short, who can live idly, and without manual labor, and will bear the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman, he shall be called master, and shall be taken for a gentleman. (21) A *yeoman* is he that hath free land of forty shillings by the year; who was anciently thereby qualified to serve on juries, vote for knights of the *shire, and do any other act, where the law requires one that is *probus et legalis homo*. (a) [* 407]

The rest of the commonalty are *tradesmen*, *artificers*, and *labourers*; who, as well as all others, must in pursuance of the statute 1 Hen. V, c. 5, be styled by the name and addition of their estate, degree, or mystery, and the place to which they belong, or where they have been conversant, in all original writs of actions personal, appeals, and indictments, upon which process of outlawry may be awarded; in order, as it should seem, to prevent any clandestine or mistaken outlawry, by reducing to a specific certainty the person who is the object of its process. (22)

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE MILITARY AND MARITIME STATES.

THE military state includes the whole of the soldiery; or such persons as are peculiarly appointed among the rest of the people, for the safeguard and defence of the realm.

In a land of liberty it is extremely dangerous to make a distinct order of the

(y) 3 Inst. 30. 2 Inst. 667.

(z) Commonw. of Eng. b. 1, c. 20.

(a) 2 Inst. 668.

Comptroller of the household.
Master of the horse.
Vice-Chamberlain of the household.
Secretary of State if not a baron.
Viscounts' eldest sons.
Earls' younger sons.
Barons' eldest sons.
Knights of the garter.
Privy Councillors.
Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench.
Master of the Rolls.
Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.
Chief Baron of the Exchequer.
Lords Justices.
Vice Chancellors.
Judges of the Queen's Bench.
" " Common Pleas.
Barons of the Exchequer.
Judge of the Court of Probate.
Commissioners in Bankruptcy.

Knights bannerets royal.
Viscounts' younger sons.
Barons' younger sons.
Baronets.
Knights bannerets.
Knights of the bath.
Knights bachelors.
Baronets' eldest sons.
Knights' eldest sons.
Baronets' younger sons.
Knights' younger sons.
Sergeants at Law.
Masters in Lunacy.
Doctors of Divinity.
" " Law.
" " Medicine.
Esquires.
Gentlemen.
Yeomen.
Tradesmen.
Artificers.
Laborers.

(21) [The eldest son has no prior claim to the degree of gentlemen; for it is the text of Littleton, that "every son is as great a gentleman as the eldest." Sect. 210.]

(22) Professor Christian adds in this place a somewhat lengthy note, which we may perhaps with propriety omit. Its purpose is to show the unsoundness of a proposition that "has lately been industriously propagated," "in order to excite discontent and stir up rebellion against all good order and peaceful government." namely: "that all men are by nature equal."

profession of arms. (1) In absolute monarchies this is necessary for the safety of the prince, and arises from the main principle of their constitution, which is that of governing by fear: but in free states the profession of a soldier, taken singly and merely as a profession, is justly an object of jealousy. In these no man should take up arms, but with a view to defend his country and its laws: he puts not off the citizen when he enters the camp; but it is because he is a citizen, and would wish to continue so, that he makes himself for a while a soldier. The laws therefore and constitution of these kingdoms know no such state as that of a perpetual standing soldier, bred up to no other profession than that of war; and it was not till the reign of Henry VII, that the kings of England had so much as a guard about their persons.

In the time of our Saxon ancestors, as appears from Edward the Confessor's laws, (a) the military force of this kingdom was in the hands of the dukes or heretochs, who were constituted through every province and county in the kingdom; being taken out of the principal nobility, and such as were most remarkable for being "*sapientes, fideles, et animosi*." Their duty was to lead and regulate the English armies, with a very unlimited power; "*prout eis visum [*409] fuerit, ad honorem *coronæ et utilitatem regni*." And because of this great power they were elected by the people in their full assembly, or folkmote, in the same manner as sheriffs were elected: following still that old fundamental maxim of the Saxon constitution, that where any officer was entrusted with such power, as if abused might tend to the oppression of the people, that power was delegated to him by the vote of the people themselves. (b) So too, among the ancient Germans, the ancestors of our Saxon forefathers, they had their dukes, as well as kings, with an independent power over the military, as the kings had over the civil state. The dukes were elective, the king's hereditary; for so only can be consistently understood that passage of Tacitus, (c) "*reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt*;" in constituting their kings, the family or blood royal was regarded, in choosing their dukes or leaders, warlike merit: just as Cæsar relates of their ancestors in his time, that whenever they went to war, by way either of attack or defence, they *elect* leaders to command them. (d)

(a) *C. de Heretochis.*

(b) "*Isti vero viri eliguntur per commune consilium, pro communi utilitate regni, per provincias et patrias universas, et per singulos comitatus, in pleno folkmote, sicut et vicecomites, provinciarum et comitatum eligi debent.*" LL. *Edw. Confess. ibid.* See also Bede, *Ecl. Hist.* i. 5, c. 10.

(c) *De Morib. Germ.* i.

(d) "*Quum bellum civitas aut illatum, defendit aut infert, magistratus qui ei bello præsent deliguntur.*" *De Bell. Gall.* i. 6, c. 22.

(1) The constitutional jealousy of standing armies, always so observable in England, and especially, in modern times, during the reign of William III, has found expression in several provisions in the constitution of the United States. "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." 2d amendment. "Congress shall have power to raise and support armies, but no appropriation to that use shall be for a longer time than two years." Art. I, § 8. "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." 3d amendment. The purpose has been to hold the military at all times in complete subordination to the civil power, and the regular army which is maintained is only that which is deemed necessary to garrison forts, and preserve the peace with the Indians. The whole available military force of the United States at the time of the breaking out of the recent civil war, was only 16,006 men; a number surprisingly small when we consider the vast extent of our country, and the long frontier line bordered by tribes of savages. Immediately on the restoration of peace the immense armies in the field were for the most part disbanded, and the force reduced by September 30, 1867, to 56,815. This was still further reduced the next year to 43,741. The constitutional provision inhibiting appropriations for the army for a longer period than two years makes the executive, as commander-in-chief, at all times dependent upon the legislative department, and his power is further restricted by another provision which confers upon congress the authority to make rules for the government of the army and navy, and for the militia of the states when called into the service of the nation. Art. I, § 8.

The division of powers between the nation and the states being such as to vest in the former authority over all those subjects falling within the province of international law, the states are forbidden, without the consent of congress, to keep troops or ships of war in the time of peace, or to engage in war unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay. Const. of U. S., art. I, § 10.

This large share of power, thus conferred by the people, though intended to preserve the liberty of the subject, was perhaps unreasonably detrimental to the prerogative of the crown; and accordingly we find ill use made of it by Edric, duke of Mercia, in the reign of King Edmund Ironside; who, by his office of duke or heretoch, was entitled to a large command in the king's army, and by his repeated treacheries at last transferred the crown to Canute, the Dane.

It seems universally agreed by all historians, that King Alfred first settled a national militia in this kingdom, and by his prudent discipline made all the subjects of his dominion soldiers: but we are unfortunately left in the dark as to the particulars of this his so celebrated regulation; though, from what was last observed, the dukes seem to have been left in possession of too large and independent a power; which *enabled Duke Harold, on the death of [*410] Edward the Confessor, though a stranger to the royal blood, to mount for a short space the throne of this kingdom, in prejudice of Edgar Atheling, the rightful heir.

Upon the Norman conquest the feudal law was introduced here in all its rigour, the whole of which is built on a military plan. I shall not now enter into the particulars of that constitution, which belongs more properly to the next part of our Commentaries; but shall only observe, that, in consequence thereof, all the lands in the kingdom were divided into what were called knights' fees, in number above sixty thousand; and for every knight's fee a knight or soldier, *miles*, was bound to attend the king in his wars, for forty days in a year; (2) in which space of time, before war was reduced to a science, the campaign was generally finished, and a kingdom either conquered or victorious. (e) By this means the king had, without any expense, an army of sixty thousand men always ready at his command. And accordingly we find one, among the laws of William the Conqueror, (f) which in the king's name commands and firmly enjoins the personal attendance of all knights and others: "*quod habeant et teneant se semper in armis et equis, ut decet et oportet: et quod semper sint prompti et parati ad servitium suum integrum nobis explendum et peragendum, cum opus adfuerit, secundum quod debent de feodis et tenementis suis de jure nobis facere.*" This personal service in process of time degenerated into pecuniary commutations or aids, and at last the military part (3) of the feudal system was abolished at the restoration, by statute 12 Car. II, c. 24.

In the mean time we are not to imagine that the kingdom was left wholly without defence in case of domestic insurrections, or the prospect of foreign invasions. Besides those who by their military tenures were bound to perform forty days' service in the field, first the assize of arms, enacted 27 Hen. *II, (h) [*411] and afterwards the statute of Winchester, (i) under Edward I, obliged every man, according to his estate and degree, to provide a determinate quantity of such arms as were then in use, in order to keep the peace: and constables were appointed in all hundreds by the latter statute, to see that such arms were provided. These weapons were changed, by the statute 4 and 5 Ph. and M. c. 2, into others of more modern service; but both this and the former provisions were repealed in the reign of James I. (k) While these continued in force, it was usual from time to time for our princes to issue commissions of array, and send into every county officers in whom they could confide, to muster and array, or set in military order, the inhabitants of every district; and the form of the commission of array was settled in parliament in the 5 Hen. IV, so as to prevent

(e) The Poles are, even at this day, so tenacious of their ancient constitution, that their pospolite, or militia, cannot be compelled to serve above six weeks, or forty days in a year. Mod. Un. Hist. xxxiv. 12.

(f) C. 58. See Co. Litt. 75. 76.

(h) Hoved. A. D. 1181.

(i) 13 Edw. I. c. 6.

(k) Stat. 1 Jac. I, c. 25. 21 Jac. I, c. 28.

(2) [We frequently read of half a knight, or other aliquot part, as for so much land three knights and a half, &c., were to be returned: the fraction of a knight was performed by a whole knight who served half the time, or other due proportion of it.]

(3) [The military or warlike part of the feudal system was abolished, when personal service was dispensed with for a pecuniary commutation, as early as the reign of Henry II. But the military tenures still remained till 12 Car. II, c. 24. See book 2, p. 77.]

the insertion therein of any new penal clauses. (*l*) But it was also provided (*m*) that no man should be compelled to go out of the kingdom at any rate, nor out of his shire but in cases of urgent necessity; nor should provide soldiers unless by consent of parliament. About the reign of King Henry the Eighth, or his children, lieutenants began to be introduced, (*n*) as standing representatives of the crown, to keep the counties in military order; for we find them mentioned as known officers in the statute 4 and 5 Ph. and M. c. 3, though they had not been then long in use, for Camden speaks of them (*o*) in the time of Queen Elizabeth, as extraordinary magistrates constituted only in times of difficulty and danger. But the introduction of these commissions of lieutenancy, which contained in substance the same powers as the old commissions of array, caused the latter to fall into disuse.

In this state things continued till the repeal of the statutes of armour in the reign of King James the First: after which, when King Charles the First had, during his northern expeditions, issued commissions of lieutenancy, and exerted some military powers, which, having been long exercised, were thought to belong to the crown, it became a question in the long parliament, how far the power of the militia did inherently reside in the king; being now unsupported by any statute, and founded only upon immemorial usage. This question, long agitated [*412] with great heat and resentment on both *sides, became at length the immediate cause of the fatal rupture between the king and his parliament; the two houses not only denying this prerogative of the crown, the legality of which perhaps might be somewhat doubtful, but also seizing into their own hands the entire power of the militia, of the illegality of which step could never be any doubt at all.

Soon after the restoration of King Charles the Second, when the military tenures were abolished, it was thought proper to ascertain the power of the militia, to recognize the sole right of the crown to govern and command them, and to put the whole into a more regular method of military subordination: (*p*) and the order, in which the militia now stands by law, is principally built upon the statutes which were then enacted. It is true the two last of them are apparently repealed; but many of their provisions are re-enacted, with the addition of some new regulations, by the present militia laws, (4) the general scheme of which is to discipline a certain number of the inhabitants of every county, chosen by lot for *three* years, and officered by the lord lieutenant, the deputy lieutenants, and other principal landholders, under a commission from the crown. They are not compellable to march out of their counties, unless in case of invasion or actual rebellion within the realm (or any of its dominions or territories), (*q*) nor in any case compellable to march out of the kingdom. They are to be exercised at stated times; and their discipline in general is liberal and easy; but when drawn out into actual service, they are subject to the rigours of martial law, as necessary to keep them in order. This is the constitutional security which our laws (*r*) have provided for the public peace, and for protecting the realm against foreign or domestic violence. (5)

(*l*) Rushworth. part 3, pages 662, 667. See 8 Rym. 374, &c.

(*m*) Stat. 1 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 5 and 7. 25 Edw. III. st. 5, c. 8.

(*n*) 15 Rym. 75.

(*o*) Brit. 103. Edit. 1594. (*p*) 13 Car. II, c. 6. 14 Car. II, c. 3. 15 Car. II, c. 4. (*q*) Stat. 16 Geo. III, c. 3.

(*r*) 2 Geo. III, c. 20. 9 Geo. III, c. 42. 16 Geo. III, c. 3. 18 Geo. III, c. 14 and 50. 19 Geo. III, c. 72.

(4) [The present militia system is mainly regulated by 42 Geo. III, c. 90, as altered and amended by many subsequent acts, the last of which is 32 and 33 Vic. c. 13. The general scheme of the legislature has been to discipline a certain number of the inhabitants of every county, chosen by lot for five years, and officered by the lord lieutenant, the deputy lieutenants, and other principal land owners under a commission from the crown.]

(5) In the United States the individual states discipline and officer the militia, but congress may provide therefor, and also for calling them forth to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions. Const. art. 1, § 8. When thus called forth the president is commander-in-chief: art. 2, § 2; and congress may provide for their government. Art. 1, § 8. By the act of Feb. 28, 1795, the president was empowered to call forth the militia to repel invasions, or, in imminent danger thereof, to put down insurrections or enforce the

When the nation was engaged in war, more veteran troops and more regular discipline were esteemed to be necessary than could be expected from a mere militia. And therefore at such times more rigorous methods were put in use for the *raising of armies, and the due regulation and discipline of the soldiery: which are to be looked upon only as temporary excrescences [*413] bred out of the distemper of the state, and not as any part of the permanent and perpetual laws of the kingdom. For martial law, which is built upon no settled principles, but is entirely arbitrary in its decisions, is, as Sir Matthew Hale observes, (s) in truth and reality no law, but something indulged rather than allowed as a law. (6) The necessity of order and discipline in an army is the only thing which can give it countenance; and therefore it ought not to be permitted in time of peace, when the king's courts are open for all persons to receive justice according to the laws of the land. Wherefore, Thomas, earl of Lancaster, being condemned at Pontefract, 15 Edw. II, by martial law, his attainder was reversed, 1 Edw. III, because it was done in time of peace. (t) (7)

(s) Hist. C. L. c. 2.

(t) 2 Brad. Appen. 59.

laws against obstructions or combinations. 1 Statute at Large, 424. Under this statute it belongs to the president exclusively to determine when the contingency has arisen which makes the calling forth of the militia necessary. *Martin v. Mott*, 12 Wheat. 29.

(6) [This censure is by no means merited at the present day, whatever may have been the fact when Sir Matthew Hale wrote.]

(7) Military and martial law are frequently confounded, though the distinction between them is very plain and broad. Military law is that portion of the law of the land prescribed by the government to regulate the conduct of the citizen in his character as soldier. It is administered by military tribunals, and is equally in force in peace and in war. But it does not supersede the civil laws of the land, for any breach of which the soldier is liable to the same trial and punishment as the civilian. Martial law, on the other hand, is defined as being that military rule and authority which exists in time of war, and is conferred by the laws of war, in relation to persons and things under and within the scope of active military operations in carrying on the war, and which extinguishes or suspends civil rights, and the remedies founded upon them, for the time being, so far as may appear to be necessary in order to the full accomplishment of the purpose of the war. It is the application of military government—the government of force—to persons and property within the scope of it, according to the laws and usages of war, to the exclusion of the municipal government in all respects where the latter would impair the efficiency of military law or military action. Benet, *Military Law*, 14. And see 1 Kent, 341, note; 2 H. Bl. 98, per Lord Loughborough.

The occasions to consider the extent and force of martial law have happily not been numerous in America, but it may be useful to refer to the most noted of them. The case of the declaration of martial law by Gen. Jackson at New Orleans, at the time of the attempt upon that city by the British forces in 1814–15, and the legal proceedings which grew out of it, will be remembered by all readers of American history, but the correctness, respectively, of the conduct of the general, and that of the judge who imposed a fine upon him for contempt of court, never received any more authoritative examination than that which it had in congress at the time the fine was refunded in 1842. See 2 Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, 599. It is settled in the United States that the legislature of a state may declare martial law throughout the state whenever in their opinion it may be necessary to thwart the purposes of those who are attempting, in an irregular manner, to revolutionize the state government; and that the military officers are exempt from civil responsibility for enforcing the declaration. *Luther v. Borden*, 7 How. 1. In this case and that of *ex parte Mulligan*, 4 Wal. 2, a very full and elaborate examination of the whole subject may be found. The facts in the case last mentioned were these: On the fifth day of October, 1864, Mulligan, who was a citizen of the United States, resident within the state of Indiana, was seized at his home in that state, by order of the United States military officer commanding therein, and on the 21st day of the same month, by order of such commander, put on trial before a military commission at Indianapolis, on the following charges:

1. Conspiring against the government of the United States.
2. Affording aid and comfort to rebels against the authority of the United States.
3. Inciting insurrection.
4. Disloyal practices.
5. Violation of the laws of war.

Under these charges there were various specifications, the substance of which was, the joining and aiding, at different times, between October 1863 and August 1864, a secret society known as the order of American Knights or Sons of Liberty, for the purpose of overthrowing the government and duly constituted authorities of the United States; holding communication with the enemy; conspiring to seize munitions of war stored in the United States arsenals, to liberate prisoners of war, &c., resisting the draft, &c., at or near Indianapolis, aforesaid, in

And it is laid down, (*u*) that if a lieutenant, or other, that hath commission of martial authority, doth in time of peace hang or otherwise execute any man by colour of martial law, this is murder; for it is against *magna carta*. (*v*) The petition of right (*w*) moreover enacts, that no soldier shall be quartered on the subject without his own consent, (*x*) and that no commission shall issue to proceed within this land according to martial law. And whereas, after the restoration, King Charles the Second kept up about five thousand regular troops, by his own authority, for guards and garrisons; which King James the Second by degrees increased to no less than thirty thousand, all paid from his own civil list; it was made one of the articles of the bill of rights, (*y*) that the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law.

But, as the fashion of keeping standing armies, which was first introduced by Charles VII, in France, A. D. 1445, (*z*) has of late years universally prevailed [*414] over Europe, (though *some of its potentates, being unable themselves to maintain them, are obliged to have recourse to richer powers, and receive subsidiary pensions for that purpose,) it has also for many years past been annually judged necessary by our legislature, for the safety of the kingdom, the defence of the possessions of the crown of Great Britain, and the preservation of the balance of power in Europe, to maintain even in time of peace a standing body of troops, under the command of the crown; who are, however, *ipso facto* disbanded at the expiration of every year, unless continued by parliament. And it was enacted by statute 10 Wm. III, c. 1, that not more than twelve thousand regular forces should be kept on foot in Ireland, though paid at the charge of that kingdom; which permission is extended by statute 8 Geo. III, c. 13, to 16,235 men, in time of peace. (8)

(*u*) 3 Inst. 52.

(*v*) Cap. 29.

(*w*) 3 Car. I. See also stat. 31 Car. II, c. 1.

(*x*) Thus in Poland no soldier can be quartered upon the gentry, the only freemen in that republic. Mod. Univ. Hist. xxxiv. 23.

(*y*) Stat. 1 W. and M. st. 2, c. 2.

(*z*) Robertson, Cha. V, i. 94.

Indiana, a state "within the military lines of the army of the United States and the theatre of military operations, and which had been and was constantly threatened to be invaded by the enemy." On all these charges Mulligan was found guilty by the commission and sentenced to be hanged, and the sentence was approved by the president.

The validity of these proceedings was questioned in the supreme court of the United States, on a writ of habeas corpus. It appeared in the case that, during the period of the alleged offenses and of the sitting of the commission, the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus was suspended under the permission of an act of congress, in the case of all persons held in custody by military officers by authority of the president, but it also appeared that the courts of the United States for the district of Indiana were open and unobstructed in the performance of their duties, and that a grand jury was summoned and sat in said court during the time when Mulligan was held in confinement awaiting trial.

Upon these facts it was decided by the supreme court of the United States that Mulligan was entitled to his liberty. That military commissions organized during the civil war, in a state not invaded and not engaged in rebellion, in which the federal courts were open, and in the proper and unobstructed exercise of their functions, had no jurisdiction to try, convict or sentence, for any criminal offense, a citizen who was neither a resident of a rebellious state, nor a prisoner of war, nor a person in the military and naval service; and that congress could not invest them with any such power. And it was further held, that the constitutional guaranty of trial by jury was intended for a state of war, as well as a state of peace, and was equally binding upon rulers and people at all times and under all circumstances. See further, *In re Kemp*, 16 Wis. 359; *Todd*, Par. Gov. vol. 1, p. 342.

Respecting martial law the judicial decisions are numerous, and cover a great many points. The civil courts, however, exercise no supervision over the military except to see that they keep within their jurisdiction.

(8) [It is perfectly lawful to employ soldiers to preserve the peace at home; but this should be done with great caution, and not without an absolute necessity. "Magistrates," said Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, "have a power to call *any* subject to their assistance to preserve the peace and execute the process of the law; and why not soldiers as well as other men? Our soldiers are our fellow-citizens. They do not cease to be so by putting on a red coat and carrying a musket." The military act, on such occasions, not *qua* military, but simply in aid of and in obedience to the civil power, which "calls them in." To quote again Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, "*as armed citizens*, often saving the effusion of innocent blood and preserving the dominion of the law."]

To prevent the executive power from being able to oppress, says Baron Montesquieu, (*a*) it is requisite that the armies with which it is entrusted should consist of the people, and have the same spirit with the people; as was the case at Rome, till Marius new-modelled the legions by enlisting the rabble of Italy, and laid the foundation of all the military tyranny that ensued. Nothing, then, according to these principles, ought to be more guarded against in a free state, than making the military power, when such a one is necessary to be kept on foot, a body too distinct from the people. Like ours, it should wholly be composed of natural subjects; it ought only to be enlisted for a short and limited time; the soldiers also should live intermixed with the people; no separate camp, no barracks, no inland fortresses should be allowed. And perhaps it might be still better if, by dismissing a stated number, and enlisting others at every renewal of their term, a circulation could be kept up between the army and the people, and the citizen and the soldier be more intimately connected together.

To keep this body of troops in order, an annual act of parliament likewise passes, "to punish mutiny and desertion, *and for the better payment [*415] of the army and their quarters." This regulates the manner in which they are to be dispersed among the several innkeepers and victuallers throughout the kingdom; and establishes a law martial for their government. By this, among other things, it is enacted, that if any officer or soldier shall excite, or join any mutiny, or, knowing of it, shall not give notice to the commanding officer: or shall desert, or list in any other regiment, or sleep upon his post, or leave it before he is relieved, or hold correspondence with a rebel or enemy, or strike or use violence to his superior officer, or shall disobey his lawful commands: such offender shall suffer such punishment as a court martial shall inflict, though it extend to death itself.

However expedient the most strict regulations may be in time of actual war, yet in times of profound peace a little relaxation of military rigour would not, one should hope, be productive of much inconvenience. And upon this principle, though by our standing laws (*b*) (still remaining in force, though not attended to,) desertion in time of war is made felony, without benefit of clergy, and the offence is triable by a jury and before justices at the common law: yet, by our militia laws before mentioned, a much lighter punishment is inflicted for desertion in time of peace. So, by the Roman law also, desertion in time of war was punished with death, but more mildly in time of tranquillity. (*c*) But our mutiny act makes no such distinction: for any of the faults above mentioned are, equally at all times, punishable with death itself, if a court martial shall think proper. This discretionary power of the court martial is indeed to be guided by the directions of the crown; which, with regard to military offences, has almost an absolute legislative power. (*d*) "His majesty," says the act, "may form articles of war, and constitute courts martial, with power to try any crime by such articles, and inflict penalties by sentence or judgment of the same." A vast and most important trust! an unlimited power to create crimes, and annex to them any punishments, not extending to life or limb! These are indeed forbidden to be inflicted, *except for crimes declared to be so punishable by this act; which crimes we have just enumerated, and [*416] among which we may observe that any disobedience to lawful commands is one. Perhaps in some future revision of this act, which is in many respects hastily penned, it may be thought worthy the wisdom of parliament to ascertain the limits of military subjection and to enact express articles of war for the government of the army, as is done for the government of the navy: especially as by our present constitution, the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, who serve their country as militia officers, are annually subjected to the same arbitrary rule during their time of exercise.

One of the greatest advantages of our English law is, that not only the crimes themselves which it punishes, but also the penalties which it inflicts, are

(*a*) Sp. L. 11. 6.

(*b*) Stat. 18 Hen. VI, c. 19. 2 and 3 Edw. VI, c. 2.

(*c*) Ff. 49, 16, 5.

(*d*) A like power over the marines is given to the lords of the admiralty, by another annual act "for the regulation of his majesty's marine forces while on shore."

ascertained and notorious; nothing is left to arbitrary discretion: the king by his judges dispenses what the law has previously ordained; but is not himself the legislator. How much therefore is it to be regretted that a set of men, whose bravery has so often preserved the liberties of their country, should be reduced to a state of servitude in the midst of a nation of freemen! for Sir Edward Coke will inform us, (e) that it is one of the genuine marks of servitude, to have the law, which is our rule of action, either concealed or precarious: "*misera est servitus ubi jus est vagum aut incognitum.*" Nor is this state of servitude quite consistent with the maxims of sound policy observed by other free nations. For the greater the general liberty is which any state enjoys, the more cautious has it usually been in introducing slavery in any particular order or profession. These men, as Baron Montesquieu observes, (f) seeing the liberty which others possess, and which they themselves are excluded from, are apt (like eunuchs in the eastern seraglios) to live in a state of perpetual envy and hatred towards the rest of the community, and indulge a malignant pleasure in contributing to destroy those privileges to which they can never be admitted. Hence have many free states, by departing from this rule, [*417] been endangered by the revolt of *their slaves; while in absolute and depotic governments, where no real liberty exists, and consequently no invidious comparisons can be formed, such incidents are extremely rare. Two precautions are therefore advised to be observed in all prudent and free governments: 1. To prevent the introduction of slavery at all; or, 2. If it be already introduced, not to intrust those slaves with arms; who will then find themselves an overmatch for the freemen. Much less ought the soldiery to be an exception to the people in general, and the only state of servitude in the nation.

But as soldiers, by this annual act, are thus put in a worse condition than any other subjects; so by the humanity of our standing laws they are in some cases put in a much better. By statute 43 Eliiz., c. 3, a weekly allowance is to be raised in every county for the relief of soldiers that are sick, hurt and maimed; not forgetting the royal hospital at Chelsea for such as are worn out in their duty. (g) Officers and soldiers that have been in the king's service are, by several statutes enacted at the close of several wars, at liberty to use any trade or occupation they are fit for in any town in the kingdom (except the two universities), notwithstanding any statute, custom, or charter to the contrary. And soldiers in actual military service may make nuncupative wills, and dispose of their goods, wages, and other personal chattels, without those forms, solemnities, and expenses, which the law requires in other cases. (g) Our law does not indeed extend this privilege so far as the civil law; which carried it to an extreme that borders upon the ridiculous. For if a soldier, in the article of death, wrote any thing in bloody letters on his shield, or in the dust of the field with his sword, it was a very good military testament. (h) And thus much for the military state, as acknowledged by the laws of England.

The maritime state is nearly related to the former, though much more agreeable to the principles of our free constitution. *The royal navy of [*418] England hath ever been its greatest defence and ornament; it is its ancient and natural strength; the floating bulwark of the island; an army from which, however strong and powerful, no danger can ever be apprehended to liberty; and accordingly it has been assiduously cultivated even from the earliest ages. To so much perfection was our naval reputation arrived in the twelfth century, that the code of maritime laws, which are called the laws of

(e) 4 Inst. 352.

(f) Sp. L. 15, 12.

(g) Stat. 29 Car. II, c. 3; 5 W. III, c. 21, § 6.

(h) *Si milites quid in clypeo literis sanguine suo rutilantibus adnotaverint. aut in pulvere inscripserint gladio suo, ipso tempore quo, in prælio, vitæ sortem derelinquunt, hujusmodi voluntatem stabilem esse oportet.* Cod. 6, 21, 15.

(9) [Liberal pensions have been paid in the United States under various acts of congress, to the soldiers who have served honorably in their wars, and to the families of those who were killed or died in service. Military and naval hospitals have also been provided at the public expense.]

Oleron, and are received by all nations in Europe as the ground and substruction of all their maritime constitutions, was confessedly complied by our King Richard the First at the Isle of Oleron, on the coast of France, then part of the possessions of the crown of England. (*i*) (10) And yet, so vastly inferior were our ancestors in this point to the present age, that, even in the maritime reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Edward Coke (*k*) thinks it matter of boast that the royal navy of England then consisted of *three and thirty* ships. The present condition of our marine is in great measure owing to the salutary provisions of the statutes called the navigation acts, (11) whereby the constant increase of English shipping and seamen was not only encouraged, but rendered unavoidably necessary. By the statute 5 Ric. II, c. 3, in order to augment the navy of England, then greatly diminished, it was ordained that none of the king's liege people should ship any merchandize out of or into the realm, but only in ships of the king's ligeance, on pain of forfeiture. In the next year, by statute 6 Ric. II, c. 8, this wise provision was enervated, by only obliging the merchants to give English ships, if able and sufficient, the preference. But the most beneficial statute for the trade and commerce of these kingdoms is that navigation act, the rudiments of which were first framed in 1650, (*l*) with a narrow, partial view: being intended to mortify our own sugar islands, which were disaffected to the parliament, and still held out for Charles II, by stopping the gainful trade which they then carried on with the Dutch; (*m*) and at the same time to clip the wings of those our opulent and aspiring neighbours. This prohibited all ships of foreign nations from trading with any English plantations *without license from the council of state. In 1651 (*n*) the prohibition [*419] was extended also to the mother country; and no goods were suffered to be imported into England, or any of its dependencies, in any other than English bottoms; or in the ships of that European nation of which the merchandize imported was the genuine growth or manufacture. At the restoration, the former provisions were continued, by statute 12 Car. II, c. 18, with this very material improvement, that the master and three-fourths of the mariners shall also be English subjects.

Many laws have been made for the supply of the royal navy with seamen; for their regulation when on board; and to confer privileges and rewards on them during and after their service.

1. First, for their supply. The power of impressing seafaring men for the sea service by the king's commission, has been a matter of some dispute, and submitted to with great reluctance; though it hath very clearly and learnedly been shewn, by Sir Michael Foster, (*o*) that the practice of impressing, and granting powers to the admiralty for that purpose, is of very ancient date, and

(*i*) 4 Inst. 144. *Coutumes de la Mer*. 2. (*k*) 4 Inst. 50. (*l*) Scobell, 132.
(*m*) Mod. Un. Hist. xli. 289. (*n*) Scobell, 176. (*o*) Rep. 154.

(10) [The French writers attribute these laws to Eleanor, duchess of Guienne, the king's mother. She had previously been the wife of Louis VII, king of France; but divorced from that monarch, she married Prince Henry, afterwards Henry II, Richard's father. She was a woman of considerable talent, and Oleron was a part of Guienne. The probability is, that these laws were compiled under the joint auspices of her husband and her son; at all events, the promulgating them was the act of Richard. For the learning upon this curious question, see Seld. Mare Cl. 2 and 24; and how oppugned by the French writers, see Mr. Justice Park's System of Marine Insurance, Introduction, p. 28.]

See also 1 Duer Mar. Ins., where that learned author declares, that, at whatever time or by whatever authority the laws of Oleron were first published, the internal evidence compels him to believe that they were intended to apply exclusively to French vessels and French navigation. And he further declares that while they contain some just and salutary regulations, yet, considered as a whole, his unfeigned surprise is created that learned jurists and enlightened scholars have deemed them worthy of their admiration and praise. Taken collectively they bear most evident traces of the rudeness and barbarism of the age in which they were compiled. Many provisions violate the plainest rules of natural justice; some by their positive absurdity provoke mirth, and some by their atrocity excite and merit detestation.

(11) The protective navigation acts are now repealed. See statutes 16 and 17 Vic. c. 107, and 17 and 18 Vic. c. 5.

hath been uniformly continued by a regular series of precedents to the present time; whence he concludes it to be part of the common law. (*p*) (12) The difficulty arises from hence, that no statute has expressly declared this power to be in the crown, though many of them very strongly imply it. The statute 2 Ric. II, c. 4, speaks of mariners being arrested and retained for the king's service as of a thing well known, and practised without dispute; and provides a remedy against their running away. By a later statute, (*q*) if any waterman who uses the river Thames shall hide himself during the execution of any commission of pressing for the king's service, he is liable to heavy penalties. By another, (*r*) no fisherman shall be taken by the queen's commission to serve as a mariner; but the commission shall be first brought to two justices of the peace, inhabiting near the seacoast where the mariners are to be taken, to the intent that the [*420] justices may *choose out and return such a number of able-bodied men, as in the commission are contained, to serve her majesty. And by others (*s*) especial protections are allowed to seamen in particular circumstances, to prevent them from being impressed. And ferrymen are also said to be privileged from being impressed at common law. (*t*) All which do most evidently imply a power of impressing to reside somewhere; and, if anywhere, it must, from the spirit of our constitution, as well as from the frequent mention of the king's commission, reside in the crown alone. (13)

But, besides this method of impressing, which is only defensible from public necessity, to which all private considerations must give way, there are other ways that tend to the increase of seamen, and manning the royal navy. Parishes may bind out poor boys apprentices to masters of merchantmen, who shall be protected from impressing for the first three years; and, if they are impressed afterwards, the masters shall be allowed their wages; (*u*) great advantages in point of wages are given to volunteer seamen in order to induce them to enter into his majesty's service; (*v*) and every foreign seamen, who during a war shall serve two years in any man of war, merchantman, or privateer, is naturalized *ipso facto*. (*w*) About the middle of King William's reign, a scheme was set on foot (*x*) for a register of seamen to the number of thirty thousand, for a constant and regular supply of the king's fleet; with great privileges to the registered men, and, on the other hand, heavy penalties in case of their non-appearance when called for: but this registry, being judged to be ineffectual as well as oppressive, was abolished by statute 9 Ann. c. 21.

2. The method of ordering seamen in the royal fleet, and keeping up a regular discipline there, is directed by certain express rules, articles, and orders, first enacted by the authority of parliament soon after the restoration; (*y*) but since [*421] *new-modelled and altered, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, (*z*) to remedy some defects which were of fatal consequence in conducting the preceding war. In these articles of the navy almost every possible offence is set down, and the punishment thereof annexed: in which respect the seamen have much the advantage over their brethren in the land service, whose articles of war are not enacted by parliament, but framed from time to time at the pleasure of the crown. Yet from whence this distinction arose, and why the executive power, which is limited so properly with regard to the navy, should be so extensive with regard to the army, it is hard to assign a reason: unless it proceeded from the perpetual establishment of the navy, which rendered a permanent law for their regulation expedient; and the temporary duration of the army, which

(*p*) See also Comb. 245. Barr. 344. (*q*) Stat. 2 and 3 Ph. and M. c. 16. (*r*) Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 5.
 (*s*) See stat. 7 and 8 W. III, c. 21. 2 Ann. c. 6. 4 and 5 Ann. c. 19. 13 Geo. II, c. 17. 2 Geo. III, c. 15. 11 Geo. III, c. 33. 19 Geo. III, c. 75, &c.
 (*t*) Sav. 14. (*u*) Stat. 2 Ann. c. 6. (*v*) Stat. 31 Geo. II, c. 10. (*w*) Stat. 13 Geo. II, c. 3.
 (*x*) Stat. 7 and 8 W. III, c. 21. (*y*) Stat. 13 Car. II, st. 1, c. 9.
 (*z*) Stat. 22 Geo. II, c. 23, amended by 19 Geo. III, c. 17.

(12) It is not a part of the common law of America, and would be illegal and unconstitutional in that country.

(13) As to the legality of impressment see also Cowp. 517; 5 T. R., 276; Comb. 245; Broom's Const. Law. 116-119.

subsisted only from year to year, and might therefore with less danger be subjected to discretionary government. But, whatever was apprehended at the first formation of the munity act, the regular renewal of our standing force at the entrance of every year has made this distinction idle. For, if from experience past we may judge of future events, the army is now lastingly ingrafted into the British constitution, with this singularly fortunate circumstance, that any branch of the legislature may annually put an end to its legal existence, by refusing to concur in its continuance.

3. With regard to the privileges conferred on sailors, they are pretty much the same with those conferred on soldiers; with regard to relief when maimed, or wounded, or superannuated, either by county rates, or the royal hospital at Greenwich; with regard also to the exercise of trades, and the power of making nuncupative testaments (14) and, farther, (*a*) no seaman aboard his majesty's ships can be arrested for any debt, unless the same be sworn to amount to at least twenty pounds; though, by the annual munity acts, a soldier may be arrested for a debt which extends to half that value, but not to a less amount.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF MASTER AND SERVANT.

HAVING thus commented on the rights and duties of persons, as standing in the *public* relations of magistrates and people, the method I have marked out now leads me to consider their rights and duties in *private* economical relations.

The three great relations in private life are, 1. That of *master and servant*; which is founded in convenience, whereby a man is directed to call in the assistance of others, where his own skill and labour will not be sufficient to answer the cares incumbent upon him. 2. That of *husband and wife*; which is founded in nature, but modified by civil society: the one directing man to continue and multiply his species, the other prescribing the manner in which that natural impulse must be confined and regulated. 3. That of *parent and child*, which is consequential to that of marriage, being its principal end and design: and it is by virtue of this relation that infants are protected, maintained, and educated. But, since the parents, on whom this care is primarily incumbent, may be snatched away by death before they have completed their duty, the law has therefore provided a fourth relation; 4. That of *guardian and ward*, which is a kind of artificial parentage, in order to supply the deficiency, whenever it happens, of the natural. Of all these relations in their order.

*In discussing the relation of *master and servant*, I shall, first, consider the several sorts of servants, and how this relation is created and [*423] destroyed; secondly, the effect of this relation with regard to the parties themselves; and lastly, its effect with regard to other persons.

I. As to the several sorts of servants: I have formerly observed (*a*) that pure and proper slavery does not, nay cannot, subsist in England: such I mean, whereby an absolute and unlimited power is given to the master over the life and fortune of the slave. And indeed it is repugnant to reason, and the princi-

(a) Stat. 31 Geo. II, c. 10.

(a) Pa. 137.

(14) See statutes 28 and 29 Vic. c. 73. The power to make nuncupative wills in the United States has been the subject of statutory regulation in the several states. Soldiers and sailors are allowed to make them, under restrictions imposed to guard against fraud, one of the chief of which respects the amount of property which may be thus disposed of.

ples of natural law, that such a state should subsist anywhere. (1) The three origins of the right of slavery, assigned by Justinian, (*b*) are all of them built upon false foundations. (*c*) As, first, slavery is held to arise "*jure gentium*," from a state of captivity in war; whence slaves are called *mancipia*, *quasi manu capti*. The conqueror, say the civilians, had a right to the life of his captive; and, having spared that, has a right to deal with him as he pleases. But it is an untrue position, when taken generally, that by the law of nature, or nations, a man may kill his enemy: he has only a right to kill him, in particular cases; in cases of absolute necessity, for self-defence; and it is plain this absolute necessity did not subsist, since the victor did not actually kill him, but made him prisoner. War is itself justifiable only on principles of self-preservation; and therefore it gives no other right over prisoners but merely to disable them from doing harm to us, by confining their persons: much less can it give a right to kill, torture, abuse, plunder, or even to enslave, an enemy, when the war is over. Since therefore the right of *making* slaves by captivity depends on a supposed right of slaughter, that foundation failing, the consequence drawn from it must fail likewise. But, secondly, it is said that slavery may begin "*jure civili*," when one man sells himself to another. This, if only meant of contracts to [*424] serve or work for another, is very *just: but when applied to strict slavery in the sense of the laws of old Rome or modern Barbary, is also impossible. Every sale implies a price, a *quid pro quo*, an equivalent given to the seller in lieu of what he transfers to the buyer: but what equivalent can be given for life, and liberty, both of which, in absolute slavery, are held to be in the master's disposal? His property also, the very price he seems to receive, devolves *ipso facto* to his master, the instant he becomes his slave. In this case therefore the buyer gives nothing, and the sellers receives nothing: of what validity then can a sale be, which destroys the very principles upon which all sales are founded? Lastly, we are told, that besides these two ways by which slaves "*fiunt*," or are acquired, they may also be hereditary: "*servi nascuntur*;" the children of acquired slaves are *jure naturæ*, by a negative kind of birthright, slaves also. But this, being built on the two former rights must fall together with them. If

(*b*) *Servi aut fiunt, aut nascuntur: fiunt jure gentium, aut jure civili; nascuntur ex ancillis nostris. Inst. l. 1, §. 4.*

(*c*) Montesq. Sp. L. xv. 2.

(1) This view of the learned commentator has finally become accepted in the laws of England and America. Slavery was entirely abolished throughout the British colonial possessions by an act of parliament which took effect on the first day of August, 1834.

When the constitution of the United States was adopted, slavery was tolerated by the local law almost everywhere. In Massachusetts, however, it had been abolished by the state constitution, and in the Northwest Territory, now comprising the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, it was abolished by the congressional ordinance of 1787 for the government of that territory. Still, although the feeling against the institution of slavery found strong expression in some of the northern states where the number of slaves was few, the southern states supposed themselves strongly interested in maintaining it, and it became necessary to so frame the constitution as to leave this, like the rest of the domestic relations, to the regulation of the local law. The foreign slave trade, however, in the division of powers between the states and the nation, as a part of the foreign commerce of the country, would fall naturally under the control of congress, and one of the compromises of the constitution intended for the temporary protection of this traffic, was, that the migration or importation of such persons as any of the states then existing should think proper to admit, should not be prohibited prior to the year 1808. Const. art. 1, § 9. This, however, did not prevent congress making it a penal offence for American citizens to engage in the foreign slave trade, and acts were passed to that end. In 1807 congress exercised the power permitted by the constitution, and made the importation of slaves, from and after January 1, 1808, highly penal. 2 Statutes at Large, 428. In 1820 the slave trade was made piracy. 3 Statutes at Large, 600. Still, with slavery existing and the domestic slave trade permitted in nearly half the Union, it is not surprising that it was found impossible to secure convictions for the capital offence under this legislation, and the pecuniary profits were so much out of proportion to the risks, that the slave trade continued until the breaking out of the American civil war. At the end of that war slavery was abolished throughout the United States by the thirteenth constitutional amendment, and congress was empowered to render the abolition effectual by adopting the necessary legislation to that end. And in the year 1871, Brazil followed this example by adopting a law for the gradual abolition of slavery.

neither captivity, nor the sale of one's self, can by the law of nature and reason reduce the parent to slavery, much less can they reduce the offspring.

Upon these principles the law of England abhors, and will not endure, the existence of slavery within this nation; so that when an attempt was made to introduce it, by statute 1 Edw. VI, c. 3, which ordained, that all idle vagabonds should be made slaves, and fed upon bread and water, or small drink, and refuse meat; should wear a ring of iron round their necks, arms, or legs; and should be compelled by beating, chaining, or otherwise, to perform the work assigned them, were it never so vile; the spirit of the nation could not brook this condition, even in the most abandoned rogues; and therefore this statute was repealed in two years afterwards. (*d*) And now it is laid down, (*e*) that a slave or negro, the instant he lands in England, becomes a freeman; that is, the law will protect him in the enjoyment of his person, and his property. Yet, with regard to any right which the master may have lawfully acquired to the perpetual service of John or Thomas, this will remain exactly in the same state as *before; [*425] for this is no more than the same state of subjection for life, which every apprentice submits to for the space of seven years, or sometimes for a longer term. (2) Hence, too, it follows, that the infamous and unchristian practice of withholding baptism from negro servants, lest they should thereby gain their liberty, is totally without foundation, as well as without excuse. The law of England acts upon general and extensive principles: it gives liberty, rightly understood, that is, protection to a Jew, a Turk, or a heathen, as well as to those who profess the true religion of Christ; and it will not dissolve a civil obligation between master and servant, on account of the alteration of faith in either of the parties: but the slave is entitled to the same protection in England before, as after, baptism; and, whatever service the heathen negro owed of right to his American master, by general not by local law, the same, whatever it be, is he bound to render when brought to England and made a Christian. (3)

(*d*) Stat. 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 16.

(*e*) Salk. 686.

(2) [The meaning of this sentence is not very intelligible. If a right to perpetual service can be acquired lawfully at all, it must be acquired by a contract with one who is free, who is *sui juris*, and competent to contract. Such a hiring may not perhaps be illegal and void. If a man can contract to serve for one year, there seems to be no reason to prevent his contracting to serve for one hundred years, if he should so long live: though, in general, the courts would be inclined to consider it an improvident engagement, and would not be very strict in enforcing it. But there could be no doubt but such a contract with a person in a state of slavery would be absolutely null and void.]

It has however been decided, that a contract by a slave with a person to serve him, in consideration of his purchasing his freedom, is binding.]

(3) [We might have been surprised, that the learned commentator should condescend to treat this ridiculous notion and practice with so much seriousness, if we were not apprised, that the court of common pleas, so late as the 5 W. and M. held that a man might have a property in a negro boy, and might bring an action of trover for him, *because negroes are heathens*. 1 Ld. Ray. 147. A strange principle to found a right of property upon!]

But it was decided in 1772, in the celebrated case of James Sommersett, that a heathen negro, when brought to England, owes no service to an American or any other master. James Sommersett had been made a slave in Africa, and was sold there; from thence he was carried to Virginia, where he was bought, and brought by his master to England; here he ran away from his master, who seized him and carried him on board a ship, where he was confined, in order to be sent to Jamaica to be sold as a slave. While he was thus confined, Lord Mansfield granted a *habeas corpus*, ordering the captain of the ship to bring up the body of James Sommersett, with the cause of his detainer. The above-mentioned circumstances being stated upon the return to the writ, after much learned discussion in the court of king's bench, the court were unanimously of opinion, that the return was insufficient, and that Sommersett ought to be discharged. See Mr. Hargrave's learned argument for the negro in 11 St. Tr. 340; and the case reported in Lofft's Reports, 1.]

Upon the subject of slavery in general, the reader is referred to the elaborate treatise on the Law of Freedom and Bondage, by John Codman Hurd.

Since these commentaries were written, the civilized nations of Europe and America have made great exertions to put an end wholly to the exportation of slaves from Africa. The municipal laws of these nations now very generally make the traffic piracy, and there are treaties between them which are not only to the same effect, but they contain mutual stipulations designed to establish an efficient police on the African shores, with a view to detect

1. The first sort of servants, therefore, acknowledged by the laws of England, are *menial servants*; so called from being *intra mœnia*, or domestics. The contract between them and their masters arises upon the hiring. If the hiring be general, without any particular time limited, the law construes it to be a hiring for a year; (*f*) upon a principle of natural equity, that the servant shall serve, and the master maintain him, throughout all the revolutions of the respective seasons, as well when there is work to be done, as when there is not: (*g*) (4) but the contract may be made for any larger or smaller term. (5) All single men between twelve years old and sixty, and married ones under thirty years of age, and all single women between twelve and forty, not having any visible livelihood, are compellable by two justices to go out to service in

(*f*) Co. Litt. 42.

(*g*) F. N. B. 168.

and punish any attempted violations of the penal laws on the subject. Their operations also extend into the interior of Africa, and seek through fear or interest to induce the native chieftains to abandon the trade in men, and the wars which are necessary to supply that trade. A very great advance has been made in that direction within a few years, and since the entire abolition of slavery in the United States, the slave trade has not only become less profitable, but it has also become exceedingly difficult to evade the vigilant watch which is kept upon the movements of suspected persons. Indeed, the traffic in slaves between Africa and America may be said to be substantially at an end, and the influences now at work promise very speedily to put an end altogether to the relation of slavery in all states professing the Christian religion.

(4) The distinction stated in the text between menial and other servants it is believed is not recognized in the common law of America, and there is no general presumption that a hiring with no particular time mentioned is a hiring for a year. Indeed in England the presumption is not one of law, but of fact: *Baxter v. Nurse*, 6 M. and G. 941; and it is therefore subject to be overcome by any thing in the terms of the contract indicating a different intent in the parties. See *Bayley v. Rimmell*, 1 M. and W. 506; *Rex v. Christ Parish*, 3 B. and C. 459. It does not apply to governesses: *Todd v. Kerrich*, 8 Exch. 151; nor to laborers in husbandry. See *Nicoll v. Greaves*, 17 C. B. N. S. 27. Nor does the English rule prevail here that such a servant discharged without cause is entitled to a month's notice or wages. Where the hiring is for a definite period, and the servant is discharged without cause before that period has expired, he is entitled, according to the weight of American authority, to wages for the whole period, provided he holds himself ready to perform the stipulated services if called upon; and the converse is equally true, that he forfeits all compensation under the contract if he abandons the service before the time is completed. *Reab v. Moor*, 19 Johns. 337; *Marsh v. Russell*, 1 Wend. 514; *Costigan v. Mohawk and H. R. R. Co.*, 2 Denio, 609; *Davis v. Maxwell*, 12 Met. 286; *Eldridge v. Rowe*, 2 Gilm. 91; *Cox v. Adams*, 1 N. and McC. 284; *Sherman v. Champlain Trans. Co.*, 31 Vt. 162; *Miller v. Goddard*, 34 Me. 102; *Coe v. Smith*, 1 Ind. 267; *Hawkins v. Gilbert*, 19 Ala. 54; *Swansey v. Moore*, 22 Ill. 63; *Rice v. Dwight Manuf. Co.*, 2 Cush. 80. A disposition has however been manifested of late to allow a party who has performed valuable services on an entire contract, of which the other party has received the benefit, to recover the value of such services, not exceeding the contract rate, deducting therefrom any damages which the other party has suffered from a breach of the contract. *Britton v. Turner*, 6 N. H. 481; *Allen v. McKibben*, 5 Mich. 449. And the courts which hold to the necessity of an entire performance before there can be any recovery, except from this principle the case of infants, who are allowed to recover the value of their services upon a *quantum meruit*: *Judkins v. Walker*, 17 Me. 38; *Moses v. Stevens*, 2 Pick. 332; *Medbury v. Watrous*, 7 Hill, 110; *Thomas v. Dike*, 11 Vt. 273; though some of the cases treat the contract as binding to the extent of holding the infant accountable for the failure in complete performance. *Moses v. Stevens*, 2 Pick. 332; *Judkins v. Walker*, 17 Me. 38; *Contra*, *Whitmarsh v. Hall*, 3 Denio, 375.

(5) So also either party may by the contract reserve the right to terminate it at his option; but if the right reserved is to put an end to it "if dissatisfied," it can only be exercised on this ground, and not for the purpose of engaging in some other business. *Lantry v. Parks*, 8 Cow. 63; *Monell v. Burns*, 4 Denio, 121.

What is reasonable cause for terminating an entire contract, must always depend upon the particular circumstances of each case. Rough words from the master are not: *Marsh v. Russell*, 1 Wend. 514; but abusive language from the servant has been held to be. *Byrd v. Boyd*, 4 McCord, 246. So any conduct affecting injuriously the employer's business. *Lacy v. Osbaldiston*, 8 C. and P. 80; *Karney v. Holmes*, 6 La. An. 373. Or, it would seem, any criminal offense. *Libhart v. Wood*, 1 W. and S. 265. Or any willful disobedience of a lawful order by the master. *Spain v. Arnott*, 2 Stark. 256; *Amor v. Fearon*, 9 A. and E. 548. And in one very hard case it was held that a female servant's absentsing herself for the night against the command of the master, in order to visit a sick mother, justified her discharge. *Turner v. Mason*, 14 M. and W. 112.

husbandry or certain specific trades, for the promotion of honest industry, (6) and no master can put away his servant, or servant leave his master, after being so retained, either before or at the end of his term, without a quarter's warning; unless upon *reasonable cause, to be allowed by a justice of the peace, (h) [*426] but they may part by consent, or make a special bargain.

2. Another species of servants are called *apprentices*, (from *apprendre*, to learn,) and are usually bound for a term of years, by deed indented or indentures, to serve their masters, and be maintained and instructed by them. This is usually done to persons of trade, in order to learn their art and mystery; and sometimes very large sums are given with them, as a premium for such their instruction: but it may be done to husbandmen, nay, to gentlemen, and others. And (i) children of poor persons may be apprenticed out by the overseers, with consent of two justices, till twenty-one years of age, to such persons as are thought fitting; who are also compellable to take them; and it is held that gentlemen of fortune, and clergymen, are equally liable with others to such compulsion; (k) for which purposes our statutes have made the indentures obligatory, even though such parish-apprentice be a minor. (l) Apprentices to trades may be discharged on reasonable cause, either at the request of themselves or masters, at the quarter-sessions, or by one justice, with appeal to the sessions, (m) who may, by the equity of the statute, if they think it reasonable, direct restitution of a ratable share of the money given with the apprentice: (n) and parish-apprentices may be discharged in the same manner, by two justices. (o) But if an apprentice, with whom less than ten pounds hath been given, runs away from his master, he is compellable to serve out his time of absence, or make satisfaction for the same, at any time within seven years after the expiration of his original contract. (p) (7)

(h) Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 4.

(i) Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 4. 43 Eliz. c. 2. 1 Jac. I, c. 25. 7 Jac. I, c. 3. 8 and 9 W. and M. c. 30. 2 and 3 Ann. c. 6. 4 Ann. c. 19. 17 Geo. II, c. 5. 18 Geo. III, c. 47.

Apprentices enter into the enactments of numerous other statutes. The 32, c. 57; 53, c. 55; 42, cc. 46 and 73; 51, c. 80; 54, cc. 96 and 107; 56, c. 139; all G. III; and 1 and 2, c. 42; and 4, c. 31; statutes of his present majesty's reign. These, together with the cases, are amply abridged in Chetwynde's *Burn's Justice*.

(k) Salk. 57, 491. (l) Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 4. 43 Eliz. c. 2. Cro. Car. 179. (m) Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 4.

(n) Salk. 67. (o) Stat. 20 Geo. II, c. 19. (p) Stat. 6 Geo. III, c. 26.

(6) The English law on this subject is now much changed. In the United States persons cannot be compelled to go out to service unless they become a public charge, nor is jurisdiction conferred upon justices to terminate the relation of master and servant.

(7) In the states of the American Union, apprenticeship is the subject of statutory regulation, and pains have been taken to make it accomplish its proper purpose in fitting the minor for some steady and suitable employment for life. Besides instruction in business, some opportunity to attend school is generally prescribed, and suitable clothing at the expiration of the period of service. The children of poor persons are not liable to be bound out to service, unless they have actually become a public charge; but if they have, the officers having charge of the support of the poor are permitted to bind them out under proper regulations. No person, however, is compellable to receive them as apprentices. In other cases minors are bound to service by consent of parents or guardians, and by an instrument in writing, which ought to specify some profession or trade which the minor is to be taught. It has been held, however, that such specification was not necessary, though in the absence of any such ruling we should have supposed the opposite doctrine the correct one. See *Bowes v. Tibbets*, 7 Greenl. 457; *Fowler v. Hollenbeck*, 9 Barb. 309; *People v. Pillow*, 1 Sand. S. C. 672. The master covenants with the apprentice to supply him with necessaries, and he must furnish him with proper medicine and attendance during sickness. *Regina v. Smith*, 8 C. and P. 153. The legal relation between the parties is one resting upon personal trust and confidence, and the master cannot assign his interest in the articles to any third person without the consent of the minor and his proper guardian: *Nickerson v. Howard*, 19 Johns. 113; *Tucker v. Magee*, 18 Ala. 99; *Haley v. Taylor*, 3 Dana, 222; neither can he employ the apprentice in menial services not connected with the business he was to be taught: *Commonwealth v. Hemperly*, 12 Penn. St. 129; nor employ him in a business altogether different. *Randall v. Rotch*, 12 Pick. 108.

The parties to articles of apprenticeship are the minor on the one part and the master on the other; the father or other guardian signifying his assent thereto. The father, as such, has no power to bind his son an apprentice without his consent, and it is believed that the signing of the articles by the latter would not be sufficient unless by their terms he was a party to the deed. *Matter of McDowle*, 8 Johns. 328; *Harney v. Owen*, 4 Blackf. 337; *Stringfield v. Heiskell*, 2 Yerg. 546; *Pierce v. Massenburgh*, 4 Leigh, 493; *Harper v. Gilbert*, 5 Cush.

3. A third species of servants are *labourers*, who are only hired by the day or the week, and do not live *intra mœnia*, as *part of the family; concerning whom the statutes before cited (*q*) have made many very good regulations: 1. Directing that all persons who have no visible effects may be compelled to work. 2. Defining how long they must continue at work in summer and in winter. 3. Punishing such as leave or desert their work. 4. Empowering the justices at sessions, or the sheriff of the county, to settle their wages; and, 5. Inflicting penalties on such as either give, or exact, more wages than are so settled. (8)

4. There is yet a fourth species of servants, if they may be so called, being rather in a superior, a ministerial, capacity; such as *stewards*, *factors*, and *bailiffs*: whom, however, the law considers as servants *pro tempore*, with regard to such of their acts as affect their master's or employer's property. Which leads me to consider,—

II. The manner in which this relation of service affects either the master or servant. And, first, by hiring and service for a year, or apprenticeship under indentures, a person gains a settlement in that parish wherein he last served forty days. (*r*) In the next place persons serving seven years as apprentices to any trade, have an exclusive right to exercise that trade in any part of England. (*s*) This law, with regard to the exclusive part of it, has by turns been looked upon as a hard law, or as a beneficial one, according to the prevailing humour of the times: which has occasioned a great variety of resolutions in the courts of law concerning it; and attempts have been frequently made for its repeal, though hitherto without success. (9) At common law every man might use what trade he pleased; but this statute restrains that liberty to such as have served as apprentices: the adversaries to which provision say, that all restrictions, which tend to introduce monopolies, are pernicious to trade: the advocates for it allege, that unskilfulness in trade is equally detrimental to the public as monopolies. This reason indeed only extends to such trades, *in the exercise whereof skill [*428] is required. But another of their arguments goes much further; viz.: that apprenticeships are useful to the commonwealth, by employing of youth, and learning them to be early industrious; (10) but that no one would be induced to undergo a seven years' servitude, if others, though equally skilful, were allowed the same advantages without having undergone the same discipline: and in this there seems to be much reason. However, the resolutions of the courts have in general rather confined than extended the restriction. No trades are held to be within the statute but such as were in being at the making of it: (*t*) for trading in a country village, apprenticeships are not requisite: (*u*) and following the trade seven years without any effectual prosecution, either as a master or a servant, is sufficient without an actual apprenticeship. (*w*)

(*q*) Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 4. 6 Geo. III, c. 26. (*r*) See page 364. (*s*) Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 4, § 31.
 (*t*) Lord Raym. 514. (*u*) 1 Vent. 51. 2 Keb. 583.
 (*w*) Lord. Raym. 1179. *Wallen qui tam v. Holton*. Tr. 33 Geo. II, (by all the Judges.)

417. But in some of the states it is probable that the terms of the statutes are such as to change this rule.

Of course an apprentice is not necessarily compensated for his services exclusively in the instruction he receives, and the statutes of some of the states require a small money payment to be made to him when the articles expire.

In England at the present time only children whose parents are unable to maintain them can be apprenticed without their own consent, and by statutes 7 and 8 Vic. c. 101, no one can be compelled against his will to take an apprentice.

(8) Provisions like these are not to be met with in the United States, except, perhaps, in some of the states where slavery has but recently been abolished. There are statutes, however, for the punishment, as vagrants, of persons having no visible means of support, and in some of the states houses of correction where they can be compelled to labor are provided.

(9) The repeal was affected by statute 54 Geo. III, c. 96, and exclusive rights of trading in boroughs were also abolished by statutes 5 and 6 Wm. IV, c. 76.

In the United States no such exclusive rights have ever existed.

(10) [Lord Coke says this statute was not enacted only that workmen should be skilful, but also that youth should not be nourished in idleness, but brought up and educated in lawful sciences and trades. 11 Co. 54]

A master may by law correct his apprentice for negligence or other misbehaviour, so it be done with moderation: (x) though, if the master or master's wife beats any other servant of full age, it is good cause of departure. (y) (11) But if any servant, workman, or labourer, assault his master or dame, he shall suffer one year's imprisonment, and other open corporal punishment, not extending to life or limb. (z) (12)

By service all servants and labourers, except apprentices, become entitled to wages: according to their agreement, if menial servants; or according to the appointment of the sheriff or sessions, if labourers or servants in husbandry; for the statutes for regulation of wages extend to such servants only; (a) it being impossible for any magistrate to be a judge of the employment of menial servants, or of course to assess their wages. (13)

III. Let us, lastly, see how strangers may be affected by this relation of master and servant: or how a master may *behave towards others on behalf of [*429] his servant: and what a servant may do on behalf of his master.

And, first, the master may *maintain*, that is, abet and assist his servant in any action at law against a stranger: whereas, in general, it is an offence against public justice to encourage suits and animosities by helping to bear the expense of them, and is called in law maintenance. (b) A master also may bring an action against any man for beating or maiming his servant; but in such case he must assign, as a special reason for so doing, his own damage by the loss of his service, and this loss must be proved upon the trial. (c) A master likewise may justify an assault in defence of his servant, and a servant in defence of his master: (d) the master, because he has an interest in his servant, not to be deprived of his service; the servant, because it is part of his duty, for which he receives his wages, to stand by and defend his master. (e) Also if any person do hire or retain my servant, being in my service, for which the servant departeth from me and goeth to serve the other, I may have an action for damages against both the new master and the servant, or either of them: but if the new master did not know that he is my servant, no action lies; unless he afterwards refuse to restore him upon information and demand. (f) (14) The reason and founda-

(x) 1 Hawk. P. C. 130. Lamb. Eiren. 127. Cro. Car. 179. 2 Show. 289.

(y) F. N. B. 108. Bro. Abr. t. *Labourers*. 51. *Trespases*, 349. (z) Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 4.

(a) 2 Jones, 47. (b) 2 Roll. Abr. 115. (c) 9 Rep. 113. (d) 2 Roll. Abr. 546.

(e) In like manner, by the laws of King Alfred, c. 33, a servant was allowed to fight for his master, a parent for his child, and a husband or father for the chastity of his wife or daughter.

(f) F. N. B. 167, 168.

(11) In the United States provisions are made by statute for some supervision by the parent, guardian, or the proper officer, of the treatment of the apprentice by the master, and a summary hearing of complaints of ill treatment is sometimes provided for, with power in the court to discharge the apprentice from the articles if the circumstances appear to render it proper.

(12) This statute is since repealed.

(13) [The statutes authorizing the interference of the magistrate in such matters, are repealed by statute 53 Geo. III, c. 40. The amount of wages to menial servants must depend on the contract between them and the master.]

A servant cannot maintain an action against his master for not giving him a character. 3 Esp. 201. If the master gives a character which is false and slanderous, the servant might sue the master for it; but a master who honestly and fairly gives the real and true character of a servant to one who asks his character, under pretence of hiring him, is not liable to an action for so doing: Bull. N. P. 8; 1 T. R. 110; but if done maliciously, and with an intent to injure a servant, it is otherwise. 3 B. and P. 587. The law will in general presume that a servant has, in the ordinary course of his business, performed his duty, and therefore, a servant in the habit of daily or weekly accounting for money received for his master, will be presumed to have paid over money received. 3 Campb. 10; 1 Stark. 136.]

(14) So if one debauch the female servant of another, the master shall have an action against him for the consequent loss of services. In these cases, however, although there must be a right to service on the part of the master, and some evidence from which damage by loss thereof may be inferred, the jury are not limited in their verdict by the damages proved, but may give what are called exemplary damages to compensate for the anxiety, shame and sense of disgrace consequent upon the seduction. A father or any one standing *in loco parentis* is regarded as master of the daughter for the purpose of maintaining this action; but the daughter at the time must actually reside with him, or if not, he must have a right to recall her to his home at any time, and to control her services. See *Clark v. Fitch*, 2 Wend.

tion upon which all this doctrine is built, seem to be the property that every man has in the service of his domestics; acquired by the contract of hiring, and purchased by giving them wages. (15)

As for those things which a servant may do on behalf of his master, they seem all to proceed upon this principle, that the master is answerable for the act of his servant, if done by his command, either expressly given, or implied: *nam* [*430] *qui facit per alium, facit per se.* (g) Therefore, if the *servant commit a trespass by the command or encouragement of his master, the master shall be guilty of it: though the servant is not thereby excused, for he is only to obey his master in matters that are honest and lawful. If an innkeeper's servants rob his guests, the master is bound to restitution: (h) for as there is a confidence reposed in him, that he will take care to provide honest servants, his negligence is a kind of implied consent to the robbery; *nam, qui non prohibet, cum prohibere possit, jubet.* (16) So likewise if the drawer at a tavern sells a

(g) 4 Inst. 109.

(h) Noy's Max. c. 43.

459; *Bartley v. Richtmeyer*, 4 N. Y. 43; *Dain v. Wyckoff*, 7 N. Y. 191; *id.* 18 N. Y. 45; *Mulvehall v. Milward*, 11 N. Y. 343; *Knight v. Wilcox*, 14 N. Y. 414. Distinguished jurists have frequently deplored the necessity of proving a loss of service where the parent brings suit for the seduction of the daughter, and in some of the states statutes have been passed making it unnecessary, and authorizing a recovery in the name of some near relative for the benefit of the daughter herself.

(15) [If an apprentice earn any thing, the master is entitled to it. 1 Salk. 68; 6 Mod. 69; Co. Litt. 117, a. n. And see Cro. Eliz. 638, 661, 746. And an owner of a ship is entitled to all the earnings of his captain, however irregularly obtained. 3 Campb. 43. And see 1 Stra. 595, S. C.; 2 Stra. 944.

So an action on the case may be maintained against a person who continues to employ the master's servant after notice, though the defendant did not procure the servant to leave his master, or know when he employed him that he was the servant of another. 6 T. R. 221; 5 East, 39, n. A master may bring an action on the case for enticing away his servant or apprentice, knowing him to be such; 6 Mod. 182; Peake, C. N. P. 55; Peake Law Evid. 334; Bac. Ab. tit. Master and Servant, O. 3; Bla. Rep. 142; Cowp. 54; and the defendant cannot avail himself of any objection to the indenture of apprenticeship or contract of hiring. 2 H. Bla. 511; 7 T. R. 310; 1 Anst. 256. But no action can be maintained for harboring an apprentice as such, if the master to whom he was bound was then not a housekeeper, and of the age of twenty-four years. 4 Taunt. 876. And a master cannot maintain an action for seducing his servant after the servant has paid him the penalty stipulated by his articles for leaving him. 3 Burr. 1345; 1 Bla. Rep. 387. The master may, in these cases, waive his action for the tort, and sue in assumpsit for the work and labor done by his apprentice or servant, against the person who tortiously employed him. 1 Taunt. 112; 3 M. and S. 191, S. P.

If an injury be committed to goods in the possession of a mere servant, yet if the master have the right of immediate possession he may sue. 2 Saund. 47; 7 T. R. 12.

In general a mere servant with whom a contract is made on the behalf of another, cannot support an action thereon. 2 M. and S. 485, 490; 3 B. and P. 147; 1 H. Bla. 84; Owen, 52; 2 New Rep. 411, a.; 2 Taunt. 374; 3 B. and A. 47; 5 Moore, 270. But when a servant has any beneficial interest in the performance of the contract for commission, &c., as in the case of a factor, auctioneer, &c.: 1 T. R. 112; 1 M. and S. 147; 1 H. Bla. 81; 7 Taunt. 237; 2 Marsh. 497; S. C. 6 Taunt. 65; 4 id. 189; or where the contract is in terms made with him: 3 Camp. 320, he may sustain an action in his own name, in each of which cases however the master might sue: 1 H. Bla. 81; 7 T. R. 359; unless where there is an express contract under seal with the servant to pay him, when he alone can sue. 1 M. and S. 575.

In general a mere servant, having only the custody of goods, and not responsible over, cannot sue for an injury thereto: Owen, 52; 2 Saund. 47, a. b, c, d; but if the servant have a special property in the goods, as a factor, carrier, &c., for commission, he may. 2 Saund. 47, b. c. d.; 2 Vin. Ab. 49; 1 Ves. Sen. 359; 1 B. and A. 59.

(16) [It has been long established law, that the innkeeper is bound to restitution if the guest is robbed in his house by any person whatever; unless it should appear that he was robbed by his own servant, or by a companion whom he brought with him. 8 Co. 33. And where an innkeeper had refused to take charge of goods because his house was full; yet he was held liable for the loss, the owner having stopped as a guest, and the goods being stolen during his stay. 5 T. R. 273. But the innkeeper may be discharged of this general liability by the guest taking upon himself the care of his goods, or, having noticed circumstances of suspicion, neglects to exercise ordinary care in securing his property. 4 M. and S. 306; Holt, C. N. P. 209; 1 Bar. and A. 59.]

See *McKee v. Owen*, 15 Mich. 115, for a discussion as to whether the proprietors of steam-boats, who furnish their guest with state rooms and accommodations similar to those provided by innkeepers, are not to be held subject to the same legal liabilities,

man bad wine, whereby his health is injured, he may bring an action against the master: (i) for although the master did not expressly order the servant to sell it to that person in particular, yet his permitting him to draw and sell it at all is impliedly a general command. (17)

In the same manner, whatever a servant is permitted to do in the usual course of his business, is equivalent to a general command. If I pay money to a banker's servant, the banker is answerable for it: if I pay it to a clergyman's or a physician's servant, whose usual business it is not to receive money for his master, and he embezzles it, I must pay it over again. If a steward lets a lease of a farm, without the owner's knowledge, the owner must stand to the bargain; for this is the steward's business. A wife, a friend, a relation, that use to transact business for a man, are *quoad hoc* his servants; and the principal must answer for their conduct: for the law implies, that they act under a general command; and without such a doctrine as this no mutual intercourse between man and man could subsist with any tolerable convenience. If I usually deal with a tradesman by myself, or constantly pay him ready money, I am not answerable for what my servant takes up upon trust; for here is no implied order to the tradesman to trust my servant; but if I usually send him upon trust, or sometimes on trust and sometimes with ready money, I am answerable for all he takes up; for the tradesman cannot possibly distinguish when he comes by my order, and when upon his own authority. (k) (18)

(i) 1 Roll. Abr. 96.

(k) Dr. and Stud. d. 2, c. 42. Noy's Max. c. 44.

(17) [Where it is the master's duty to see that the servant acts correctly, the master may be even criminally responsible for the servant's conduct; as where a baker's servant introduced noxious ingredients into bread. 3 M. and S. 111; 1 Ld. Raym. 264; 4 Campb. 12. So also [at common law] an indictment for libel contained in an article in a newspaper will lie against a person interested in the profits, without showing that he authorized the insertion of the libelous article. 1 M. and M. 437; 4 Tyr. 677. Nevertheless, the general rule is that the master is not criminally liable for the criminal acts of his servant. 8 Rep. 59; 2 Str. 886.]

(18) [It is a general rule of law, that all contracts made by a servant within the scope of his authority, either express or implied, bind the master; and this liability of the master is not founded on the ground of the master being *paterfamilias*, but merely in respect of the authority delegated to the servant. See 3 Wils. 341; 2 Bla. Rep. 845; 3 Esp. Rep. 235.]

Much difficulty is experienced in practice in the application of this rule, on the question as to what amounts to a servant's acting within the authority delegated to him. The main point to be attended to in the decision of this, is to consider whether the servant was acting under a *special* or a *general* authority. A *special* agent or servant is one who is authorized to act for his master only in some particular instance; his power is limited and circumscribed. A *general* servant or agent is one who is expressly or impliedly authorized by his master to transact all his business, either universally or in a particular department or course of business. A master is not liable for any acts of a *special* agent or servant unconnected with the object of the employment, but he is liable for all the acts of a *general* agent or servant within the scope of his employment, and this even though the master may have expressly forbidden the particular act for which he is sought to be rendered liable. Thus, if a master engage a servant to take care of goods, and the servant sell them, the selling of the goods being totally unconnected with the object for which the servant had them, the sale would not bind the master. So where the chaise of the master had been broken by the negligence of his servant, and the servant desired the coachmaker, who had never been employed by the master to repair it, it was held that the master was not liable for such repairs. 4 Esp. 174. So when the master is in the habit of paying ready money for articles furnished in certain quantities to his family, if the tradesman delivers other goods of the same sort to the servant upon credit, without informing the master of it, and the latter goods do not come to the master's use, he is not liable. 3 Esp. 214; 1 Show. 95; Peake N. P. C. 47; 5 Esp. 76. But, on the other hand, if a servant is employed to sell a horse, and he sells it with a warranty, the master would be liable for a breach of the warranty, because the act of warranty was connected with the act of sale, and within the scope of the servant's authority, even though he had received express directions not to make the warranty. See 3 T. R. 757; 5 Esp. 75; 1 Camp. 258; 3 Esp. 65; 3 B. and C. 38; 4 D. and R. 648; S. C., 15 East, 38. If a servant usually buys for his master on credit, and the servant buys some things without the master's order, the master will be liable; for the tradesman cannot possibly distinguish when the servant comes by order for him or not. Stra. 506; 3 Esp. N. P. Rep. 85, 114; 1 id. 350; 4 id. 174; Peake, C. N. P. 47.

In general, if a party acting in the capacity of a servant or agent, discloses that circumstance, or it be known to the person with whom he contracted, such servant or agent is not liable for a breach of the contract: 12 Ves. 352; 15 East, 62, 66; Paley Princ. and Agent, 246; even for a deceitful warranty: 3 P. Wms. 278; if he had authority from his principal to

[*431] *If a servant, lastly, by his negligence does any damage to a stranger, the master shall answer for his neglect: if a smith's servant lames a horse while he is shoeing him, an action lies against the master, and not against the servant. But in these cases the damage must be done while he is actually

make the contract. 3 P. Wms. 279. And see 1 Chit. on Pleading, 4th ed. 24. But if a servant or agent covenant under seal, or otherwise engage for the act of another, though he describe himself in the deed as contracting for, and on the behalf of, such other person: 5 East, 148, or he contract as if he were principal. Stra. 995; 1 B. and P. 368; 3 B. and A. 47; 2 D. and R. 307; 1 B. and C. 160, S. C.; 1 Gow. 117; 1 Stark. 14; 2 East, 142; he is personally liable, and may be sued, unless in the case of a servant contracting on behalf of government: 1 T. R. 172, 674; 1 East, 135, 582: so if a servant does not pursue the principal's authority so as to discharge the principal, he will be personally liable: 1 Eg. Ab. 308; 3 T. R. 361; or where he acts under an authority which he knows the master cannot give: Cowp. 565, 6; so where a servant has been authorized by his master to do an act for a third party, and he is put in possession of every thing that will enable him to complete it, and he neglects so to do, he will be personally liable to the third person; as if a servant receives money from his master to pay A, and expressly or impliedly engages to pay him, the latter may sue him on his neglect to pay it, for the servant is considered to hold it on the party's account. 14 East, 590; 2 Rol. Rep. 441; 1 B. and A. 36; 1 J. B. Moore, 74; 3 Price, 58; 16 Vesey, 443; 5 Esp. 247; 4 Taunt. 24; 1 Stark. 123, 143, 150, 372; 1 H. Bla. 218. But if the third party by his conduct shows he does not consider the servant as holding the money on his account, the agent will be discharged on properly appropriating the money to other purposes before he is called upon again by the third party to pay it over. Holt. N. P. 372. There is a material distinction between an action against a servant for the recovery of damages for the non-performance of the contract, and an action to recover back a specific sum of money received by him; for when a contract has been rescinded, or a person has received money as servant of another who had no right thereto, and has not paid it over, an action may be sustained against the servant to recover the money; and the mere passing of such money in account with his master, or making a rest without any new credit given to him, fresh bills accepted, or further sums advanced to the master in consequence of it, is not equivalent to the payment of the money to the principal: 3 M. and S. 344; Cowper, 565; Stra. 480; but in general, if the money be paid over before notice to retain it, the servant is not liable: Cowp. 565; Bur. 1986; Ld. Raym. 1210; 4 T. R. 553; Stra. 480; Bul. N. P. 133; 10 Mod. 23; 2 Esp. Rep. 507; 5 J. B. Moore, 105; 8 Taunt. 737; unless his receipt of the money was obviously illegal, or his authority wholly void: 1 Camp. 396, 564; 3 Esp. Rep. 153; 1 Stra. 480; Cowp. 69; 1 Taunt. 359; where persons received money for the express purpose of taking up a bill of exchange two days after it became due, and upon tendering it to the holders and demanding the bill, find that they have sent it back protested for non-acceptance to the persons who endorsed it to them, it was held that such persons, having received fresh orders not to pay the bill, were not liable to an action by the holders for money had and received, when upon the bill's being procured and tendered to them, they refused to pay the money. 1 J. B. Moore, 74, and 14 East, 582, 590. A person who as a banker receives money from A to be paid to B, and to other different persons, cannot in general be sued by B for his share: 1 Marsh. Rep. 132; and an action does not lie against a mere collector, trustee or receiver, for the purpose of trying a right in the principal, even though he has not paid over the money. 4 Burr. 1985; Paley, 261, and cases there cited; 1 Selw. N. P. 3d ed. 78; 1 Camp. 396; 1 Marsh. 132; Holt C. N. P. 641. An auctioneer and stakeholder, who are considered as trustees for both parties, are bound to retain the money till one of them be clearly entitled to receive it, and if he unduly pay it over to either party not entitled to it, he will be liable to repay the deposit or stake. 5 Burr. 2639. But in a late case it has been held, that while the stake remains in the hands of the stakeholder, either party may recover back from him his share of the deposit. 7 Price, 54.

Servants of government are not in general personally liable, and an officer appointed by government, avowedly treating as an agent for the public, is not liable to be sued upon any contract made by him in that capacity, whether under seal or by parol, unless he make an absolute and unqualified undertaking to be personally responsible: 1 T. Rep. 172, 674; 1 East, 135; 3 B. and A. 47; 2 J. B. Moore, 627; and if the public money actually passes through his hands or that of his agent, for the purpose, or with the intent, that it should be applied to the fulfilment of his fiduciary undertakings, he is not personally liable. 3 B. and B. 275; 3 Meriv. 758; 1 East, 135, 583. The bank of England are the servants of the public, and liable as a private servant for any breach of duty. 1 R. and M. 52; 2 Bingham, 393.

In some cases where there is no responsible or apparent principal to resort to, the agent will be liable; as where the commissioners of a navigation act entered into an agreement with the engineer they were held liable: Pal. 251; 1 Bro. Ch. Rep. 101; Hard. 205; and commissioners of highways are personally liable for work thereon, though the surveyor is not: 1 Bla. Rep. 670; Amb. 770; and in some cases the agent alone can be sued, as where a seller chooses to give a distinct credit to a person known to him to be acting as agent for another: 15 East, 62; and a sub-agent cannot sue the principal with whom he had no privity. 6 Taunt. 147; 1 Marsh. 500.]

employed in the master's service; otherwise the servant shall answer for his own misbehaviour. Upon this principle, by the common law, (l) if a servant kept his master's fire negligently, so that his neighbour's house was burned down thereby, an action lay against the master; because this negligence happened in his service; otherwise, if the servant, going along the street with a torch, by negligence sets fire to a house; for there he is not in his master's immediate service; and must himself answer the damage personally. But now the common law is, in the former case, altered by statute 6 Ann. c. 3, which ordains that no action shall be maintained against any, in whose house or chamber any fire shall accidentally begin; for their own loss is sufficient punishment for their own or their servant's carelessness. (19) But if such fire happens through negligence of any servant, whose loss is commonly very little, such servant shall forfeit 100*l.*, to be distributed among the sufferers; and, in default of payment shall be committed to some workhouse, and there kept to hard labour for eighteen months. (m) A master is, lastly, chargeable, if any of his family layeth or casteth any thing out of his house into the street or common highway, to the damage of any individual, or the common nuisance of his majesty's liege people: (n) for the master hath the superintendence and charge of all his household. And this also agrees with the civil law; (o) which holds that the *pater familias*, in this and similar cases, "*ob alterius culpam tenetur, sive servi, sive liberi.*" (20)

(l) Noy's Max. c. 44.

(m) Upon a similar principle, by the law of the twelve tables at Rome, a person by whose negligence any fire began, was bound to pay double to the sufferers; or, if he was not able to pay, was to suffer a corporal punishment.

(n) Noy's Max. c. 44.

(o) Ff. 9, 3, 1. Inst. 4, 5, 1.

(19) The substance of the statute of Anne will be found re-enacted in some of the American states. See Taylor, Land. and Ten. § 196. In the others it is perhaps to be regarded as having been adopted as a part of the American common law. The absence of precedents for the recovery of damages in such cases, when the cases themselves occur so frequently, is strong evidence of the opinion of the legal profession to this effect, and perhaps the legislation making railroad companies liable for injuries caused by fire communicated by their engines has some bearing in the same direction. *Lansing v. Stone*, 37 Barb. 15, is a decision directly to the point that these statutes constitute a part of the American common law.

(20) [A master is liable to be sued for the injuries occasioned by the neglect or unskilfulness of his servant while in the course of his employment, though the act was obviously tortious and against the master's consent; as for fraud, deceit, or any other wrongful act. 1 Salk. 289; Cro. Jac. 473: 1 Stra. 653; Roll. Ab. 95, 1, 15; 1 East, 106; 2 H. Bla. 442; 3 Wils. 313; 2 Bla. Rep. 845. A master is liable for the servant's negligent driving of a carriage or navigating a ship: 1 East, 105; or for a libel inserted in a newspaper of which the defendant was a proprietor. 1 B. and P. 409.

In some cases where it is the duty of the master to see that the servant acts correctly, he may be liable criminally for what the servant has done; as where a baker's servant introduced noxious materials in his bread. 3 M. and S. 11; 1 Ld. Raym. 264; 4 Camp. 12.

A servant cannot in general be sued by a third person for any neglect or nonfeasance which he is guilty of, when it is committed on behalf of, and under the express or implied authority of, his master; thus if a coachman lose a parcel, his master is liable and not himself. 12 Mod. 488; Say, 41; Roll. Ab. 94, pl. 5; Cowp. 403; 6 Moore, 47. So a servant is not liable for deceit in the sale of goods, or for a false warranty. Com. Dig. Action sur case for deceit, B; 3 P. W. 379; Roll. Ab. 95. But he is liable for all tortious acts and wilful trespasses, whether done by the authority of the master or not. 12 Mod. 448; 1 Wils. 328; Say, 41; 2 Mod. 242; 6 id. 212; 6 East, 540; 4 M. and S. 259; 5 Burr. 2687; 6 T. R. 300; 3 Wils. 146. And in every case where a master has not power to do a thing, whoever does it by his command is a trespasser: Roll. Ab. 90; and this though the servant acted in total ignorance of his master's right. 12 Mod. 448, and *supra*; 2 Roll. Ab. 431. And an action may in some cases be supported against a servant for a misfeasance or malfeasance; thus if a bailiff voluntarily suffer a prisoner to escape, he would be liable. 12 Mod. 488; 1 id. 209; 1 Salk. 18; 1 Lord Ray. 655.

It is a general rule that no action is sustainable against an intermediate agent for damage occasioned by the negligence of a sub-agent, unless such intermediate agent personally interfered and caused the injury. 6 T. R. 411; 1 B. and P. 405, 411; Cowp. 406; 2 B. and P. 438; 6 Moore, 47; 2 P. and R. 33.]

The maxim *qui facit per alium facit per se* has general application to the relation of master and servant, wherever the master's assent to the act done or undertaking entered into by the servant on his behalf can be implied, either from his instructions or from the general scope

[*432] *We may observe, that in all the cases here put, the master may be frequently a loser by the trust reposed in his servant, but never can be a gainer; he may frequently be answerable for his servant's misbehaviour, but never can shelter himself from punishment by laying the blame on his agent. The reason of this is still uniform and the same; that the wrong done by the servant is looked upon in law as the wrong of the master himself; and it is a standing maxim, that no man shall be allowed to make any advantage of his own wrong.

CHAPTER XV.

OF HUSBAND AND WIFE.

THE second private relation of persons is that of marriage, which includes the reciprocal rights and duties of husband and wife; or, as most of our elder law books call them, of *baron* and *feme*. In the consideration of which I shall in the first place inquire, how marriages may be contracted or made; shall next point out the manner in which they may be dissolved; and shall, lastly, take a view of the legal effects and consequence of marriage.

of his employment. Upon this see *Broom's Maxims*, 4th ed. 668, and also the works on Agency and Contracts.

Where a wrongful act is done by a servant by the express direction of the master, or in his master's presence so that his assent is presumed, or as the natural or probable result of orders given by the master, or in the exercise of a discretion which the master has given, and an injury results to a third person, the master is responsible therefor to the same extent as if he had himself done the act in person. *McLaughlin v. Pryor*, 4 M. and G. 48; *Gregory v. Piper*, 9 B. and C. 591; *Green v. Omnibus Co.*, 7 C. B. 290; *Lee v. McKay*, 3 Ired. 29; *Harlow v. Humiston*, 6 Cow. 189; *Meyer v. Second Av. R. R. Co.*, 8 Bosw. 305; *Hewett v. Swift*, 3 Allen, 420; *Evansville, &c., R. R. Co. v. Baum*, 26 Ind. 70; *Howe v. Newmarch*, 12 Allen, 49.

And where the servant in the course of his employment so negligently conducts himself, or with such want of skill or prudence manages the business, as to cause loss or damage to third persons, the master may be held responsible therefore. *Bush v. Steinman*, 1 B. and P. 404; *Tarrant v. Webb*, 18 C. B. 797; *Freer v. Cameron*, 4 Rich. 228; *Perry v. Marsh*, 25 Ala. 659; *Chicago, &c., R. R. Co. v. Harney*, 28 Ind. 28; *Douglass v. Stephens*, 18 Mo. 362; *Seymour v. Greenwood*, 7 H. and N. 355; *McDonald v. Snelling*, 14 Allen, 290.

The mere fact, however, that one is servant of another, does not make the other liable for the negligent or wrongful conduct of the servant, unless he was at the time engaged in the master's business or executing his expressed or implied commands. *Lyons v. Martin*, 8 A. and E. 512; *Mitchell v. Crassweller*, 13 C. B. 237. And where a servant, even though at the time employed in the master's service, steps aside from his duty to commit a trespass or other wrong to another, the servant alone is responsible for such wrongful conduct. *McManus v. Crickett*, 1 East. 106; *Lyons v. Martin*, 8 A. and E. 512; *Croft v. Alison*, 4 B. and Ald. 590; *Vanderbilt v. Richmond Turnpike Co.*, 2 N. Y. 479; *Fox v. Northern Liberties*, 3 W. and S. 103; *Church v. Mansfield*, 20 Conn. 284; *Wright v. Wilcox*, 19 Wend. 347; *Hibbard v. N. Y. and Erie R. R. Co.*, 15 N. Y. 455; *Yates v. Squires*, 19 Iowa, 26; *Cox v. Keahey*, 36 Ala. 340.

The rule that the master shall respond for the negligent acts of his servants, is one for the protection of third persons only; and a servant who is injured by the want of care of fellow servants in doing or omitting to do their portion of the common work, cannot recover compensation from the master therefor. *Farwell v. Boston and Worcester R. R. Co.* 4 Met. 49; *Hayes v. Western R. R. Corp.* 3 Cush. 270; *Beaulieu v. Portland Co.*, 48 Me. 294; *Warner v. Erie R. R. Co.*, 39 N. Y. 470; *Caldwell v. Brown*, 53 Penn. St. 457; *Moseley v. Chamberlain*, 18 Wis. 700; *O'Connell v. Baltimore and Ohio R. R. Co.* 20 Md. 212; *Harrison v. Central R. R. Co.*, 31 N. J. 293; *Searle v. Lindsay*, 11 C. B. N. S. 429; *Caldwell v. Brown*, 53 Penn. St. 453. Unless, indeed, the servant causing the injury was an incompetent or otherwise improper person to be employed in such business, and the master was himself guilty of negligence in employing him. *Wiggett v. Fox*, 36 Eng. L. and Eq. 486; *Tarrant v. Webb*, 18 C. B. 797; *Wright v. N. Y. Central R. R. Co.*, 25 N. Y. 562; *Michigan Central R. R. Co. v. Leahey*, 10 Mich. 193; *Thayer v. St. Louis &c., R. R. Co.*, 22 Ind. 26; *Stewart v. Harvard College*, 12 Allen. 58; *Stone v. Western Trans. Co.*, 38 N. Y. 240; *McMahon v. Davidson*, 12 Minn. 357. Some disposition has also been manifested to hold the master liable to a servant who is injured by the negligence of another servant, where the duties of the latter, in connection with which the injury happened, were not common nor in the same department with those of the injured servant, and where the negligence of the injured servant did not contrib-

I. Our law considers marriage in no other light than as a civil contract. (1)

The holiness of the matrimonial state is left entirely to the ecclesiastical law, the temporal courts not having jurisdiction to consider unlawful marriage as a sin, but merely as a civil inconvenience. The punishment therefore, or annulling, of incestuous or other unscriptural marriages, is the province of the spiritual courts; which act *pro salute animæ*. (a) And, taking it in this civil light, the law treats it as it does all other contracts: allowing it to be good and valid in

(a) Salk. 121.

ute to the injury. *Gillenwater v. Madison* and Ind. R. R. Co., 5 Ind. 349; *Fitzpatrick v. N. A. and Salem R. R. Co.*, 7 Ind. 436; see *Chamberlain v. M. and M. R. R. Co.*, 11 Wis. 238; *Cooper v. Mullins*, 30 Geo. 146. Also to hold him responsible where the servant injured was subordinate to and under the control and direction of the servant whose negligence caused the injury. *C. C. and C. R. R. Co. v. Keary*, 3 Ohio, N. S. 201. But see *Gilshannon v. Stony Brook R. Corp.*, 10 Cush. 228; *Sherman v. Rochester, &c.*, R. R. Co., 17 N. Y., 153; *Wright v. N. Y. Central R. R. Co.*, 25 N. Y. 562; *Carle v. Canal and R. R. Co.*, 23 Me. 269; *Ryan v. Cumberland Valley R. R. Co.*, 23 Penn. St. 384; Ohio, &c., R. R. Co. v. *Hammersley*, 28 Ind. 371; *Morgan v. Vale of Neath R. Co.*, Law R., 1 Q. B. 149. And even where the master is himself guilty of negligence, in employing improper servants or in other matters which increase the risk to the servant, if the latter is aware of all the facts and continues in the service notwithstanding, he will be held to have taken upon himself the risk and cannot look to the master for indemnity. *M. R. and L. E. R. R. Co. v. Barber*, 5 Ohio, N. S. 564; Ind. and Cin. R. R. Co. v. *Love*, 10 Ind. 556; *Hayden v. Smithville Manuf. Co.*, 29 Conn. 558; *Skipp v. E. Counties R. Co.*, 9 Exch. 223. *Davis v. Detroit & Milwaukee R. R. Co.*, 20 Mich. 105.

The master is not excused, in the case of a negligent injury to a third person, by the fact that, at the time of the injury, the servant though employed in the master's service, was exceeding his instructions, or acting in disregard thereof, and that the injury occurred in consequence of the failure to observe them. *Luttrell v. Hazen*, 3 Sneed, 20; *Powell v. Deveney*, 3 Cush. 304; *Southwick v. Estes*, 7 Cush. 385; *May v. Bliss*, 22 Vt. 477; *Weed v. Panama R. R.*, 17 N. Y. 362; *Philadelphia, &c., R. R. Co. v. Derby*, 14 How. 488.

One important exception to the maxim *respondet superior* is where the employee, whose negligent conduct has caused the injury, was at the time engaged in an independent employment, and not under the immediate control, direction or supervision of the employer; as in the case of a licensed drayman, employed to draw merchandize and deliver at the store of his employer; *De Forest v. Wright*, 2 Mich. 368; and see *Milligan v. Wedge*, 12 A. and E. 737; *Cuthbertson v. Parsons*, 10 C. B. 304; *McGatrick v. Wason*, 4 Ohio, N. S. 566.

The immediate employer of the agent or servant through whose negligence an injury occurs is the person responsible for the negligence of such agent or servant. To him the principle *respondet superior* applies. There cannot generally be two superiors severally responsible in such case: *Blake v. Ferris*, 5 N. Y. 48; *Blackwell v. Wiswall*, 24 Barb. 355; *Clark v. Fry*, 8 Ohio, N. S. 358; *Barry v. St. Louis*, 17 Mo. 121; *Rapson v. Cubitt*, 9 M. and W. 710; *Hilliard v. Richardson*, 3 Gray, 349; therefore where a job is done under a contract, and the contractor employs the workman whose negligence causes the injury, the contractor is the person responsible for such negligence. See the cases collected in *City of Detroit v. Corey*, 9 Mich. 165. See also *Clark's Adm. v. Hannibal, &c.*, R. R. Co., 36 Mo. 202; *Donaldson v. Mississippi, &c.*, R. R. Co., 18 Iowa, 280.

If, however, the injury necessarily results from the ordinary mode of doing the work contracted for, the employer as well as the contractor may be held responsible therefor. *Chicago v. Robbins*, 2 Black. 418.

Where the master is liable for the torts of his servants, the servant is also, as a general thing, liable himself, except where the tort springs from a breach of the master's contract.

It has been mentioned above that the master is liable to the servant for any injury traceable to the master's own negligence in employing incompetent persons, but his responsibility is not limited to cases of that description. The legal implication from the contract of employment is, that the employer will adopt suitable instruments and means with which to carry on his business. These he can provide and maintain by the use of suitable care and oversight; and if he fails to do so, he is guilty of a breach of duty under his contract, for the consequence of which he ought in justice and sound reason to be held responsible. Per *Bigelow*, Ch. J. *Snow v. Housatonic R. R. Co.*, 8 Allen, 441. And see *Cayzer v. Taylor*, 10 Gray, 274; *Seaver v. Boston and Maine R. R. Co.*, 14 Gray, 466; *Keegan v. Western R. R.* 8 N. Y. 175; *Conolly v. Poillon*, 41 Barb. 366. And it seems that if a servant hire himself out to perform certain duties, and is forced by another servant of the same master to perform other and more dangerous service, and an injury results in consequence of negligence of co-servants in such other employment, he may have an action against the master for the injury. *Chicago, &c., R. R. Co. v. Harney*, 28 Ind. 29. See also Ind. and Cin. R. R. Co. v. *Love*, 10 Ind. 556.

(1) [Therefore an action is sustainable for a breach of promise to marry, where the contract was mutual; 1 Roll. Ab. 22, l. 5; 1 Sid. 180; 1 Lev. 147; Carth. 467; Freem. 95; and though one of the parties be an infant, yet the contract will be binding on the other. 2 Stra.

all cases, where the parties at the time of making it were, in the first place, *willing* to contract; secondly, *able* to contract; and, lastly, actually *did* contract, in the proper forms and solemnities required by law.

*First they must be *willing* to contract. "*Consensus, non concubitus, [*434] facit nuptias,*" is the maxim of the civil law in this case: (b) and it is adopted by the common lawyers, (c) who indeed have borrowed, especially in ancient times, almost all their notions of legitimacy of marriage from the canon and civil laws. (2)

Secondly, they must be *able* to contract. In general, all persons are able to contract themselves in marriage, unless they labour under some particular disabilities and incapacities. What those are it will be here our business to inquire.

Now these disabilities are of two sorts; first, such as are canonical, and therefore sufficient by the ecclesiastical laws to avoid the marriage in the spiritual court; but these in our law only make the marriage voidable, and not *ipso facto* void, until sentence of nullity be obtained. Of this nature are precontract;

(b) *Ff.* 50, 17, 30.

(c) *Co. Litt.* 33.

937. The action is sustainable by a man against a woman: *Carth.* 467; 1 *Salk.* 24; 5 *Mod.* 511; but an executor cannot sue or be sued. 2 *M. and S.* 408.

A promise to marry is not within the statute of frauds, and need not be in writing: 1 *Str.* 34; 1 *Lord Ray.* 316; *Bul. N. P.* 280; nor when in writing need it be stamped. 2 *Stark.* 351.

If the intended husband or wife turns out on inquiry to be of bad character, it is a sufficient defence for rescinding the engagement; but a mere suspicion of such a fact is not. *Holt. C. N. P.* 151; 4 *Esp. Rep.* 256.

No bill in equity, or other proceeding, is sustainable to compel the specific performance of a promise to marry; and the 4 *Geo. IV.* c. 76, s. 27, enacts, that marriage shall not be compelled in any ecclesiastical court, in performance of any contract; consequently, the only legal remedy is an action at law to recover damages for the breach of contract.

It may be as well here to observe, that our law favors and encourages lawful marriages, and every contract in restraint of marriage is illegal, as being against the sound policy of the law.

Hence a wager that the plaintiff would not marry within six years was holden to be void. 10 *East*, 22. For although the restraint was partial, yet the immediate tendency of such contract, as far as it went, was to discourage marriage, and no circumstances appeared to show that the restraint in the particular instance was prudent and proper; and see further, 4 *Burr.* 2225; 2 *Vern.* 102, 215; 2 *Eq. Ca. Ab.* 248; 1 *Atk.* 257; 2 *Atk.* 538, 540; 10 *Ves.* 429; 1 *P. Wms.* 181; 3 *M. and S.* 463.

On the other hand, contracts in procuration of marriage are void, at least in equity: 1 *Ch. Rep.* 47; 3 *Ch. Rep.* 18; 3 *Lev.* 411; 2 *Chan. Ca.* 176; 1 *Vern.* 412; 1 *Ves.* 503; 3 *Atk.* 566; *Show. P. C.* 76; 4 *Bro. P. C.* 144, 8vo. ed.; *Co. Litt.* 206, b; *Forrest Rep.* 142; and semble it would be so at law; 2 *Wils.* 347; 1 *Salk.* 156, acc. *Hob.* 10, cont. Persons conspiring to procure the marriage of a ward in chancery by undue means, are liable not only to be committed, but to be indicted for a conspiracy. 3 *Ves.* and *B.* 173.]

That contracts in restraint of marriage are void, see in addition to the cases above cited, *Hartley v. Rice*, 10 *East*, 22; *Sterling v. Sinnickson*, 2 *South.* 756. Conditions subsequent in deeds, which are in general restraint of marriage, are also void, though reasonable conditions, the purpose of which is only to throw around the relation proper restraints and protections, are permissible; the court placing upon them a construction most favorable to the person restrained. *Daley v. Desbouverie*, 2 *Atk.* 261. Conditions that one shall not marry without consent of parent or guardian, or not to a person or persons named, or not until reaching a specified age, if reasonable, or not to a native of a particular country: *Perrin v. Lyon*, 9 *East*, 170; or that a widow shall not marry again: *Lloyd v. Lloyd*, 16 *Jur.* 231; are conditions which have been sustained, though in the case of personal property, a condition in restraint of the marriage of a widow will be looked upon as imposed *in terrorem* only, and as void unless there be a limitation over in case of a breach. See 1 *Jarm. on Wills*, 710, and notes; *Willard's Eq.* 215; 1 *Greenleaf's Cruise.* 483, 484; *Parsons v. Winslow*, 6 *Mass.* 169.

(2) Marriage is sometimes spoken of as a contract, made in due form of law, by which a man and a woman reciprocally engage to live with each other during their joint lives, and to discharge towards each other the duties imposed by law on the relation of husband and wife. *Bouv. Law Dic.* "Marriage;" and see *Clayton v. Wardell*, 4 *N. Y.* 230. In a legal sense, however, marriage is not a contract, but is a domestic relation resulting from contract. *Ditson v. Ditson*, 4 *R. I.* 101; *Dickson v. Dickson*, 1 *Yerg.* 112; *Maguire v. Maguire*, 7 *Dana*, 183; *Noel v. Ewing*, 9 *Ind.* 49; it is "the union of one man and one woman so long as they shall both live, to the exclusion of all others, by an obligation which during that time, the parties cannot, of their own volition and act, dissolve, but which can be dissolved only by authority of the state. Nothing short of this is a marriage." *Perkins, J., in Roche v. Washington*, 19 *Ind.* 57.

consanguinity, or relation by blood; and affinity, or relation by marriage; and some particular corporal infirmities. And these canonical disabilities are either grounded upon the express words of the divine law or are consequences plainly deducible from thence: it therefore being sinful in the persons who labour under them, to attempt to contract matrimony together, they are properly the object of the ecclesiastical magistrate's coercion; in order to separate the offenders, and inflict penance for the offence, *pro salute animarum*. But such marriages not being void *ab initio*, but voidable only by sentence of separation, they are esteemed valid to all civil purposes, unless such separation is actually made during the life of the parties. (3) For, after the death of either of them, the courts of common law will not suffer the spiritual courts to declare such marriages to have been void; because such declaration cannot now tend to the reformation of the parties. (d) And therefore when a man had married his first wife's sister, and after her death the bishop's court was *proceeding to annul the [* 435] marriage and bastardize the issue, the court of king's bench granted a prohibition *quoad hoc*; but permitted them to proceed to punish the husband for incest. (e) These canonical disabilities being entirely the province of the ecclesiastical courts, our books are perfectly silent concerning them. But there are a few statutes which serve as directories to those courts, of which it will be proper to take notice. By statute 32 Hen. VIII, c. 38, it is declared, that all persons may lawfully marry, but such as are prohibited by God's law; (4) and that all marriages contracted by lawful persons in the face of the church, and consummated with bodily knowledge, and fruit of children, shall be indissoluble. And, because in the times of popery, a great variety of degrees of kindred were made impediments to marriage, which impediments might however be bought off for money, it is declared, by the same statute, that nothing, God's law except, shall impeach any marriage, but within the Levitical degrees; (5) the farthest of which is that between uncle and niece. (f) By the same statute all impediments arising from precontracts to other persons were abolished and declared of none effect, unless they had been consummated with bodily knowledge: in which case the canon law holds such contract to be a marriage *de facto*. But this branch of the statute was repealed by statute 2 and 3 Edw. VI, c. 23. How far the act of 26 Geo. II, c. 33, (6) which prohibits all suits in ecclesiastical courts to compel

(d) Co. Litt. 33.

(e) Salk. 548.

(f) Gilb. Rep. 158.

(3) [Elliot v. Gurr, 2 Phil. Ecc. C. 16. And the wife is entitled to dower. 1 Moore, 225, 228; Noy. 29; Cro. Car. 352; 1 Roper, 332, 333.]

Marriage within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity or affinity was made absolutely void by stat. 5 and 6 William IV, c. 54.

(4) [This act does not specify what these prohibitions are, but by the 25 Hen. VIII, c. 22, s. 3, these prohibitory degrees are stated, and it is enacted, "that no subjects of this realm, or in any of his majesty's dominions, shall marry within the following degrees, and the children of such unlawful marriages are illegitimate, viz.: a man may not marry his mother or step-mother, his sister, his son's or daughter's daughter, his father's daughter by his step-mother, his aunt, his uncle's wife, his son's wife, his brother's wife, his wife's daughter, his wife's son's daughter, his wife's daughter's daughter, his wife's sister;" and by s. 14, this provision shall be interpreted of such marriages where marriages were solemnized, and carnal knowledge had; and see the 28 Hen. VIII, c. 7.]

(5) [See table of Levitical degrees, Burn Ecc. L. tit. Marriage, I. The same degrees by affinity are prohibited. Affinity always arises by the marriage of one of the parties so related; as a husband is related by affinity to all *consanguinei* of his wife; and *vice versa*, the wife to the husband's *consanguinei*: for the husband and wife being considered one flesh, those who are related to the one by blood, are related to the other by affinity. Gibs. Cod. 412. Therefore a man after his wife's death cannot marry her sister, aunt, or niece, or daughter, by a former husband. 2 Phil. Ecc. C. 359. So a woman cannot marry her nephew by affinity, such as her former husband's sister's son. 2 Phil. Ecc. C. 18. So a niece of a wife cannot after her death marry the husband. Noy. Rep. 29. But the *consanguinei* of the husband are not at all related to the *consanguinei* of the wife. Hence two brothers may marry two sisters, or father and son a mother and daughter; or if a brother and sister marry two persons not related, and the brother and sister die, and the widow and widower may intermarry; for though a man is related to his wife's brother by affinity, he is not so to his wife's brother's wife, whom, if circumstances would admit, it would not be unlawful for him to marry.]

(6) [The statute is repealed by subsequent acts.]

a marriage, in consequence of any contract, may collaterally extend to revive this clause of Henry VIII's statute, and abolish the impediment of precontract, I leave to be considered by the canonists. (7)

The other sort of disabilities are those which are created, or at least enforced, by the municipal laws. And though some of them may be grounded on natural law, yet they are regarded by the laws of the land, not so much in the light of any moral offence, as on account of the civil inconveniences they draw after them. These civil disabilities make the contract void *ab initio*, and not merely voidable; [*436] not that they *dissolve a contract already formed, but they render the parties incapable of forming any contract at all: they do not put asunder those who are joined together, but they previously hinder the junction. And, if any persons under these legal incapacities come together, it is a meretricious, and not a matrimonial union. (8)

1. The first of these legal disabilities is a prior marriage, or having another husband or wife living; in which case, besides the penalties consequent upon it as a felony, the second marriage is to all intents and purposes void: (g) polygamy being condemned both by the law of the New Testament, and the policy of all prudent states, especially in these northern climates. And Justinian, even in the climate of modern Turkey, is express, (h) that "*duas uxores eodem tempore habere non licet.*" (9)

2. The next legal disability is want of age. This is sufficient to avoid all other contracts, on account of the imbecility of judgment in the parties contracting; *a fortiori* therefore it ought to avoid this, the most important contract of any. Therefore if a boy under fourteen, or a girl under twelve years of age, marries, this marriage is only inchoate and imperfect; and, when either of them comes to the age of consent aforesaid, they may disagree and declare the marriage void, without any divorce or sentence in the spiritual court. This is founded on the civil law. (i) But the canon law pays a greater regard to the constitution, than the age, of the parties; (j) for if they are *habiles ad matrimonium*, it is a good marriage, whatever their age may be. And in our law it is so far a marriage, that, if at the age of consent they agree to continue together, they need not be married again. (k) If the husband be of years of discretion, and the wife under twelve, when she comes to years of discretion he may disagree as well as she may: for in contracts the obligation must be mutual; both must be bound, or neither: (10) and so it is, *vice versa*, when the wife is of years of discretion, and the husband under. (l)

(g) Bro. Abr. tit. Bastardy, pl. 8.

(h) Inst. 1, 10, 6.

(i) Leon. Constit. 109.

(j) Decretal. l. 4, tit. 2, qu. 3.

(k) Co. Litt. 79.

(l) Ibid.

(7) [A contract *per verba de præsenti tempore* used to be considered in the ecclesiastical courts *ipsum matrimonium*, and if either party had afterwards married, this, as a second marriage, would have been annulled in the spiritual courts, and the first contract enforced. See an instance of it, 4 Co. 29.]

(8) And in such a case the parties may treat the marriage as absolutely void, and are at liberty to contract lawful matrimony without first obtaining decree of nullity. But in cases where the invalidity depends upon questions of fact, it is manifestly the dictate of proper prudence that a suit for decree of nullity should be instituted in the proper court.

(9) The statute 9 Geo. IV, c. 31, the provisions of which have very generally been adopted in the American states, exempts from the criminal provisions for the punishment of polygamy the case of a party whose husband or wife shall have been absent from such person for the space of seven years then last past, and shall not have been known to such person to be living within that time; but the second marriage under such circumstances is nevertheless void, and either party may withdraw from it on discovering the error under which it was agreed to. Kenley v. Kenley, 2 Yeates, 207; Williamson v. Parisien, 1 Johns. Ch. 339; Heffner v. Heffner, 23 Penn. St. 104. But it seems that by statute in some states the second marriage is made voidable only. See Vallean v. Vallean, 6 Paige, 207; White v. Lowe, 1 Redf. Sur. R. 378.

(10) If parties who are of the proper age of consent agree to marry each other, and one of them is under the age of twenty-one years, and the other has reached that age, the latter is bound by the contract, and liable to respond in damages for a breach thereof, while the former may repudiate it with impunity. Hunt v. Peake, 5 Cow. 475; Willard v. Stone, 7 Cow. 22. The common law rule that either party to a marriage, while one is under the age of consent

*3. Another incapacity arises from want of consent of parents or guardians. By the common law, if the parties themselves were of the [*437] age of consent, there wanted no other concurrence to make the marriage valid: and this was agreeable to the canon law. But, by several statutes, (*m*) penalties of 100*l.* are laid on every clergyman who marries a couple either without publication of banns, which may give notice to parents or guardians, or without a license, to obtain which the consent of parents or guardians must be sworn to. And by the statute 4 and 5 Ph. and M. c. 8, whosoever marries any woman child under the age of sixteen years, without consent of parents or guardians, shall be subject to fine, or five years' imprisonment: and her estate during the husband's life shall go to and be enjoyed by the next heir. The civil law indeed required the consent of the parents or tutor at all ages, unless the children were emancipated, or out of the parents' power: (*n*) and if such consent from the father was wanting, the marriage was null, and the children illegitimate (*o*) but the consent of the mother or guardians, if unreasonably withheld, might be redressed and supplied by the judge, or the president of the province: (*p*) and if the father was *non compos*, a similar remedy was given. (*q*) These provisions are adopted and imitated by the French and Hollanders, with this difference: that in France the sons cannot marry without consent of parents till thirty years of age, nor the daughters till twenty-five; (*r*) (11) and in Holland, the sons are at their own disposal at twenty-five, and the daughters at twenty. (*s*) Thus hath stood, and thus at present stands, the law in other neighbouring countries. And it has lately been thought proper to introduce somewhat of the same policy into our laws, by statute 26 Geo. II, c. 33, whereby it is enacted, that all marriages celebrated by license (for banns suppose notice) where either of the parties is under twenty-one, (not being *a widow or widower, who are supposed eman- [*438] cipated,) without the consent of the father, or, if he be not living, of the mother or guardians, shall be absolutely void. (12) A like provision is made as in the civil law, where the mother or guardian is *non compos*, beyond sea, or unreasonably froward, to dispense with such consent at the discretion of the lord chancellor: but no provision is made, in case the father should labour under any mental or other incapacity. (13) Much may be, and much has been, said both for and against this innovation upon our ancient laws and constitution. On the one hand, it prevents the clandestine marriages of minors, which are often a terrible inconvenience to those private families wherein they happen. On the other hand, restraints upon marriages, especially among the lower class, are evidently detrimental to the public by hindering the increase of the people; and to religion and morality, by encouraging licentiousness and debauchery among the single of both sexes; and thereby destroying one end of society and government, which is *concubitu prohibibere vago*. And of this last inconvenience the Roman laws were so sensible, that at the same time that they forbade marriage without the consent of parents or guardians, they were less rigorous upon that very account with regard to other restraints: for, if a parent did not

(*m*) 6 and 7 Will. III, c. 6. 7 and 8 W. III, c. 35. 10 Ann. c. 19. (*n*) *ff.* 23, 2, 2, and 18.

(*o*) *ff.* 1, 5, 11.

(*p*) *Cod.* 5, 4, 1, and 20.

(*q*) *Inst.* 1, 10, 1.

(*r*) *Domat.* of Dowries. § 2. *Montesq.* Sp. L. 23, 7.

(*s*) *Vinnius in Inst.* l. 1, t. 10.

may repudiate it: *Reeve. Dom. Rel.* 200; was held, in *People v. Slack*, 15 Mich. 199, to be changed by statute in Michigan, so that the party competent to consent is bound by the marriage.

(11) [This is now altered to 25 in sons and 21 in daughters, and the consent of the father suffices. After those ages the parties may marry after three respectful, but ineffectual, endeavors to obtain consent of parents. *Code Civil*, Livre 1, Title 5.]

(12) But now by several statutes, the last of which is 19 and 20 Vic. c. 119, s. 17, the marriage of a minor, if actually solemnized without consent, is nevertheless valid. But in such case the court of chancery may deprive the offending party of any pecuniary benefit from the marriage. Statute 4 Geo. IV, c. 76, s. 23; 6 and 7 Wm. IV, c. 85, s. 43. In case consent is unreasonably refused, an appeal may be had to the court of chancery. See *Exparte I. C.*, 3 Myl. & Cr. 471.

(13) A provision for this will be found in the later statutes.

provide a husband for his daughter, by the time she arrived at the age of twenty-five, and she afterwards made a slip in her conduct, he was not allowed to disinherit her upon that account; "*quia non sua culpa, sed parentum, id commisisse cognoscitur.*" (t) (14)

4. A fourth incapacity is want of reason; without a competent share of which, as no other, so neither can the matrimonial contract, be valid. (u) It was for-

(t) Nov. 115, § 11.

(u) 1 Roll. Abr. 357.

(14) [The statute 6 and 7 Wm. IV, c. 85 (explained by 1 Vic. c. 22, and 3 and 4 Vic. c. 72), was passed for the relief of those who scrupled at joining in the services of the established church, and was the result of a long and arduous struggle carried on for many years in and out of parliament. It provides for places of religious worship, other than the churches and chapels of the establishment, being registered for the solemnization of marriages therein; and it also enables persons, who wish to do so, to enter into this contract without any religious ceremony whatever. It is therefore no longer essential to the validity of a marriage, either that it should be solemnized in a parish church or public chapel, or be performed by a person in holy orders; but whether celebrated *in facie ecclesie*, or (under the provisions of the above mentioned statute) in a place of religious worship, or in the presence merely of the superintendent registrar of births, deaths and marriages, the officer before whom civil marriages may be performed, the contract must be preceded and accompanied by certain circumstances of publicity, or entered into in virtue of a license obtainable only on proof by affidavit that there is no legal impediment to the marriage.]

On the question whether the marriage relation has been duly formed, it becomes important to distinguish between the actual relation of marriage, and those facts and circumstances which may tend to prove a marriage, and from which a court or jury might be justified in inferring its existence. A marriage is one thing; the proof of a marriage is another. *Letters v. Cady*, 10 Cal. 533. Mere cohabitation, after the manner of husband and wife, can never constitute marriage: *Lindo v. Belisario*, 1 Hagg. Cons. 216; *Goldbeck v. Goldbeck*, 3 Green. N. J., 42; but nevertheless such cohabitation is a circumstance which, taken in connection with the public recognition of each other as sustaining this relation, or with general reputation of marriage, may fully warrant the inference that a lawful marriage has been formed. Indeed such cohabitation and reputation, supported as they would be by the presumption of legal conduct rather than the reverse, must generally be sufficient evidence of a marriage where civil rights only are involved, and it is only where one of the parties is charged with a criminal disregard of the obligations which marriage imposes, and where the presumption arising from cohabitation and reputation would be met by a counter presumption of innocence, that the law would demand more direct evidence. *Fleming v. Fleming*, 4 Bing. 266; *Starr v. Peck*, 1 Hill, 270; *State v. Winkley*, 14 N. H. 480; *Arthur v. Broadnax*, 3 Ala. 557; *Hantz v. Sealey*, 6 Binn. 405; *Northfield v. Vershire*, 33 Vt. 110; *Harman v. Harman*, 16 Ill. 85; *Henderson v. Cargill*, 31 Miss. 367; *Holmes v. Holmes*, 6 La. 463; *Commonwealth v. Stump*, 53 Penn. St. 132. Thus, in prosecutions for bigamy and criminal conversation an actual marriage must be proved. *Birt v. Barlow*, 1 Doug. 171; *Taylor v. Shemwell*, 4 B. Monr. 575; *People v. Humphrey*, 7 Johns. 314; *Clayton v. Wardell*, 4 N. Y. 230. And so where a defendant is prosecuted criminally for sexual commerce, the unlawfulness of which depends upon a prior marriage. *State v. Wedgwood*, 8 Greenl. 75; *Commonwealth v. Norcross*, 9 Mass. 492; *State v. Roswell*, 6 Conn. 446. And even where civil rights only are involved, if there be proof of one marriage in due form, it would seem that this is not rebutted by proof of former cohabitation and reputed marriage of one of the parties with another person. *Clayton v. Wardell*, 4 N. Y. 230; *Haupt v. Haupt*, 5 Ohio, 539.

In the cases where a marriage may legitimately be inferred from cohabitation and the concurrent circumstances, it is competent to rebut the presumption by any evidence which proves that in fact there was no marriage. *Philbrick v. Spangler*, 15 La. An. 46; *Matter of Taylor*, 9 Paige, 611. Nevertheless, if a party has allowed a woman to be held out to the world as his wife, he may be precluded, on the principle of estoppel, from disproving the marriage as against parties who, trusting to its existence, had supplied the woman with those articles, for herself or her family, which a trader is usually justified in treating a married woman as the agent of her husband to purchase.

When the statute law of the state does not expressly make some formal ceremony, or the presence of a magistrate, priest or minister of religion necessary, the common law, it is believed, will permit parties who are legally competent, to consent to intermarry, by any form of consent they may see fit to adopt, and without any formal ceremony whatever. *Hicks v. Cochran*, 4 Edw. Ch. 107; *Fenton v. Reed*, 4 Johns. 52; *Rose v. Clark*, 8 Paige, 574; *Donnelly v. Donnelly*, 8 B. Monr. 113; *Hantz v. Sealey*, 6 Binn. 405; *Newbury v. Brunswick*, 2 Vt. 151; *Londonderry v. Chester*, 2 N. H. 268; *Dumaresly v. Fishly*, 3 A. K. Marsh. 368; *Bashaw v. State*, 1 Yerg. 177; *Carmichael v. State*, 12 Ohio, N. S. 553; *Cheseldine v. Brewer*, 1 H. and Mc H. 152; *State v. Murphy*, 6 Ala. 765; *Commonwealth v. Stump*, 53 Penn. St. 132. Such is very clearly the weight of authority, though some doubt was cast upon this point by the two cases of *Regina v. Millis*, 10 Cl. and Fin 534, and *Jewell's Lessee v. Jewell*, 1 How. 219; in each of which the court was equally divided. See also *Beamish v. Beamish*, 9 H. L. Cas. 274.

merely adjudged, that the issue of an idiot was legitimate, and consequently that his marriage was valid. A strange determination! since consent is absolutely requisite to matrimony, and neither idiots nor lunatics are capable of consenting to any thing. And therefore the civil law judged much more sensibly when it made such deprivations of reason a previous impediment; *though [*439] not a cause of divorce, if they happened after marriage. (*v*) And modern resolutions have adhered to the reason of the civil law, by determining (*w*) that the marriage of a lunatic, not being in a lucid interval, was absolutely void. But as it might be difficult to prove the exact state of the party's mind at the actual celebration of the nuptials, upon this account, concurring with some private family (*x*) reasons, the statute 15 Geo. II, c. 30, has provided that the marriage of lunatics and persons under phrenzies, if found lunatics under a commission, or committed to the care of trustees by any act of parliament, before they are declared of sound mind by the lord chancellor or the majority of such trustees, shall be totally void. (15)

(*v*) *Ff.* 23, *tit.* 1, *l.* 8, and *tit.* 2, *l.* 16. (*w*) *Morrison's case, Coram Delegat.* (*x*) See private acts, 23 Geo. II, c. 6.

(15) The parties must each have a consenting mind, and be able to understand the relation they are about to form. *True v. Ranney*, 21 N. H. 53. That defect of understanding which would preclude the forming of any other valid contract, would preclude also a marriage contract. *Turner v. Meyers*, 1 Hagg. Cons. R. 416; *Browning v. Reane*, 2 Phil. 70. If the incapacity be such that the party is incapable of understanding the nature of the contract itself, and incapable from mental imbecility of taking care of his or her own person or property, he or she is obviously incapable of disposing of person and property by the marriage contract. Per Sir John Nichol in *Browning v. Reane*, 2 Phil. 70. A marriage with an idiot or an insane person is therefore void. *True v. Ranney*, 21 N. H. 52; *Parker v. Parker*, 2 Lee, 382. So is a marriage with a lunatic, unless when contracted during a lucid interval. *Rawdon v. Rawdon*, 28 Ala. 565; *Cole v. Cole*, 5 Sneed, 57. So is one with a person stupified from intoxication so as to be incapable of understanding the nature of the transaction at the time. *Clement v. Mattison*, 3 Rich. 93.

And not only must there be a consenting mind, that is to say, a capacity to consent, but the parties must have actually consented. They must not only have agreed to marry, but they must have intended completely to form the relation, and in some manner have expressed that consent. The performance of a marriage ceremony is evidence of consent, but it is not conclusive, and it may still be shown that they went through the form as a mere jest, or to evidence the sincerity of their design to form the relation at some future time, or that they intended it for some private purpose of their own, and did not contemplate marriage in fact. *Dalrymple v. Dalrymple*, 2 Hagg. Cons. R. 54; *Clark v. Field*, 13 Vt. 460.

A consent obtained by fraud is no consent, and may be repudiated, notwithstanding a ceremony of marriage may have been gone through with. But what is or is not such fraud as should avoid a marriage is a question usually so complicated by the particular circumstances of the case under consideration, that it does not become necessary to lay down a rule by which cases not thus complicated can be tested. If, for instance, a female heiress, of immature and feeble mind, should fall a prey to a needy adventurer, who, by artifice and false representations, should entice her from the protection of parents or guardian, and by importunities wring a reluctant consent to an unsuitable marriage, it will at once be perceived that there are circumstances attending the case which may properly distinguish it from one where a man, in the full possession of a mature mind, has surrendered himself with blind credulity to the fascinations of an artful woman, and has entered into relations of matrimony with her, without making those inquiries concerning her character, habits or circumstances which prudence would have suggested, but which he has been content to dispense with. Weakness of intellect in the party claiming to be defrauded is an important element in these cases, as would also be the improper use of the influence derived from a confidential relation, like that of guardian and ward. *Portsmouth v. Portsmouth*, 1 Hagg. 355; *Harford v. Morris*, 2 Hagg. Cons. R. 423.

Speaking generally upon this subject, it will be safe to say, that deception by one of the parties in respect to his or her character, temper, reputation, standing in society, bodily condition or fortune, while it might justify the other in repudiating an executory contract to marry, would not be sufficient ground for avoiding a marriage. The law presumes that every person employs due caution in a matter in which his happiness for life is so materially involved, and from regard to the highest interests of society, it refuses to enter upon any inquiry whether such caution has been employed or not, but makes the presumption conclusive. *Wakefield v. Mackay*, 1 Phil. 134; *Reynolds v. Reynolds*, 3 Allen, 607. And this is so even as to the important matter of the woman's previous character for chastity. *Reynolds v. Reynolds*, 3 Allen, 307; *Scroggins v. Scroggins*, 3 Dev. 535; *Leavitt v. Leavitt*, 13 Mich. 452; *Baker v. Baker*, 13 Cal. 87. If, however, the woman was not only previously unchaste, but is actually at the time of the marriage pregnant by another man than the husband, and the husband is ignorant of that fact, and believed her to be chaste, he is entitled to have the marriage

Lastly, the parties must not only be willing and able to contract, but actually must contract themselves in due form of law, to make it a good civil marriage. (16) Any contract made, *per verba de presenti*, or in words of the present tense, and in case of cohabitation *per verba de futuro* also, between persons able to contract, was before the late act deemed a valid marriage to many purposes; and the parties might be compelled in the spiritual courts to celebrate it *in facie ecclesiæ*. But these verbal contracts are now of no force, to compel a future marriage. (y) Neither is any marriage at present valid, that is not celebrated in some parish church or public chapel, unless by dispensation from the archbishop of Canterbury. It must also be preceded by publication of banns, or by license from the spiritual judge. Many other formalities are likewise prescribed by the act; the neglect of which, though penal, does not invalidate the marriage. It is held to be also essential to a marriage, that it be performed by a person in orders; (z) though the intervention of a priest to solemnize this contract is merely *juris positivi*, and not *juris naturalis aut divini*: it being said that Pope Innocent the Third was the first who ordained the celebration [*440] of marriage in the church; (a) before *which it was totally a civil contract. And, in the times of the grand rebellion, all marriages were performed by the justices of the peace; and these marriages were declared valid, without any fresh solemnization, by statute 12 Car. II, c. 33. But, as the law now stands, we may upon the whole collect, that no marriage by the temporal law is *ipso facto void*, that is celebrated by a person in orders,—in a parish church or public chapel, or elsewhere, by special dispensation,—in pursuance of banns or a license,—between single persons,—consenting,—of sound mind,—and of the age of twenty-one years;—or of the age of fourteen in males and twelve in females, with consent of parents or guardians, or without it, in case of widowhood. And no marriage is *voidable* by the ecclesiastical law, after the death of either of the parties; nor during their lives, unless for the canonical impediments of precontract, if that indeed still exists; of consanguinity; and of affinity, or corporal imbecility, subsisting previous to their marriage. (17)

II. I am next to consider the manner in which marriages may be dissolved; and this is either by death, or divorce. (18) There are two kinds of divorce, the

(y) Stat. 26 Geo. II, c. 33.

(z) Salk. 119.

(a) Moor. 170.

declared null for the fraud. *Scott v. Shufeldt*, 5 Paige, 43; *Guilford v. Oxford*, 9 Conn. 321; *Morris v. Morris*, Wright, 630; *Baker v. Baker*, 13 Cal. 87; *Reynolds v. Reynolds*, 3 Allen, 309.

Deception in respect to identity of person, by means of which one is induced to enter into marriage with one person, supposing it to be another, is unquestionably such legal fraud as will avoid the marriage, for in this case the element of consent is entirely wanting, and consequently no valid contract has been effected.

The fraud in any case, to be available as a ground for annulling a marriage, must be a fraud upon one of the parties thereto, and such party must complain. A marriage fraudulent as to third persons—for example, creditors—cannot be set aside on that ground. *McKinney v. Clarke*, 2 Swan, 321.

So a marriage may be declared void if contracted in consequence of the use of force, menace or duress. *Shelford on Mar. and Div.* 213. And see *Harford v. Morris*, 2 Hagg. Cons. R. 423. But where the only duress consists in legal proceedings, not resorted to maliciously and by abuse of legal process, and the defendant enters into a marriage to avoid imprisonment, and because of being unable to procure bail, the marriage will nevertheless be valid. *Jackson v. Winne*, 7 Wend. 47. And see *Scott v. Shufeldt*, 5 Paige, 43.

(16) As to the consequences of a failure to observe the formalities required by the marriage act, see the statutes 4 Geo. IV, c. 76; 6 and 7 Wm. IV, c. 85; 19 and 20 Vic. c. 119.

(17) [The marriage act extends only to marriages in England. Marriages on elopements to Scotland seem to be valid. *Bul. N. P.* 113; 1 Ves. and B. 112, 114; 2 Haggard, 54; 1 Roper, 334. Marriages of British subjects in *foreign countries* are valid if made according to the laws of those countries. 10 East, 282; 2 Marsh. 243; 1 Dowl. and R. Rep. 38. So a marriage in Ireland, performed by a clergyman of the church of England, in a private house, was held valid, although no evidence was given that any license had been granted to the parties. *Smith v. Maxwell*, Ryan and M. Rep. 80.]

The general rule is, that a marriage, valid by the law of the state where it is entered into, is valid everywhere, unless incestuous or bigamous.

(18) [The jurisdiction in the United States over the contract of marriage is almost entirely statutory. It has been held, however, that the court of chancery, in virtue of its inherent

one total, the other partial; the one *a vinculo matrimonii*, the other merely *a mensa et thoro*. The total divorce, *a vinculo matrimonii*, must be for some of the canonical causes of impediment before mentioned, and those, existing *before* the marriage, as is always the case in consanguinity; not supervenient, or arising *afterwards*, as may be the case in affinity or corporal imbecility. (19) For in cases of total divorce, the marriage is declared null, as having been absolutely unlawful *ab initio*: and the parties are therefore separated *pro salute animarum*: for which reason, as was before observed, no divorce can be obtained, but during the life of the parties. The issue of such marriage as is thus entirely dissolved, are bastards. (c) (20)

Divorce *a mensa et thoro* is when the marriage is just and lawful *ab initio*, and therefore the law is tender of dissolving *it; but, for some supervenient cause, it becomes improper or impossible for the parties to live together: [*441] as in the case of intolerable ill temper, or adultery, in either of the parties. For the canon law, which the common law follows in this case, deems so highly and with such mysterious reverence of the nuptial tie, that it will not allow it to be unloosed for any cause whatsoever, that arises after the union is made. (21) And

(c) Co. Litt. 235.

equity powers, has jurisdiction to declare marriages null on the ground of fraud, mistake or defect of mental capacity. See *Wightman v. Wightman*, 4 Johns. Ch. 343; *Burtis v. Burtis*, Hopk. 557; *Perry v. Perry*, 2 Paige, 501; *Clark v. Field*, 13 Vt. 460; *Ferris v. Ferris*, 8 Conn. 166.

(19) [The impotency of the husband at the time of the marriage to consummate it, and still continuing, is ground for annulling it, though the husband was ignorant of his constitutional defects. 2 Phil. Ec. C. 10. Corporal imbecility may arise after the marriage, which will not then vacate the marriage, because there was no fraud in the original contract; and one of the ends of marriage, viz.: the legitimate procreation of children, may have been answered; but no kindred by affinity can happen subsequently to the marriage; for as affinity always depends upon the previous marriage of one of the parties so related, if a husband and wife are not so related at the time of the marriage, they can never become so afterwards.]

The causes for which a total divorce is allowed in the United States are prescribed by statute, and differ in the different states. The consequences mentioned in the text only follow in those cases in which the marriage was void *ab initio*; in other cases the marriage is regarded as binding upon the parties up to the time of the decree, and as put an end to, for all purposes, at that time. The distinction is between a decree of nullity, which declares a marriage to have been void from the beginning, and a decree of divorce, which dissolves a marriage once valid for the misconduct of one of the parties. The English law has been recently changed so as to permit divorces for causes arising after marriage, and a court is created with jurisdiction over the subject. The husband may have a divorce from the bonds of matrimony for the adultery of the wife, and the wife for incestuous adultery, bigamy, rape or unnatural crime by the husband, or for adultery coupled with two years' desertion. And either party may have a judicial separation from the other for adultery, cruelty, or desertion without cause for two years or upwards. See statute 20 and 21 Vic. c. 85.

(20) [In these divorces the wife, it is said, shall receive all again that she brought with her; because the nullity of the marriage arises through some impediment; and the goods of the wife were given for her advancement in marriage, which now ceaseth; but this is where the goods are not spent; and if the husband give them away during the coverture without any collusion, it shall bind her: if she knows her goods are unspent, she may bring an action of detinue for them; but, as to money, &c., which cannot be known, she must sue in the spiritual court. Dyer, 62.

This divorce enables the parties to marry again, and to do all other acts as if they had never been married.]

(21) [But the husband and wife may live separate by agreement between themselves and a trustee; and such agreement is valid and binding, and may be sued upon, if it be not prospective in its nature as for a future separation, to be adopted at the sole pleasure of the wife, the parties being, at the time of making the agreement, living together in a state of amity. See *Jee v. Thurlow*, 2 Bar. and C. 547; 4 Dowl. and R. 11; 2 East, 283; 6 id. 244; 7 Price, 577; 11 Ves. 529.

If, after this agreement to live separate, they appear to have cohabited, equity will consider the agreement as waived, by such subsequent cohabitation. 1 Doves' Rep. 235; Moore, 874; 2 Peere W. 82; 1 Fonbl. 106, and notes; 2 Cox Rep. 100; Bunb. 187; 11 Ves. 526, 537. Or if the agreement being in consequence of the wife's elopement, the husband offer to take her again. 1 Vern. 52.

But at law, the wife being guilty of adultery is no bar to a claim made by her trustee under a separation deed, for arrears of annuity, there being no clause that the deed should be void on that account. 2 Bar. and Cres. 547; 4 D. and R. 11, S. C.]

this is said to be built on the divine revealed law ; though that expressly assigns incontinence as a cause, and indeed the only cause, why a man may put away his wife and marry another. (*d*) The civil law, which is partly of pagan original, allows many causes of absolute divorce ; and some of them pretty severe ones : as, if a wife goes to the theater or the public games, without the knowledge and consent of the husband ; (*e*) but among them adultery is the principal, and with reason named the first. (*f*) But with us in England adultery is only a cause of separation from bed and board : (*g*) for which the best reason that can be given, is, that if divorces were allowed to depend upon a matter within the power of either of the parties, they would probably be extremely frequent ; as was the case when divorces were allowed for canonical disabilities, on the mere confession of the parties, (*h*) which is now prohibited by the canons. (*i*) (22) However, divorces *a vinculo matrimonii*, for adultery, have of late years been frequently granted by act of parliament. (23)

In case of divorce *a mensa et thoro*, the law allows alimony to the wife, which is that allowance which is made to a woman for her support out of the husband's estate : being settled at the discretion of the ecclesiastical judge, on consideration of all the circumstances of the case. This is sometimes called her *estovers*, for which, if he refuses payment, there is, besides the ordinary process of excommunication, a writ at common law *de estoveriis habendis*, in order to recover [*442] it. (*j*) It is generally proportioned to the rank and quality of *the parties. But in case of elopement, and living with an adulterer, the law allows her no alimony. (*k*)

III. Having thus shewn how marriages may be made or dissolved, I come now, lastly, to speak of the legal consequences of such making, or dissolution.

By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law : (*l*) that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband ; under whose wing, protection, and cover, she performs every thing ; and is therefore called in our law-french a *feme-covert*, *fœmina viro co-operta* ; is said to be *covert-baron*, or under the protection and influence of her husband, her *baron*, or lord ; and her condition during her marriage is called her *coverture*. Upon this principle, of an union of person in husband and wife, depend almost all the legal rights, duties, and disabilities, that either of them acquire by the marriage. I speak not at present of the rights of property, but of such as are merely *personal*. For this reason, a man cannot grant any thing to his wife, or enter into covenant with her : (*m*) for the grant would be to suppose her separate existence ; and to covenant with her would be only to covenant with himself : (24) and

(*d*) Matt. xix. 9.

(*e*) Nov. 117.

(*f*) Cod. 5, 17, 8.

(*g*) Moor, 683.

(*h*) 2 Mod. 314.

(*i*) Can. 1603, c. 105.

(*j*) 1 Lev. 6.

(*k*) Cowel, tit. Alimony.

(*l*) Co. Litt. 112.

(*m*) Co. Litt. 12.

(22) Confessions alone ought seldom, if ever, to be sufficient proof of guilt on which to found a decree of divorce, because of the very great danger of collusion. They are receivable, however, in support of other evidence, and their weight will depend very much upon the conclusiveness of the surrounding circumstances in disproving their having been made for the purposes of a divorce. Adultery is now cause for a divorce *a vinculo matrimonii*, not only in all the states of the American Union, but in England also.

(23) The legislatures of the American states have claimed and exercised the right to grant divorces, and it has generally been conceded that they possessed full authority to do so. Some courts, however, have denied their right, on the ground that the power was in its nature judicial, not legislative, and consequently was not conferred in a grant of legislative power. *Bingham v. Miller*, 17 Ohio, 445 ; *Clark v. Clark*, 10 N. H. 380 ; *Ponder v. Graham*, 4 Flor. 23 ; *State v. Fry*, 4 Mo. 120 ; *Bryson v. Campbell*, 12 id. 498 ; *Bryson v. Bryson*, 17 id. 590. And in most of the states now, the legislature is prohibited, by express constitutional provision, to grant divorces.

As to what will give the courts of a state jurisdiction to grant divorces, see *Story Con. L.* § 230, a ; *Bish. Mar. and Div.* § 727 et seq. ; *Ibid.* 4th ed. vol. 2, § 155 et seq. ; *Cooley Const. Linn.* 400-402.

(24) [The husband and wife being one person in law, the former cannot, after marriage, by any conveyance at common law, give an estate to the wife. *Co. Litt.* 112, a, 187, b. Nor the

therefore it is also generally true, that all compacts made between husband and wife, when single, are voided by the intermarriage. (*n*) (25) A woman indeed may be attorney for her husband; (*o*) for that implies no separation from, but is rather a representation of, her lord. And a husband may also bequeath any thing to his wife by will; for that cannot take effect till the coverture is determined by his death. (*p*) (26) The husband is bound to provide his wife with necessaries by law, as much as himself; and, if she contracts

(*n*) Cro. Car. 551.

(*o*) F. N. B. 27.

(*p*) Co. Litt. 112.

wife to the husband. Co. Litt. 187, b. But the husband may grant to the wife, by the intervention of trustees: Co. Litt. 30; and he may surrender a copyhold to her use. A husband cannot covenant or contract with his wife: Co. Litt. 112, a; though he may render his contract binding, if entered into with trustees; for unless by particular custom, as the custom of York, a feme covert is incapable of taking any thing by the gift of her husband: Co. Litt. 3; except by will. Lit. s. 168; 2 Vern. 385; 3 Atk. 72; Fonbl. Eq. vol. 1, 103.

But in equity, gifts between husband and wife are supported: 1 Atk. 270; 2 Ves. 666; 1 Fonbl. on Eq. 103; 3 P. Wms. 334; unless in fraud of creditors, &c., or where the gift is of the whole of the husband's estate. 3 Atk. 72; 2 Ves. 498.

But though in equity the wife may take a separate estate from her husband in respect of a gift, and even have a decree against her husband in respect of such estate: 1 Atk. 278; or avail herself of a charge for payment of his debts: Prec. Ch. 26; yet, if she do not demand the produce during his life, and he maintains her, an account of such separate estate shall not be carried back beyond the year. 2 P. Wms. 82, 341; 3 id. 355; 2 Ves. 7, 190, 716; 16 id. 126; 11 id. 225; 1 Fonbl. on Eq. 104; 1 Atk. 269; 1 Eq. Ca. Ab. 140, pl. 7.

By 17 Hen. VIII, the husband may make an estate to his wife; as if he make a feoffment to the use of his wife for life, in tail or in fee, the estate will be executed by the 27 Hen. VIII, and the wife will be seized. Co. Litt. 112, a. So if the husband covenant to stand seized to the use of his wife. Id. a, b. And this where by custom he might devise at common law. Lit. s. 168. So where the husband or wife act en auter droit, the one may make an estate to the other; as if the wife has an authority by will to sell, she may sell to her husband. Co. Litt. 112, a.]

The statutes of some of the American states have changed this rule of the common law, by conferring upon married women the power to make contracts in respect to their individual property, and to buy and sell and receive conveyances and transfers in the same manner and with the like effect as if unmarried. See *Burdeno v. Amperse*, 14 Mich. 91. Independent of these statutes, contracts between husband and wife are enforced in equity where they are just and equitable, clear and distinct in terms, and appear to have been entered into with full knowledge and free will on the part of the wife. *West v. Howard*, 20 Conn. 581; *Livingston v. Livingston*, 2 Johns. Ch. 537; *Shepard v. Shepard*, 7 id. 57; *Garlick v. Strong*, 3 Paige, 440; *Neimecwicz v. Gahn*, 3 Paige, 614; *Imlay v. Huntington*, 20 Conn. 146. And the wife may make gifts to her husband, which will be sustained if satisfactorily established. *Imlay v. Huntington*, 20 Conn. 146; *Penniman v. Perce*, 9 Mich. 509. Agreements for separation between husband and wife are not favored in the law, and if they contemplate future separation, and are designed to bring it about, they are absolutely void. *Carson v. Murray*, 3 Paige, 483. But where the parties actually separate, and, by agreement at the time or afterwards, provision is made for disposing of property, and settling the respective rights of the parties thereto, and the agreement seems not unreasonable in view of their circumstances and of an actual separation, equity will enforce the stipulations in respect to property, and generally give effect to those regarding the control of the persons of children. And although it has been supposed that trustees were necessary to the validity of such agreements: *Story Eq. Juris*. § 1428; the better opinion appears to be otherwise. *Reeve's Dom. Rel.* 91 and note.

(25) [At law, if a man make a bond or contract to a woman before marriage, and they afterwards intermarry, the bond or contract is discharged. Cro. Car. 551; 1 Lord Ray. 515.

So if two men make a bond or contract to a woman, or e contra, and one of them marries with her, the bond, &c., is discharged. Cro. Car. 551.

Though not if it be intended for the advantage of the wife during the coverture, as that she shall have such rents, &c., at her disposal. Ca. Ch. 21, 117.

But a covenant or contract by a man with a woman is not destroyed by their marriage where the act to be performed is future, to be done after the marriage is determined, as to leave his wife so much after his death. Cro. Car. 376; Salk. 326; 5 T. Rep. 381. If a wife charge her estate with payment of her husband's debts, or apply her separate estate to such purpose, and it does not appear to have been intended by her as gift to her husband, equity will decree the husband's assets to be applied in exoneration of her estate, or in repayment of the money advanced. 2 Vern. 347, 689; 1 P. Wms. 264; 2 Atk. 384; 1 Fonbl. on Eq. 102, 103.]

(26) [A *donatio causa mortis* by a husband to his wife may also be good, as it is in the nature of a legacy. 1 P. Wms. 441.]

debts for them, he is obliged to pay them; (*q*) but for anything besides necessities he is not chargeable. (*r*) (27) Also if a wife elopes, and lives with another

(*q*) Salk. 118.

(*r*) 1 Sid. 120.

(27) [Every agreement of any nature entered into by a married woman, without the express or implied consent of her husband, is absolutely void. 1 Sid. 120; 1 Lev. 4; 1 Mod. 128, S. C.; 2 Atk. 453; 2 Wils. 3; 8 T. R. 545; 2 B. and P. 105; Palm. 312; 1 Taunt. 217. Except indeed in the instance of the queen consort: Co. Litt. 133, a: or of a deed enrolled or covenant on the warranty of a fine, or on a covenant running with the land of the wife, demised by her during coverture: 2 Saund. 180, n. 9; and contracts binding her by special custom: Hob. 225; 34 and 35 Hen. VIII, c. 88; and this rule prevails so strongly that a feme may avail herself of her coverture to defeat a contract, though she have been guilty of fraud: 4 Camp. 26; nor can a married woman even state an account of a debt contracted before marriage. 2 Esp. 716; 1 Taunt. 212. If the wife sell, or dispose of the money or goods of the husband without his assent, the sale is void, and the husband may have trover for the goods; and if she lose money at cards, the husband may bring an action for the money. Com. Dig. Bar. and F. As a consequence of the same doctrine, a married woman cannot in general be made a bankrupt. 1 Mont. on B. L. 4. In equity, the same rule as to the husband's liability for the wife's contract applies: Prec. Ch. 255; 2 Vern. 118; Sel. Ca. Ch. 19; 3 Mod. 186; and a court of equity cannot make the husband liable in respect of the fortune he may have had with his wife for her debts contracted before marriage. 1 P. Wms. 461; 3 id. 410; Forrester, 173, but see 2 Freem. 231. Though indeed if he take out administration to her he will be liable to the extent of what he receives as her assets. Forrester, 172; and see post as to enforcing in equity the wife's contract.]

But notwithstanding the wife is thus in general incapable of making a valid contract, so as to bind her husband, yet in some cases he will be rendered liable when his assent to her contract can be presumed, or was expressly given. Thus, *during cohabitation* the law will, from that circumstance, presume the assent of the husband to all contracts made by the wife for *necessaries*, which are suitable to the husband's degree and estate, and the misconduct, short of the adultery of the wife, will not destroy this presumption. 2 Lord Raym. 1006; 1 Salk. 118. And this liability for necessaries is not confined to cases where they are supplied to, or for the use of, the *lawful* wife of the party to be charged. A man cohabiting with a woman, and allowing her to assume his name, and appearing to the world as his wife, and in that character to contract debts for necessaries, will be liable, though indeed the tradesman knew the circumstances: 2 Esp. 637; 4 Camp. 215; and though the man be married to another woman: 1 id. 245, 249; but this rule only holds during cohabitation. 4 id. 215. When a man marries a widow, and receives her children into his family, although he was not bound by the act of marriage to maintain the children; 4 T. R. 118; 4 East. 76; yet, having treated them as part of his family, he is liable for contracts made by the wife in his absence for the education of the children. 3 Esp. Rep. 1. If the husband be an infant, yet he is liable for necessaries furnished to his wife and children, their interests being considered as identified with his own. 1 Stra. 168; Bul. N. P. 155. This legal presumption of assent may in particular cases be rebutted; as for instance, in an action brought for the price of dresses supplied for the wife by her order, evidence may be given that she was not in want of articles of this kind, or that the husband had given notice to the tradesman not to trust her upon credit. 2 Lord Ray. 1006; 1 Salk. 118; 3 B. and C. 631.

And where a husband makes an allowance to the wife for the supply of herself and family with necessaries during his temporary absence, and a tradesman with notice of this supplies her with goods, the husband is not liable. 4 B. and A. 252. Money lent to a married woman cannot be recovered against the husband. 1 Salk. 387; 1 P. Wms. 482; Prec. Ch. 502. Even though the money be laid out in the purchase of necessaries; though indeed in a court of equity the lender would, in such case, be entitled to stand in the place of the tradesman by whom the goods were supplied. Id. Where a married woman buys materials for clothing, and pawns them before they are made up, the husband is not liable, for they never came to his use, though it would be otherwise if the clothes were made up and used by the wife, although they may be afterwards pawned by her. 1 Salk. 118; Com. Dig. B. and F. Where a party contracts solely with, and gives credit to, the wife, he cannot sue the husband, though for necessaries; and this, although the wife lives with him, and he sees her in possession of some of the goods, unless indeed the husband by any act show that he considered himself the debtor. 5 Taunt. 356; 1 Carr. Rep. 16; 3 Camp. 22; 4 id. 70; 2 Stra. 706; 4 B. and A. 255.

Where the husband and wife *are separated* and live apart from each other, still the husband will be liable upon a contract for *necessaries* made with her where his assent can be implied. Thus, where the husband deserts his wife, or turns her away without any reasonable ground, or refuses to admit her into his house, or compels her by ill usage, indecency of demeanor, or severity, to leave him, in all these cases he gives the wife a general credit, and is liable to be sued for necessaries furnished her. 1 Esp. 441; Lord Raym. 444; 4 Esp. 42; 3 id. 251, 252; 2 Stra. 1214; 3 Taunt. 421; 2 Stark. 87. And this although he has given a general notice to all persons, or even a particular one to the individual supplying her with necessaries, not to give credit to her. 4 Esp. 42; 1 Selw. N. P. 5th ed. 275. And a husband who, without cause, turns away his wife, is liable for costs she incurs in articles of the peace against him. 3 Camp.

man, the husband is *not chargeable even for necessities; (s) at least if the person who furnishes them is sufficiently apprised of her elope- [*443]

(s) *Stra.* 647.

326. But the husband would not be liable at law for money lent to his wife, though laid out in the purchase of necessities; but he would be liable in equity. 1 *Salk.* 387; 1 *P. Wms.* 482; *Prec. Ch.* 502. And a person paying the debts of a wife, contracted while so separated, cannot sue the husband at law. 1 *H. Bla.* 92. Though when a husband goes abroad and leaves his wife, who dies in his absence, and the wife's father pays the expenses of her funeral in a manner suitable to the husband's rank and fortune, the amount may be recovered back from the husband, though expended without his knowledge or consent. 1 *H. Bla.* 92.

This liability for necessities does not arise where the wife voluntarily leaves her husband without his consent, and where he gave her no sufficient cause for her leaving, provided the tradesman has notice of her husband's dissent to her absence. 2 *Stra.* 1214, in notes; 2 *Lord Raym.* 1006; 1 *Sid.* 109; 1 *Lev.* 4; 2 *Stark.* 87; *Stra.* 875. So where the wife has a separate maintenance from the husband suitable to the husband's station, and is actually paid, and the tradesman has notice of this, or the means of knowing it by its being notorious in the neighborhood, the husband will not be liable even for necessities furnished to her. 4 *Camp.* 70; 4 *B. and A.* 254; 2 *New Rep.* 144; 8 *Taunt.* 343; 3 *Esp.* 250; *Salk.* 116; *Lord Ray.* 444; 2 *Stark.* 88. But a promise by the husband to pay the amount of a debt contracted by the wife, though she was allowed a separate maintenance, and this was known, is binding. 2 *Stark.* 177.

Where the wife has been guilty of the crime of adultery, either during cohabitation with her husband, or in a state of separation from him, her claims for maintenance and protection are forfeited by her misconduct. *Stra.* 875; 6 *T. R.* 603; 1 *Selw. N. P.* 5th ed. 272. And where the wife eloped with an adulterer, it was held that the husband should not be charged for necessities, although the tradesman who supplied them had no notice of the criminality. *Stra.* 647, 706. But in these cases, the husband should take due measures to prevent the wife gaining credit in his name; and where the wife, having committed adultery, was left by the husband in his house with two children, bearing his name, but without making any provision for her in consequence of the separation, it was held, that, although she continued in a state of adultery, the husband was liable for necessities furnished to her, on the ground that it did not appear that the tradesman knew the facts of the case. 1 *Bos. and P.* 226; 6 *T. R.* 603. And if, after the wife's criminality, the husband again receives her into his house, his liability for necessities revives; and if he afterwards expel her from his house he will be liable, although due caution be given not to trust her. 11 *Ves.* 536; 4 *Esp.* 41, 42; 1 *Salk.* 19; 6 *Mod.* 172.

Although the wife's capacity to contract is put an end to by the marriage, and her property falls in general under the disposal of her husband, yet it frequently happens that, either by a settlement made with trustees, with the consent of the husband before marriage, or where they separate, and a separate maintenance is allowed, or from some other source, the wife is entitled to separate property, over which, in a court of equity, the husband has no control. Her having such separate property does not indeed remove her incapacity to contract, but she has a power of charging or disposing of it, subject of course to the conditions and limitations with which the property was clothed on her becoming entitled; and it has been decided in the court of chancery, that a general personal engagement of the wife, as for instance, a bond given by a feme covert as surety: 15 *Ves.* 596; or a bond given, or promissory note given as a security for money borrowed by her: 17 *Ves.* 365; 2 *P. Wms.* 144; or given jointly with the husband as a security for his debt: 1 *Bro. Ch. c.* 16; 9 *Ves.* 188, 486; 2 *Ves. Jun.* 138; 2 *P. Wms.* 144; 2 *Atk.* 68; 11 *Ves.* 202; 1 *Ves. and Beames*, 121-123; although the instrument is void as a contract both in law and equity, and although it contains no reference to her separate estate, will be regarded as evidence of an intention on her part to charge her own separate property, and will accordingly operate as a lien upon it, in respect of which she is liable to be proceeded against in that court; where her discretion is freely exercised, the contract will be obligatory. 16 *Vesey, Jun.* 116; 3 *Mad.* 387; and see 3 *Chitty's Com. Law.* 39, 40. And it may be taken as a general rule, that when it appears, or can be inferred, that the wife intends to charge her separate maintenance with a debt incurred for necessities, the creditor is entitled to receive his debt out of the fund provided for her separate maintenance; 3 *Mad.* 387; and as we have before seen, although at law a wife cannot borrow money to lay out in necessities, but at the peril of the lender, who must lay it out for her; *Salk.* 387; yet in equity it is sufficient to charge the husband, if the money be actually applied to the purpose for which it was borrowed, though the lender neglect to see to the application. 1 *P. Wms.* 483; *Prec. Ch.* 502.

After a divorce *a vinculo matrimonii*, the parties are competent to contract, and may marry again the same as if they had never been married. *Com. Dig. B. and F. c.* 1, and *c.* 7; *Moore*, 666; 1 *Salk.* 115, 116; *Cro. Eliz.* 908; 3 *Mod.* 71; *Cro. Car.* 463; 1 *Gow*, 10, ante 440, n. 37. A wife may acquire a separate character, and contract accordingly, by the civil death of her husband by exile: 2 *H. 4.* 7, a; 1 *H. 4.* 1, a; and formerly by profession and abjuration of the realm. 1 *Inst.* 138, a 130, a. Thus, if the husband be transported or banished for life, the wife may contract as a feme sole. *Co. Litt.* 133, a; 2 *B. and P.* 231, n. a; 3 *Camp.* 125. And though the husband be transported for a time only, yet it should seem that during the limited

- ment. (t) (28) If the wife be indebted before marriage, the husband is bound afterwards to pay; for he has adopted her and her circumstances together. (u) (29.) If the wife be injured in her person or her property, she can bring no action for redress without her husband's concurrence, and in his name, as well as her own: (v)

(t) 1 Lev. 5.

(u) 3 Mod. 1, 6.

(v) Salk. 119. 1 Roll. Abr. 347.

period, the effect of his absence is the same to the wife as if it had been perpetual. 2 Bla. Rep. 1197; 1 T. R. 7; 2 B. and P. 231; Co. Litt. 133, a. n. 3; 1 B. and P. 358; and see 4 Esp. 27. Where the husband is an alien who has deserted this kingdom, leaving his wife to act here as a feme sole, the wife may be charged as a feme sole after such desertion: 2 Esp. Rep. 554, 587; 1 B. and P. 357; 2 id. 226; 1 N. R. 80; 11 East, 301; so where the husband is an alien, and has never been in this country. 3 Camp. 123. Indeed it has been considered that the preceding doctrine is confined to the case where the husband has never been in this country. Id. *ibid.* Sed *quære*. At all events it is confined to cases only where the husband was an alien: 11 East, 301; 1 N. R. 80; and where the husband resided in the West Indies, and allowed his wife a weekly sum for her subsistence, it was held that she could not contract as a feme sole. 3 Esp. 18; 1 N. R. 80; 5 T. R. 679, 682. And where an Englishman employed in the service of the British government residing in a foreign country, and having lands there, upon the cessation of his employment in consequence of war between the two countries, sent his wife and family to this country, but continued to reside abroad himself, it was held the wife could not contract as a feme sole. 2 B. and P. 226.

By the custom of London, where a feme covert of a husband useth any craft in such city on her sole account, whereof the husband meddleth nothing, such a woman shall be charged as a feme sole, concerning every thing which toucheth the craft; and if the husband and wife be impleaded in such case, the wife shall plead as a feme sole, and if she be condemned, she shall be committed to prison till she hath made satisfaction, and the husband and his goods shall not in such case be charged or impeached. See 3 Burr. 1776; Cro. Car. 67; 10 Mod. 6; 2 B. and P. 93, 101; 3 Chit. Com. Law, 37.]

(28) Mr. Justice Coleridge says: "I do not imagine that the liability of the husband to discharge the contracts of his wife depends upon the principle of a union of person, but on that of authority and assent, expressed or implied. This principle borne in mind is a clew to almost all the decisions; thus, first, during cohabitation, it may be presumed that the husband authorizes his wife to contract for all necessities suitable to his degree; and no misconduct of hers during cohabitation, not even adultery, which he must therefore be supposed to be ignorant of or to have forgiven, can have any tendency to destroy that presumption of authority. But if that presumption be removed, either by the unreasonable expensiveness of the goods furnished, or by direct warning, the liability falls to the ground. Secondly, cohabitation may cease; either by consent, the fault of the husband or of the wife; in the first case if there be an agreement for a separate allowance to the wife, and that allowance be paid, it operates as notice that she is to be dealt with on her own credit, and that the husband is discharged; if there be no allowance agreed upon or none paid, then it must be presumed that she has still his authority to contract for her necessities, and he remains liable. In the second case, in which it is improbable that any allowance should be made, the husband is said to send his wife into the world with general credit for her reasonable expenses. This is upon the general principle that no one shall avail himself of his own wrong; by the common law the husband is bound to maintain his wife, and when he turns her from his house he does not thereby discharge himself of that liability, which still remaining, is a ground for presuming an authority from him to her to contract for reasonable necessities. Against this presumption no general notice not to deal with her shall be allowed to prevail; but where there is an express notice to any particular individual, that person cannot sue upon contracts afterwards entered into with her. In the last case there is no ground for the presumption of authority; the law does not oblige the husband to maintain an adulteress who has eloped from him, and whose situation has thus become public; and therefore it will not be inferred that he has given her authority to bind him by contracts, and there will be no necessity for notice to rebut an inference which does not arise. See the cases collected and arranged, 1 Selw. N. P. 275, 284."

The husband is under obligation to support his wife only at his own home; and it is only where his conduct is such as to justify her in leaving him, and he makes no suitable provision for her, that he can be held in the law to send her forth with authority to contract for necessities on his credit. *Rumney v. Keyes*, 7 N. H. 571; *Allen v. Aldrich*, 9 Fost. 63; *Shaw v. Thompson*, 16 Pick. 198; *Clement v. Mattison*, 3 Rich. 93; *Brown v. Mudgett*, 40 Vt. 68; *Monroe County v. Budlong*, 51 Barb. 493. The husband whose wife lives apart from him with his assent, is liable for her support. *Carley v. Green*, 12 Allen, 104. And in such cases it seems that the credit she carries with her is a general credit, and cannot be restricted by notice by the husband to particular persons not to trust her. *Bolton v. Prentice*, 2 Strange, 1214; *Harris v. Morris*, 4 Esp. 41.

(29) [But though the husband has had a great fortune with his wife, if she dies before him, he is not liable to pay her debts contracted before marriage, either at law or in equity, unless there be some part of her personal property which he did not reduce into his possession before her death, which he must afterwards recover as her administrator; and to the extent of the value of that property, he will be liable to pay his wife's debts, *dum sola*, which remained undischarged during the coverture. 1 P. Wms. 468; 3 id. 409; Rep. T. Talb. 173.]

neither can she be sued without making the husband a defendant. (*w*) There is indeed one case where the wife shall sue and be sued as a feme sole, viz: where the husband has abjured the realm, or is banished, (*x*) for then he is dead in law; and, the husband being thus disabled to sue for or defend the wife, it would be most unreasonable if she had no remedy, or could make no defense at all. (30) In criminal prosecutions, it is true, the wife may be indicted and punished separately; (*a*) for the union is only a civil union. (31) But in trials of any sort they are not allowed to be evidence for, or against, each other: (*b*) partly because it is impossible their testimony should be indifferent, but principally because of the union of person; and therefore, if they were admitted to be witnesses for each other, they would contradict one maxim of law, "*nemo in propria causa testis esse debet*;" and if against each other, they would contradict another maxim, "*nemo tenetur seipsum accusare*." (32) But, where the offence is directly against the person of the wife, this rule has been usually dispensed with; (*c*) and, therefore, by statute 3 Hen. VII., c. 2, in case a woman be forcibly taken away, and married, she may be a witness against such her husband, in order to convict him of felony. For in this case she can with no propriety be reckoned his wife; because a main ingredient, her consent, was wanting to the contract: and also there is another maxim of law, that no man shall take advantage of his own wrong; which the *ravisher here would do, if, by [*444] forcibly marrying a woman, he could prevent her from being a witness, who is perhaps the only witness to that very fact. (33)

(*w*) Bro. Abr. *Error*, 173. 1 Leon. 312. 1 Sid. 120. This was also the practice in the courts of Athens. Pot. Antig. b. 1, c. 21.

(*x*) Co. Litt. 133.

(*a*) 1 Hawk. P. C. 3.

(*b*) 2 Hawk. P. C. 431.

(*c*) State Trials, vol. 1. Lord Audley's case. Stra. 633.

(30) Mr. Chitty in his treatise on Pleadings has given very fully the rules of the common law regarding the manner in which actions are to be brought by and against husband and wife. In some of the United States those rules have been changed by statute so far as to permit a married woman to bring suits in her own name alone in respect to her individual property, and also to protect for the benefit of the family, where the husband refuses or neglects to do so, that portion of his property which is exempt from levy and sale on execution, or from being mortgaged or sold by him without her consent.

(31) The criminal responsibility of the wife is considered in Book 4, p. 28.

(32) [The statute 16 and 17 Vic. enacts that husbands and wives shall be competent and compellable to give evidence on behalf of either party; but neither can be compelled to disclose any communication during marriage, and neither is a competent witness in a criminal proceeding, or in any proceedings instituted in consequence of adultery.]

The common law on this subject is changed by statute in some of the United States, and husbands and wives are made competent witnesses for and against each other, but in some only by consent. In the absence of statutory provisions the husband or wife is not permitted, even after the termination of the marriage by divorce, to testify against the other concerning matters occurring while it existed. *State v. Jolly*, 3 Dev. and Bat. 110; *Merriam v. Hartford, &c.*, R. R. Co., 20 Conn. 354; *Cook v. Grange*, 18 Ohio, 526; *Barnes v. Camack*, 1 Barb. 392. Nor after the death of the husband may the wife testify to confidential communications which he had made to her. *Pike v. Hayes*, 14 N. H. 19; *Edgell v. Bennett*, 7 Vt. 534.

(33) [The best reason for not allowing a husband or wife to be witnesses against each other is, that if a wife were a witness for her husband she would be under a strong temptation to commit perjury, and if against her husband it would be contrary to the policy of marriage, and might create much domestic dissension and unhappiness; so vice versa of the husband. Bul. N. P. 286; 4 T. R. 679; 2 T. R. 263. The husband and wife cannot be witnesses for each other, and on a prosecution against several for a conspiracy, the evidence of the wife of one of the defendants is inadmissible: 2 Stra. 1094; 5 Esp. Rep. 107; and it is the same in an action for assault, where the cases of the co-defendants cannot be separated. Stra. 1095.

They cannot be witnesses against each other, therefore the husband cannot be a witness against the wife nor the wife against the husband, to prove the first marriage on an indictment for a second marriage. 2 Hawk. P. C. c. 46, s. 68; Sir T. Raym. 1; 4 St. Tr. 754; and see Co. Litt. 6, b.; 2 T. R. 263; 2 Lord Ray. 752; but in such case the second wife or husband may be a witness, the second marriage being void. Bul. N. P. 287; 1 Hal. P. C. 693. So in a civil action, a first wife was refused to be admitted to prove her marriage. 2 Lord Ray. 752. In an action brought by a woman as a feme sole, the plaintiff's husband cannot be called to prove the marriage. 2 T. R. 265, 269; Brownl. 47.

Although the husband and wife be not a party to the suit, yet if either be interested in the result of the suit, the other cannot be a witness for the one so interested. Lord Ray. 744;

In the civil law the husband and the wife are considered as two distinct persons, and may have separate estates, contracts, debts and injuries; (*d*) and therefore in our ecclesiastical courts, a woman may sue and be sued without her husband. (*e*) (34)

(*d*) *Cod.* 4, 12, 1.

(*e*) 2 *Roll. Abr.* 286.

Stra. 1095; 2 *Stark.* on *Evid.* 708. But the interest to disqualify the party must be certain and vested. *Leach*, 133. The wife of a bankrupt cannot be examined as to her husband's bankruptcy. 1 *P. Wms.* 610, 611; 12 *Vin. Ab.* pl. 28; 1 *Brownl.* 47. The husband is an incompetent witness for the wife where her separate estate is concerned. 1 *Burr.* 424; 4 *T. R.* 678; 2 *N. R.* 331; 2 *Stark.* on *Evid.* 708; *Lord Ray.* 344. On the other hand, where the interest of the husband consisting in a civil liability would not have protected him from examination, it seems that the wife must also answer, although the effect may be to subject the husband to an action, for where the husband might be examined, so may the wife. See 2 *Stark.* on *Evid.* 709. And in an action between other parties, the wife may be called to prove that credit was given to her husband. *Bull. N. P.* 287; 1 *Stra.* 504.

Upon the same principle that the husband and wife cannot be witnesses for or against each other, so in general are their *declarations* or *admissions* inadmissible in evidence. 6 *T. R.* 680; *Willes*, 577; 3 *Ves. and B.* 165; *Bull. N. P.* 28; *Hutt.* 16; 1 *T. R.* 69; 1 *Burr.* 635; *Brownl.* 47. The declarations of the wife are not evidence for the husband: 4 *Camp.* 70; and in an action for criminal conversation the wife's confessions are not evidence for the husband: *Bull. N. P.* 28; *Willes Rep.* 577; but in such action the conduct of the husband and wife, and their letters passing between them, are admissible to show the terms of affection on which they were living, but the letter sought to be strictly proved. 4 *Esp. Rep.* 39; 2 *Stark.* 191; 1 *B. and A.* 90, *S. C.* In such action also the letters of the wife to the defendant are not evidence against the husband, though indeed conversations between her and the defendant are. *Bull. N. P.* 28; *Willes*, 577. An admission by the wife, even of a trespass committed by her, is not evidence to affect the husband. 7 *T. R.* 112. So a declaration by the wife in an action against the husband, that the husband absented his house for fear of creditors, is inadmissible in evidence. 3 *Moore*, 23; and see 1 *P. Wms.* 610, 611; 12 *Vin. Ab.* pl. 28; 1 *Brownl.* 47. So the answer of the wife in equity cannot be read against the husband. 3 *P. Wms.* 238; *Salk.* 350; *Vern.* 60, 109, 110. But letters written by the husband to the wife may be read as evidence against him; and so a discourse between the husband and wife in the presence of a third person may be given in evidence against the husband, like any other conversation in which he may have been concerned. *Bull. N. P.* 28; 1 *Phil. on Evid.* 6th ed. 76.

In high treason a wife may be admitted as a witness against her husband, because the tie of allegiance ought to be more obligatory than any other. *Lord Raym.* 1; *Bull. N. P.* 286; 1 *Brownl.* 47. See also 2 *Keb.* 403; 1 *H. P. C.* 301.

So in the case of an indictment for forcible abduction and marriage, the woman is a competent witness for the crown. *Supra*; *Gilb. Ev.* 254; *Cro. Car.* 482, 483, 489; 1 *Hale*, 301; 1 *Vent.* 243; 3 *Keb.* 193; 3 *Stark.* on *Evid.* 711. So in such case, it is said, she is a competent witness for the prisoner. 2 *Hawk. c.* 46, s. 79. But if the marriage be ratified by voluntary cohabitation, she is incompetent. *Hale*, 301; 1 *Vent.* 243; 3 *Keb.* 193; *Cro. Car.* 488; *Vent.* 243; 4 *Mod.* 3; *Stra.* 633. Upon an indictment for marrying a second wife, the first being alive, though the first cannot be a witness, yet the second may, the second marriage being void. 1 *Hale*, *P. C.* 693; 2 *Hawk. P. C. c.* 46, s. 68; *Sir T. Raym.* 1.

In cases of evident necessity, where the fact is presumed to be particularly within the wife's knowledge, there is an exception to the general rule. Thus, a wife may be a witness on the prosecution of her husband for an offence committed against her person. *Stra.* 633, 1202; *Bull. N. P.* 287, *S. C.*; 1 *East*, *P. C.* 454; 13 *East*, 171; 1 *T. R.* 698. On the trial of a man for the murder of his wife, her dying declarations are admissible. 2 *Leach*, *C. L.* 563; 1 *East*, *P. C.* 357.

The rule does not extend to declarations of the parties, which are in the nature of facts, for in such cases the presumptions which are made are not founded on the *credit* of the party, but of the fact. Thus the declaration of the wife at the time of effecting a policy on her life of the bad state of her health, is evidence against her husband. 6 *East*, 188; 2 *Stark.* on *Evid.* 712, 713.

Where the husband has allowed the wife to act as his agent in the management of his affairs, or any particular business, the representations and admissions of the wife, made within the general scope of her authority as such agent, are admissible in evidence against the husband. See 1 *Esp.* 142; 2 *Stark.* 204; *Str.* 527; 6 *T. R.* 176; 4 *Camp.* 92; 2 *Esp.* 211; 5 *Esp.* 145.]

As to the competency of one of the parties to be a witness against the other in a case where the validity of the marriage is in dispute: see *Dixon v. People*, 18 *Mich.* 84.

(34) In respect to that property which, by marriage articles or otherwise, is settled upon a married woman for the support of herself and her children, to the exclusion of marital rights in the husband, and which is technically called her separate estate, the wife is to be treated as a *feme sole*, and her contracts are valid without in any way binding the husband or his prop-

But though our law in general considers man and wife as one person, yet there are some instances in which she is separately considered; as inferior to him, and acting by his compulsion. And therefore all deeds executed, and acts done, by her, during her coverture, are void; except it be a fine, or the like matter of record, in which case she must be solely and secretly examined, to learn if her act be voluntary. (*f*) She cannot by will devise lands to her husband, unless under special circumstances; for at the time of making it she is supposed to be under his coercion. (*g*) And in some felonies, and other inferior crimes, committed by her, through constraint of her husband, the law excuses her: (*h*) but this extends not to treason or murder.

The husband also, by the old law, might give his wife moderate correction. (*i*) For, as he is to answer for her misbehaviour, the law thought it reasonable to intrust him with this power of restraining her, by domestic chastisement, in the same moderation that a man is allowed to correct his apprentices or children; for whom the master or parent is also liable in some cases to answer. But this power of correction was confined within reasonable bounds, (*j*) and the husband was prohibited from using any violence to his wife, *aliter quam ad virum, ex causa regiminis et castigationis uxoris suæ, licite et rationabiliter pertinet*. The civil law gave the husband the *same, or a larger, authority over his wife: allowing him, for some misdemeanors, *flagellis et fustibus acriter* [*445] *verberare uxorem*; for others, only *modicam castigationem adhibere*. (*k*) But with us, in the politer reign of Charles the Second, this power of correction began to be doubted; (*l*) and a wife may now have security of the peace against her husband; (*m*) or, in return, a husband against his wife. (*n*) Yet the lower rank of people, who were always fond of the old common law, still claim and exert their ancient privilege: and the courts of law will still permit a husband to restrain a wife of her liberty, in case of any gross misbehaviour. (*o*)

These are the chief legal effects of marriage during the coverture; upon which we may observe, that even the disabilities which the wife lies under are for the most part intended for her protection and benefit: so great a favourite is the female sex of the laws of England. (35)

(*f*) Litt. § 609, 670.

(*j*) Moor. 874.

(*m*) 2 Lev. 128.

(*g*) Co. Litt. 112.

(*k*) Nov. 117, c. 14, and Van Leeuwen *in loc.*

(*n*) Stra. 1207.

(*h*) 1 Hawk. P. C. 2.

(*o*) Stra. 478, 875.

(*i*) *Ibid.* 180.

(*l*) 1 Sid. 113. 3 Keb. 433.

erty. They are not, however, binding upon her personally, but are enforced in equity against the property, which she either charges expressly or is presumed to intend to charge when making them. Story Eq. Juris. § 1400; *Vanderheyden v. Mallory*, 1 N. Y. 452; *Gardner v. Gardner*, 7 Paige, 112. Her contracts for the sale of such separate estate are also enforceable against her in equity, but cannot be sued upon at law, except in states where the statute has made her liable to such actions.

(35) [Nothing, I apprehend, would more conciliate the good will of the student in favor of the laws of England, than the persuasion that they had shown a partiality to the female sex. But I am not so much in love with my subject as to be inclined to leave it in possession of a glory which it may not justly deserve. In addition to what has been observed in this chapter, by the learned commentator, I shall here state some of the principal differences in the English law, respecting the two sexes; and I shall leave it to the reader to determine on which side is the balance, and how far this compliment is supported by truth.

Husband and wife, in the language of the law, are styled *baron* and *feme*: the word *baron*, or lord, attributes to the husband not a very courteous superiority. But we might be inclined to think this merely an unmeaning technical phrase, if we did not recollect, that if the baron kills his feme, it is the same as if he had killed a stranger, or any other person; but if the feme kills her baron, it is regarded by the laws as a much more atrocious crime; as she not only breaks through the restraints of humanity and conjugal affection, but throws off all subjection to the authority of her husband. And therefore the law denominates her crime a species of treason, and condemns her to the same punishment as if she had killed the king. And for every species of treason, (though in petit treason the punishment of men was only to be drawn and hanged,) till the 30 Geo. III, c. 48, the sentence of women was to be drawn and burnt alive. Book 4, 204.

By the common law all women were denied the benefit of clergy; and till the 3 and 4 W. and M. c. 9, they received sentence of death, and might have been executed for the first offense in simple larceny, bigamy, manslaughter, &c., however learned they were, merely because their sex precluded the possibility of their taking holy orders; though a man, who

CHAPTER XVI.

OF PARENT AND CHILD.

THE next, and the most universal relation in nature, is immediately derived from the preceding, being that between parent and child.

Children are of two sorts; legitimate, and spurious or bastards, each of which we shall consider in their order; and, first, of legitimate children.

I. A legitimate child is he that is born in lawful wedlock, (1) or within a competent time afterwards. "*Pater est quem nuptiæ demonstrant*," is the rule of the civil law; (a) and this holds with the civilians, whether the nuptials happen

(a) *ff.* 2, 4, 5.

could read, was for the same crime subject only to burning in the hand and a few months imprisonment. Book 4, 369.

These are the principal distinctions in criminal matters; now let us see how the account stands with regard to civil rights.

Intestate personal property is equally divided between males and females; but a son, though younger than all his sisters, is heir to the whole of real property.

A woman's personal property, by marriage, becomes absolutely her husband's, which at his death he may leave entirely away from her; but if he dies without will, she is entitled to one-third of his personal property, if he has children; if not, to one-half. In the province of York, to four-ninths or three-fourths.

By the marriage, the husband is absolutely master of the profits of the wife's lands during the coverture; and if he has had a living child, and survives the wife, he retains the whole of those lands, if they are estates of inheritance, during his life; but the wife is entitled only to dower, or one-third, if she survives, out of the husband's estates of inheritance; but this she has, whether she has had a child or not.

But a husband can be tenant by the curtesy of the trust estates of the wife, though the wife cannot be endowed of the trust estates of the husband. 3 P. Wms. 229.

With regard to the property of women, there is taxation without representation; for they pay taxes without having the liberty of voting for representatives; and indeed there seems at present no substantial reason why single women should be denied this privilege. Though the chastity of women is protected from violence, yet a parent can have no reparation, by our law, from the seducer of his daughter's virtue, but by stating that she is his servant, and that by the consequences of the seduction he is deprived of the benefit of her labor; or where the seducer, at the same time, is a trespasser upon the close or premises of the parent. But when by such forced circumstances the law can take cognizance of the offense, juries disregard the pretended injury, and give damages commensurate to the wounded feelings of a parent.

Female virtue, by the temporal law, is perfectly exposed to the slanders of malignity and falsehood; for any one may proclaim in conversation, that the purest maid, or the chastest matron, is the most meretricious and incontinent of women, with impunity, or free from the animadversions of the temporal courts. Thus female honor, which is dearer to the sex than their lives, is left by the common law to be the sport of an abandoned calumniator. Book 3, 125.

From this impartial statement of the account, I fear there is little reason to pay a compliment to our laws for their respect and favor to the female sex.

As to the interest which the husband has in the chattles real and choses in action of his wife, if he survive her, and what interest his representatives have if she survive him, I should recommend to the student's perusal Mr. Butler's note of Co. Litt. 351, a. n. 1. CHRISTIAN.]

The statute law of the several states of the American union has very much changed for the better the common law rules which Prof. Christian here arraigns with so much justice. Some of these changes we have already alluded to. The general purpose is to protect the married woman in the enjoyment and power to dispose of all the property, real or personal, which she may have at the time of the marriage, or acquire afterwards; to preclude the husband from disposing of the property, exempt from execution, without her consent, and to give to her a larger share of his estate than she had at the common law in the event of her surviving him. The diversity in these statutes is very great, and in some states they give the wife more complete power to dispose of her estate independently than the husband is allowed to possess.

(1) [In the great case of the *Antenatus*: *Doe v. Vardill*, 5 B. and C. 43; 6 Bing. N. C. 385; 6 Bligh. N. S. 479; 2 Cl. and Fin. 582; Moylan's report of the case; it was decided that even where a bastard, by the subsequent marriage of his parents, becomes legitimate according to the laws of the country in which he was born, he is nevertheless still a bastard, so far as regards the inheritance of lands in England. See, however, Story's *Conflict of Laws*, p. 117-143, and 7 Cl. and Fin. 817, 842.]

before or after the birth of the child. With us in England the rule is narrowed, for the nuptials must be precedent to the birth; of which more will be said when we come to consider the case of *bastardy*. At present, let us inquire into, 1. The legal duties of parents to their legitimate children. 2. Their power over them. 3. The duties of such children to their parents,

1. And, first, the duties of parents to legitimate children: which principally consist in three particulars; their maintenance, their protection, and their education.

*The duty of parents to provide for the *maintenance* of their children, is a principle of natural law; an obligation, says Puffendorf, (*b*) [*447] laid on them not only by nature herself, but by their own proper act, in bringing them into the world: for they would be in the highest manner injurious to their issue, if they only gave their children life that they might afterwards see them perish. By begetting them, therefore, they have entered into a voluntary obligation to endeavour, as far as in them lies, that the life which they have bestowed shall be supported and preserved. And thus the children will have the perfect *right* of receiving maintenance from their parents. And the president Montesquieu (*c*) has a very just observation upon this head: that the establishment of marriage in all civilized states is built on this natural obligation of the father to provide for his children; for that ascertains and makes known the person who is bound to fulfil this obligation: whereas, in promiscuous and illicit conjunctions, the father is unknown; and the mother finds a thousand obstacles in her way, shame, remorse, the constraint of her sex, and the rigour of laws, that stifle her inclinations to perform this duty; and, besides, she generally wants ability.

The municipal laws of all well-regulated states have taken care to enforce this duty: though Providence has done it more effectually than any laws, by implanting in the breast of every parent that natural *στοργή*, or insuperable degree of affection, which not even the deformity of person or mind, not even the wickedness, ingratitude, and rebellion of children, can totally suppress or extinguish.

The civil law (*d*) obliges the parent to provide maintenance for his child; and, if he refuses, "*judex de ea re cognoscet*." Nay, it carries this matter so far, that it will not suffer a parent at his death totally to disinherit his child without expressly giving *his reason for so doing; and there are fourteen [*448] such reasons reckoned up, (*e*) which may justify such disinherison. If the parent alleged no reason, or a bad, or a false one, the child might set the will aside, *tanquam testamentum inofficiosum*, a testament contrary to the natural duty of the parent. And it is remarkable under what colour the children were to move for relief in such a case: by suggesting that the parent had lost the use of his reason when he made the *inofficious* testament. And this, as Puffendorf observes, (*f*) was not to bring into dispute the testator's power of disinheriting his own offspring, but to examine the motives upon which he did it; and if they were found defective in reason, then to set them aside. But perhaps this is going rather too far: every man has, or ought to have, by the laws of society, a power over his own property; and, as Grotius very well distinguishes, (*g*) natural right obliges to give a *necessary* maintenance to children; but what is more than that they have no other right to, than as it is given them by the favour of their parents, or the positive constitutions of the municipal law.

Let us next see what provision our own laws have made for this natural duty. It is a principle of law, (*h*) that there is an obligation on every man to provide for those descended from his loins; and the manner in which this obligation shall be performed is thus pointed out. (*i*) (2) The father and mother, grandfather

(b) L. of N. l. 4, c. 11.

(c) Sp. L. b. 23, c. 2.

(d) Ff. 25, 3. 5.

(e) Nov. 115.

(f) L. 4, c. 11, § 7.

(g) De J. B. § P. l. 2, c. 7, n. 3.

(h) Raym. 500.

(i) Stat. 43 Eliz. c. 2.

(2) The obligation of the father to support his children is not dependent upon the children having no estate of their own. Dupont v. Johnson, 1 Bailey Ch. 274; Matter of Burke, 4 Sandf. Ch. 617; Hillsborough v. Deering, 4 N. H. 86. Thompson v. Thompson's Executors, 3 Green, N. J. 303; but the courts of equity may make provision for applying such estate to their support. Ibid.

and grandmother, of poor, impotent persons, shall maintain them at their own charges, if of sufficient ability, according as the quarter session shall direct: and (k) if a parent runs away, and leaves his children, the churchwardens and overseers of the parish shall seize his rents, goods, and chattels, and dispose of them toward their relief. By the interpretations which the courts of law have made upon these statutes, if a mother or grandmother marries again, and was before such second marriage of sufficient ability to keep the child, the husband shall be charged *to maintain it: (l) for, this being a debt of [*449] hers when single, shall like others extend to charge the husband. (3) But at her death, the relation being dissolved, the husband is under no farther obligation.

No person is bound to provide a maintenance for his issue, unless where the children are impotent and unable to work, either through infancy, disease, or accident, and then is only obliged to find them with necessaries, the penalty on refusal being no more than 20s. a month. (4) For the policy of our laws, which are ever watchful to promote industry, did not mean to compel a father to maintain his idle and lazy children in ease and indolence: but thought it unjust to oblige the parent against his will, to provide them with superfluities, and other indulgences of fortune; imagining they might trust to the impulse of nature, if the children were deserving of such favours. Yet, as nothing is so apt to stifle the calls of nature as religious bigotry, it is enacted, (m) that if any popish parent shall refuse to allow his protestant child a fitting maintenance, with a view to compel him to change his religion, the lord chancellor shall by order of court constrain him to do what is just and reasonable. But this did not extend to persons of another religion, of no less bitterness and bigotry than the popish: and therefore in the very next year we find an instance of a Jew of immense riches, whose only daughter, having embraced Christianity, he turned her out of doors; and, on her application for relief, it was held she was entitled to none. (n) (5) But this gave occasion (o) to another statute, (p) which ordains, that if Jewish parents refuse to allow their protestant children a fitting maintenance suitable to the fortune of the parent, the lord chancellor on complaint may make such order therein as he shall see proper. (6)

(k) Stat. 5 Geo. I. c. 8.
(n) Lord Raym. 699.

(l) Styles, 233. 2 Bulstr. 346.
(o) Com. Journ. 18 Feb. 12 Mar. 1701.

(m) Stat. 11 and 12 W. III, c. 4.
(p) 1 Ann. st. 1. c. 30.

It has sometimes been said that if a parent neglect to supply his child with necessaries, any third person may supply them, and charge the parent with the amount. *Van Valkenburgh v. Watson*, 13 Johns. 480; *Pidgin v. Cram*, 8 N. H. 350; *Dennis v. Clark*, 2 Cush. 353; *Matter of Ryder*, 11 Paige, 185. But in the absence of the parent's authority for the supply of such necessaries, either express or implied, it is believed no action can be maintained therefor. See *Varney v. Young*, 11 Vt. 258; *Gordon v. Potter*, 17 id. 348; *Hunt v. Thompson*, 3 Scam. 179; *Raymond v. Loyl*, 10 Barb. 483, where the cases are fully collected; *Mortimore v. Wright*, 6 M. and W. 482; *Shelton v. Springett*, 11 C. B. 452. The course in case of neglect is to pursue such remedy as the statute gives.

(3) By the common law a man is not obliged to maintain the children of his wife by a former marriage. *Williams v. Hutchinson*, 3 N. Y. 312; *Worcester v. Marchant*, 14 Pick. 510. But if he receives them into his home, he is considered as adopting them as his children, and the law will not imply a promise on his part to pay them for services performed for him, nor on theirs to compensate him in money for necessaries supplied. *Williams v. Hutchinson*, 3 N. Y. 312; *Swartz v. Hazlett*, 8 Cal. 118; *Sharp v. Cropsey*, 11 Barb. 224; *Brush v. Blanchard*, 18 Ill. 46; *Resor v. Johnson*, 1 Ind. 100; *Oxford v. McFarland*, 3 id. 156. *Luney v. Vantine*, 40 Vt. 501.

The statute 4 and 5 Wm. IV, c. 76, § 57, makes the husband liable to maintain the children of his wife born before his marriage with her, whether the children be legitimate or illegitimate, until they attain the age of sixteen years, or until the death of the mother.

(4) The amount of the provision to be made for them is fixed by the justices.

By statute 31 and 32 Vic. c. 122, the parent who wilfully neglects to provide adequate necessaries for his child, being in his custody and under the age of 14 years, is punishable criminally.

(5) [It was not held that she was entitled to none because she was the daughter of a Jew, but because the order did not state that she was poor, or likely to become chargeable to the parish.]

(6) These statutes are now repealed. Statute 9 and 10 Vic. c. 59.

Our law has made no provision to prevent the disinheriting of children by will: leaving every man's property in his *own disposal, upon a principle of liberty in this as well as every other action; though perhaps it [*450] had not been amiss if the parent had been bound to leave them at least a necessary subsistence. Indeed, among persons of any rank or fortune, a competence is generally provided for younger children, and the bulk of the estate settled upon the eldest, by the marriage articles. Heirs also, and children, are favourites of our courts of justice, and cannot be disinherited by any dubious or ambiguous words; there being required the utmost certainty of the testator's intentions to take away the right of an heir. (q) (7)

From the duty of maintenance we may easily pass to that of *protection*, which is also a natural duty, but rather permitted than enjoyed by any municipal laws; natural in this respect, working so strongly as to need rather a check than a spur. A parent may by our laws maintain and uphold his children in their lawsuits, without being guilty of the legal crime of maintaining quarrels. (r) A parent may also justify an assault and battery in defense of the persons of his children: (s) nay, where a man's son was beaten by another boy, and the father went near a mile to find him, and there revenged his son's quarrel by beating the other boy, of which beating he afterwards unfortunately died, it was not held to be murder, but manslaughter merely. (t) Such indulgence does the law shew to the frailty of human nature, and the workings of parental affection. (8)

The last duty of parents to their children is that of giving them an *education* suitable to their station in life; a duty pointed out by reason, and of far the greatest importance of any. For, as Puffendorf very well observes, (u) it is not *easy to imagine or allow, that a parent has conferred any considerable [*451] benefit upon his child by bringing him into the world; if he afterwards entirely neglects his culture and education, and suffers him to grow up like a mere beast, to lead a life useless to others, and shameful to himself. Yet the municipal laws of most countries seem to be defective in this point, by not constraining the parent to bestow a proper education upon his children. Perhaps they thought it punishment enough to leave the parent, who neglects the instruction of his family, to labour under those griefs and inconveniences which his family, so uninstructed, will be sure to bring upon him. Our laws, though their defects in this particular cannot be denied, have in one instance made a wise provision for breeding up the rising generation: since the poor and laborious part of the community, when past the age of nurture, are taken out of the hands of their parents, by the statutes for apprenticing poor children; (w) and are placed out by the public in such a manner, as may render their abilities, in their several stations, of the greatest advantage to the commonwealth. The rich, indeed, are left at their own option, whether they will breed up their children to be ornaments or disgraces to their family. (9) Yet in one case, that of

(q) 1 Lev. 130.

(r) 2 Inst. 564.

(s) 1 Hawk. P. C. 131.

(t) Cro. Jac. 296.

1 Hawk. P. C. 83.

(u) L. of N. b. 6, c. 2, § 12.

(w) See page 426.

(7) See *Fitch v. Weber*, 6 Hare, 145; *Mangham v. Mason*, 1 V. and B. 410.

(8) [This case should not be read without the comment of Mr. Justice Foster on it; he says the case as reported by Lord Coke always appeared to him very extraordinary. The two children had been fighting, the prisoner's son is worsted, and returns home bloody; the father takes a staff, runs three-quarters of a mile and beats the other boy, who dies of the beating. If, says he, upon provocation such as this, the father after running three-quarters of a mile had dispatched the child with an hedge stake, or any other *deadly* weapon, or by repeated blows with his cudgel, it must in my opinion have been murder, since any of these circumstances would have been a plain indication of malice. He then adverts to Coke's report of the case, and to the remarks made on it by Lord Raymond in *R. v. Oneby*, 2 Lord Raym. 1498, from which he infers that the accident happened by a single stroke with a *small* cudgel not likely to destroy, and that death did not immediately ensue. So that the ground of the decision was the absence of any fact showing malice, rather than indulgence shown to parental passion. Foster, 294.]

(9) If the child has a property independent of the father, and the father fails to provide suitable maintenance and education, the court of chancery may interfere and cause them to be

religion, they are under peculiar restrictions; for (x) it is provided, that if any person sends any child under his government beyond the seas, either to prevent its good education in England, or in order to enter into or reside in any popish college, or to be instructed, persuaded, or strengthened in the popish religion; in such case, besides the disabilities incurred by the child so sent, the parent or person sending, shall forfeit 100*l.*, which (y) shall go to the sole use and benefit of him that shall discover the offence. And (z) if any parent, or other, shall send or convey any person beyond sea, to enter into, or be resident in, or trained up in, any priory, abbey, nunnery, popish university, college, or school, or house of jesuits, or priests, or in any private popish family, in order to be [*452] instructed, persuaded, or confirmed in the *popish religion, or shall contribute any thing towards their maintenance when abroad by any pretext whatever, the person both sending and sent shall be disabled to sue in law or equity, or to be executor or administrator to any person, or to enjoy any legacy or deed of gift, or to bear any office in the realm, and shall forfeit all his goods and chattels and likewise all his real estate for life. (10)

2. The *power* of parents over their children is derived from the former consideration, their duty: this authority being given them, partly to enable the parent more effectually to perform his duty, and partly as a recompense for his care and trouble in the faithful discharge of it. And upon this score the municipal laws of some nations have given a much larger authority to the parents than others. The ancient Roman laws gave the father a power of life and death over his children; upon this principle, that he who gave had also the power of taking away. (a) But the rigour of these laws was softened by subsequent constitutions; so that (b) we find a father banished by the Emperor Hadrian for killing his son, though he had committed a very heinous crime, upon this maxim, that "*patria potestas in pietate debet, non in atrocitate, consistere.*" But still they maintained to the last a very large and absolute authority; for a son could not acquire any property of his own during the life of his father; but all his acquisitions belonged to the father, or at least the profits of them, for his life. (c)

The power of a parent by our English laws is much more moderate; but still sufficient to keep the child in order and obedience. (11) He may lawfully correct his child, being under age, in a reasonable manner; (d) for this is for the benefit of his education. (12) The consent or concurrence of the parent to the marriage of his child under age, was also *directed* by our ancient law to be obtained: but now it is absolutely *necessary*, for without it the contract is void. (e) And this also, is another means, which the law has put into the parent's hands, in [*453] *order the better to discharge his duty; first, of protecting his children from the snares of artful and designing persons; and, next, of settling them properly in life, by preventing the ill consequences of too early and precipitate marriages. A father has no other power over his son's *estate* than as his trustee or guardian; for though he may receive the profits during the child's

(x) Stat. 1 Ja. I, c. 4, and 3 Ja. I, c. 5.

(y) Stat. 11 and 12 W. III, c. 4.

(z) Stat. 3 Car. I, c. 2.

(a) Ff. 28, 2. 11.

Cod. 8, 47, 10.

(b) Ff. 48, 9, 5.

(c) Inst. 2, 9, 1.

(d) 1 Hawk. P. C. 130.

(e) Stat. 26 Geo. II, c. 33.

provided at the expense of the child's estate, through the intervention of a guardian. See *Clark v. Clark*, 8 Paige, 153; *Thompkins v. Thompkins' Ex'r*, 3 Green, N, J. 303; *Story Eq. Juris.* §§ 1341, 1353 to 1357.

(10) Since the statutes 10 Geo. IV, c. 7, and 2 and 3 Will. IV, c. 115, these restrictions no longer exist.

(11) [At law the father has against third persons the right to the custody and possession of his infant son, and the court of king's bench cannot directly control it. 5 East, 221; 10 Ves. J. 58, 59. And, at common law, it was an offence to take a child from his father's possession. *Andrews*, 312. And child-stealing is an offence now punishable by statute. A court of equity controls this power of the parent when he conducts himself improperly, as being in constant habits of drunkenness or blasphemy, or attempting to mislead him in matters of religion, or to take him improperly out of the kingdom; and the father may be compelled to give security in these cases. 10 Ves. J. 58, 61.]

(12) The parent may be said to exercise a judicial authority in determining what punishment is proper for his child, but he is liable criminally in a clear case of excess. *Johnson v. State*, 2 Humph. 283,

minority, yet he must account for them when he comes of age. He may indeed have the benefit of his children's labour while they live with him, and are maintained by him; but this is no more than he is entitled to from his apprentices or servants. (13) The legal power of a father, for a mother, as such, is entitled to no power, but only to reverence and respect; (14) the power of a father, I say, over the persons of his children ceases at the age of twenty-one: for they are then enfranchised by arriving at years of discretion, or that point which the law has established, as some must necessarily be established, when the empire of the father, or other guardian, gives place to the empire of reason. Yet, till that age arrives, this empire of the father continues even after his death; for he may by his will appoint a guardian to his children. He may also delegate part of his parental authority, during his life, to the tutor or schoolmaster of his child; who is then *in loco parentis*, and has such a portion of the power of the parent committed to his charge, viz.: that of restraint and correction, as may be necessary to answer the purposes for which he is employed. (15.)

3. The duties of children to their parents arise from a principle of natural justice and retribution. For to those who gave us existence we naturally owe subjection and obedience during our minority, and honour and reverence ever after: they who protected the weakness of our infancy are entitled to our protection in the infirmity of their age; they who by sustenance and education have enabled their offspring to prosper, ought in return to be supported by that offspring, in case they stand in need of assistance. Upon this principle proceed all the duties of children to their parents which are enjoined by positive laws. And the Athenian laws (*f*) carried *this principle into practice with a [*454] scrupulous kind of nicety: obliging all children to provide for their father when fallen into poverty; with an exception to spurious children, to those whose chastity had been prostituted by consent of the father, and to those whom he had not put in any way of gaining a livelihood. The legislature, says Baron Montesquieu, (*g*) considered, that in the first case the father, being uncertain, had rendered the natural obligation precarious; that in the second case he had sullied the life he had given, and done his children the greatest of injuries, in depriving them of their reputation; and that in the third case, he had rendered their life so far as in him lay, an insupportable burthen, by furnishing them with no means of subsistence.

Our laws agree with those of Athens with regard to the first only of these particulars, the case of spurious issue. In the other cases the law does not hold the tie of nature to be dissolved by any misbehaviour of the parent; and therefore a child is equally justifiable in defending the person or maintaining the cause or suit, of a bad parent, as a good one; and is equally compellable, (*h*) if of sufficient ability, to maintain and provide for a wicked and unnatural pro-

(*f*) Potter's Antiq. b. 4. c. 15.

(*g*) Sp. L. b. 26, c. 5.

(*h*) Stat. 43, Eliz. c. 2.

(13) But if the parent emancipate his child before the age of majority, either by express words, or by turning him away from his home, or any equivalent conduct, the child may hire himself out, and recover for his own use a compensation for his services. See *Stiles v. Granville*, 6 Cush. 458; *McCoy v. Huffman*, 8 Cow. 84; *Burlingame v. Burlingame*, 7 id. 92; *Conover v. Cooper*, 3 Barb. 115; *Armstrong v. McDonald*, 10 id. 300; *Huntoon v. Hazleton*, 20 N. H. 388. *Rush v. Vought*, 55 Penn. St. 457.

(14) That is, during the life of the father; for after his death, the parental power of control passes to her. *Rex v. Greenhill*, 4 A. and E. 624. And where the father and mother are living apart from each other, the proper court having authority in the premises may adjudge the custody of the children to either of them, in view of what appears most for the interest of the children themselves. On this subject, see *Barry's Case*, 8 Paige, 47; 25 Wend. 64; 3 Hill, 399.

(15) In deciding upon the proper punishment of a scholar the teacher acts judicially, and is not to be made liable, either civilly or criminally, unless he has acted with express malice, or been guilty of such excess in punishment that malice must be implied. *State v. Pendergrass*, 2 Dev. and Bat. 365; *Cooper v. McJunkin*, 4 Ind. 290; *Commonwealth v. Randall*, 4 Gray, 38. It may be proper to observe, however, that public sentiment does not now tolerate such corporal punishment of pupils in schools as was formerly thought permissible and even necessary.

genitor as for one who has shewn the greatest tenderness and parental piety. (16)

11. We are next to consider the case of illegitimate children, or bastards: with regard to whom let us inquire, 1. Who are bastards. 2. The legal duties of the parents towards a bastard child. 3. The rights and incapacities attending such bastard children.

1. Who are bastards. A bastard, by our English laws, is one that is not only begotten, but born, out of lawful matrimony. The civil and canon laws do not allow a child to remain a bastard, if the parents afterwards intermarry: (i) and herein they differ most materially from our law; which, though not so strict [*455] as to require that the child shall be *begotten*, *yet makes it an indispensable condition to make it legitimate, that it shall be *born*, after lawful wedlock. (17) And the reason of our English law is surely much superior to that of the Roman, if we consider the principal end and design of establishing the contract of marriage, taken in a civil light, abstractedly from any religious view, which has nothing to do with the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the children. The main end and design of marriage, therefore, being to ascertain and fix upon some certain person, to whom the care, the protection, the maintenance, and the education of the children should belong: this end is, undoubtedly, better answered by legitimating all issue born after wedlock, than by legitimating all issue of the same parties, even born before wedlock, so as wedlock afterwards ensues: 1. Because of the very great uncertainty there will generally be, in the proof that the issue was really begotten by the same man; whereas, by confining the proof to the birth, and not to the begetting, our law has rendered it perfectly certain what child is legitimate, and who is to take care of the child.

2. Because by the Roman law a child may be continued a bastard, or made legitimate, at the option of the father and mother, by a marriage *ex post facto*; thereby opening a door to many frauds and partialities, which by our law are prevented. 3. Because by those laws a man may remain a bastard till forty years of age, and then become legitimate, by the subsequent marriage of his parents; whereby the main end of marriage, the protection of infants, is totally frustrated. 4. Because this rule of the Roman law admits of no limitations as to the time or number of bastards so to be legitimated; but a dozen of them may twenty years after their birth, by the subsequent marriage of their parents, be admitted to all the privileges of legitimate children. This is plainly a great discouragement to the matrimonial state; to which one main inducement is usually not only the desire of having *children*, but also the desire of procreating lawful *heirs*. Whereas our constitutions guard against this indecency, and at the same time give sufficient allowance to the frailties of human nature. For, if a child be begotten while the parents are single, and they will endeavour to [*456] make an early reparation for the offence, by *marrying within a few months after, our law is so indulgent as not to bastardize the child, if it be born, though not begotten in lawful wedlock; for this is an incident that can happen but once, since all future children will be begotten, as well as born, within the rules of honour and civil society. Upon reasons like these we may suppose the peers to have acted at the parliament of Merton, when they refused to enact that children born before marriage should be esteemed legitimate. (k) (18)

(i) *Inst.* 1. 10, 13. *Decret.* 1. 4, t. 17. c. 1.

(k) *Rogaverunt omnes episcopi magnates, ut consentiant quod nati ante matrimonium essent legitimi, sicut illi qui nati sunt post matrimonium. quia ecclesia tales habet pro legitimis. Et omnes comites et barones una voce responderunt. quod nolunt reges Angliæ mutare. quia hucusque usitate sunt et approbata. Stat. 20 Hen. III, c. 9.* See the introduction to the great charter, *edit.* Oxon. 1759, sub anno 1253.

(16) The liability of a child to support a parent is purely statutory, and can only be enforced in the mode the statute has provided. *Edwards v. Davis*, 16 Johns. 281. See also *Raymond v. Loyl*, 10 Barb. 483.

(17) The rule of the civil law on this subject has been adopted by statute in some of the United States; the child being legitimated for all purposes by the marriage of the parents and the recognition of the child by the father as his own.

(18) If the husband and wife are separated by a decree of a competent court, a child begotten during that period is presumed illegitimate, and the husband is not allowed by his own evi-

From what has been said, it appears, that all children born before matrimony are bastards by our law: and so it is of all children born so long after the death of the husband, that, by the usual course of gestation, they could not be begotten by him. But, this being a matter of some uncertainty, the law is not exact as to a few days. (*l*) And this gives occasion to a proceeding at common law, where a widow is suspected to feign herself with child, in order to produce a supposititious heir to the estate; an attempt which the rigour of the Gothic constitutions esteemed equivalent to the most atrocious theft, and therefore punished with death. (*m*) In this case, with us, the heir presumptive may have a writ *de ventre inspiciendo* to examine whether she be with child, or not; (*n*) (*19*) and, if she be, to keep her under proper restraint till delivered; which is entirely conformable to the practice of the civil law: (*o*) but, if the widow be, upon due examination, found not pregnant, the presumptive heir shall be admitted to the inheritance, though liable to lose it again, on the birth of a child within forty weeks from the death of a husband. (*p*) But, if a man dies, and his widow soon after marries again, and a child is born within such a time, as that by the course of nature it might have been the child of either *husband; in this case [**457*] he is said to be more than ordinarily legitimate; for he may, when he arrives to years of discretion, choose which of the fathers he pleases. (*q*) To prevent this, among other inconveniences, the civil law ordained that no widow should marry *infra annum luctus*, (*r*) a rule which obtained so early as the reign of Augustus, (*s*) if not of Romulus: and the same constitution was probably handed down to our early ancestors from the Romans, during their stay in this island; for we find it established under the Saxon and Danish governments. (*t*)

As bastards may be born before the coverture or marriage state is begun, or after it is determined, so also children born during wedlock may in some circumstances be bastards. As if the husband be out of the kingdom of England, or as the law somewhat loosely phrases it, *extra quatuor maria*, for above nine months, so that no access to his wife can be presumed, her issue during that period shall be bastards. (*v*) But, generally, during the coverture, access of the husband shall be presumed, unless the contrary can be shewn; (*w*) which is such a negative as can only be proved by shewing him to be elsewhere: for the general rule is, *præsumitur pro legitimatione*. (*x*) (*20*) In a divorce, *a mensa et thoro*, if the wife breeds children, they are bastards; for the law will presume the husband and wife conformable to the sentence of separation, unless

(*l*) Cro. Jac. 541. (*m*) Stiernhook *de Jure Gothor.* l. 3, c. 5. (*n*) Co. Litt. 8. Bract. l. 2, c. 32.
 (*o*) *Ff.* 25, tit. 4, per tot. (*p*) Britton, c. 66, pag. 166. (*q*) Co. Litt. 8.
 (*r*) *Cod.* 5, 9, 2. (*s*) But the year was then only ten months. Ovid, *Fast.* l. 27.
 (*t*) *Sit omnis vidua sine marito duodecim menses.* LL. *Ethelr.* A. D. 1008. LL. *Canut.* c. 71.
 (*v*) Co. Litt. 244. (*w*) Salk. 133, 3 P. W. 276. Stra. 925. (*x*) 5 Rep. 96.

dence to establish the fact of access. *Patchett v. Holgate*, 15 Jur. 308. Neither on the other hand, is the wife to be allowed to testify to non-access, and thus bastardize the issue when they are not thus separated. *Parker v. Way*, 15 N. H. 45; *Commonwealth v. Shepherd*, 6 Binn. 288; *People v. Ontario*, 15 Barb. 286.

(19) [The writ is granted not only to an heir at law, but to a devisee for life, or in tail, or in fee; and whether his interest is immediate or contingent. See 4 Bro. 90. For the proceedings under this writ, see 2 P. Wms. 591. And in Moseley's Report of Aiscough's case, the same in 2 P. Wms. 591, a case of personal estate is cited. The writs direct, that, in the presence of the knights and women, the female *tractari per urberem et ventrem*; the presumed necessity of the case dispensing at once with common decency and with respectful deference to sex.]

(20) [It used to be held that when the husband was living within the kingdom, access was presumed, unless strict proof was adduced that the husband and wife were all the time living at a distance from each other; but now, the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the child of a married woman, living in a notorious state of adultery, under all the circumstances is a question for a jury to determine. 4 T. R. 356, and 251.]

See also what is said by Lord Ellenborough in 8 East, 193; *Heard v. Heard*, 1 Sim. and Stu. 150; *Cross v. Cross*, 3 Paige, 139; *Commonwealth v. Shepherd*, 6 Binn. 286; *Bury v. Philpot*, 2 M. and K. 349.

access be proved; but in a voluntary separation by agreement, the law will suppose access, unless the negative be shewn. (a) So also, if there is an apparent impossibility of procreation on the part of the husband, as if he be only eight years old, or the like, there the issue of the wife shall be bastards. (b) Likewise, in case of divorce in the spiritual court, *a vinculo matrimonii*, all the issue born during the coverture are bastards; (c) because such divorce is always upon [*458] some cause, that rendered the marriage unlawful and null from the beginning.

2. Let us next see the duty of parents to their bastard children, by our law; which is principally that of maintenance. For, though bastards are not looked upon as children to any civil purposes, yet the ties of nature, of which maintenance is one, are not so easily dissolved: and they hold indeed as to many other intentions; as, particularly, that a man shall not marry his bastard sister or daughter. (d) The civil law, therefore, when it denied maintenance to bastards begotten under certain atrocious circumstances, (e) was neither consonant to nature nor reason, however profligate and wicked the parents might justly be esteemed.

The method in which the English law provides maintenance for them is as follows. (f) (21) When a woman is delivered, or declares herself with child, of a bastard, and will by oath before a justice of peace charge any person as having got her with child, the justice shall cause such person to be apprehended, and commit him till he gives security, either to maintain the child, or appear at the next quarter sessions to dispute and try the fact. But if the woman dies, or is married before delivery, or miscarries, or proves not to have been with child, the person shall be discharged; otherwise the sessions, or two justices out of sessions, upon original application to them, may take order for the keeping of the bastard, by charging the mother or the reputed father with the payment of money or other sustentation for that purpose. And if such putative father, or lewd mother, run away from the parish, the overseers, by direction of two justices, may seize their rents, goods and chattels, in order to bring up the said bastard child. Yet such is the humanity of our laws, that no woman can be compulsively questioned concerning the father of her child till one month after her delivery; which indulgence is, however, very frequently a hardship upon parishes, by giving the parents opportunity to escape. (22)

[*459] *3. I proceed next to the rights and incapacities which appertain to a bastard. The rights are very few, being only such as he can *acquire*; for he can *inherit* nothing, being looked upon as the son of nobody; and sometimes called *filius nullius*, sometimes *filius populi*. (g) (23) Yet he may gain a surname by reputation, (h) though he has none by inheritance. (24) All other children have their primary settlement in their father's parish; but a bastard in the

(a) Salk. 123.

(b) Co. Litt. 244.

(c) *Ibid.* 235.

(d) Lord Raym. 68. Comb. 356.

(e) Nov. 89, c. 15.

(f) Stat. 18 Eliz. c. 3. 7 Jac. I, c. 4. 3 Car. I, c. 4. 13 and 14 Car. II, c. 12. 7 Geo. II, c. 31.

(g) *Fort. de L. L. c. 40.*

(h) Co. Litt. 3.

(21) The law upon this subject was very materially altered by the 4 and 5 Wm. IV, c. 76. but the principle that the parents shall support a bastard child, and indemnify the parish against such support, is the foundation of the new statute as it was of the former ones. The statutes now regulating this subject are 7 and 8 Vic. c. 101, and 8 and 9 Vic. c. 10.

(22) [In the technical treatises on the poor laws will be found the cases occurring as to the right of custody, whether it be in the father or in the mother of the bastard. And the right of the mother to such custody seems recognized and established. 5 East, 221; see also 1 B. and P. N. R. 148; 7 East, 579.]

(23) In some of the United States it is provided by statute that a bastard child shall inherit from the mother, and the mother from him.

The crime of incest does not at common law depend upon the legitimacy of the parties to the sexual intercourse, or of either of them. *People v. Jenness*, 5 Mich. 305.

(24) [A bastard having gotten a name by reputation, may purchase by his reputed or known name to him and his heirs: Co. Litt. 3 b; but this can only be to the heirs of his own body.

A conveyance to a man who is a bastard, and his heirs, though his estate is in its descent confined to the issue of his body, yet gives him a fee simple, and confers an unlimited power

parish where born, for he hath no father. (*i*) However, in case of fraud, as if a woman be sent either by order of justices, or comes to beg as a vagrant, to a parish where she does not belong, and drops her bastard there, the bastard shall, in the first case, be settled in the parish from whence she was illegally removed; (*j*) or, in the latter case, in the mother's own parish, if the mother be apprehended for her vagrancy. (*k*) Bastards also born in any licensed hospital for pregnant women, are settled in the parishes to which the mothers belong. (*l*) The incapacity of a bastard consists principally in this, that he cannot be heir to any one, neither can he have heirs, but of his own body; for being *nullius filius*, he is therefore of kin to nobody, and has no ancestor from whom any inheritable blood can be derived. A bastard was also, in strictness, incapable of holy orders; and, though that were dispensed with, yet he was utterly disqualified from holding any dignity in the church: (*m*) but this doctrine seems now obsolete; and, in all other respects, there is no distinction between a bastard and another man. And really any other distinction, but that of not inheriting, which civil policy renders necessary, would with regard to the innocent offspring of his parents' crimes, be odious, unjust, and cruel to the last degree: and yet the civil law, so boasted of for its equitable decisions, made bastards, in some cases, incapable even of a gift from their parents. (*n*) A bastard may, lastly, be made legitimate, and capable of inheriting, by the transcendent power of an act of parliament, and not otherwise: (*o*) as was done in the case of John of Gant's bastard children, by a statute of Richard the Second. (25)

CHAPTER XVII.

OF GUARDIAN AND WARD.

THE only general private relation, now remaining to be discussed, is that of guardian and ward: (1) which bears a very near resemblance to the last, and is plainly derived out of it; the guardian being only a temporary parent, that is, for so long time as the ward is an infant, or under age. In examining this species of relationship, I shall first consider the different kinds of guardians,

(*i*) Salk. 427.

(*j*) *Ibid.* 121.

(*k*) Stat. 17 Geo. II, c. 5.

(*l*) Stat. 13 Geo. III, c. 82.

(*m*) Fortesc. c. 40.

5 Rep. 58.

(*n*) *Cod.* 6, 51. 5.

(*o*) 4 Inst. 38.

of alienation; and any person deriving title from him or his heirs, may transmit the estate in perpetual succession.

The rule as to a bastard's taking by his name of reputation, must be understood as giving a capacity to take by that name merely as a description, not as a child by a claim of kindred; therefore a bastard cannot claim a share under a devise to *children* generally, though the will was strong in his favor by implication. 5 Ves. 530, and see 1 Ves. and B. 434, 469; 6 Ves. 43; 1 Maddox, 430.

A limitation cannot be to a bastard *en ventre sa mere*, for bastards cannot take till they gain a name by reputation. 1 Inst. 3 b; 6 Co. 68; 1 P. Wms. 529; 17 Ves. 528; 1 Mer. 151; 18 Ves. 288; H. Chitty's Law of Descents, 29, 30.

If a bastard die seized of a real estate of inheritance, without having devised it, and without issue, the estate will escheat to the king, or other immediate lord of the fee. 3 Bulstr. 195; 1 Ld. Raym. 1152; 1 Prest. Est. 468, 469; *post.* book 2, 249; 2 Cruise's Dig. 374. But, as there might in many cases be much apparent hardship in the strict enforcement of this branch of the royal prerogative, it is usual in such cases to transfer the power of exercising it to some one of the family, reserving to the crown a small proportion, as a tenth of the value of both the real and the personal estate. 1 Wood. 397, 308. And so likewise in the case of personal estate, where a bastard dies intestate and without issue, the king is entitled and the ordinary of course grants administration to the patentee or grantee of the crown. Salk. 37; 3 P. Wms. 33.

(25) [The father of an infant legitimate child is entitled to the custody of it; but the mother of an illegitimate child in preference to the putative father. 5 East, 221; 1 Bos. and P. N. R. 148; 7 East, 579.]

(1) For the details of the law on this subject, see the several works on equity jurisdiction and practice, and particularly Reeve on the Domestic Relations, and Shouler on the same subject,

how they are appointed, and their power and duty: next, the different ages of persons, as defined by the law; and lastly, the privileges and disabilities of an infant, or one under age and subject to guardianship,

1. The guardian with us performs the office both of the *tutor* and *curator* of the Roman laws; the former of which had the charge of the maintenance and education of the minor, the latter the care of his fortune; or, according to the language of the court of chancery, the *tutor* was the committee of the person, the *curator* the committee of the estate. But this office was frequently united in the civil law; (a) as it is always in our law with regard to minors, though as to lunatics and idiots it is commonly kept distinct.

[*461] *Of the several species of guardians, the first are guardians *by nature*; viz.: the father, and, in some cases, the mother of the child. For if an estate be left to an infant, the father is by common law the guardian, and must account to his child for the profits. (b) (2) And, with regard to daughters, it seems by construction of the statute 4 and 5 Ph. and Mar. c. 8, that the father might by deed or will assign a guardian to any woman-child under the age of sixteen; and if none be so assigned, the mother shall in this case be guardian. (c) (3) There are also guardians *for nurture*; (d) which are of course, the father or mother, till the infant attains the age fourteen years: (e) and in default of father or mother, the ordinary usually assigns some discreet person to take care of the infant's personal estate, and to provide for his maintenance and education. (f) (4) Next are guardians *in socage*, (5) (an appellation which will be fully explained in the second book of these Commentaries,) who are also called guardians *by the common law*. These take place only when the minor is entitled to some estate in lands, and then by the common law the guardianship devolves upon his next of kin to whom the inheritance cannot possibly descend; as, where the estate descended from his father, in this case his uncle by the mother's side cannot possibly inherit this estate and therefore shall be the guardian. (g) For the law judges it improper to trust the person of an infant in his hands, who may by possibility become heir to him; that there may be no temptation, nor even suspicion of temptation, for him to abuse his trust. (h) The

(a) *Ff.* 26, 4, 1.

(b) *Co. Litt.* 88.

(c) 3 *Rep.* 39.

(d) *Co. Litt.* 88.

(e) *Moor.* 738. 3 *Rep.* 38.

(f) 2 *Jones*, 90. 2 *Lev.* 183.

(g) *Litt.* § 123.

(h) *Nunquam custodia alicujus de jure alicui remanet, de quo habeatur suspicio, quod possit vel velit aliquod jus in ipsa hereditate clamare.* *Glanv.* l. 7, c. 11.

(2) But a guardian by nature cannot lease the lands of the ward. *May v. Calder*, 2 *Mass.* 55; *Combs v. Jackson*, 2 *Wend.* 153; *Kendall v. Miller*, 9 *Cal.* 592. Nor can an executor discharge himself by making payment to such guardian. *Genet v. Tallmadge*, 1 *Johns. Ch.* 3; *Miles v. Boyden*, 3 *Pick.* 213; *Williams v. Storrs*, 6 *Johns. Ch.* 353. The mother becomes guardian by nature on the death of the father. *Freto v. Brown*, 4 *Mass.* 675.

(3) [An appointment of a testamentary guardian by a mother is absolutely void. *Vaughan*, 180; 3 *Atk.* 519. A father's appointment by deed of a guardian may be revoked by will. *Finch*, 323; 1 *Vern.* 442. Any form of words indicative of the intent suffices. *Swimb.* p. 3, c. 12; 2 *Fonbl. on Eq.* 5th ed. 246, 247. A guardian appointed by the father cannot delegate or continue the authority to another. *Vaughan*, 179; 2 *Atk.* 15.]

The grandfather has no power to appoint a testamentary guardian. *Hoyt v. Hilton*, 2 *Edw. Ch.* 202; *Fullerton v. Jackson*, 5 *Johns. Ch.* 278.

(4) [It might be questionable whether the ordinary would be permitted to interfere farther than to appoint *ad litem*. 3 *Atkins.* 631; *Burr.* 1436. For, where a legitimate child, even at the breast, is withheld from the custody of the father, habeas corpus may be brought. *The King v. De Manneville*, 5 *East*, 221. See, also, 1 *Bl. R.* 386; and 4 *J. B. Moore*, 366.

But, of an illegitimate child, the mother appears to be the natural guardian. 4 *Taunt.* 498, *ex parte Kneec*, 1 *N. R.* 148. And habeas corpus lies at her instance. See *The King v. Hopkins*, 7 *East*, 579; 5 *id.* 224, n; also 5 *T. R.* 278.]

See to the same point, *Somerset v. Dighton*, 12 *Mass.* 383. Guardians for nurture were for those children who were not heirs; and as all legitimate children are heirs equally in America, this species of guardianship is here obsolete. 2 *Kent*, 221.

(5) [A widow is guardian in socage to her daughters until they are fourteen years old. as well of freehold as of copyhold. 10 *East*, 491; 2 *M. and S.* 504. She has a right as such to elect whether she will let the estate, or occupy it for their benefit. Such a guardian has not a mere office or authority, but an interest in the ward's estate; she may maintain trespass and ejectment; avow damage feasant, make admittance to copyhold, and lease in her own name. *Ibid.*]

Roman laws proceed on a quite contrary principle, committing the care of the minor to him who is the next to succeed to the inheritance, presuming that the next heir would take the best care of an estate, to which he has a prospect of succeeding: and this they boast to be "*summa providentia*." (i) But in the mean time they seem to have forgotten, how much it is the *guardian's [*462] interest to remove the incumbrance of his pupil's life from that estate for which he is supposed to have so great a regard. (k) And this affords Fortescue, (l) and Sir Edward Coke, (m) an ample opportunity for triumph; they affirming, that to commit the custody of an infant to him that is next in succession is "*quasi agnum committere lupo, ad devorandum*." (n) These guardians in socage, like those for nurture, continue only till the minor is fourteen years of age; for then, in both cases, he is presumed to have discretion, so far as to choose his own guardian. This he may do, unless one be appointed by the father, by virtue of the statute 12 Car. II, c. 24, which, considering the imbecility of judgment in children of the age of fourteen, and the abolition of guardianship in chivalry (which lasted till the age of twenty-one, and of which we shall speak hereafter), enacts that any father, under age or of full age, may by deed or will dispose of the custody of his child, either born or unborn, to any person, except a popish recusant, either in possession or reversion, till such child attains the age of one and twenty years. (6) These are called guardians by statute, or testamentary guardians. There are also special guardians by custom of London, and other places; (o) but they are particular exceptions, and do not fall under the general law. (7)

(i) *FF.* 26, 4, 1.

(k) The Roman satyrist was fully aware of this danger, when he puts this private prayer into the mouth of a selfish guardian:

—*pupillum o utinam, quem proximus hæres
Impello, expungam.* Pers. 1, 12.

(l) C. 44. (m) 1 Inst. 88.

(n) See stat. *Hibern.* 14 Hen. III. This policy of our English law is warranted by the wise institutions of Solon, who provided that no one should be another's guardian, who was to enjoy the estate after his death. (Potter's *Antiq.* b. 1, c. 26.) And Charondas, another of the Grecian legislators, directed that the inheritance should go to the father's relations, but the education of the child to the mother's; that the guardianship and right of succession might always be kept distinct. (Petit. *Leg. Att.* l. 6, t. 7.)

(o) Co. Litt. 88.

(6) [By this statute the father may dispose of the guardianship of any child unmarried under the age of twenty-one, by deed or will, executed in the presence of two or more witnesses, till such child attains the age of twenty-one, or for any less time. And the guardian so appointed has the tuition of the ward, and the management of his estate and property.

No material form of words is necessary to create the appointment. Swinb. p. 3, c. 12; see 2 Fonbl. on Eq. 5th ed. 246, 247, notes. But the power of the guardian exists only during the time for which he is expressly appointed. Vaugh. 184.

Though under this act a testamentary guardian has the custody of the infant's real estate, a lease granted by him of such real estate is absolutely void. 2 Wils. 129, 135.

The marriage of the infant before he becomes twenty-one years of age does not determine the guardianship. 3 Atk. 625.]

Since the statute 31 Geo. III, c. 32, a Roman Catholic priest is not precluded from being a testamentary guardian.

(7) [The king is also an universal guardian of infants, who delegates it to the lord chancellor. See 2 Fonbl. on Eq. 5th ed. 225.

By virtue of this power the chancellor may appoint guardians to such infants as are without them. Bac. Ab. Guardians, c.; 2 Fonbl. 5th ed. 225. And in a case where the infant, of the age of seventeen had appointed a guardian by deed, it was decided that the chancellor had still a power to appoint a guardian: 4 Mad. 462; and guardians at common law may be removed or compelled to give security, if there appear any danger of their abusing the person or estate of the ward: 3 Cha. Ca. 237; Style, 456; Hard. 96: 1 Sid. 424; 3 Salk. 177; but it has been considered that a statute guardian cannot be wholly removed. 3 Salk. 178; 1 P. W. 698; 2 id. 112; 2 Fonbl. 232. And guardians are appointed by him where such appointment is necessary to protect the infant's general interest, or to sustain a suit, or to consent to the infant's marriage: 1 Mad. 213; but he never appoints a guardian to a woman after marriage. 1 Ves. 157.

The infant himself may also appoint a guardian, and this right arises only when from a defect in the law (or rather in the execution of it), the infant finds himself wholly unprovided with a guardian. This may happen either *before* fourteen, when the infant has no such property as attracts a guardianship by tenure, and the father is dead without having executed his power of appointment, and there is no mother; or *after* fourteen, when the custody of the guardian in socage terminates, and there is no appointment by the father under the 12 Car. II.

The power and reciprocal duty of a guardian and ward are the same, *pro tempore*, as that of a father and child; and therefore I shall not repeat them, (8) but shall only add, that the guardian, when the ward comes of age, is bound to give [*463] *him an account of all that he has transacted on his behalf, and must answer for all losses by his wilful default or negligence. (9) In order

Lord Coke only takes notice of such election where the infant is under fourteen; and as to this, omits to state how or before whom it should be made. See 1 Inst. 87, b. Nor does this defect seem supplied by any prior or contemporary writer. As to a guardian under fourteen, it appears from the ending of guardianship in socage at that age, as if the common law deemed a guardian afterwards unnecessary. However, since the 12 Car. II, c. 24, it has been usual, in defect of an appointment under the statute, to allow the infant to elect one for himself; and this practice appears to have prevailed even in some degree before the restoration; such election is said to be frequently made before a judge on the circuit: 1 Ves. 375; but this form does not seem essential.

The late Lord Baltimore, when he was turned of eighteen, having no testamentary guardian, and being under the necessity of having one for special purposes, relative to his proprietary government of Maryland, named a guardian by deed, a mode adopted by the advice of counsel. It seems, in fact, as if there was no prescribed form of an infant's electing a guardian after fourteen, any more than there is before; and therefore election by parol, though unsolemn, might be legally sufficient. The deficiency in precedents on this occasion is easily accounted for, this kind of guardianship being of very late origin, unnoticed as it seems by any writer before Coke, except Swinburn. Testam. edit. 1590, 97, b. And there being yet no cases in print to explain the powers incident to it, or whether the infant may change a guardian so constituted by himself, Coke, though professing to enumerate the different sorts of guardianship, omits this in one case, whence perhaps it may be conjectured, that in his time it was in strictness scarcely recognized as legal. 1 Inst. 88, b, in notes. For these observations, see Toml. Law Dict. tit. Guardian. Though an infant thus appoint a guardian, yet it does not preclude the court of chancery from appointing another. 4 Mad. 462.

Guardians are also appointed *ad litem*. All courts of justice have a power to assign a guardian to an infant to sue or defend actions, if the infant comes into court and desires it; or a judge at his chambers, at the desire of the infant, may assign a person named by him to be his guardian. F. N. B. 27; 1 Inst. 88, b. n. 16, 135, b. 1.]

(8) But the legal position of a guardian differs essentially from that of a father, in the control which the former has over the ward's property. The real estate he has power to lease during the minority of the ward: Field v. Scheffelin, 7 Johns. Ch. 154; and the personal estate he may sell and convert into money to invest for the benefit of the ward. Ellis v. Essex Bridge, 2 Pick. 243; Reeve Dom. Rel. 469. But he cannot turn real estate into personal, or personal into real, without the authority of the court of chancery or other court having jurisdiction in respect to this relation. Merchant v. Sunderlin, 3 Ired. 501; Stall's lessee v. Macalester, 9 Ohio, 19; Westbrook v. Comstock, Wal. Ch. 314; Sherry v. Lansberry, 3 Ind. 320; Hassard v. Rowe, 11 Barb. 25.

(9) [Under the general protection afforded to infants by the court of chancery, an infant may in that court, by his prochein amy, call his guardian to account, even during his minority. 2 Vern. 342; 2 P. Wms. 119; 1 Ves. 91.

Guardians in socage are by the common law accountable to the infant, either when he comes to the age of fourteen, or at any time after, as he thinks fit. Co. Litt. 87.

The guardian in his account shall have allowance of all reasonable expenses: if he is robbed of the rents and profits of the land without his default or negligence, he shall be discharged thereof in his account; for he is in the nature of a bailiff or servant to the infant, and undertakes no otherwise than for his diligence and fidelity. Co. Litt. 89, a 123.

If a man intrudes upon an infant, he shall receive the profits but as guardian, and the infant may have an account against him as guardian, or the infant may treat him as a disseisor; and if a person, during a person's infancy, receives the profits of an infant's estate, and continues to do so for several years after the infant comes of age before any entry is made on him, yet he shall account for the profits throughout, and not during the infancy only; and so it seems at law he should be charged in an action of account, as tutor alienus; 1 Vern 295; 1 Atk. 489; 2 Fonbl. 5th ed. 235, 236; and where a guardian, after his ward attains full age, continues to manage the property at the request of the ward, and before the accounts of his receipts and payments during the minority are settled, it is in effect a continuance of the guardianship as to the property, and he must account on the same principle as if they were transactions during the minority. And under these circumstances an injunction was granted on terms to restrain the guardian from proceeding in an action to recover the balance claimed by him on account of the transactions after his ward came of age. 1 Simons and Stn. Rep. 138.

A receiver to the guardian of an infant, whose account has been allowed by the guardian, shall not be obliged to account over again to the infant when he comes of age. Prec. Ch. 535.]

The guardian is not permitted to make a profit out of the estate of his ward, and if he fails to invest money received for him, he shall be charged interest upon it, and may even be

therefore to prevent disagreeable contests with young gentlemen, it has become a practice for many guardians, of large estates especially, to indemnify themselves by applying to the court of chancery, acting under its direction, and accounting annually before the officers of that court. For the lord chancellor is, by right derived from the crown, the general and supreme guardian of all infants, as well as idiots and lunatics; that is, of all such persons as have not discretion enough to manage their own concerns. (10) In case therefore any guardian abuses his trust, the court will check and punish him; nay sometimes will proceed to the removal of him, and appoint another in his stead. (*p*) (11)

(*p*) 1 Sid. 424. 1 P. Wms. 703.

charged compound interest in a proper case: *Fay v. Howe*. 1 Pick. 528; *Clarkson v. De Peyster*, Hopk. Ch. 424. If he become purchaser on sales of the ward's property made by him, the sales are voidable by the ward. *Clute v. Barron*, 2 Mich. 192; *Beaubien v. Poupard*, Har. Ch. 206; *Bostwick v. Atkins*. 3 N. Y. 53. *Eberts v. Eberts*, 55 Penn. St. 110.

The court will not generally settle the guardian's accounts until some time after the ward comes of age, that the ward may have opportunity to investigate them. *Matter of Van Horne*, 7 Paige, 46. And if the guardian settles with the ward at once, the accounts may be opened afterwards, even though no fraud be charged. *Fish v. Miller*, 1 Hoff. Ch. 267; *Wade v. Lobdell*, 4 Cush. 510. And contracts not for the ward's interest, and which it is presumable the guardian must have obtained from him in consequence of the influence which he still possessed because of the relation, will be voidable. See *Gale v. Wells*, 12 Barb. 92.

(10) In many of the states of the United States, courts, variously designated probate courts, orphans' courts, surrogate courts, &c., have been vested with jurisdiction to appoint guardians, and to exercise a control over them similar to that exercised by the court of chancery in England: and sometimes the jurisdiction has been conferred in terms which would exclude any chancery jurisdiction. But where the terms are not thus exclusive, the court of chancery still retains its general supervision. *Matter of Andrews*, 1 Johns. Ch. 99; *Westbrook v. Comstock*, Wal. Ch. 314.

(11) [Testamentary guardians are within the preventive and controlling jurisdiction of this court; and if there be reason to apprehend that such a guardian meditates an injury to his ward, it will interfere, and prevent it. 1 P. Wms. 704, 705; 2 Fonbl. 5th ed. 249; 3 Bro. P. C. 341; 1 Sid. 424.

If a person appointed guardian under statute 12 Car. II, c. 24, dies, or refuses the office, the chancellor may appoint one: 1 Eq. Ca. Ab. 260, pl. 2; 1 P. Wms. 703; and if he become a lunatic, he may be removed. *Ex parte Brydes*, H. T. 1791. So if he become a bankrupt. But, generally speaking, a guardian appointed by statute cannot be removed by this court: 2 Cha. Ca. 227; 1 Ves. 158; 1 Vern. 442; unless the infant be a ward of the court. 2 P. Wms. 561.

The court of chancery will in some cases on petition make an order of maintenance of the infant: 3 Bro. C. C. 88; 12 Ves. 492; but, in general, payments to the infant during his minority are discountenanced. 4 Ves. 369.

In a case where a father left a legacy payable to a child at a future day, though he was silent respecting the interest, the court allowed maintenance: 11 Ves. 1; and so in a case where the interest was directed to accumulate. *Dick*. 310; 1 Mad. 253. But an order of maintenance was refused, though so directed, the father being living, and of sufficient ability to maintain the infant. 1 Bro. C. C. 387.

In allowing maintenance, the court will attend to the circumstances and state of the family. 2 P. Wms. 21; 1 Ves. 160.

In some cases it will allow the principal to be broken in upon for the maintenance of the infant. 1 Vern. 255; 2 P. Wms. 22.

The court may interpose even against that authority and discretion which the father has in general in the education and management of the child: 1 P. Wms. 702; 2 id. 177; and cases cited in 2 Fonbl. 5th ed. 232; but quære if such child must not be a ward of the court. 4 Bro. C. C. 101, 102.

The court will permit a stranger to come in, and complain of the guardian's abuse of the infant's estate. 2 Ves. 484.

The court will not suffer an infant to be prejudiced by the laches of his trustee or guardian. 2 Vern. 368; *Prece*. Ch. 151.

Marrying a ward of the court of chancery without the consent of the court, is a contempt for which the party may be committed, or indicted, though he was ignorant of the wardship. 3 P. Wms. 116; 5 Ves. 15. But to render third persons so liable, it should appear that they were apprised of the party's being a ward, 2 Atk. 157; 16 Ves. 259.

A marriage in fact is sufficient to ground the contempt, though the validity of the marriage be questionable. 6 Ves. 572.

To clear such a contempt a proper settlement must be made on the ward. 1 Ves. Jun. 154. But the making such settlement does not necessarily cure the contempt. 8 Ves. 74. It is not cleared by the ward's attaining the age of twenty-one. 3 Ves. 89; 4 id. 386.]

2. Let us next consider the ward or person within age, for whose assistance and support these guardians are constituted by law; or who it is, that is said to be within age. The ages of male and female are different for different purposes. A male at *twelve* years old may take the oath of allegiance; at *fourteen* is at years of discretion, and therefore may consent or disagree to marriage, may choose his guardian, and, if his discretion be actually proved, may make his testament of his personal estate; at *seventeen* may be an executor; and at *twenty-one* is at his own disposal, and may alien his lands, goods, and chattels. A female also at *seven* years of age may be betrothed or given in marriage; at *nine* is entitled to dower; at *twelve* is at years of maturity, and therefore may consent or disagree to marriage, and, if proved to have sufficient discretion, may bequeath her personal estate; (12) at *fourteen* is at years of legal discretion, and may choose a guardian; at *seventeen* may be executrix; and at *twenty-one* may dispose of herself and her lands. So that full age in male or female is twenty-one years, which age is completed on the day preceding the anniversary of a person's birth, (q) who till that time is an infant, and so styled in law.

[*464] Among the ancient Greeks and Romans *women* were never*of age, but subject to perpetual guardianship, (r) unless when married, "*nisi convenissent in manum viri*:" and when that perpetual tutelage wore away in process of time, we find that, in females as well as males, full age was not till twenty-five years. (s) Thus by the constitution of different kingdoms, this period, which is merely arbitrary, and *juris positivi*, is fixed at different times. Scotland agrees with England in this point; both probably copying from the old Saxon constitutions on the continent, which extended the age of minority "*ad annum vigesimum primum, et eo usque juvenes sub tutelam reponunt*;" (t) but in Naples they are of full age at *eighteen*; in France, with regard to marriage, not till *thirty*; and in Holland at *twenty-five*.

3. Infants have various privileges, and various disabilities: but their very disabilities are privileges; in order to secure them from hurting themselves by their own improvident acts. An infant cannot be sued but under the protection, and joining the name, of his guardian; for he is to defend him against all attacks as well by law as otherwise: (u) (13) but he may sue either by his guardian, or *prochein amy*, his next friend who is not his guardian. (14) This *prochein amy* may be any person who will undertake the infant's cause; and it frequently happens, that an infant, by his *prochein amy*, institutes a suit in equity against a fraudulent guardian. In criminal cases, an infant of the age of *fourteen* years may be capitally punished for any capital offence: (w) but under the age of *seven* he cannot. The period between *seven* and *fourteen* is subject to much uncertainty: for the infant shall, generally speaking, be judged *prima*

(q) Salk. 44, 625. Lord Raym. 480, 1096. Toder v. Sansam, Dom. Proc. 27 Feb. 1775.

(r) Pott. Antiq. b. 4, c. 11. Cic. pro Muren. 12. (s) Inst. 1, 23, 1.

(t) Stiernhook *de jure Sueonum*, l. 2, c. 2. This is also the period when the king, as well as the subject, arrives at full age in modern Sweden. Mod. Un. Hist. xxxiii, 230.

(u) Co. Litt. 135

(w) 1 Hal. P. C. 25.

(12) The power to bequeath personalty is taken from infants by statute 7 Wm. IV, and 1 Vic. c. 26, s. 7.

(13) [This is incorrectly expressed. 1st. The infant is sued in his own name alone as any other person, but he appears to defend his cause by guardian, being supposed without discretion to appoint an attorney for that purpose. 2d. He does not necessarily appear by his guardian as the text implies, but by any person whom the court shall appoint guardian *ad litem* to defend that particular suit. It is within the province of every court to appoint a guardian *ad litem*, where a party in a suit is an infant. See vol. III, p. 23, 24.]

(14) [An infant executor may sue by attorney. 2 Stra. 783; 2 Saund. 212.

And where a plaintiff, an infant, appears by attorney, it is cured after verdict for him by the 21 Jac. I, c. 13, s. 2, or by 4 Ann. c. 16, s. 2, after judgment by confession, *nil dicit*, *non sum informatus*, in any court of record, or after writ of inquiry executed.

If an infant sue by guardian, or *prochein amy*, he cannot afterwards remove his guardian, or disavow the action of his *prochein amy*: F. N. B. 63, K. 7th ed.; but he may either have a writ out of chancery to remove him, or, which is the usual course, may apply to the court, who may remove him at their discretion. Id.; Cro. Car. 261.]

facie innocent; yet if he was *doli capax*, and could discern between good and evil at the time of the offence committed, he may be convicted and undergo judgment and execution of death, though he hath not attained to years of puberty or *discretion. (x) And Sir Mathew Hale gives us two instances, [*465] one of a girl of thirteen, who was burned for killing her mistress; another of a boy still younger, that had killed his companion, and hid himself, who was hanged; for it appeared by his hiding that he knew he had done wrong, and could discern between good and evil: and in such cases the maxim of law is, that *malitia supplet ætatem*. So also, in much more modern times, a boy of ten years old, who was guilty of a heinous murder, was held a proper subject for capital punishment, by the opinion of all the judges. (y)

With regard to estates and civil property, an infant hath many privileges which will be better understood when we come to treat more particularly of those matters: but this may be said in general, that an infant shall lose nothing by non-claim, or neglect of demanding his right; nor shall any other *laches* or negligence be imputed to an infant, except in some very particular cases.

It is generally true, that an infant can neither alien his lands, nor do any legal act, nor make a deed, nor indeed any manner of contract, that will bind him. But still to all these rules there are some exceptions: part of which were just now mentioned in reckoning up the different capacities which they assume at different ages: and there are others, a few of which it may not be improper to recite, as a general specimen of the whole. And, first, it is true, that infants cannot alien their estates: but infant trustees, or mortgagees, are enabled to convey, under the direction of the court of chancery or exchequer, or other courts of equity, the estates they hold in trust or mortgage, to such person as the court shall appoint. (z) Also it is generally true, that an infant can do no legal act: yet an infant, who has had an advowson, may present to the benefice when it becomes void. (a) For the law in this case dispenses with one rule, in order to maintain others of far *greater consequence: it permits an infant to present a clerk, who, if unfit, may be rejected by the bishop, [*466] rather than either suffer the church to be unserved till he comes of age, or permit the infant to be debarred of his right by lapse to the bishop. An infant may also purchase lands, but his purchase is incomplete: for, when he comes to age, he may either agree or disagree to it, as he thinks prudent or proper, without alleging any reason; and so may his heirs after him, if he dies without having completed his agreement. (b) It is, farther, generally true, that an infant, under twenty-one, can make no deed but what is afterwards voidable: yet in some cases (c) he may bind himself apprentice by deed indented or indentures, for seven years; and (d) he may by deed or will appoint a guardian to his children, if he has any. Lastly, it is generally true, that an infant can make no other contract that will bind him: (15) yet he may bind himself to pay for his necessary meat, drink, apparel, physic, and such other necessities; (16) and likewise

(x) *Ibid.* 26.

(y) Foster, 72.

(z) Stat. 7 Ann. c. 19. 4 Geo. III, c. 16.

(a) Co. Litt. 172.

(b) *Ibid.* 2.

(c) Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 4.

43 Eliz. c. 2. Cro. Car. 179.

(d) Stat. 12 Car. II, c. 24.

(15) [It has been considered, that a bill of exchange, or negotiable security, given by an infant during his minority, is in no case binding on him, though given for necessities: 2 Camp. 562, 563; Holt, C. N. P. 78; 1 T. R. 40; 4 Price, 300; Chit. on Bills, 5th ed. 22; and most clearly so, if not given for necessities. Carth. 160. But infancy being a personal privilege, the infant only can take advantage of this. 4 Esp. 187.]

An infant is not liable on an account stated, even though the particulars of the account were for necessities. 1 T. R. 40; See 2 Stark. 36: otherwise in equity; 1 Eq. C. Abr. 286.]

(16) [The term *necessaries* is a relative one; and the question, as to what are necessities, must be determined by the age, fortune, condition, and rank in life of the infant. See 8 T. R. 578; 1 Esp. Rep. 212; Carter, 315; which must be real and not apparent. Peake, 229; Esp. Rep. 211. The question, as to what are necessities, is for a jury. 1 M. and S. 738.]

An infant is liable for necessities furnished to his wife and family, but not for articles furnished in order for the marriage. 1 Stra. 168. He is liable for so much goods supplied to him to trade with, as were consumed as necessities in his own family. 1 Car. Rep. 94.]

for his good teaching and instruction whereby he may profit himself afterwards. (e) And thus much at present, for the privileges and disabilities of infants. (17)

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF CORPORATIONS.

WE have hitherto considered persons in their natural capacities, and have treated of their rights and duties. But, as all personal rights die with the person; and, as the necessary forms of investing a series of individuals, one after another, with the same identical rights, would be very inconvenient, if not impracticable; it has been found necessary, when it is for the advantage of the public to have any particular rights kept on foot and continued, to constitute

(e) Co. Litt. 172.

(17) There are a number of cases in which it has been held that certain contracts made by infants were absolutely void, and courts have attempted to distinguish between such cases and those in which the infant's contracts are only voidable at his option. If the case is such that the contract cannot be for the infant's benefit, it is said it is absolutely void; while if it may or may not be for his benefit, according to the circumstances, it is only voidable. *Whitney v. Dutch*, 14 Mass. 457. Contracts of suretyship have been held void on this distinction. *Wheaton v. East*, 5 Yerg. 41; *Allen v. Minor*, 2 Call, 70; *Maples v. Wightman*, 4 Conn. 376; *Chandler v. McKinney*, 6 Mich. 217. The inclination of the courts, however, has of late been towards holding all contracts of infants, which are not binding upon them, to be voidable only, leaving the infant to ratify or disaffirm them at his option at the proper time. *Tucker v. Moreland*, 10 Pet. 69; *Kline v. Beebe*, 6 Conn. 494; *Cole v. Pennoyer*, 14 Ill. 158; *Drake's Lessee v. Ramsey*, 5 Ohio, 252. The proper time to avoid a conveyance of real estate is when the grantor comes of age: *Zouch v. Parsons*, Burr. 1794; but a sale of personal property may be disaffirmed at any time: *Stafford v. Roof*, 9 Cow. 626; *Carr v. Clough*, 6 Fost. 280; *Shipman v. Horton*, 17 Conn. 481; and the plea of infancy can be interposed to any other contract at any time when it is attempted to be enforced. If, however, an infant disaffirms a purchase of property made by him, he must return the property if still in his possession: *Deason v. Boyd*, 1 Dana, 45; *Cheshire v. Barrett*, 4 McCord, 241; *Badger v. Phinney*, 15 Mass. 359; *Lynde v. Budd*, 2 Paige, 191; *Bailey v. Baruberger*, 11 B. Monr. 113; *Kitchen v. Lee*, 11 Paige, 107.

The ratification of a voidable contract by an infant may either be by a promise in affirmance; *Ford v. Phillips*, 1 Pick. 203; in which case it seems to be necessary that it be made to the party entitled to the benefit; *Goodsell v. Myers*, 3 Wend. 479; *Hoit v. Underhill*, 9 N. H. 439; *Smith v. Kelley*, 13 Metc. 310; *Wilcox v. Roath*, 12 Conn. 550; or, in the absence of such promise, the party after coming of age must do some other act, either unequivocally indicating an intent to affirm the contract, or that would render it unjust for him to disaffirm, and therefore estop him from doing so. See *Delano v. Blake*, 11 Wend. 85; *Boyden v. Boyden*, 9 Metc. 520.

The fact that an infant represents himself to be of age, and procures a contract on that representation, will not make the contract binding upon him. *Burley v. Russell*, 10 N. H. 184. But an infant is liable generally for his torts, and he may therefore be made to respond for the fraud in such a case: *Wallace v. Morss*, 5 Hill, 391; *Fitts v. Hall*, 9 N. H. 441; or for any other tort, notwithstanding a contract may have afforded the occasion for it. *Campbell v. Stakes*, 2 Wend. 137; *Cary v. Hotailing*, 1 Hill, 311; *Homer v. Thwing*, 3 Pick. 492.

In respect to an infant's contract for necessities, it is to be observed that it is binding upon him only when he has no parent or guardian to supply them, or when that duty is neglected by the person upon whom it devolves. The mere fact, therefore, that an article is proper and suitable to be supplied to an infant for his own personal use, in view of his age and station in life, does not alone render him liable on his contract to make payment, for if there be a parent or guardian who undertakes in good faith to supply his wants, neither the infant nor any third person is at liberty to substitute his judgment as to what is needful for that of the proper guardian. *Ford v. Fothergill*, 1 Peake, N. P. 230; *Kline v. L'Amoureux*, 2 Paige, 419; *Perrin v. Wilson*, 10 Mo. 451. Goods to be employed in trade are not necessities for an infant; *Whittingham v. Hill*, Cro. Jac. 494; *Whywall v. Champion*, 2 Strange, 1083; neither are repairs upon his buildings: *Tupper v. Caldwell*, 12 Metc. 559; nor insurance; *Mut. Fire Ins. Co. v. Noyes*, 37 N. H. 345. If he be a father, necessities for his children are necessities for him: *Beeler v. Young*, 1 Bibb. 520; and he is liable for the antenuptial debts of his wife. *Butler v. Breck*, 7 Metc. 164; *Roach v. Quick*, 9 Wend. 238.

artificial persons, who may maintain a perpetual succession, and enjoy a kind of legal immortality.

These artificial persons are called bodies politic, bodies corporate, (*corpora corporata*,) or corporations: of which there is a great variety subsisting for the advancement of religion, of learning, and of commerce; in order to preserve entire and forever those rights and immunities, which, if they were granted only to those individuals of which the body corporate is composed, would upon their death be utterly lost and extinct. To shew the advantages of these incorporations, let us consider the case of a college in either of our universities, founded *ad studendum et orandum*, for the encouragement and support of religion and learning. If this were a mere voluntary assembly, the individuals which compose it might indeed read, pray, study, and perform scholastic exercises together, so long as they could agree to do so; but they *could [*468] neither frame, nor receive any laws or rules of their conduct; none, at least, which would have any binding force, for want of a coercive power to create a sufficient obligation. Neither could they be capable of retaining any privileges or immunities; for, if such privileges be attacked, which of all this unconnected assembly has the right, or ability, to defend them? And, when they are dispersed by death or otherwise, how shall they transfer these advantages to another set of students, equally unconnected as themselves? So also, with regard to holding estates or other property, if land be granted for the purposes of religion or learning to twenty individuals not incorporated, there is no legal way of continuing the property to any other persons for the same purposes, but by endless conveyances from one to the other, as often as the hands are changed. But when they are consolidated and united into a corporation, they and their successors are then considered as one person in law: as one person, they have one will, which is collected from the sense of the majority of the individuals: this one will may establish rules and orders for the regulation of the whole, which are a sort of municipal law of this little republic; or rules and statutes may be prescribed to it at its creation, which are then in the place of natural laws: the privileges and immunities, the estates and possession, of the corporation, when once vested in them, will be forever vested, without any new conveyance to new successions; for all the individual members that have existed from the foundation to the present time, or that shall ever hereafter exist, are but one person in law, a person that never dies; in like manner as the river Thames is still the same river, though the parts which compose it are changing every instant.

The honor of originally inventing these political constitutions entirely belongs to the Romans. They were introduced, as Plutarch says, by Numa; who finding, upon his accession, the city torn to pieces by the two rival factions of Sabines and Romans, thought it a prudent and politic measure to subdivide these two into many smaller ones, by *instituting separate societies of [*469] every manual trade and profession. They were afterwards much considered by the civil law, (a) in which they were called *universitates* as forming one whole out of many individuals; or *collegia*, from being gathered together: they were adopted also by the canon law, for the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline; and from them our spiritual corporations are derived. But our laws have considerably refined and improved upon the invention, according to the usual genius of the English nation: particularly with regard to sole corporations, consisting of one person only, of which the Roman lawyers had no notion; their maxim being that "*tres faciunt collegium*." (b) Though they held, that if a corporation, originally consisting of three persons, be reduced to one, "*si universitas ad unum redit*," it may still subsist as a corporation, "*et stet nomen universitatis*." (c)

Before we proceed to treat of the several incidents of corporations, as regarded by the laws of England, let us first take a view of the several sorts of them; and then we shall be better enabled to apprehend their respective qualities.

The first division of corporations is into *aggregate* and *sole*. (1) Corporations aggregate consist of many persons united together into one society, and are kept up by a perpetual succession of members, so as to continue forever: of which kind are the mayor and commonalty of a city, the head and fellows of a college, the dean and chapter of a cathedral church. Corporations sole consist of one person only and his successors, in some particular station, who are incorporated by law, in order to give them some legal capacities and advantages, particularly that of perpetuity which in their natural persons they could not have had. In this sense the king is a sole corporation; (d) so is a bishop; so are some deans, and prebendaries, distinct from their several chapters; and so is every parson and vicar. And the necessity, or at least use, of this institution will be [*470] very apparent, if we consider the case of *a parson of a church. At the original endowment of parish churches, the freehold of the church, the churchyard, the parsonage house, the glebe, and the tithes of the parish, were vested in the then parson by the bounty of the donor, as a temporal recompense to him for his spiritual care of the inhabitants, and with intent that the same emoluments should ever afterwards continue as a recompense for the same care. But how was this to be effected? The freehold was vested in the parson; and, if we suppose it vested in his natural capacity, on his death it might descend to his heir, and would be liable to his debts and incumbrances: or, at best, the heir might be compellable, at some trouble and expense, to convey these rights to the succeeding incumbent. The law therefore has wisely ordained, that the parson, *quatenus* parson, shall never die, any more than the king; by making him and his successors a corporation. By which means all the original rights of the parsonage are preserved entire to the successor; for the present incumbent, and his predecessor who lived seven centuries ago, are in law one and the same person; and what was given to the one was given to the other also.

Another division of incorporations, either sole or aggregate, is into *ecclesiastical* and *lay*. (2) Ecclesiastical corporations are where the members that compose it are entirely spiritual persons: such as, bishops; certain deans, and prebendaries; all archdeacons, parsons, and vicars; which are sole corporations; deans and chapters at present, and formerly prior and convent, abbot and monks, and the like, bodies aggregate. These are erected for the furtherance of religion, and perpetuating the rights of the church. Lay corporations are of two sorts, *civil* and *elemosynary*. The civil are such as are erected for a variety of temporal purposes. The king, for instance, is made a corporation to prevent in general the possibility of an *interregnum* or vacancy of the throne, and to preserve the possessions of the crown entire; for immediately upon the demise of one king, his successor is, as we have formerly seen, in full possession of the regal rights and dignity. Other lay corporations are erected for the good government of [*471] *a town or particular district, as a mayor and commonalty, bailiff and burgesses, or the like: some for the advancement and regulation of manufactures and commerce; as the trading companies of London, and other towns: and some for the better carrying on of divers special purposes; as churchwardens, for conservation of the goods of the parish; the college of physicians and company of surgeons in London, for the improvement of the medical science; the royal society for the advancement of natural knowledge;

(d) Co. Litt. 43.

(1) The number of corporations sole in the United States must be very few indeed. It is possible that the statutes of some states vesting the property of the Roman Catholic church in the bishop and his successors may have the effect to make him a corporation sole; and some public officers have corporate powers for the purpose of holding property, and of suing and being sued.

(2) Ecclesiastical corporations, in the proper meaning of that term, do not exist in the United States. The religious societies which are incorporated under the state laws are mere private civil corporations, subject to the like visitation and control with the corporations for secular purposes. See note, ante, p. 376.

and the society of antiquaries for promoting the study of antiquities. And among these I am inclined to think the general corporate bodies of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge must be ranked: for it is clear they are not spiritual or ecclesiastical corporations, being composed of more laymen than clergy: neither are they eleemosynary foundations, though stipends are annexed to particular magistrates and professors, any more than other corporations where the acting officers have standing salaries; for these are rewards *pro opera et labore*, not charitable donations only, since every stipend is preceded by service and duty: they seem therefore to be merely civil corporations. The eleemosynary sort are such as are constituted for the perpetual distribution of the free alms, or bounty, of the founder of them to such persons as he has directed. Of this kind are all hospitals for the maintenance of the poor, sick, and impotent: and all colleges both *in* our universities and *out* (*e*) of them; which colleges are founded for two purposes; 1. For the promotion of piety and learning by proper regulations and ordinances. 2. For imparting assistance to the members of those bodies, in order to enable them to prosecute their devotion and studies with greater ease and assiduity. And all these eleemosynary corporations are, strictly speaking, lay and not ecclesiastical, even though composed of ecclesiastical persons, (*f*) and although they in some things partake of the nature, privileges, and restrictions of ecclesiastical bodies. (3)

*Having thus marshalled the several species of corporations, let us [*472] next proceed to consider, 1. How corporations in general may be created. 2. What are their powers, capacities, and incapacities. 3. How corporations are visited. And 4. How they may be dissolved.

I. Corporations, by the civil law, seem to have been created by the mere act, and voluntary association of their members: provided such convention was not contrary to law, for then it was *illicitum collegium*. (*g*) It does not appear that the prince's consent was necessary to be actually given to the foundation of them; but merely that the original founders of these voluntary and friendly societies, for they were little more than such, should not establish any meetings in opposition to the laws of the state.

But, with us in England, the king's consent is absolutely necessary to the erection of any corporation, either impliedly or expressly given. (*h*) (4) The kings'

(e) Such as Manchester, Eton, Winchester. &c.

(f) 1 Lord Raym. 6.

(g) *Ff.* 47, 22, 1. *Neque societas, neque collegium, neque hujusmodi corpus passim omnibus habere conceditur; nam et legibus, et senatus consultis, et principalibus constitutionibus ea res coercetur.* *Ff.* 3, 4, 1.

(h) Cities and towns were first erected into corporate communities on the continent, and endowed with many valuable privileges, about the eleventh century: 1 Rob. Ch. V. 30; to which the consent of the feudal sovereign was absolutely necessary, as many of his prerogatives and revenues were thereby considerably diminished.

(3) [They are lay corporations because they are not subject to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, or to the visitations of the ordinary or diocesan in their spiritual characters.]

(4) Corporations in the United States are the creatures of the legislative authority. Each corporation is either created by a special act of the legislature, which defines its objects and specifies its powers, and is called a charter, or it is formed by the voluntary association of its members under some general law of the state, which permits them to become a corporation on subscribing the proper agreement, and observing such other forms as may be prescribed. Corporations are either public or private. The first are for the most part created for the purposes of municipal government, in which case the corporators have no choice but to accept the charter, and to exercise the corporate powers under it. Charters of private incorporation, on the other hand, the corporators are not compellable to accept, but if they do so, the charter becomes a contract between them and the state, and the state cannot repeal or modify it without their assent, unless the right to do so was reserved when it was granted. *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, 4 Wheat. 518. In several of the states, corporations for other than municipal purposes are forbidden to be created except for a limited period, and with full power to repeal and amend; and in some, also, they can only be formed under general laws. The rights and privileges claimed under charters of incorporation are to be strictly construed as against the corporators. *Providence Bank v. Billings*, 4 Pet. 514; *Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge*, 11 id. 544; *Pennsylvania R. R. Co. v. Canal Commissioners*, 21 Penn. St. 22; *Bradley v. N. Y. and N. H. R. R. Co.*, 21 Conn. 306; *Reed v. Toledo*, 18 Ohio, 161; *Dunham v. Rochester*, 5 Cow. 465; *Mining Co. v. Baker*, 3 Nev. 386.

When no charter can be proved, the exercise of corporate rights, for a period whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, is sufficient evidence that such rights were originally granted by the proper authority. *The King v. Mayor, &c., of Stratford upon Avon*, 14

implied consent is to be found in corporations which exist by force of the *common law*, to which our former kings are supposed to have given their concurrence; common law being nothing else but custom, arising from the universal agreement of the whole community. Of this sort are the king himself, all bishops, parsons, vicars, churchwardens, and some others; who by common law have ever been held, as far as our books can shew us, to have been corporations, *virtute officii*: and this incorporation is so inseparably annexed to their offices, that we cannot frame a complete legal idea of any of these persons, but we must [*473] also have an idea of a corporation, capable to transmit *his rights to his successors at the same time. Another method of implication, whereby the king's consent is presumed, is as to all corporations by *prescription*, such as the city of London, and many others, (*i*) which have existed as corporations, time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary; and therefore are looked upon in law to be well created. For though the members thereof can shew no legal charter of incorporation, yet in cases of such high antiquity the law presumes there once was one; and that by the variety of accidents which a length of time may produce, the charter is lost or destroyed. The methods by which the king's consent is expressly given are either by act of parliament or charter. By act of parliament, of which the royal assent is a necessary ingredient, corporations may undoubtedly be created: (*j*) but it is observable, that, till of late years, most of these statutes which are usually cited as having created corporations do either confirm such as have been before created by the king, as in the case of the College of Physicians, erected by charter 10 Hen. VIII, (*k*) which charter was afterwards confirmed in parliament; (*l*) or they permit the king to erect a corporation *in futuro* with such and such powers, as is the case of the Bank of England, (*m*) and the society of the British Fishery. (*n*) So that the immediate creative act was usually performed by the king alone, in virtue of his royal prerogative. (*o*)

All the other methods, therefore, whereby corporations exist, by common law, by prescription, and by act of parliament, are for the most part reducible to this of the king's letters patent, or charter of incorporation. The king's creation may be performed by the words "*creamus, erigimus, fundamus, incorporamus,*" or the like. Nay, it is held, that if the king grants to a set of men to have [*474] *gildam mercatoriam*, a *mercantile meeting or assembly, (*p*) this is alone sufficient to incorporate and establish them forever. (*q*)

The parliament, we observed, by its absolute and transcendent authority, may perform this, or any other act whatsoever: and actually did perform it to a great extent, by statute 39 Eliz. c. 5, which incorporated all hospitals and houses of correction founded by charitable persons, without farther trouble: and the

(f) 2 Inst. 330.

(j) 10 Rep. 29. 1 Roll. Abr. 512.

(k) 8 Rep. 114.

(l) 14 and 15 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

(m) Stat. 5 and 6 W. and M. c. 20.

(n) Stat. 23 Geo. II. c. 4.

(o) See page 272.

(p) *Gild* signified among the Saxons a fraternity, derived from the verb *gildan*, to pay, because every man paid his share towards the expenses of the community. And hence their place of meeting is frequently called the *Guild*, or *Guild-hall*.

(q) 10 Rep. 30. 1 Roll. Abr. 513.

East, 360; *Robie v. Sedgwick*, 35 Barb. 326. So a corporation may also be established upon presumptive evidence that a charter has been granted within the time of memory. Such evidence is addressed to a jury, and though not conclusive upon them, if it reasonably satisfies their minds, it will justify them in a verdict finding the corporate existence. *Mayor of Hull v. Horner*, Cowp. 108; *Dillingham v. Snow*, 5 Mass. 552; *Bow v. Allenstown*, 34 N. H. 351; *Stockbridge v. West Stockbridge*, 12 Mass. 400; *Trott v. Warren*, 2 Fairf. 227; *New Boston v. Dunbarton*, 12 N. H. 409; and 15 id. 201.

So corporations may exist by implication. If there be granted by the state to individuals such property, rights or franchises, or imposed upon them such burdens, as can only be properly held, enjoyed, continued or borne, according to the terms of the grant, by a corporate entity, the intention to create such corporate entity is to be presumed, and corporate capacity is held to be conferred, so far as is necessary to effectuate the purpose of the grant or burden. *Dyer*, 400; *Conservators of River Tone v. Ash*, 10 B. and C. 349; per Kent, Chancellor, in *Denton v. Jackson*, 2 Johns. Ch. 325; *Colburn v. Ellenwood*, 4 N. H. 101; *Atkinson v. Bemis*, 11 N. H. 46; *North Hempstead v. Hempstead*, 2 Wend. 109; *Thomas v. Dakin*, 22 id. 9; *Stebbins v. Jennings*, 10 Pick. 188.

same has been done in other cases of charitable foundations. But otherwise it has not formerly been usual thus to intrench upon the prerogative of the crown, and the king may prevent it when he pleases. And, in the particular instance before mentioned, it was done, as Sir Edward Coke observes, *(r)* to avoid the charges of incorporation and licenses of mortmain in small benefactions; which in his days were grown so great, that they discouraged many men from undertaking these pious and charitable works.

The king, it is said, may grant to a subject the power of erecting corporations, *(s)* though the contrary was formerly held: *(t)* that is, he may permit the subject to name the persons and powers of the corporation at his pleasure; but it is really the king that erects, and the subject is but the instrument: for though none but the king can make a corporation, yet *qui facit per alium, facit per se.* *(u)* In this manner the chancellor of the University of Oxford has power by charter to erect corporations; and has actually often exerted it, in the erection of several matriculated companies, now subsisting, of tradesmen subservient to the students.

When a corporation is erected, a name must be given to it; and by that name alone it must sue and be sued, and do all *legal acts; though a very [*475] minute variation therein is not material. *(v)* Such name is the very being of its constitution; and, though it is the will of the king that erects the corporation, yet the name is the knot of its combination, without which it could not perform its corporate functions. *(w)* The name of incorporation, says Sir Edward Coke, is as a proper name, or name of baptism; and therefore when a private founder gives his college or hospital a name, he does it only as a godfather, and by that same name the king baptizes the incorporation. *(x)* (5)

II. After a corporation is so formed and named, it acquires many powers, rights, capacities, and incapacities, which we are next to consider. Some of these are necessarily and inseparably incident to every corporation; which incidents, as soon as a corporation is duly erected, are tacitly annexed, of course. *(y)* As, 1. To have perpetual succession. (6) This is the very end of its incorporation: for there cannot be a succession forever without an incorporation; *(z)* and therefore all aggregate corporations have a power necessarily implied of electing members in the room of such as go off. *(a)* 2. To sue or be sued, implead or be impleaded, grant or receive, by its corporate name, and do all other acts as natural persons may. 3. To purchase lands, and hold them, for the benefit of themselves and their successors; which two are consequential to the former. 4. To have a common seal. For a corporation, being an invisible body, cannot manifest its intentions by any personal act or oral discourse: it therefore acts and speaks only by its

(r) 2 Inst. 722. *(s)* Bro. Abr. tit. Prerog. 53. Viner. Prerog. 88, pl. 16. *(t)* Yearbook, 2 Hen. VII, 13.
(u) 10 Rep. 33. *(v)* 10 Rep. 122. *(w)* Gilb. Hist. C. P. 182. *(x)* 10 Rep. 28.
(y) 10 Rep. 30. Hob. 211. *(z)* 10 Rep. 26. *(a)* 1 Roll. Abr. 514.

(5) [By prescription a corporation may have several different names. Hard. 504; Lut. 1498; 3 Salk. 102, pl. 2. So by charter a corporation may be incorporated by one name and afterwards by another, and after the change of the name the last ought to be used. 1 Rol. 572, l. 55. So a change of name or new charter does not merge the ancient privileges. 4 Co. 87, b. Ray. 439. And it retains the privileges and possessions it had before. 1 Rol. 513, l. 2; 1 Saund. 339. A misnomer of the corporation name in a grant under the corporate seal is immaterial. 2 Marsh. 174; 6 Taunt. 467, S. C. And where in ejectment the demise was laid to be by the mayor, &c., of the borough town of M., and on the trial it turned out, from the charter, that the name of the corporation was "the mayor," &c., omitting "of the borough town" of M., it was held that this was no variance, it appearing from the charter that M. was a borough town: 1 B. and A. 699; and in general, a variance of this nature in pleading must be taken advantage of by plea in abatement. 1 B. and P. 30; 3 Campb. 29; 1 Saund. 340, a.

A corporation may be constituted of persons natural or political. 10 Co. 29, b. It may be composed out of another corporation: 1 Rol. 512; if the other be a corporation by prescription. 1 Sid. 291.

So a corporation aggregate may be without a head. Bro. Corp. 43; 10 Co. 30, b.]

(6) That is to say, for the term prescribed in the charter for the corporate existence, which may or may not be unlimited.

common seal. (7) For, though the particular members may express their private consents to any acts, by words, or signing their names, yet this does not bind the corporation: it is the fixing of the seal, and that only, which unites the several assents of the individuals who compose the community, and makes one joint assent of the whole. (b) 5. To make by-laws or private statutes for the [*476] better *government of the corporation; which are binding upon themselves, unless contrary to the laws of the land, and then they are void. (8) This is also included by law in the very act of incorporation: (c) for as natural reason is given to the natural body for the governing it, so by-laws or statutes are a sort of political reason to govern the body politic. And this

(b) Dav. 44, 48.

(c) Hob. 211.

(7) The old doctrine that corporations act and speak only by their common seal, to which there were always some exceptions based upon a supposed necessity, has become almost entirely obsolete. Mr. Parsons in his work on Contracts, vol. 1, 139, 5th ed., has collected cases showing how generally the courts have recognized the power of corporations to bind themselves in the same way that natural persons and voluntary associations of individuals may, through the agency of officers and other persons. See also Grant on Corporations, 62. It is not even necessary, nor is it usual, that the appointment of agents be under seal, and the corporation may be held liable in assumpsit on implied contracts. *Beverley v. Lincoln Gas Co.*, 6 A. and E. 829; *Seagraves v. Alton*, 13 Ill. 366; *N. C. Railway v. Bastian*, 15 Md. 494. And this, notwithstanding the charter points out a different mode for contracting. *Bulkley v. Derby Fishing Co.*, 2 Conn. 252. *Board of Education v. Greenebaum*, 39 Ill. 609. And it may be held liable also on the contract of an unauthorized person, where a ratification by the corporators can be implied from their acts. *Hayward v. Pilgrim Society*, 21 Pick. 270. A contract not within the appropriate business of the charter is of course void, whether made with due formalities or not: *Hood v. N. Y. and N. H. R. R. Co.* 22 Conn. 502; and it would seem that in such a case, no acts of confirmation could make the contract binding. It has been held, however, on the ground of making a corporation responsible for its wrongs, that, where a contract is made *ultra vires*, and the shareholders have acquiesced in the abuse, the corporation will not be allowed to repudiate it where to do so would work a greater wrong to innocent third parties than the affirmation of the contract would to the shareholders. *Bissell v. M. S. and N. I. R. R. Co.*, 22 N. Y. 258. As against the state, however, a corporation could acquire no rights by usurpation. Corporations have no general authority to give promissory notes or accept bills of exchange, unless the nature of the business in which they are engaged is such as to raise a necessary implication of the existence of the authority. *Broughton v. Manchester Waterworks Co.*, 3 B. and A. 1; *Bateman v. Mid. Wales R. R. Co.* Law Rep. 1 Q. B. 620; *Chambers v. Manchester, &c., Railway Co.*, 10 Jur. N. S. 700; Grant on Corporations, 276; A. and A. on Corp. §§ 236, 257, 267. Any contract, as, for instance, a conveyance of lands, which, if executed by an individual, would require to be under seal, must of course be under seal when made by a corporation. *Koehler v. Iron Co.*, 2 Black, 715.

Corporations are liable generally for the wrongful acts and neglects of their officers and agents, where they were directly authorized, or were done or occur, in the regular course of their employment. *Chestnut v. Rutter*, 4 S. and R. 16; *Life and Fire Ins. Co. v. Mechanics Ins. Co.*, 7 Wend. 31; *Thayer v. Boston*, 19 Pick. 516. And this though the act of such officer or agent may have been in disregard of or contrary to instructions. *Weed v. Panama R. R. Co.*, 17 N. Y. 362; *Southwick v. Estes*, 7 Cush. 385; *Railroad Co. v. Derby*, 14 How. 468. It was formerly supposed that trespass would not lie against a corporation; but the contrary is now settled. *Maund v. Canal Co.*, 4 M. and G. 452; *Edwards v. Union Bank*, 1 Fla. 136; *Barnard v. Stevens*, 2 Aik. 429; *Humes v. Knoxville*, 1 Humph. 403; *Chicago, &c., R. R. Co. v. Fell*, 22 Ill. 333; *The President, &c., v. Wright*, 5 Ind. 252. *Goff v. Great Nor. R. Co.*, 3 El. and El. 672; *Harlem v. Emmert*, 41 Ill. 319. And this, it seems, to recover damages for assault and battery. *Eastern Counties R. Co. v. Broom*, 6 Exch. 314; *Chilton v. London, &c., R. Co.*, 16 M. and W. 212; *Green v. London G. O. Co.*, 7 C. B. N. S. 290; *Moore v. Fitchburg R. R. Co.*, 4 Gray, 465; *Maund v. Canal Co.*, 4 M. and G. 452; but see *Orr v. Bank of U. S.*, 1 Ohio, 36; *Childs v. Bank of Missouri*, 17 Mo. 213. They are not liable where the trespass was wilful, and not within the scope of the servant's authority. *Vanderbilt v. Turnpike Co.*, 2 N. Y. 479; *Fox v. Northern Liberties*, 3 W. and S. 103.

Corporations are also liable for the frauds of their agents when committed in the course of their employment, or where the corporations reap the benefit of them; and for libels by their agents which they authorize. *Philadelphia, &c., R. R. Co. v. Quigley*, 21 How. 202; *Aldrich v. Press Printing Co.*, 9 Minn. 133.

(8) Corporations have a general power to make by-laws to further the purposes of their incorporation, but they must be in harmony with the general laws of the state, and reasonable in their provisions, or they will be void in law. See *Davies v. Morgan*, 1 Crompt. and J. 587; *Chamberlain of London v. Compton*, 7 D. and R. 597; *Clark v. Le Cren*, 9 B. and C. 52; *Gosling v. Veley*, 12 Q. B. 347; *Dunham v. Rochester*, 5 Cow. 462; *Austin v. Murray*, 16 Pick. 121; *Gallatin v. Bradford*, 1 Bibb, 209; *Ex parte Burnett*, 30 Ala. 461. The power to make by-laws may be delegated to a select body of the corporators. *Rex v. Spencer*, Burr. 1837.

right of making by-laws for their own government, not contrary to the law of the land, was allowed by the law of the twelve tables of Rome. (*d*) But no trading company is with us allowed to make by-laws which may affect the king's prerogative, or the common profit of the people, under penalty of 40*l.*, unless they be approved by the chancellor, treasurer, and chief justices, or the judges of assize in their circuits; and, even though they be so approved, still, if contrary to law, they are void. (*e*) These five powers are inseparably incident to every corporation, at least to every corporation *aggregate*; for two of them, though they may be practised, yet are very unnecessary to a corporation *sole*, viz.: to have a corporate seal to testify his sole assent, and to make statutes for the regulation of his own conduct.

There are also certain privileges and disabilities that attend an aggregate corporation, and are not applicable to such as are sole; the reason of them ceasing, and of course the law. It must always appear by attorney, for it cannot appear in person, being, as Sir Edward Coke says, (*f*) invisible and existing only in intendment and consideration of law. It can neither maintain, or be made defendant to, an action of battery or such like personal injuries; for a corporation can neither beat nor be beaten, in its body politic. (*g*) A corporation cannot commit treason, or felony, or other crime in its corporate capacity: (*h*) though its members may, in their distinct individual capacities. (*i*) Neither is it capable of suffering a *traitor's or felon's punishment, for it is not liable to corporal penalties, nor to attainder, forfeiture, or corruption of blood. It [**477*] cannot be executor or administrator, or perform any personal duties; for it cannot take an oath for the due execution of the office. It cannot be seised of lands to the use of another; (*j*) for such kind of confidence is foreign to the end of its institution. (*9*) Neither can it be committed to prison; (*k*) for, its existence being ideal, no man can apprehend or arrest it. And therefore, also, it cannot be outlawed; for outlawry always supposes a precedent right of arresting, which has been defeated by the parties absconding, and that also a corporation cannot do: for which reasons the proceedings to compel a corporation to appear to any suit by attorney are always by distress on their lands and goods. (*l*) Neither can a corporation be excommunicated: for it has no soul, as is gravely observed by Sir Edward Coke; (*m*) and therefore also it is not liable to be summoned into the ecclesiastical courts upon any account; for those courts act only *pro salute animæ*, and their sentences can only be enforced by spiritual censures: a consideration which, carried to its full extent, would alone demonstrate the impropriety of these courts interfering in any temporal rights whatsoever.

There are also other incidents and powers which belong to some sort of corporations, and not to others. An aggregate corporation may take goods and chattels for the benefit of themselves and their successors, but a sole corporation cannot: (*n*) for such movable property is liable to be lost or embezzled, and would raise a multitude of disputes between the successor and executor, which the law is careful to avoid. (*10*) In ecclesiastical and eleemosynary foundations, the king or the founder may give them rules, laws, statutes, and ordinances, which they are bound to observe: but corporations merely *lay, constituted for civil purposes, are subject to no particular statutes; (*11*) but to the com- [**478*]

(*d*) *Sodales legem quam volent, dum ne quid ex publica lege corrumpant, sibi ferunt.*

(*e*) Stat. 19 Hen. VII. c. 7. 11 Rep. 54. (*f*) 10 Rep. 32. (*g*) Bro. Abr. tit. Corporation, 63. (*h*) 10 Rep. 32. (*i*) The civil law also ordains that, for the misbehaviour of a body corporate, the directors only shall be answerable in their personal capacities. *Ff.* 4, 3, 15.

(*j*) Bro. Abr. tit. *Peoffm. ad. uses.* 40. Bacon, of Uses, 347.

(*k*) Plowd. 538

(*l*) Bro. Abr. tit. Corporation, 11. Outlawry, 72.

(*m*) 10 Rep. 32.

(*n*) Co. Litt. 46.

(*9*) A corporation cannot be compelled to execute a trust which is foreign to the ends of its institution, but the trust does not therefore fail, for equity may appoint a trustee to execute it. *Vidal v. Philadelphia*, 2 How. 127. So if a corporation which is seised of lands in trust is dissolved, equity will protect the trust by appointing a trustee. *Montpelier v. East Montpelier*, 27 Vt. 704.

(*10*) [Mr. Hargrave considers the jewels of the crown rather as heir-looms than an instance of chattels passing in succession in a sole corporation. Co. Litt. 9, n. 1.]

(*11*) [Their charters or immemorial usages, which are equivalent to the express provisions of a charter, are, in fact, their statutes.]

mon law, and to their own by-laws, not contrary to the laws of the realm. (o) Aggregate corporations, also, that have by their constitutions a head, as a dean, warden, master, or the like, cannot do any acts during the vacancy of the headship, except only appointing another: neither are they then capable of receiving a grant: for such corporation is incomplete without a head. (p) But there may be a corporation aggregate, constituted without a head: (q) as the collegiate church of Southwell, in Nottinghamshire, which consists only of prebendaries; and the governors of the Charterhouse, London, who have no president or superior but are all of equal authority. In aggregate corporations, also, the act of the major part is esteemed the act of the whole. (r) By the civil law this major part must have consisted of two-thirds of the whole, else no act could be performed: (s) which perhaps may be one reason why they required three at least to make a corporation. But with us *any* majority is sufficient to determine the act of the whole body. And whereas, notwithstanding the law stood thus, some founders of corporations had made statutes in derogation of the common law, making very frequently the unanimous assent of the society to be necessary to any corporate act, which King Henry VIII found to be a great obstruction to his projected scheme of obtaining a surrender of the lands of ecclesiastical corporations, it was therefore enacted by statute 33 Hen. VIII, c. 27, that all private statutes shall be utterly void, whereby any grant or election, made by the head, with the concurrence of the major part of the body, is liable to be obstructed by any one or more being the minority: but this statute extends not to any negative or necessary voice, given by the founder to the head of any such society. (12)

We before observed, that it was incident to every corporation to have a capacity to purchase lands for themselves and *successors: and this is regularly true at the common law. (t) But they are excepted out of the statute of wills: (u) so that no devise of lands to a corporation by will is good, except for charitable uses, by statute 43 Eliz. c. 4; (w) which exception is again greatly narrowed by the statute 9 Geo. II, c. 36. And also, by a great variety of statutes, (x) their privilege even of purchasing from any living grantor is much abridged: so that now a corporation, either ecclesiastical or lay, must have a license from the king to purchase, (y) before they can exert that capacity which is vested in them by the common law: nor is even this in all cases

(o) Lord Raym. 8.

(p) Co. Litt. 263, 264.

(q) 10 Rep. 30.

(r) Bro. Abr. tit. Corporation, 31, 34.

(s) Ff. 3, 4, 3.

(t) 10 Rep. 30.

(u) 34 Hen. VIII, c. 5.

(w) Hob. 136.

(x) From magna carta, 9 Hen. III, c. 36, to 9 Geo. II, c. 36.

(y) By the civil law, a corporation was incapable of taking lands unless by special privilege from the emperor. *Collegium si nullo speciali privilegio subnixum sit, hereditatem capere non posse, dubium non est.* Cod. 6, 24, 8.

(12) Corporations act by majorities in legal meetings. *St. Mary's Church*, 7 S. and R. 517; *Horton v. Baptist Church*, 34 Vt. 316. What is a legal meeting may depend upon the charter, and upon the nature of the act to be done. Where a corporate act is to be done by a definite number of persons, the majority of the number is necessary to constitute a quorum, without which no act can be done: *Ex parte Willecocks*, 7 Cow. 402; but, where the number is indefinite, it seems that a majority of those who actually meet may bind all. See *A. and A. on Corp.* § 501. And even where the number is definite, the charter may make less than a majority a quorum for the transaction of business. *Rex v. Hoyte*, 6 T. R. 430.

A legal meeting being convened, the acts of a majority of those present will bind all, unless a different rule is prescribed by the charter. *Cotton v. Davies*, Str. 53; *Rex v. Wyndham*, Cowp. 377; *Rex v. Theodorick*, 8 East, 543. And if any abstain from voting, even though they be a majority of the meeting, they are supposed to acquiesce in the action of the majority who do vote. *Oldknow v. Wainwright*, Burr, 1017; *Rex v. Foxcroft*, id. 1021; *Gosling v. Velej*, 7 Q. B. 439; *Booker v. Young*, 12 Gratt. 303; *State v. Lehre*, 7 Rich. 234. But the rule that the majority may bind all only extends to strictly corporate acts; to the carrying on of the business, and not to the dissolution of the corporation and distribution among members. *North Am. M. Co. v. Clarke*, 40 Penn. St. 432; *State v. Bailey*, 16 Ind. 51. It has been held that at common law, though in public corporations votes could not be given by proxy, yet private money corporations might establish by-laws authorizing voting by that mode. *State v. Tudor*, 5 Day, 329. This doctrine is denied, however, in cases which hold that there must be legislative authority to authorize voting by proxy. *Philips v. Wickham*, 1 Paige, 590; *Taylor v. Griswold*, 2 Green, N. J. 223.

sufficient. These statutes are generally called the statutes of *mortmain*; all purchases made by corporate bodies being said to be purchases in *mortmain*, in *mortua manu*: for the reason of which appellation Sir Edward Coke (z) offers many conjectures; but there is one which seems more probable than any that he has given us; viz.: that these purchases being usually made by ecclesiastical bodies, the members of which (being professed) were reckoned dead persons in law, land therefore holden by them might with great propriety be said to be held in *mortua manu*.

I shall defer the more particular exposition of these statutes of mortmain till the next book of these Commentaries, when we shall consider the nature and tenures of estates; and also the exposition of those disabling statutes of Queen Elizabeth, which restrain spiritual and eleemosynary corporations from aliening such lands as they are at present in legal possession of: only mentioning them in this place for the sake of regularity, as statutable incapacities incident and relative to corporations.

The general *duties* of all bodies politic, considered in their corporate capacity, may, like those of natural persons, be *reduced to this single one, that of acting up to the end or design, whatever it be, for which they were [*480] created by their founder. (13)

III. I proceed therefore next to inquire, how these corporations may be *visited*. For corporations being composed of individuals, subject to human frailties, are liable, as well as private persons, to deviate from the end of their institution. And for that reason the law has provided proper persons to visit, inquire into, and correct all irregularities that arise in such corporations, either sole or aggregate, and whether ecclesiastical, civil, or eleemosynary. With regard to all ecclesiastical corporations, the ordinary is their visitor, so constituted by the canon law, and from thence derived to us. The pope formerly, and now the king, as supreme ordinary, is the visitor of the archbishop or metropolitan; the metropolitan has the charge and coercion of all his suffragan bishops; and the bishops in their several dioceses are in ecclesiastical matters the visitors of all deans and chapters, of all parsons and vicars, and of all other spiritual corporations. With respect to all lay corporations, the founder, his heirs, or assigns, are the visitors, whether the foundation be civil or eleemosynary; for in a lay incorporation the ordinary neither can nor ought to visit. (a)

I know it is generally said, that civil corporations are subject to no visitation, but merely to the common law of the land; and this shall be presently explained. But first, as I have laid it down as a rule that the founder, his heirs, or assigns, are the visitors of all lay corporations, let us inquire what is meant by the *founder*. The founder of all corporations, in the strictest and original sense, is the king alone, for he only can incorporate a society; and in civil incorporations such as mayor or commonalty, &c., where there are no possessions or endowments given to the body, there is no other founder but the king: but in eleemosynary foundations, such as colleges and hospitals, where there is an endowment of lands, the law distinguishes, and makes two species of *foun- [*481] dation; the one *fundatio incipiens*, or the incorporation, in which [sense the king is the geneneral founder of all colleges, and hospitals; the other *fundatio perficiens*, or the dotation of it, in which sense the first gift of the reve-

(z) 1 Inst. 2.

(a) 10 Rep. 31.

(13) [It may be here incidentally mentioned that in the administration of property left upon trust for charitable purposes, whether to a corporation or to trustees, the rule, that the donor's intention shall guide the trustees in their administration of the trust funds, becomes much modified by the *cy pres* doctrine, which by a long series of decisions has now become fully established in courts of equity. Under this doctrine the court of chancery will, on failure of the express object of the donor's charitable intentions, direct a reference to inquire what objects are (*cy pres*) nearest to such express objects, and will direct the application of the trust funds to such objects. As to the principles which govern the courts in the application of this doctrine, see *Cherry v. Mott*, 1 My. and Cr. 213; *Att'y-Gen'l v. Ironmongers' Co.*, 2 Bear. 313; *Cr. and Ph.* 208.] See Story's Eq. Juris. §§ 1169-1176, and cases cited.

nues is the foundation, and he who gives them is in law the founder: and it is in this last sense that we generally call a man the founder of a college or hospital. (b) But here the king has his prerogative: for, if the king and a private man join in endowing an eleemosynary foundation, the king alone shall be the founder of it. And, in general, the king being the sole founder of all civil corporations, and the endower the perficient founder of all eleemosynary ones, the right of visitation of the former results, according to the rule laid down, to the king; and of the latter to the patron or endower.

The king being thus constituted by law visitor of all civil corporations, the law has also appointed the place wherein he shall exercise this jurisdiction: which is the court of king's bench; where, and where only, all misbehaviours of this kind of corporations are inquired into and redressed, and all their controversies decided. And this is what I understand to be the meaning of our lawyers when they say that these civil corporations are liable to no visitation; that is, that the law having by immemorial usage appointed them to be visited and inspected by the king, their founder, in his majesty's court of king's bench, according to the rules of the common law, they ought not to be visited elsewhere, or by any other authority. (c) And this is so strictly true, that though the king by his letters patent had subjected the college of physicians to the visitation of four very respectable persons, the lord chancellor, the two chief justices, and the chief baron; though the college had accepted this charter with all possible marks of acquiescence, and had acted under it for near a century; yet in 1753, the authority of this provision coming in dispute, on an appeal preferred to these supposed *visitors, they directed the legality of their own [*482] appointment to be argued; and as this college was merely a civil and not an eleemosynary foundation, they at length determined, upon several days' solemn debate, that they had no jurisdiction as visitors; and remitted the appellant, if aggrieved, to his regular remedy in his majesty's court of king's bench. (14)

As to eleemosynary corporations, by the dotation the founder and his heirs are of common right the legal visitors, to see that such property is rightly employed, as might otherwise have descended to the visitor himself: but, if the founder has appointed and assigned any other person to be visitor, then his assignee so appointed is invested with all the founder's power, in exclusion of his heir. Eleemosynary corporations are chiefly hospitals, or colleges in the universities. These were all of them considered, by the popish clergy, as of mere ecclesiastical jurisdiction: however, the law of the land judged otherwise; and with regard to hospitals, it has long been held, (d) that if the hospital be spiritual, the bishop shall visit; but if lay, the patron. This right of lay patrons was indeed abridged by statute 2 Hen. V. c. 1, which ordained, that the ordinary should visit *all* hospitals founded by subjects; though the king's right was reserved to visit by his commissioners such as were of royal foundation. But the subject's right was in part restored by statute 14 Eliz. c. 5, which directs the bishop to visit such hospitals only where no visitor is appointed by the founders thereof: and all the hospitals founded by virtue of the statute 39 Eliz. c. 5, are to be visited by such persons as shall be nominated by the respective founders. But still, if the founder appoints nobody, the bishop of the diocese must visit. (e)

Colleges in the universities (whatever the common law may now, or might formerly, judge) were certainly considered by the popish clergy, under whose

(b) 10 Rep. 33.

(c) This notion is perhaps too refined. The court of king's bench (it may be said), from its general superintendent authority, where other jurisdictions are deficient, has power to regulate all corporations where no special visitor is appointed. But not in the light of visitor; for as its judgments are liable to be reversed by writs of error, it may be thought to want one of the essential marks of visitatorial power.

(d) Yearbook, 8 Edw. III, 28. 8 Ass. 29.

(e) 2 Inst. 725.

(14) In the United States the legislature is the visitor of all corporations created by it, where there is no individual founder or donor, and may direct judicial proceedings against such corporations for such abuses or neglects as would at common law cause a forfeiture of their charters. *Amherst Academy v. Cows*, 6 Pick. 433.

direction they were, as *ecclesiastical*, or at least as *clerical*, corporations: and therefore the right of visitation was claimed by the ordinary of the *diocese. This is evident, because in many of our most ancient colleges, [*483] where the founder had a mind to subject them to a visitor of his own nomination, he obtained for that purpose a papal bull to exempt them from the jurisdiction of the ordinary; several of which are still preserved in the archives of the respective societies. And in some of our colleges, where no special visitor is appointed, the bishop of that diocese, in which Oxford was formerly comprised, has immemorially exercised visitorial authority; which can be ascribed to nothing else but his supposed title as ordinary to visit this, among other ecclesiastical foundations. And it is not impossible that the number of colleges in Cambridge, which are visited by the bishop of Ely, may in part be derived from the same original.

But whatever might be formerly the opinion of the clergy, it is now held as established common law, that colleges are lay corporations, though sometimes totally composed of ecclesiastical persons; and that the right of visitation does not arise from any principles of the canon law, but of necessity was created by the common law. (f) And yet the power and jurisdiction of visitors in colleges was left so much in the dark at common law, that the whole doctrine was very unsettled till the famous case of *Philips and Bury*. (g) In this the main question was, whether the sentence of the bishop of Exeter, who, as visitor, had deprived Doctor Bury, the rector of Exeter College, could be examined and redressed by the court of king's bench. And the three puisne judges were of opinion that it might be reviewed, for that the visitor's jurisdiction could not exclude the common law; and accordingly judgment was given in that court. But the Lord Chief Justice Holt was of a contrary opinion; and held, that by the common law the office of visitor is to judge according to the statutes of the college, and to expel and deprive upon just occasions, and to hear all appeals of course: and that from him, and him only, the party grieved ought to have redress; the founder having reposed in him so entire a confidence, that he *will administer justice impartially, that his determinations are final, and examinable in no other court whatsoever. And upon this, a writ of [*484] error being brought into the house of lords, they concurred in Sir John Holt's opinion, and reversed the judgment of the court of king's bench. To which leading case all subsequent determinations have been conformable. (15) But, where the visitor is under a temporary disability, there the court of king's bench will interpose to prevent a defect of justice. (h) Also it is said, (i) that if a founder of an eleemosynary foundation appoints a visitor, and limits his jurisdiction by rules and statutes, if the visitor in his sentence exceeds those rules, an action lies against him; but it is otherwise where he mistakes in a thing within his power.

IV. We come now, in the last place, to consider how corporations may be dissolved. Any particular member may be disfranchised, or lose his place in the corporation, by acting contrary to the laws of the society, or the laws of the land; or he may resign it by his own voluntary act. (k) (16) But the body

(f) Lord Raym. 8.

(h) Stra. 797.

(g) Lord Raym. 5.

(i) 2 Lutw. 1566.

4 Mod. 106.

(k) 11 Rep. 98.

Show. 85. Skinn. 407. Salk. 403. Carthew. 180.

(15) See *King v. Master, &c., of St. Katharine's Hall*, 4 T. R. 233; also cases cited in re Downing College, 2 My. and Cr. 642.

(16) [Every member or officer of a corporation may resign his place or office, and a corporation has power to take such resignation. 1 Sid. 14. A resignation by parol, if entered and accepted, is sufficient. 2 Salk. 433. Accepting another office incompatible with the other implies a resignation. 3 Burr. 1615. If a resignation be once accepted, the party cannot afterwards claim to be restored. 1 Sid. 14; 2 Salk. 433.]

A corporation may for good cause remove an officer from his office; 2 Stra. 819; Sir T. Ray. 439; and this is incident to a corporation without charter or prescription: 1 Burr. 517: sed. vid. 11 Co. 99, a; Style, 477, 480; 1 Lord Ray. 392; 2 Kyd, 50, &c., a mandamus lies to compel a removal. 4 Mod. 233. If the member do any thing contrary to the duty of his place or oath he is removable. 11 Co. 99, a. If an alderman be a common drunkard he is remov-

politic may also itself be dissolved in several ways, which dissolution is the civil death of the corporation; and in this case their lands and tenements shall revert to the person, or his heirs, who granted them to the corporation: for the law doth annex a condition to every such grant, that, if the corporation be dissolved, the grantor shall have the lands again, because the cause of the grant faileth. (l) The grant is, indeed, only during the life of the corporation; which may endure forever: but when that life is determined by the dissolution of the body politic, the grantor takes it back by reversion, as in the case of every other grant for life. (17) The debts of a corporation, either to or from it, are totally extinguished by its dissolution; so that the members thereof cannot recover, or be charged with them, in their natural capacities; (m) (18) agreeable to that maxim of the civil law, "*si quid universitati debetur, singulis non debetur; nec, quod debet universitas, singuli debent.*" (n)

(l) Co. Litt. 13.

(m) 1 Lev. 237.

(n) *Ff.* 3, 4, 7.

able for it. 2 Rol. 455, l. 20; Dub. 1 Rol. 409; so if he removes from the borough and refuses attendance without lawful excuse. 4 Mod. 36; Semb. Show. 259; 4 Burr. 2087; and see further 9 Co. 99; Sir T. Raym. 438; Sty. 479. From the decisions on this subject, it appears that mere non-residence, without any particular inconvenience arising to the corporation from it, and where the charter does not require it, is no cause for removal. See cases collected in 3 B. and C. 152. And a corporate office does not become ipso facto vacant by the non-residence of the corporator; a sentence must be passed. 2 T. R. 772. Where a charter does not require the members of a corporation to be resident, the court will not grant a mandamus commanding the corporation to meet and consider of the propriety of removing from their offices non-resident corporators, unless their absence has been productive of some serious inconvenience. 3 B. and C. 152. As to what is a cause for removal, 2 Kyd. 62, 94.

A ministerial officer chosen *durante bene placito* may be removed *ad libitum*, as a town clerk: 1 Vent. 77, 82; Ray. 188; 1 Lev. 291; a recorder, 1 Vent. 242; 2 Jones, 52. And a custom to remove an officer *ad libitum* is good: Dy. 332, b.; Cro. J. 540; 2 Salk. 430; but generally an officer cannot be removed without good cause, though the charter says *generally* he may be removed: Dy. 332, b.; or though it says he may be chosen for life *si viderint expedire*. 1 Lev. 148. If, however, a charter, by express words, empower either the corporation at large or a select body to remove an officer at pleasure, or empower them to choose him *during* pleasure, they may in either case remove him without cause. Sir T. Jones, 52; 3 Keb. 667; Sir T. Raym. 188. Though the election be general, if it be not under the common seal, the officers thereby elected may be removed *ad libitum*. 2 Jones, 52; 1 Vent. 355. A common freeman cannot in any case be deprived of his freedom *ad libitum* of the corporation at large, or of any select body. Cro. J. 540; Sir T. Raym. 188; 1 Lord Ray. 391.

A removal must in general be by the act of the whole body. If a special power to remove be delegated to part of the body it must be shown. Cowp. 502, 503, 504; Dougl. 149. To this power of motion the power of holding a corporate meeting for that purpose is necessarily incident. Dougl. 153, 155. A party cannot be removed but by the corporate act under seal. 5 Mod. 259. There must be a summons for the mayor, &c., expressly to meet for the purpose of deciding as to the removal: 1 Stra. 385; and every member of the assembly must be summoned where a summons is necessary. 2 Stra. 1051. A corporation cannot in general remove a member without summoning the party to answer for himself and hearing him, for he may have a good excuse. 11 Co. 99, a.; 1 Sid. 14. In some cases this may be dispensed with, and where non-residence is a good cause of motion, it is unnecessary, before proceeding to remove the party, to summon him to come and reside. Dougl. 149. But if he be removable for non-attendance at the corporate assemblies, he must have had personal notice to attend, and that his presence was necessary; the usual notice of the intended meeting will not be sufficient, unless that usual notice be personal. 1 Burr. 517, 527, 540. Where an officer is removable *ad libitum*, he may be removed without summons or hearing of him, &c. 1 Sid. 15; 1 Lev. 291. In general the summons should show the particular charge alleged against the party to be removed: 11 Co. 99, a.; 4 Mod. 33, 37; but sometimes this is unnecessary, 1 Lord Raym. 225, 2d ed. 1240; especially where the party by his act dispenses with it. 2 Burr. 723; 1 Kyd. 439, 447.

If a member be improperly removed a mandamus lies. Where it is *confessed* that a man has been rightly removed from an office, the court will not grant a mandamus for a restoration, though he had no notice to appear and defend himself. Cowp. 523; 2 T. R. 177. An order of restoration of a corporator illegally disfranchised relates to the original right. Cowp. 503.

(17) [But if the corporation have granted over their possessions to another before their dissolution, they do not return to the donor: 1 Rol. 816, l. 10, 20, and vide the cases collected in Bac. Ab. Corp. J.; if lands are given to a corporate body and it is dissolved, they will revert to the donor and not escheat. 9 Mod. 226.]

(18) See note 21, p. 485.

*A corporation may be dissolved, 1. By act of parliament, which is boundless in its operations. (19) 2. By the natural death of all its members, in case of an aggregate corporation. (20) 3. By surrender of its franchises into the hands of the king, which is a kind of suicide. 4. By forfeiture of its charter, through negligence or abuse of its franchises; in which case the law judges that the body politic has broken the condition upon which it was incorporated, and thereupon the incorporation is void. And the regular course is to bring an information in nature of a writ of *quo warranto*, to inquire by what warrant the members now exercise their corporate power, having forfeited it by such and such proceedings. The exertion of this act of law, for the purposes of the state, in the reigns of King Charles and King James the Second, particularly by seizing the charter of the city of London, gave great and just offence; though perhaps, in strictness of law, the proceedings in most of them were sufficiently regular: but the judgment against that of London was reversed by act of parliament (o) after the revolution; and by the same statute it is enacted, that the franchises of the city of London shall never more be forfeited for any cause whatsoever. And because, by the common law, corporations were dissolved, in case the mayor or head officer was not duly elected on the day appointed in the charter, or established by prescription, it is now provided, (p) that for the future no corporation shall be dissolved upon that account; and ample directions are given for appointing a new officer, in case there be no election, or a void one, made upon the prescriptive or charter day. (21)

(o) Stat. 2 W. and M. c. 8.

(p) Stat. 11 Geo. I, c. 4.

(19) [The king cannot by his prerogative destroy a corporation. *Rex v. Amley*, 2 Term R. 532.]

(20) [But, if the king makes a corporation consisting of twelve men to continue always in succession, and when any of them die the others may choose another in his place, it may be so continued. Roll. 524; Bac. Ab. tit. Corp. G. But, where a corporation consists of several distinct integral parts, if one of these parts become extinct, whether by the death of the persons of whom it is composed, or by any other means, the whole corporation is dissolved. 3 Burr. 1866. When an integral part of a corporation is gone, and the corporation has no power to restore it, or to do any corporate act, the corporation is so far dissolved that the crown may grant a new charter. 3 T. R. 199. And when the major part of an integral part of a corporation whose attendance is required at the election of officers, being gone, it operates as a dissolution of the whole corporation, which has thereby lost the power of holding corporate assemblies for the purpose of filling up vacancies and continuing itself. 3 East, 213. And where the election of mayor was to be made by the majority of an assembly composed of several integral definite parts of a corporation and other burgesses and inhabitants for the time being, it was held that one of such definite integral parts, being reduced below its majority of a proper number, could no longer be represented in such corporate assembly, and the whole corporation was thereby dissolved, being no longer capable of continuing itself. 4 East, 17.]

(21) It is a tacit condition of a grant of incorporation that the corporators shall act up to the end or design for which they were incorporated; and hence, through neglect or abuse of its franchises, a corporation may forfeit its charter as for condition broken, or for a breach of trust. A. and A. on Corp. § 774, and cases cited. It is said, however, that the mere omission by a corporation to exercise its powers does not, of itself, disconnected with any other acts, work a forfeiture of the charter: *Sandford Ch. Attorney-General v. Bank of Niagara*, 1 Hopk. 361; but this can hardly be universally true, and in several cases the chartered privileges of banks, it has been held, may be forfeited by suspension of specie payments. *State v. Commercial Bank*, 10 Ohio, 535; *People v. Bank of Pontiac*, 12 Mich. 527; see *State v. Bank of South Carolina*, 1 Speers, 441; *Attorney-General v. Bank of Michigan*, Har. Ch. 315. So a usurpation of other franchises than those conferred by the charter may be cause of forfeiture. *People v. Utica Ins. Co.*, 15 Johns. 358; *People v. Oakland County Bank*, 1 Doug. Mich. 282; *People v. River Raisin and Lake Erie R. R. Co.*, 12 Mich. 389. But in any case the neglect or abuse must be wilful; not merely the result of accident or mistake. *State v. Royalton Turnpike Co.*, 11 Vt. 431; *People v. Hillsdale Turnpike Co.*, 23 Wend. 254.

The forfeiture of chartered privileges must be declared in a direct proceeding taken on behalf of the state for that purpose, and cannot be taken advantage of by a private individual in any collateral suit or proceeding. *Dyer v. Walker*, 40 Penn. St. 157; *Vermont and Canada R. R. Co. v. Vermont Central R. R. Co.*, 34 Vt. 57; *Heard v. Talbot*, 7 Gray, 120; *Cahill v. Kalamazoo Ins. Co.* 2 Doug. Mich. 124; *Young v. Harrison*, 6 Ga. 130; *Roudell v. Fay*, 32 Cal. 354; *Wood v. Coosa, &c.*, R. R. Co., 32 Ga. 273. And the state may waive the forfeiture, and will be held to do so by

any distinct legislative act inconsistent with an intent to enforce it. See *Lumpkin v. Jones*, 1 Kelly, 30; *Commercial Bank v. State*, 6 Smedes and M. 622; *People v. Kingston Turnpike Co.*, 23 Wend. 193.

The modes in which a private corporation in the United States may be dissolved have been said to be three: 1. By the death of its members. 2. Surrender of its franchises. 3. A judgment of forfeiture for non-user or abuse. *Trustees of McIntire Poor School v. Zanesville C. and M. Co.*, 9 Ohio, 289. Where, however, the corporate powers are vested in shareholders whose shares are property, and pass to personal representatives on the death of the owner, it is difficult to perceive how a corporation can cease to exist in the first mode mentioned. To these should be added the determination of corporate powers by the expiration of the period for which they were originally granted, and the repeal of the charter by the legislature where the right to repeal was reserved in granting it, or is given by the constitution of the state under which the charter was obtained.

The right to the personal property of a corporation upon its dissolution, which, in England, is in the king, in the United States, is in the people. It is customary, however, either by general or special laws, to make provision for applying the property of corporations, both real and personal, at the time of their dissolution, to the satisfaction of their debts, and for a distribution of the surplus among the corporators; and by that means the hardships attending a dissolution at the common law are averted.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

COMMENTARIES
ON
THE LAWS OF ENGLAND

BOOK THE SECOND.
OF THE RIGHTS OF THINGS.

CHAPTER I.
OF PROPERTY, IN GENERAL.

THE former book of these Commentaries having treated at large of the *jura personarum*, or such rights and duties as are annexed to the *persons* of men, the objects of our inquiry in this second book will be the *jura rerum*, or those rights which a man may acquire in and to such external things as are unconnected with his person. These are what the writers on natural law style the rights of dominion, or property, concerning the nature and original of which I shall first premise a few observations, before I proceed to distribute and consider its several objects.

*There is nothing which so generally strikes the imagination, and engages the affections of mankind, as the right of property; or that [*2] sole and despotic dominion which one man claims and exercises over the external things of the world, in total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the universe. And yet there are very few that will give themselves the trouble to consider the original and foundation of this right. Pleased as we are with the possession, we seem afraid to look back to the means by which it was acquired, as if fearful of some defect in our title; or at best we rest satisfied with the decision of the laws in our favour, without examining the reason or authority upon which those laws have been built. We think it enough that our title is derived by the grant of the former proprietor, by descent from our ancestors, or by the last will and testament of the dying owner; not caring to reflect that (accurately and strictly speaking) there is no foundation in nature or in natural law, why a set of words upon parchment should convey the dominion of land; why the son should have a right to exclude his fellow creatures from a determinate spot of ground, because his father had done so before him: or why the occupier of a particular field or of a jewel, when lying on his death-bed, and no longer able to maintain possession, should be entitled to tell the rest of the world which of them should enjoy it after him. These inquiries, it must be owned, would be useless and even troublesome in common life. It is well if the mass of mankind will obey the laws when made, without scrutinizing too nicely into the reasons of making them. But, when law is to be considered not only as a matter of practice, but also as a rational science, it cannot be

improper or useless to examine more deeply the rudiments and grounds of these positive constitutions of society.

In the beginning of the world, we are informed by holy writ, the all-bountiful Creator gave to man "dominion over all the earth; and over the fish of the sea, [*3] and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth *upon the earth. (a) This is the only true and solid foundation of man's dominion over external things, whatever airy metaphysical notions may have been started by fanciful writers upon this subject. The earth, therefore, and all things therein, are the general property of all mankind, exclusive of other beings, from the immediate gift of the Creator. And, while the earth continued bare of inhabitants, it is reasonable to suppose that all was in common among them, and that every one took from the public stock to his own use such things as his immediate necessities required.

These general notions of property were then sufficient to answer all the purposes of human life; and might perhaps still have answered them had it been possible for mankind to have remained in a state of primeval simplicity: as may be collected from the manners of many American nations when first discovered by the Europeans; and from the ancient method of living among the first Europeans themselves, if we may credit either the memorials of them preserved in the golden age of the poets, or the uniform accounts given by historians of those times, wherein "*erant omnia communia et indivisa omnibus, veluti unum cunctus patrimonium esset.*" (b) Not that this communion of goods seems ever to have been applicable, even in the earliest ages, to aught but the *substance* of the thing; nor could it be extended to the *use* of it. For, by the law of nature and reason, he, who first began to use it, acquired therein a kind of transient property, that lasted so long as he was using it, and no longer: (c) or, to speak with greater precision, the *right* of possession continued for the same time only that the *act* of possession lasted. Thus the ground was in common, and no part of it was the permanent property of any man in particular; yet whoever was in the occupation of any determined spot of it, for rest, for shade, or the like, acquired for the time a sort of ownership, from which it would have been unjust, and contrary to the law of nature, to have driven him by force: [*4] but the instant that he *quitted the use or occupation of it, another might seize it, without injustice. Thus also a vine or other tree might be said to be in common, as all men were equally entitled to its produce; and yet any private individual might gain the sole property of the fruit, which he had gathered for his own repast. A doctrine well illustrated by Cicero, who compares the world to a great theatre, which is common to the public, and yet the place which any man has taken is for the time his own. (d)

But when mankind increased in number, craft, and ambition, it became necessary to entertain conceptions of more permanent dominion; and to appropriate to individuals not the immediate *use* only, but the very *substance* of the thing to be used. Otherwise innumerable tumults must have arisen, and the good order of the world been continually broken and disturbed, while a variety of persons were striving who should get the first occupation of the same thing, or disputing which of them had actually gained it. As human life also grew more and more refined, abundance of conveniences were devised to render it more easy, commodious, and agreeable; as, habitations for shelter and safety, and raiment for warmth and decency. But no man would be at the trouble to provide either, so long as he had only an usufructuary property in them, which was to cease the instant that he quitted possession; if, as soon as he walked out of his tent, or pulled off his garment, the next stranger who came by would have a right to inhabit the one, and to wear the other. In the case of habitations in particular, it was natural to observe, that even the brute creation, to whom every thing else was in common, maintained a kind of permanent property in their dwellings, especially for the protection of their young; that the birds of

(a) Gen. i. 28.

(b) Justin. l. 43, c. 1.

(c) Barbeyr. Puff. l. 4. c. 4.

(d) *Quemadmodum theatrum, cum commune sit, recte tamen dici potest, ejus esse eum locum quem quisque occupavit.* De Fin. l. 3, c. 20.

the air had nests, and the beasts of the field had caverns, the invasion of which they esteemed a very flagrant injustice, and would sacrifice their lives to preserve them. Hence a property was soon established in every man's house and home-stall; which seem to have been originally mere *temporary huts or [*5] movable cabins, suited to the design of Providence for more speedily peopling the earth, and suited to the wandering life of their owners, before any extensive property in the soil or ground was established. And there can be no doubt, but that movables of every kind became sooner appropriated than the permanent substantial soil: partly because they were more susceptible of a long occupancy, which might be continued for months together without any sensible interruption, and at length by usage ripen into an established right; but principally because few of them could be fit for use, till improved and meliorated by the bodily labour of the occupant, which bodily labour, bestowed upon any subject which before lay in common to all men, is universally allowed to give the fairest and most reasonable title to an exclusive property therein.

The article of food was a more immediate call, and therefore a more early consideration. Such as were not contented with the spontaneous product of the earth, sought for a more solid refreshment in the flesh of beasts, which they obtained by hunting. But the frequent disappointments incident to that method of provision, induced them to gather together such animals as were of a more tame and sequacious nature; and to establish a permanent property in their flocks and herds in order to sustain themselves in a less precarious manner, partly by the milk of the dams, and partly by the flesh of the young. The support of these their cattle made the article of *water* also a very important point. And therefore the book of Genesis (the most venerable monument of antiquity, considered merely with a view to history) will furnish us with frequent instances of violent contentions concerning wells; the exclusive property of which appears to have been established in the first digger or occupant, even in such places where the ground and herbage remained yet in common. Thus we find Abraham, who was but a sojourner, asserting his right to a well in the country of Abimelech, and exacting an oath for his security, "because he had digged that well." (e) And Isaac, *about ninety years afterwards, reclaimed this his father's property; and after much contention with the Philistines, was [*6] suffered to enjoy it in peace. (f)

All this while the soil and pasture of the earth remained still in common as before, and open to every occupant: except perhaps in the neighborhood of towns, where the necessity of a sole and exclusive property in lands (for the sake of agriculture) was earlier felt, and therefore more readily complied with. Otherwise, when the multitude of men and cattle had consumed every convenience on one spot of ground, it was deemed a natural right to seize upon and occupy such other lands as would more easily supply their necessities. This practice is still retained among the wild and uncultivated nations that have never been formed into civil states, like the Tartars and others in the east; where the climate itself, and the boundless extent of their territory, conspire to retain them still in the same savage state of vagrant liberty, which was universal in the earliest ages; and which, Tacitus informs us, continued among the Germans till the decline of the Roman empire. (g) We have also a striking example of the same kind in the history of Abraham and his nephew Lot. (h) When their joint substance became so great, that pasture and other conveniences grew scarce, the natural consequence was, that a strife arose between their servants; so that it was no longer practicable to dwell together. This contention Abraham thus endeavoured to compose: "Let there be no strife I pray thee between thee and me. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left." This plainly implies an acknowledged right, in either, to occupy whatever ground he pleased,

(e) Gen. xxi. 30.

(f) Gen. xxvi. 15, 18, &c.

(g) *Colunt discreti et diversi; ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. De mor. Ger. 16.*

(h) Gen. c. xiii.

that was not pre-occupied by other tribes. "And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, even as the garden of the Lord. Then Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan, and journeyed east; and Abraham dwelt in the land of Canaan."

[*7] *Upon the same principle was founded the right of migration, or sending colonies to find out new habitations, when the mother country was overcharged with inhabitants; which was practised as well by the Phœnicians and Greeks, as the Germans, Scythians, and other northern people. And, so long as it was confined to the stocking and cultivation of desert, uninhabited countries, it kept strictly within the limits of the law of nature. But how far the seizing on countries already peopled, and driving out or massacring the innocent and defenceless natives, merely because they differed from their invaders in language, in religion, in customs, in government, or in colour; how far such a conduct was consonant to nature, to reason, or to Christianity, deserved well to be considered by those, who have rendered their names immortal by thus civilizing mankind."

As the world by degrees grew more populous, it daily became more difficult to find out new spots to inhabit, without encroaching upon former occupants; and, by constantly occupying the same individual spot, the fruits of the earth were consumed, and its spontaneous produce destroyed, without any provision for future supply or succession. It therefore became necessary to pursue some regular method of providing a constant subsistence; and this necessity produced, or at least promoted and encouraged, the art of agriculture. And the art of agriculture, by a regular connexion and consequence, introduced and established the idea of a more permanent property in the soil than had hitherto been received and adopted. It was clear that the earth would not produce her fruits in sufficient quantities, without the assistance of tillage: but who would be at the pains of tilling it, if another might watch an opportunity to seize upon and enjoy the product of his industry, art, and labour? Had not therefore a separate property in lands, as well as movables, been vested in some individuals, the world must have continued a forest, and men have been mere animals of prey; which, according to some philosophers, is the genuine state of nature. *Whereas now (so

[*8] graciously has Providence interwoven our duty and our happiness together) the result of this very necessity has been the ennobling of the human species, by giving it opportunities of improving its *rational* faculties, as well as of exerting its *natural*. Necessity begat property: and in order to insure that property, recourse was had to civil society, which brought along with it a long train of inseparable concomitants: states, government, laws, punishments, and the public exercise of religious duties. Thus connected together, it was found that a part only of society was sufficient to provide, by their manual labour, for the necessary subsistence of all; and leisure was given to others to cultivate the human mind, to invent useful arts, and to lay the foundations of science.

The only question remaining is, how this property became actually vested: or what it is that gave a man an exclusive right to retain in a permanent manner that specific *land*, which before belonged generally to every body, but particularly to nobody. And, as we before observed that occupancy gave the right to the temporary *use* of the soil, so it is agreed upon all hands, that occupancy gave also the original right to the permanent property in the *substance* of the earth itself: which excludes every one else but the owner from the use of it. There is indeed some difference among the writers on natural law, concerning the reason why occupancy should convey this right, and invest one with this absolute property: Grotius and Puffendorf insisting that this right of occupancy is found on a tacit and implied assent of all mankind, that the first occupant should become the owner; and Barbeyrac, Titius, Mr. Locke, and others, holding, that there is no such implied assent, neither is it necessary that there should be; for that the very act of occupancy, alone, being a degree of bodily labour, is from a principle of natural justice, without any consent or compact, sufficient of itself to gain a title. A dispute that savours too much of nice and

scholastic refinement. (1) However, both sides agree in this, that occupancy is the thing by which the title was in fact originally gained; every man seizing to his own continued *use such spots of ground as he found most agreeable [*9] to his own convenience, provided he found them unoccupied by any one else.

Property, both in lands and movables, being thus originally acquired by the first taker, which taking amounts to a declaration that he intends to appropriate the thing to his own use, it remains in him, by the principles of universal law, till such time as he does some other act which shews an intention to abandon it; for then it becomes, naturally speaking, *publici juris* once more, and is liable to be again appropriated by the next occupant. So, if one is possessed of a jewel, and casts it into the sea or a public highway, this is such an express dereliction, that a property will be vested in the first fortunate finder that will seize it to his own use. But if he hides it privately in the earth or other secret place, and it is discovered, the finder acquires no property therein; for the owner hath not by this act declared any intention to abandon it, but rather the contrary: and if he loses or drops it by accident, it cannot be collected from thence, that he designed to quit the possession; and therefore in such a case the property still remains in the loser, who may claim it again of the finder. And this, we may remember, is the doctrine of the law of England, with relation to treasure trove. (i)

But this method of one man's abandoning his property, and another seizing the vacant possession, however well founded in theory, could not long subsist in fact. It was calculated merely for the rudiments of civil society, and necessarily ceased among the complicated interests and artificial refinements of polite

(i) See book I, page 295.

(1) [But it is of great importance that moral obligations and the rudiments of laws should be referred to true and intelligible principles, such as the minds of serious and well-disposed men can rely upon with confidence and satisfaction.

Mr. Locke says, "that the labor of a man's body, and the work of his hands, we may say are properly his. Whatsoever then he removes out of the state that nature hath provided and left it in, he hath mixed his labor with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property." On Gov. c. 5.

But this argument seems to be a *petitio principii*; for mixing labor with a thing can signify only to make an alteration in its shape or form; and if I had a right to the substance, before any labor was bestowed upon it, that right still adheres to all that remains of the substance, whatever changes it may have undergone. If I had no right before, it is clear that I have none after; and we have not advanced a single step by this demonstration.

The account of Grotius and Puffendorf, who maintain that the origin and inviolability of property are founded upon a tacit promise or compact, and therefore we cannot invade another's property without a violation of a promise or a breach of good faith, seems equally, or more, superfluous and inconclusive.

There appears to be just the same necessity to call in the aid of a promise to account for, or enforce, every other moral obligation, and to say that men are bound not to beat or murder each other, because they have promised not to do so. Men are bound to fulfil their contracts and engagements, because society could not otherwise exist; men are bound to refrain from another's property, because, likewise, society could not otherwise exist. Nothing therefore is gained by resolving one obligation into the other.

But how, or when, then, does property commence? I conceive no better answer can be given, than by occupancy, or when any thing is separated for private use from the common stores of nature. This is agreeable to the reason and sentiments of mankind, prior to all civil establishments. When an untutored Indian has set before him the fruit which he has plucked from the tree that protects him from the heat of the sun, and the shell of water raised from the fountain that springs at his feet; if he is driven by any daring intruder from this repast, so easy to be replaced, he instantly feels and resents the violation of that law of property, which nature herself has written upon the hearts of all mankind. This universal principle we find well described in the laws of Menu, son of Brama: "Sages, who know former times, pronounce cultivated land to be the property of him who cut away the wood, or who cleared and tilled it; and the antelope, of the first hunter who mortally wounded it." 3 Sir Wm. Jones, 341. CHRISTIAN.

For interesting discussions on these questions, the reader is referred to Hume's Philosophical works, vol. 2; Bentham, Fragment of Government, Ed. 1776, p. 179, n; Austin, Province of Jurisprudence.]

and established governments. In these it was found, that what became inconvenient or useless to one man, was highly convenient and useful to another; who was ready to give in exchange for it some equivalent, that was equally desirable to the former proprietor. Thus mutual convenience introduced commercial traffic, and the reciprocal transfer of property by sale, grant, or conveyance: which *may be considered either as a continuance of the original [*10] possession which the first occupant had; or as an abandoning of the thing by the present owner, and an immediate successive occupancy of the same by the new proprietor. The voluntary dereliction of the owner, and delivering the possession to another individual, amount to a transfer of the property: the proprietor declaring his intention no longer to occupy the thing himself, but that his own right of occupancy shall be vested in the new acquirer. Or, taken in the other light, if I agree to part with an acre of my land to Titius, the deed of conveyance is an evidence of my intending to abandon the property: and Titius, being the only or first man acquainted with such my intention, immediately steps in and seizes the vacant possession: thus the consent expressed by the conveyance gives Titius a good right against me; and possession, or occupancy, confirms that right against all the world besides.

The most universal and effectual way of abandoning property, is by the death of the occupant: when, both the actual possession and intention of keeping possession ceasing, the property which is founded upon such possession and intention ought also to cease of course. For, naturally speaking, the instant a man ceases to be, he ceases to have any dominion: else if he had a right to dispose of his acquisitions one moment beyond his life, he would also have a right to direct their disposal for a million of ages after him: which would be highly absurd and inconvenient. All property must therefore cease upon death, considering men as absolute individuals, and unconnected with civil society: for, then, by the principles before established, the next immediate occupant would acquire a right in all that the deceased possessed. But as, under civilized governments which are calculated for the peace of mankind, such a constitution would be productive of endless disturbances, the universal law of almost every nation (which is a kind of secondary law of nature) has either given the dying person a power of continuing his property, by disposing of his possessions by will; or, in case he neglects to dispose of it, or is not permitted to make any [*11] disposition *at all, the municipal law of the country then steps in, and declares who shall be the successor, representative, or heir of the deceased; that is, who alone shall have a right to enter upon this vacant possession, in order to avoid that confusion which its becoming again common would occasion. (k) And farther, in case no testament be permitted by the law, or none be made, and no heir can be found so qualified as the law requires, still, to prevent the robust title of occupancy from again taking place, the doctrine of escheats is adopted in almost every country; whereby the sovereign of the state, and those who claim under his authority, are the ultimate heirs, and succeed to those inheritances to which no other title can be formed.

The right of inheritance, or descent to the children and relations of the deceased, seems to have been allowed much earlier than the right of devising by testament. We are apt to conceive at first view that it has nature on its side; yet we often mistake for nature what we find established by long and inveterate custom. It is certainly a wise and effectual, but clearly a political, establishment; since the permanent right of property, vested in the ancestor himself, was no *natural*, but merely a *civil* right. (2) It is true, that the transmission

(k) It is principally to prevent any vacancy of possession, that the civil law considers father and son as one person; so that upon the death of either, the inheritance does not so properly descend, as continue in the hands of the survivor. *Ff.* 28, 2 11.

(2) [I cannot agree with the learned commentator, that the permanent right of property vested in the ancestor himself (that is, for his life), is not a natural, but merely a civil, right.

I have endeavored to show (Note 1) that the notion of property is universal, and is suggested to the mind of man by reason and nature, prior to all positive institutions and civil-

of one's possessions to posterity has an evident tendency to make a man a good citizen and a useful member of society: it sets the passions on the side of duty, and prompts a man to deserve well of the public, when he is sure that the reward of his services will not die with himself, but be transmitted to those with whom he is connected by the dearest and most tender affections. Yet, reasonable as this foundation of the right of inheritance may seem, it is probable that its immediate original arose not from speculations altogether so delicate and refined, and, if not from fortuitous circumstances, at least from a plainer and more simple principle. A man's children or nearest relations are usually about him on his *death-bed, and are the earliest witnesses of his [*12] decease. They become therefore generally the next immediate occupants, till at length in process of time this frequent usage ripened into general law. And therefore also in the earliest ages, on failure of children, a man's servants born under his roof were allowed to be his heirs; being immediately on the spot when he died. For, we find the old patriarch Abraham expressly declaring, that "since God had given him no seed, his steward Eliezer, one born in his house, was his heir." (i)

While property continued only for life, testaments were useless and unknown: and, when it became inheritable, the inheritance was long indefeasible, and the children or heirs at law were incapable of exclusion by will. Till at length it was found, that so strict a rule of inheritance made heirs disobedient and headstrong, defrauded creditors of their just debts, and prevented many provident fathers from dividing or charging their estates as the exigence of their families required. This introduced pretty generally the right of disposing of one's property, or a part of it, by *testament*; that is, by written or oral instructions properly *witnessed* and authenticated, according to the *pleasure* of the deceased, which we therefore emphatically style his *will*. This was established in some countries much later than in others. With us in England, till modern times, a man could only dispose of one-third of his movables from his wife and children; and, in general, no will was permitted of lands till the reign of Henry the Eighth; and then only of a certain portion: for it was not till after the restoration that the power of devising real property became so universal as at present.

Wills, therefore, and testaments, rights of inheritance and successions, are all of them creatures of the civil or municipal laws, and accordingly are in all respects regulated by them; every distinct country having different ceremonies and requisites to make a testament completely valid; neither does any thing vary more than the right of inheritance under different *national establishments. In England, particularly, this diversity is carried to such a [*13]

(i) Gen. xv, 3.

ized refinements. If the laws of the land were suspended, we should be under the same moral and natural obligation to refrain from invading each other's property as from attacking and assaulting each other's persons. I am obliged also to differ from the learned judge, and all writers upon general law, who maintain that children have no better claim by nature to succeed to the property of their deceased parents than strangers; and that the preference given to them originates solely in political establishments. I know no other criterion by which we can determine any rule or obligation to be founded in nature, than its universality; and by inquiring whether it is not, and has not been, in all countries and ages, agreeable to the feelings, affections, and reason of mankind. The affection of parents towards their children is the most powerful and universal principle which nature has planted in the human breast; and it cannot be conceived, even in the most savage state, that any one is so destitute of that affection and of reason, who would not revolt at the position, that a stranger has as good a right as his children to the property of a deceased parent.

Heredes successoresque sui cuique liberi, seems not to have been confined to the words of Germany, but to be one of the first laws in the code of nature; though positive institutions may have thought it prudent to leave the parent the full disposition of his property after his death, or to regulate the shares of the children, when the parent's will is unknown.

In the earliest history of mankind we have express authority that this is agreeable to the will of God himself; and behold the word of the Lord came unto Abraham, saying, *this shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir.* Gen. c. 15. CHRISTIAN.

length, as if it had been meant to point out the power of the laws in regulating the succession to property, and how futile every claim must be, that has not its foundation in the positive rules of the state. In personal estates the father may succeed to his children; in landed property he never can be their immediate heir, by any the remotest possibility: (3) in general only the eldest son, in some places only the youngest, in others all the sons together, have a right to succeed to the inheritance: in real estates males are preferred to females, and the eldest male will usually exclude the rest; in the division of personal estates, the females of equal degree are admitted together with the males, and no right of primogeniture is allowed.

This one consideration may help to remove the scruples of many well-meaning persons, who set up a mistaken conscience in opposition to the rules of law. If a man disinherits his son, by a will duly executed, and leaves his estate to a stranger, there are many who consider this proceeding as contrary to natural justice; while others so scrupulously adhere to the supposed intention of the dead, that, if a will of lands be attested by only *two* witnesses, instead of *three*, which the law requires, they are apt to imagine that the heir is bound in conscience to relinquish his title to the devisee. But both of them certainly proceed upon very erroneous principles, as if, on the one hand, the son had by nature a right to succeed to his father's lands: or, as if, on the other hand, the owner was by nature entitled to direct the succession of his property after his own decease. Whereas, the law of nature suggests, that, on the death of the possessor, the estate should again become common, and be open to the next occupant, unless otherwise ordered for the sake of civil peace by the positive law of society. The positive law of society, which is with us the municipal law of England, directs it to vest in such person as the last proprietor shall, by will, attended with certain requisites, appoint; and, in defect of such appointment, to [*14] go to some particular person, who, from the result *of certain local constitutions, appears to be the heir at law. Hence it follows, that, where the appointment is regularly made, there cannot be a shadow of right in any one but the person appointed; and, where the necessary requisites are omitted, the right of the heir is equally strong, and built upon as solid a foundation, as the right of the devisee would have been, supposing such requisites were observed.

But, after all, there are some few things, which, notwithstanding the general introduction and continuance of property, must still unavoidably remain in common; being such wherein nothing but an usufructuary property is capable of being had; and, therefore, they still belong to the first occupant, during the time he holds possession of them, and no longer. Such (among others) are the elements of light, air and water; which a man may occupy by means of his windows, his gardens, his mills, and other conveniences: such, also, are the generality of those animals which are said to be *feræ naturæ*, or of a wild and untamable disposition; which any man may seize upon and keep for his own use or pleasure. All these things, so long as they remain in possession, every man has a right to enjoy without disturbance; but, if once they escape from his custody, or he voluntarily abandons the use of them, they return to the common stock, and any man else has an equal right to seize and enjoy them afterwards.

Again; there are other things in which a permanent property *may* subsist, not only as to the temporary use, but also the solid substance; and which yet would be frequently found without a proprietor, had not the wisdom of the law provided a remedy to obviate this inconvenience. Such are forests and other waste grounds, which were omitted to be appropriated in the general distribution of lands; such, also, are wrecks, estrays, and that species of wild animals which the arbitrary constitutions of positive law have distinguished from the

(3) That is, as *father* he could not be such heir; but he might nevertheless sustain such relation to the child in a collateral way as to entitle him to the inheritance.

And since the statute 3 and 4 William IV, c. 106, the lineal ancestor may be heir to his issue in preference to collaterals, where there is a failure of lineal descendants. Similar statutes exist in the United States.

rest by the well-known appellation of game. With regard to these and some others, as disturbances and quarrels *would frequently arise among individuals, contending about the acquisition of this species of property by [*15] first occupancy, the law has therefore wisely cut up the root of dissention by vesting the things themselves in the sovereign of the state; or else in his representatives appointed and authorized by him, being usually the lords of manors. And thus the legislature of England has universally promoted the grand ends of civil society, the peace and security of individuals, by steadily pursuing that wise and orderly maxim of assigning to every thing capable of ownership a legal and determinate owner. (4)

CHAPTER II.

OF REAL PROPERTY ; AND, FIRST, OF CORPOREAL HEREDITAMENTS.

THE objects of dominion or property are *things*, as contradistinguished from *persons*: and things are, by the law of England, distributed into two kinds; things *real* and things *personal*. Things *real* are such as are permanent, fixed and immovable, which cannot be carried out of their place; as lands and tenements: things *personal* are goods, money, and all other movables; which may attend the owner's person wherever he thinks proper to go. (1)

In treating of things *real*, let us consider, *first*, their several *sorts* or kinds; *secondly*, the *tenures* by which they may be holden; *thirdly*, the *estates* which may be had in them; and *fourthly*, the *title* to them, and the *manner* of *acquiring* and *losing* it.

First, with regard to their several sorts or kinds, things real are usually said to consist in lands, tenements or hereditaments. *Land* comprehends all things

(4) [It is not very easy, as the author seems to be aware, for the minds of readers who have been born and bred up in all the habits and with the feelings of civil society, to admit the truth of this reasoning on the acquisition and transmission of property. The subject is too wide a one to be discussed in a note; but two observations may be made as important in forming a sound opinion on the whole matter. First, we should have a clear notion what is meant by natural rights, or rights founded in the laws of nature, as far as regards this subject. When we say that a right to devise property of our own acquisition, or to inherit that left undisposed of by our fathers, is a right founded on the law of nature, we commonly mean, a right founded on those conclusions of natural reason and justice which men in all civil societies have, as it were, by general consent, recognized and established. But it is obvious that the law of nature, thus understood, presupposes the formation, nay, even in some measure, the maturity of civil society, and of course along with it the existence of the right of property. Whereas, strictly considered, the law of nature relates to a time anterior to this, and provides for a state of things independent of civil compact. In this point of view it seems correct to say that inheritance and devise are not founded on the law of nature.]

But secondly, in the former sense it may be equally true, that the industrious acquirer of property has a natural right to transmit it to whomsoever he pleases, and that the child has a natural right to inherit what his ancestor shall not have transmitted specially to any other person; that is to say, the wisest persons in all societies have agreed that, by the establishment of these two rights, certain great purposes of civil union are best answered.]

(1) The reader will be careful to note here that the learned commentator is speaking of things real, and not of the *estate* or interest which one may have in those things. We shall see hereafter that an estate in the most permanent species of property may be of such character and duration, that the law does not regard it as real property, but classifies it for most purposes, as respects its control, assignment, and transmission on the death of the owner, with things personal. Nevertheless, when such estates exist, there is always a higher estate in the same things real, vested in some other person, and which is designated as real estate. The nature of the thing itself, therefore, does not determine the character of any particular estate that may exist in it, whether real or personal, but the extent and duration of the estate, as will be hereafter explained.

of a permanent substantial nature; being a word of a very extensive signification, as will presently appear more at large. *Tenement* is a word of still greater [*17] extent, and though, in its vulgar *acceptation, it is only applied to houses and other buildings, yet, in its original, proper and legal sense, it signifies every thing that may be *holden*, provided it be of a permanent nature; whether it be of a substantial and sensible, or of an unsubstantial, ideal kind. (2) Thus, *liberum tenementum*, frank tenement, or freehold, is applicable not only to lands and other solid objects, but also to offices, rents, commons, and the like: (a) and, as lands and houses are tenements, so is an advowson a tenement; and a franchise, an office, a right of common, a peerage, or other property of the like unsubstantial kind, are all of them, legally speaking, tenements. (b) But an *hereditament*, says Sir Edward Coke, (c) is by much the largest and most comprehensive expression; for it includes not only lands and tenements, but whatsoever may be *inherited*, be it corporeal or incorporeal, real, personal or mixed. Thus, an heir-loom, or implement of furniture which, by custom, descends to the heir, together with a house, is neither land nor tenement, but a mere movable; yet being inheritable, is comprised under the general word hereditament: and so a condition, the benefit of which may descend to a man from his ancestor, is also an hereditament. (d) (3)

Hereditaments, then, to use the largest expression, are of two kinds, corporeal and incorporeal. Corporeal consist of such as affect the senses; such as may be seen and handled by the body: incorporeal are not the object of sensation, can neither be seen nor handled, are creatures of the mind, and exist only in contemplation.

Corporeal hereditaments consist wholly of substantial and permanent objects; all which may be comprehended under the general denomination of land only. For *land*, says Sir Edward Coke, (e) comprehendeth, in its legal signification, any ground, soil or earth whatsoever; as arable, meadows, pastures, woods, moors, waters, marshes, furzes and heath. *It legally includeth, also, all castles, [*18] houses and other buildings: for they consist, saith he, of two things; *land*, which is the foundation, and *structure* thereupon; so that, if I convey the land or ground, the structure or building passeth therewith. It is observable that *water* is here mentioned as a species of land, which may seem a kind of

(a) Co. Litt. 6.

(b) *Ibid.* 19, 20.

(c) 1 Inst. 6.

(d) 3 Rep. 2.

(e) 1 Inst. 4.

(2) [Therefore, in an action of ejectment, which, with the exception of tithe and common appurtenant, is only sustainable for a *corporeal* hereditament, it is improper to describe the property sought to be recovered as a *tenement*, unless with reference to a previous more certain description. 1 East, 441; 8 id. 357. By the general description of a messuage, a church may be recovered. 1 Salk. 256. The term *close* without stating a name or number of acres, is a sufficient description in ejectment. 11 Coke, 55. In common acceptation it means an enclosed field, but in law it rather signifies the separate interest of the party in a particular spot of land, whether enclosed or not. 7 East, 207; Doct. and Stud. 30. If a man make a feoffment of a house "*with the appurtenances*," nothing passes by the words *with the appurtenances*, but the garden, curtilage, and close adjoining to the house, and on which the house is built, and no other land, although usually occupied with the house; but by a devise of a messuage, without the words "*with the appurtenances*," the garden and curtilage will pass, and where the intent is apparent, even other adjacent property. See cases, 2 Saund. 401, note 2. 1 Bar. and Cres. 350; see further as to the effect of the word "*appurtenant*," 15 East, 109; 3 Taunt. 24, 147; 1 B. and P. 53, 55; 2 T. R. 498, 502; 3 M. and S. 171. The term *farm*, though in common acceptation it imports a tract of land with a house, out-buildings, and cultivated land, yet in law, and especially in the description in an action of ejectment, it signifies the leasehold interest in the premises, and does not mean a farm in its common acceptation. See *post*, 318.]

(3) [By a condition is here meant a qualification or restriction annexed to a conveyance of land, whereby it is provided that in case a particular event does or does not happen, or a particular act is done or omitted to be done, an estate shall commence, be enlarged or defeated. As an instance of the condition here intended, suppose A to have enfeoffed B of an acre of ground upon condition, that if his heir should pay the feoffor 20s. he and his heir should re-enter; this condition would be an hereditament descending on A's heir after A's death, and if such heir after A's death should pay the 20s. he would be entitled to re-enter, and would hold the land as if it had descended to him. Co. Litt. 211, 214 b.]

solecism ; but such is the language of the law : and therefore I cannot bring an action to recover possession of a pool or other piece of water by the name of *water* only ; either by calculating its capacity, as, for so many cubical yards ; or, by superficial measure, for twenty acres of water ; or by general description, as for a pond, a watercourse, or a rivulet ; but I must bring my action for the land that lies at the bottom, and must call it twenty acres of *land covered with water*. (f) (4) For water is a movable, wandering thing, and must of necessity continue common by the law of nature ; so that I can only have a temporary, transient, usufructuary property therein ; wherefore, if a body of water runs out of my pond into another man's, I have no right to reclaim it. But the land which that water covers is permanent, fixed and immovable ; and therefore, in this, I may have a certain substantial property ; of which the law will take notice, and not of the other.

Land hath also, in its legal signification, an indefinite extent, upwards as well as downwards. *Cujus est solum, ejus est usque ad cælum*, is the maxim of the law ; upwards, therefore no man may erect any building, or the like to overhang another's land : and downwards, whatever is in a direct line, between the surface of any land and the centre of the earth, belongs to the owner of the surface ; as is every day's experience in the mining countries. So that the word "land" includes not only the face of the earth, but every thing under it, or over it. And therefore, if a man grants all his lands, he grants thereby all his mines of metal and other fossils, his woods, his waters, and his houses, as well as his fields and meadows. Not but the particular names of the things are *equally sufficient to pass them, except in the instance of water ; by a [*19] grant of which, nothing passes but a right of fishing : (g) (5) but the capital distinction is this, that by the name of a castle, messuage, toft, croft, (6)

(f) Brownl. 142.

(g) Co. Litt. 4.

(4) The grant of a stream of water *eo nomine*, will not pass the land over which the water runs ; Jackson v. Halstead, 5 Cow. 216 ; Egremont v. Williams, 11 A. and E. (N. S.) 701 ; the grant of a parcel of land, on the other hand, passes the property in a stream of water which runs over it, as much as it does the property in the stones upon the surface. Buckingham v. Smith, 10 Ohio, 288 ; Brown v. Kennedy, 5 H. and J. 195 ; Canal Commissioners v. People, 5 Wend. 423 ; Elliot v. Fitchburg R. R. Co., 10 Cush. 193. One who owns land on both sides of a stream owns the whole bed. If he is bounded upon it, he owns to the thread of the stream. Hatch v. Dwight, 17 Mass. 289 ; Mead v. Haynes, 3 Rand. 33 ; Morrison v. Keen, 3 Greenl. 474 ; Middleton v. Pritchard, 3 Scam. 510 ; Jones v. Soulard, 24 How. 41 ; Fletcher v. Phelps, 28 Vt. 257 ; Stolp v. Hoyt, 44 Ill. 219 ; Berry v. Snyder, 3 Bush. 266. *Prima facie*, every proprietor on each bank of a river is entitled to the land covered with water to the middle thread of the stream, or, as is commonly expressed, *usque ad filum aquæ*. In virtue of this ownership he has a right to the use of the water flowing over it, in its natural current, without diminution or obstruction. But strictly speaking he has no property in the water itself, but a simple use of it while it passes along. The consequence of this principle is, that no proprietor has a right to use the stream to the prejudice of another. This is a necessary result of the perfect equality of right among all the proprietors of that which is common to all. Story, J. in Tyler v. Wilkinson, 4 Mason, 400 ; Beissel v. Sholl, 4 Dall. 211 ; Ingraham v. Hutchinson, 2 Conn. 584 ; Hendricks v. Johnson, 6 Port. 472 ; Omelvany v. Jagers, 2 Hill (S. C.), 634 ; Elliott v. Fitchburg R. R. Co., 10 Cush. 193 ; Tillotson v. Smith, 32 N. H. 94.

Where parties are owners of adjoining premises bounded upon a river, and the division line between them does not strike the river at right angles, it is extended to the centre thread of the stream, not in the same direction, but in a line at right angles to the general direction of the river at that point. See Wonson v. Wonson, 14 Allen, 71 ; Clark v. Campau, 19 Mich. and cases cited.

(5) [Or the right to use the water as in the case of rivers and mill streams.]

(6) [By the name of a castle, one or more manors may be conveyed, and *converso*, by the name of manor a castle may pass. 1 Inst. 5 ; 2 id. 31. "When land is built upon it is a messuage, and if the building afterwards fall to decay, yet it shall not have the name of land, although there be nothing in substance left but the land, but it shall be called a toft, which is a name superior to land and inferior to messuage ; and this name it shall have in respect of the dignity which it once bore." Plowd. 170. A croft is an enclosed piece of land near to a messuage.

By a grant of a house or messuage a garden and curtilage will pass (Co. Litt. 56) : and see Partridge v. Strange, Plowd. 85, 86, where it is said that eleven acres might pass by the grant of a messuage, as being parcel of it : Nicholas v. Chamberlain, Cro. Jac. 121 ; Hill v. Grange, Plowd. 170 : but the land must consist only of the close on which the house is built : see

or the like, nothing else will pass, except what falls with the utmost propriety under the term made use of; but by the name of land, which is *nomen generalissimum*, every thing terrestrial will pass. (h) (7)

CHAPTER III.

OF INCORPOREAL HEREDITAMENTS.

AN incorporeal hereditament is a right issuing out of a thing corporate (whether real or personal) or concerning, or annexed to, or exercisable within, the same. (a) (1) It is not the thing corporate itself, which may consist in lands, houses, jewels, or the like; but something collateral thereto, as a rent issuing out of those lands or houses, or an office relating to those jewels. In short, as the logicians speak, corporeal hereditaments are the substance, which may be always seen, always handled: incorporeal hereditaments are but a sort of accidents, which inhere in and are supported by that substance; and may belong, or not belong to it, without any visible alteration therein. Their existence is merely in idea and abstracted contemplation; though their effects and profits may be frequently objects of our bodily senses. And indeed, if we would fix a clear notion of an incorporeal hereditament, we must be careful not to confound together the profits produced, and the thing, or hereditament, which produces them. An annuity, for instance, is an incorporeal hereditament; for though the money, which is the fruit or product of this annuity, is doubtless of a corporeal nature, yet the annuity itself, which produces that money, is a thing invisible, has only a mental existence, and cannot be delivered over from hand to hand.

[*21] So tithes, if we consider the *produce of them, as the tenth sheaf or tenth lamb, seem to be completely corporeal; yet they are indeed incorporeal hereditaments; for they being merely a contingent springing right, collateral to or issuing out of lands, can never be the object of sense; that casual share of the annual increase is not, till severed, capable of being shewn to the eye, nor of being delivered into bodily possession.

Incorporeal hereditaments are principally of ten sorts; *advowsons*, *tithes*, *commons*, *ways*, *offices*, *dignities*, *franchises*, *corodies* or *pensions*, *annuities* and *rents*.

(h) Co. Litt. 4, 5, 6.

(a) *Ibid.* 19, 20.

Blackbone v. Edgley, 1 P. Wms. 600; *Bodenham v. Pritchard*, 1 B. and Cr. 350; *Smith v. Martin*, 2. Saund. 401, see n. 2; *Doe d. Norton v. Webster*, 12 A. and E. 442. In *Doe v. Collins*, 2 T. R. 498, a coal pen on the side of a public road opposite to that of a house, was held to pass as part of the house. See also as to what are or are not appurtenances, *Loudon v. Coll. St. Mary*, Hob. 303; *Higham v. Baker*, Cro. Eliz. 15; *Shep. Touch.* 89, 94, *Prest. ed.*; *Cowlam v. Slack*, 15 East, 109; *Morris v. Edgington*, 3 Taunt. 24; *Buck d. Whalley v. Clark*, 1 B. and P. 53, 55; *Barlow v. Rhodes*, 1 Cr. and M. 439; *James v. Plant*, 6 Nev. and M. 282. Much discussion has recently taken place upon the meaning of the word "house" in cases arising under sec. 92 of the lands clauses consolidation Act, 1845. See 1 J. and H. 400; 28 Beav. 104; 27 id. 242; 30 id. 556; 2 J. and H. 248; 11 W. R. 1088; 33 Beav. 644; 12 W. R. 969; 1 New R. 517; Law R. 1 Ch. 275.]

(7) [See judgment in *Hill v. Grange*, Plowd. 170; *Den d. Bulkley v. Welford*, 8 D. and Ry. 549; *R. v. Great Northern R. Co.*, 14 Q. B. 25, where a ferry passed under a conveyance of land "with all profits and commodities belonging to the same."]

(1) [Not necessarily, as in the case of an annuity granted by one person to another and his heirs, and not charged on any property. Co. Litt. 20, 144, b; 2 Ves. Sr. 179. It is true that where the annuity was not granted by the crown or other corporation: 2 Ves. Sr. 170; after the death of the grantor the annuity would cease, so far as he left no property or assets for the payment of it; and so indirectly it would be charged on property. Offices and dignities are also examples of incorporeal hereditaments which do not issue out of any thing corporate; but though so called, they seem scarcely to partake of the nature of property. See 1 J. B. Moore, 353.]

I. Advowson is the right of presentation to a church, or ecclesiastical benefice, Advowson, *advocatio*, signifies *in clientelam recipere*, the taking into protection; and therefore is synonymous with patronage, *patronatus*: and he who has the right of advowson is called the patron of the church. For, when lords of manors first built churches on their own demesnes, and appointed the tithes of those manors to be paid to the officiating ministers, which before were given to the clergy in common (from whence, as was formerly mentioned, (b) arose the division of parishes), the lord who thus built a church, and endowed it with glebe or land, had of common right a power annexed of nominating such minister as he pleased (provided he were canonically qualified) to officiate in that church, of which he was the founder, endower, maintainer, or, in one word, the patron. (c)

This instance of an advowson will completely illustrate the nature of an incorporeal hereditament. It is not itself the bodily possession of the church and its appendages; but it is a right to give some other man a title to such bodily possession. The advowson is the object of neither the sight, nor the touch; and yet it perpetually exists in the mind's eye, and in contemplation of law. It cannot be delivered from man to man by any visible bodily transfer, nor can corporeal possession be *had of it. If the patron takes corporeal possession of the church, the church-yard, the glebe, or the like, [*22] he intrudes on another man's property; for to these the parson has an exclusive right. The patronage can therefore be only conveyed by operation of law, by verbal grant, (2) either oral or written, which is a kind of invisible mental transfer: and being so vested it lies dormant and unnoticed, till occasion calls it forth: when it produces a visible corporeal fruit, by entitling some clerk, whom the patron shall please to nominate, to enter, and receive bodily possession of the lands and tenements of the church.

Advowsons are either *appendant*, or advowsons *in gross*. Lords of manors being originally the only founders, and of course the only patrons, of churches, (d) the right of patronage or presentation, so long as it continues annexed to the possession of the manor, as some have done from the foundation of the church to this day, is called an advowson *appendant*: (e) and it will pass, or be conveyed, together with the manor, as incident and *appendant* thereto, by a grant of the manor only, without adding any other words. (f) But where the property of the advowson has been once separated from the property of the manor by legal conveyance, it is called an advowson *in gross*, or at large, and never can be *appendant* any more; but it is for the future annexed to the person of its owner, and not to his manor or lands. (g)

Advowsons are also either *presentative*, *collative*, or *donative*: (h) an advowson *presentative* is where the patron hath a right of presentation to the bishop or ordinary, and moreover to demand of him to institute his clerk, if he finds him canonically qualified; and this is the most usual advowson. An advowson *collative* is where the bishop and patron are one and the same person: in which case the bishop cannot present to himself; but he does, by the one act of collation, or *conferring the benefice, the whole that is done in common [*23] cases, by both presentation and institution. An advowson *donative* is

(b) Book I, page 112.

(c) This original of the *jus patronatus*, by building and endowing the church, appears also to have been allowed in the Roman empire. Nov. 26, t. 12, c. 2. Nov. 118, c. 23.

(d) Co. Litt. 119.

(e) *Ibid.* 121.

(f) *Ibid.* 307.

(g) *Ibid.* 120.

(h) *Ibid.*

(2) [Mr. Wooddeson has taken notice of this inaccuracy, and has observed that "advowsons merely as such [i. e. in gross] could never, in any age of the English law, pass by oral grant without deed." 2 Woodd. 64. Lord Coke says expressly that "grant is properly of things incorporeal, which cannot pass without deed." 1 Inst. 9. But before the Statute of Frauds, 29 Car. II, c. 3, any freehold interest in incorporeal hereditaments might have passed by a verbal feoffment accompanied with livery of seisin. Litt. § 59. And by such a verbal grant of a manor, Mr. Wooddeson justly observes, before the statute, an advowson *appendant* to it might have been conveyed. But he who has an advowson or a right of patronage in fee may by deed transfer every species of interest out of it, viz.: in fee, in tail, for life, for years, or may grant one or more presentations.]

when the king, or any subject by his license, doth found a church or chapel, and ordains that it shall be merely in the gift or disposal of the patron; subject to his visitation only, and not to that of the ordinary; and vested absolutely in the clerk by the patron's deed of donation, without presentation, institution, or induction. (i) This is said to have been anciently the only way of conferring ecclesiastical benefices in England; the method of institution by the bishop not being established more early than the time of Archbishop Becket in the reign of Henry II. (k) And therefore though Pope Alexander III, (l) in a letter to Becket, severely inveighs against a *prava consuetudo* as he calls it, of investiture conferred by the patron only, this however shows what was then the common usage. Others contend that the claim of the bishops to institution is as old as the first planting of Christianity in this Island; and in proof of it they allege a letter from the English nobility to the pope in the reign of Henry the Third, recorded by Matthew Paris, (m) which speaks of presentation to the bishop as a thing immemorial. The truth seems to be, that, where the benefice was to be conferred on a mere layman, he was first presented to the bishop in order to receive ordination, who was at liberty to examine and refuse him: but where the clerk was already in orders, the living was usually vested in him by the sole donation of the patron; till about the middle of the twelfth century, when the pope and his bishops endeavoured to introduce a kind of feudal dominion over ecclesiastical benefices, and in consequence of that, began to claim and exercise the right of institution universally as a species of spiritual investiture.

However this may be, if, as the law now stands, the true patron *once* waives this privilege of donation, and presents to the bishop, and his clerk is admitted [*24] and instituted, the *advowson* is now become forever presentative, and shall never be donative any more. (n) For these exceptions to general rules, and common right, are ever looked upon by the law in an unfavorable view, and construed as strictly as possible. If therefore the patron, in whom such peculiar right resides, does once give up that right, the law, which loves uniformity, will interpret it to be done with an intention of giving it up forever; and will therefore reduce it to the standard of other ecclesiastical livings. (3)

II. A second species of incorporeal hereditaments is that of tithes; (4) which are defined to be the tenth part of the increase, yearly arising and renewing from the profits of lands, the stock upon lands, and the personal industry of the inhabitants: (5) the first species being usually called *predial*, as of corn,

(i) Co. Litt. 344.

(k) Seld. tith. c. 12, § 2.

(l) *Decretal*, l. 3, § 7, c. 3.

(m) A. D. 1239.

(n) Co. Litt. 344. Cro. Jac. 68.

(3) [The contrary is held by a later authority than the authorities referred to by the learned judge; in which it was declared, that although a presentation may destroy an impropriation, yet it cannot destroy a donative, because the creation thereof is by letters patent. 2 Salk. 541; 3 id. 140; Mirehouse, 26. It may be here observed, that when an incumbent is made a bishop, the right of presentation in that case is in the king, and is called a prerogative presentation; the law concerning which was doubted in Car. II's time, but in the time of King William it was finally determined in favor of the crown. 2 Bla. R. 770.]

The whole subject of advowsons is foreign to the American law. Congress is forbidden by the first amendment to the constitution of the United States to make any law respecting an establishment of religion, and the people of the states have been careful, by their state constitutions to prohibit any such establishment under state laws. Religious societies are voluntary organizations in America, and their pastors or teachers are chosen by the members, or in such other mode as the articles of association shall prescribe.

(4) Tithes no longer exist as a distinct species of incorporeal hereditaments; they have become members of the family of rents.

(5) [The definition proposed in the text is not strictly accurate. The faulty part of the definition seems to be the supposition that tithe consists, in all cases, of the tenth part of the increase yearly arising and renewing. This is not correct, even as to predial tithes, universally; and to mixed and personal tithes it does not at all apply.]

Wood is one of the instances to show that predial tithe may be payable in respect of an article of which the renewal is not annual. *Silva cadua* is tithesable when it is felled; and between the falls several years commonly (and a great many years not unfrequently) intervene. Page v. Wilson, 2 Jac. and Walk. 523; Walton v. Tryon, 1 Dick. 245; Chichester v. Sheldons, 1 Turn. and Russ. 249.]

grass, hops, and wood: (*o*) the second *mixed*, as of wool, milk, pigs, &c., (*p*) consisting of natural products, but nurtured and preserved in part by the care of man; and of these the tenth must be paid in gross; the third *personal*, as of manual occupations, trades, fisheries, and the like; and of these only the tenth part of the clear gains and profits is due. (*q*) (6)

It is not to be expected from the nature of these general commentaries, that I should particularly specify what things are titheable, and what not; the time when, or the manner and proportion in which, tithes are usually due. For this I must refer to such authors as have treated the matter in detail: and shall only observe, that, in general, tithes are to be paid for every thing that yields an annual increase, as corn, hay, fruit, cattle, poultry, and the like; but not for any thing that is of the substance of the earth, or is not of annual increase, as stone, lime, chalk, and the like; nor for creatures that are of a wild nature, or *feræ naturæ*, as deer, hawks, &c., whose increase, so as to profit the owner, is not annual, but casual. (*r*) It will rather be our business to consider, 1 The original of the right *of tithes. 2. In whom that right at present subsists. [*25] 3. Who may be discharged, either totally or in part, from paying them.

1. As to their original, I will not put the title of the clergy to tithes upon any divine right; though such a right certainly commenced, and I believe as certainly ceased, with the Jewish theocracy. Yet an honourable and competent maintenance for the ministers of the gospel is, undoubtedly, *jure divino*; whatever the particular mode of that maintenance may be. For, besides the positive precepts of the New Testament, natural reason will tell us, that an order of men, who are separated from the world, and excluded from other lucrative professions, for the sake of the rest of mankind, have a right to be furnished with the necessities, conveniences, and moderate enjoyments of life, at their expense, for whose benefit they forego the usual means of providing them. Accordingly all municipal laws have provided a liberal and decent maintenance for their national priests or clergy: ours in particular have established this of tithes, probably in imitation of the Jewish law; and perhaps, considering the degenerate state of the world in general, it may be more beneficial to the English clergy to found their title on the law of the land, than upon any divine right whatsoever, unacknowledged and unsupported by temporal sanctions.

We cannot precisely ascertain the time when tithes were first introduced into this country. Possibly they were contemporary with the planting of Christianity among the Saxons, by Augustin the monk, about the end of the sixth century. But the first mention of them, which I have met with in any written English law, is in a constitutional decree, made in a synod held A. D. 786, (*s*) wherein the payment of tithes in general is strongly enjoined. This canon, or decree, which at first bound not the laity, was effectually confirmed by two kingdoms of the heptarchy, in their parliamentary conventions of estates, respectively consisting of the kings of Mercia *and Northumberland, the bishops, dukes, [*26] senators, and people; which was a very few years later than the time that Charlemagne established the payment of them in France, (*t*) and made that famous division of them into four parts; one to maintain the edifice of the church, the second to support the poor, the third the bishop, and the fourth the parochial clergy. (*u*)

The next authentic mention of them is in the *fœdus Edwardi et Guthruni*; or the laws agreed upon between King Guthrun the Dane, and Alfred and his son Edward the Elder, successive kings of England, about the year 900. This was kind of treaty between those monarchs, which may be found at large in

(*o*) 1 Ill. Abr. 635. 2 Inst. 649.

(*p*) S. c. 8, § 2.

(*q*) 1 Inst. 649.

(*r*) S. c. 8, § 2.

(*s*) 1 Inst. 649.

(*t*) 1 Roll. Abr. 656.

(*u*) 2 Inst. 651.

(*v*) Book 1, ch. 11. Seld. c. 6, § 7 Sp. of Laws, b. 31, c. 12.

(6) [In addition to this triple distinction, all tithes have been otherwise divided into two classes, *great* or *small*; the former, in general, comprehending the tithes of corn, peas, and beans, hay and wood; the latter, all other predial, together with all personal and mixed, tithes. Tithes *great* or *small*, according to the nature of the things which yield the tithe without reference the quantity.]

the Anglo-Saxon laws: (*w*) wherein it was necessary, as Guthrun was a pagan, to provide for the subsistence of the Christian clergy under his dominion; and, accordingly, we find (*x*) the payment of tithes not only *enjoined*, but a *penalty* added upon non-observance: which law is seconded by the laws of Athelstan, (*y*) about the year 930. And this is as much as can certainly be traced out, with regard to their legal original.

2. We are next to consider the persons to whom they are due. And upon their first introductions (as hath formerly been observed,) (*z*) though every man was obliged to pay tithes in general, yet he might give them to what priest he pleased; (*a*) which were called *arbitrary* consecrations of tithes: or he might pay them into the hands of the bishop, who distributed among his diocesan clergy the revenues of the church, which were then in common. (*b*) But, when dioceses were divided into parishes, the tithes of each parish were allotted to its own particular minister; first by common consent, or the appointment of lords of manors, and afterwards by the written law of the land. (*c*)

[*27] *However, arbitrary consecrations of tithes took place again afterwards, and became in general use till the time of King John. (*d*) Which was probably owing to the intrigues of the regular clergy, or monks of the Benedictine and other rules, under Archbishop Dunstan, and his successors: who endeavoured to wean the people from paying their dues to the secular or parochial clergy (a much more valuable set of men than themselves,) and were then in hopes to have drawn, by sanctimonious pretences to extraordinary purity of life, all ecclesiastical profits to the coffers of their own societies. And this will naturally enough account for the number and riches of the monasteries and religious houses, which were founded in those days, and which were frequently endowed with tithes. For a layman, who was obliged to pay his tithes somewhere, might think it good policy to erect an abbey, and there pay them to his own monks; or grant them to some abbey already erected: since, for this dotation, which really cost the patron little or nothing, he might, according to the superstition of the times, have masses forever sung for his soul. But, in process of years, the income of the poor laborious parish priests being scandalously reduced by these arbitrary consecrations of tithes, it was remedied by Pope Innocent the Third (*e*) about the year 1200, in a decretal epistle, sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, and dated from the palace of Lateran: which has occasioned Sir Henry Hobart and others to mistake it for a decree of the council of Lateran, held A. D. 1179, which only prohibited what was called the infeodation of tithes, or their being granted to mere layman, (*f*) whereas this letter of Pope Innocent to the archbishop enjoined the payment of tithes to the parsons of the respective parishes where every man inhabited, agreeable to what was afterwards directed by the same pope in other countries. (*g*) This epistle, says Sir Edward Coke, (*h*) bound not the lay subjects of this realm: but, being reasonable and

[*28] just (and, he might have *added, being correspondent to the ancient law it was allowed of, and so became *lex terræ*. This put an effectual stop to all the arbitrary consecrations of tithes: except some footsteps which still continue in those *portions of tithes*, which the parson of one parish hath, though rarely, a right to claim in another: for it is now universally held, (*i*) that tithes are due of common right, to the parson of the parish, unless there be a special exemption. This parson of the parish, we have formerly seen, (*k*) may be either the actual incumbent, or else the appropriator of the benefice: appropriating being a method of endowing monasteries, which seems to have been devised by the regular clergy, by way of substitution to arbitrary consecrations of tithes.) (7)

(w) Wilkins, page 51. (x) Cap. 6. (y) Cap. 1. (z) Book I, Intro. § 4.
 (a) 2 Inst. 646. Hob. 296. (b) Seld. c. 9, § 4. (c) LL. Edgar, c. 1 § 3. Canut. c. 11. (d) §. c. 11.
 (e) Opera Innocent. III, tom. 2, page 452. (f) Decretal. l. 3, t. 30, c. 19. (g) Ibid. c.
 (h) 2 Inst. 641. (i) Regist. 46. Hob. 296. (k) Book I, p. 385.
 (7) In extraparochial places the king, by his royal prerogative, has a right to all the tithes. See book I, p. 113. 284.

(7) [A parsonage is *appropriate* when it belongs to a spiritual corporation or person; *inappropriate* when it is in lay hands. Ante, book 1, p. 385; Plowd. 493.]

3. We observed that tithes are due to the parson of common right, unless by special exemption; let us therefore see, thirdly, who may be exempted from the payment of tithes, and how lands, and their occupiers, may be exempted or discharged from the payment of tithes, either in part or totally; first, by a real composition; or, secondly, by custom or prescription.

First, a *real composition* is when an agreement is made between the owner of the lands, and the parson or vicar, with the consent of the ordinary and the patron, that such lands shall for the future be discharged from payment of tithes, by reason of some land or other real recompense given to the parson, in lieu and satisfaction thereof. (m) This was permitted by law, because it was supposed that the clergy would be no losers by such composition; since the consent of the ordinary, whose duty it is to take care of the church in general; and of the patron, whose interest it is to protect that particular church, were both made necessary to render the composition effectual: and hence have arisen all such compositions as exist at this day by force of the common law. But experience shewing that even this caution was ineffectual, and *the pos- [*29] sessions of the church being, by this and other means, every day diminished, the disabling statute 13 Eliz. c. 10, was made: which prevents, among other spiritual persons, all parsons and vicars from making any conveyances of the estates of their churches, other than for three lives, or twenty-one years. So that now, by virtue of this statute, no real composition made since the 13 Eliz. is good for any longer term than three lives, or twenty-one years, though made by consent of the patron and ordinary: which has indeed effectually demolished this kind of traffic: such compositions being now rarely heard of, unless by authority of parliament.

Secondly, a discharge by custom or prescription, is where, time out of mind, such persons or such lands have been either partially or totally, discharged from the payment of tithes. And this immemorial usage is binding upon all parties; as it is in its nature an evidence of universal consent and acquiescence, and with reason supposes a real composition to have been formerly made. This custom or prescription is either *de modo decimandi*, or *de non decimando*.

A *modus decimandi*, commonly called by the simple name of a *modus* only, is where there is by custom a particular manner of tithing allowed, different from the general law of taking tithes in kind, which are the actual tenth part of the annual increase. This is sometimes a pecuniary compensation, as two-pence an acre for the tithe of land: sometimes it is a compensation in work and labour, as that the parson shall have only the twelfth cock of hay, and not the tenth, in consideration of the owner's making it for him: sometimes, in lieu of a large quantity of crude or imperfect tithe, the parson shall have a less quantity, when arrived to greater maturity, as a couple of fowls in lieu of tithe eggs; and the like. Any means, in short, whereby the general law of tithing is altered, and a new method of taking them is introduced, is called a *modus decimandi*, or special manner of tithing.

*To make a good and sufficient *modus*, the following rules must be [*30] observed. 1. It must be *certain* and *invariable*, (n) for payment of different sums will prove it to be no *modus*, that is, no original real composition; because that must have been one and the same, from its first original to the present time. 2. The thing given, in lieu of tithes, must be beneficial to the parson, and not for the emolument of *third persons* only; (o) thus a *modus*, to repair the church in lieu of tithes, is not good, because that is an advantage to the parish only; but to repair the *chancel* is a good *modus*, for that is an advantage to the parson. 3. It must be something *different* from the thing compounded for; (p) one load of hay, in lieu of *all* tithe hay, is no good *modus*; for no parson would *bona fide* make a composition to receive less than his due in the same species of tithe; and therefore the law will not suppose it possible for such composition to have existed. 4. One cannot be discharged from payment of one

(m) 2 Inst. 490. Regist. 38 13 Rep. 40.
(o) 1 Roll. Abr. 649. (p) 1 Lev. 179.

(n) 1 Keb. 602.

species of tithe, by paying a *modus* for another. (g) Thus a *modus* of 1*d.* for every *milch* cow will discharge the tithe of *milch* kine, but not of *barren* cattle: for tithe is, of common right, due for both; and therefore a *modus* for one shall never be a discharge for the other. 5. The recompense must be in its nature as durable as the tithes discharged by it; that is, an inheritance certain: (r) and therefore a *modus* that every *inhabitant* of a house shall pay 4*d.* a year, in lieu of the owner's tithes, is no good *modus*; for possibly the house may not be inhabited, and then the recompense will be lost. 6. The *modus* must not be too large, which is called a *rank modus*: as if the real value of the tithes be 60*l.* *per annum*, and a *modus* is suggested of 40*l.*, this *modus* will not be established; though one of 40*s.* might have been valid. (s) Indeed, properly speaking, the doctrine of *rankness* in a *modus* is a mere rule of evidence, drawn from the improbability of the fact, and not a rule of law. (t) For, in these cases of prescriptive or customary *moduses*, it is supposed that an original real composition was anciently made; which being lost by length of time, the immemorial usage is admitted as evidence to shew that it once did exist, and that [*31] from thence *such usage was derived. Now time of memory hath been long ago ascertained by the law to commence from the beginning of the reign of Richard the First; (u) and any custom may be destroyed by evidence of non-existence in any part of the long period from that time to the present; (8) wherefore, as this real composition is supposed to have been an equitable contract, or the full value of the tithes, at the time of making it, if the *modus* set up is so rank and large, as that it beyond dispute exceeds the value of the tithes in the time of Richard the First, this *modus* is (in point of evidence) *felo de se*, and destroys itself. For, as it would be destroyed by any direct evidence to prove its non-existence at any time since that era, so also it is destroyed by carrying in itself this internal evidence of a much later original.

A prescription *de non decimando* is a claim to be entirely discharged of tithes, and to pay no compensation in lieu of them. Thus the king by his prerogative is discharged from all tithes. (v) So a vicar shall pay no tithes to the rector, nor the rector to the vicar, for *ecclesia decimas non solvit ecclesiæ*. (w) But these *personal* privileges (not arising from or being annexed to the land) are personally confined to both the king and the clergy; for their tenant or lessee shall pay tithes, though in their own occupation their lands are not generally titheable. (x) And, generally speaking, it is an established rule, that, in *lay* hands, *modus de non decimando non valet*. (9) But spiritual persons or corporations, as monasteries, abbots, bishops, and the like, were always capable of having their lands totally discharged of tithes by various ways; (z) as, 1. By real composition: 2. By the pope's bull of exemption: 3. By unity of possession; as when the rectory of a parish, and lands in the same parish, both belonged to a religious [*32] *house, those lands were discharged of tithes by this unity of possession: 4. By prescription; having never been liable to tithes, by being always in spiritual hands: 5. By virtue of their order; as the knight-templars, cistercians, and others, whose lands were privileged by the pope with a discharge of tithes. (a) Though upon the dissolution of abbeyes by Henry VIII, most of those

(g) Cro. Eliz. 486. Salk. 657. (r) 2 P. Wms. 402. (s) 11 Mod. 60.

(t) *Pyke v. Dowling*, Hil. 19 Geo. III, C. B.

(u) 2 Inst. 238, 239. This rule was adopted, when by the statute of Westm. I (3 Edw. I, c. 39), the reign of Richard I was made the time of limitation in a writ of right. But, since by the statute 32 Hen. VIII, c. 2, this period (in a writ of right) hath been very rationally reduced to 60 years, it seems unaccountable, that the date of legal prescription or memory should still continue to be reckoned from an era so very antiquated. See Litt. § 170. 34 Hen. VI. 37. 2 Roll. Abr. 269, pl. 18.

(v) Cro. Eliz. 511.

(w) *Ibid.* 511.

(x) *Ibid.* 511.

(y) *Ibid.* 511.

(z) *Ibid.* 511.

(a) *Ibid.* 511.

(b) *Ibid.* 511.

(c) *Ibid.* 511.

(d) *Ibid.* 511.

(e) *Ibid.* 511.

(f) *Ibid.* 511.

(g) *Ibid.* 511.

(h) *Ibid.* 511.

(i) *Ibid.* 511.

(j) *Ibid.* 511.

(k) *Ibid.* 511.

(l) *Ibid.* 511.

(m) *Ibid.* 511.

(n) *Ibid.* 511.

(o) *Ibid.* 511.

(p) *Ibid.* 511.

(q) *Ibid.* 511.

(r) *Ibid.* 511.

(s) *Ibid.* 511.

(t) *Ibid.* 511.

(u) *Ibid.* 511.

(v) *Ibid.* 511.

(w) *Ibid.* 511.

(x) *Ibid.* 511.

(y) *Ibid.* 511.

(z) *Ibid.* 511.

(a) *Ibid.* 511.

(b) *Ibid.* 511.

(c) *Ibid.* 511.

(d) *Ibid.* 511.

(e) *Ibid.* 511.

(f) *Ibid.* 511.

(g) *Ibid.* 511.

(h) *Ibid.* 511.

(i) *Ibid.* 511.

(j) *Ibid.* 511.

(k) *Ibid.* 511.

(l) *Ibid.* 511.

(m) *Ibid.* 511.

(n) *Ibid.* 511.

(o) *Ibid.* 511.

(p) *Ibid.* 511.

(q) *Ibid.* 511.

(r) *Ibid.* 511.

(s) *Ibid.* 511.

(t) *Ibid.* 511.

(u) *Ibid.* 511.

(v) *Ibid.* 511.

(w) *Ibid.* 511.

(x) *Ibid.* 511.

(y) *Ibid.* 511.

(z) *Ibid.* 511.

(a) *Ibid.* 511.

(b) *Ibid.* 511.

(c) *Ibid.* 511.

(d) *Ibid.* 511.

(e) *Ibid.* 511.

(f) *Ibid.* 511.

(g) *Ibid.* 511.

(h) *Ibid.* 511.

(i) *Ibid.* 511.

(j) *Ibid.* 511.

(k) *Ibid.* 511.

(l) *Ibid.* 511.

(m) *Ibid.* 511.

(n) *Ibid.* 511.

(o) *Ibid.* 511.

(p) *Ibid.* 511.

(q) *Ibid.* 511.

(r) *Ibid.* 511.

(s) *Ibid.* 511.

(t) *Ibid.* 511.

(u) *Ibid.* 511.

(v) *Ibid.* 511.

(w) *Ibid.* 511.

(x) *Ibid.* 511.

(y) *Ibid.* 511.

(z) *Ibid.* 511.

(a) *Ibid.* 511.

(b) *Ibid.* 511.

(c) *Ibid.* 511.

(d) *Ibid.* 511.

(e) *Ibid.* 511.

(f) *Ibid.* 511.

(g) *Ibid.* 511.

(h) *Ibid.* 511.

(i) *Ibid.* 511.

(j) *Ibid.* 511.

(k) *Ibid.* 511.

(l) *Ibid.* 511.

(m) *Ibid.* 511.

(n) *Ibid.* 511.

(o) *Ibid.* 511.

(p) *Ibid.* 511.

(q) *Ibid.* 511.

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(s) *Ibid.* 511.

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(z) *Ibid.* 511.

(a) *Ibid.* 511.

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(i) *Ibid.* 511.

(j) *Ibid.* 511.

(k) *Ibid.* 511.

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(p) *Ibid.* 511.

(q) *Ibid.* 511.

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(x) *Ibid.* 511.

(y) *Ibid.* 511.

(z) *Ibid.* 511.

(a) *Ibid.* 511.

(b) *Ibid.* 511.

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(a) *Ibid.* 511.

(b) *Ibid.* 511.

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(f) *Ibid.* 511.

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(i) *Ibid.* 511.

(j) *Ibid.* 511.

(k) *Ibid.* 511.

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(q) *Ibid.* 511.

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(w) *Ibid.* 511.

(x) *Ibid.* 511.

(y) *Ibid.* 511.

(z) *Ibid.* 511.

(a) *Ibid.* 511.

(b) *Ibid.* 511.

(c) *Ibid.* 511.

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(f) *Ibid.* 511.

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(o) *Ibid.* 511.

(p) *Ibid.* 511.

(q) *Ibid.* 511.

(r) *Ibid.* 511.

(s) *Ibid.* 511.

(t) *Ibid.* 511.

(u) *Ibid.* 511.

exemptions from tithes would have fallen with them, and the lands become titheable again: had they not been supported and upheld by the statute 31 Hen. VIII, c. 13, which enacts, that all persons who should come to the possession of the lands of any abbey then dissolved, should hold them free and discharged of tithes, in as large and ample a manner as the abbeys themselves formerly held them. And from this original have sprung all the lands, which, being in lay hands, do at present claim to be tithe-free: for, if a man can shew his lands to have been such abbey-lands, and also immemorially discharged of tithes by any of the means before mentioned, this is now a good prescription, *de non decimando*. But he must shew both these requisites; for abbey-lands, without a special ground of discharge, are not discharged of course; neither will any prescription *de non decimando* avail in total discharge of tithes, unless it relates to such abbey-lands. (10)

III. Common, or right of common, appears from its very definition to be an incorporeal hereditament: being a profit which a man hath in the land of another; as to feed his beasts, to catch fish, to dig turf, to cut wood, or the like. (b) And hence common is chiefly of four sorts; common of pasture, of piscary, of turbary, and of estovers. (11)

1. Common of *pasture* is a right of feeding one's beasts on another's land: for in those waste grounds, which are usually called commons, the property of the soil is generally in the lord of the manor; as in common fields it is in the particular tenants. This kind of common is either appendant, appurtenant, because of vicinage, or in gross. (c)

*Common *appendant* is a right belonging to the owners or occupiers [*33] of arable land, to put commonable beasts upon the lord's waste, and upon the lands of other persons, within the same manor. Commonable beasts are either beasts of the plough, or such as manure the ground. This is a matter of most universal right; and it was originally permitted, (d) not only for the encouragement of agriculture, but for the necessity of the thing. For, when lords of manors granted out parcels of land to tenants, for services either done or to be done, these tenants could not plough or manure the land without beasts; these beasts could not be sustained without pasture; and pasture could not be had but in the lord's wastes, and on the uninclosed fallow grounds of themselves and the other tenants. The law therefore annexed this right of common, as inseparably incident to the grant of the lands; and this was the original of common appendant; which obtains in Sweden, and the other northern kingdoms, much in the same manner as in England. (e) (12) Common *appurtenant*,

(b) Finch, Law, 157.

(c) Co. Litt. 122.

(d) 2 Inst. 86.

(e) Stiernh. *de jure Sueonum*, l. 2, c. 6.

(10) The whole subject of tithes, like that of advowsons, is foreign to American law.

Under the English statutes of 6 and 7 Wm. IV, c. 71; 7 id. and 1 Vic. c. 69; 1 and 2 Vic. c. 64; 2 and 3 Vic. c. 62, and 5 and 6 Vic. c. 54, tithes in England have now been converted into a rent-charge, payable in money, but in amount varying according to the average price of corn for the seven preceding years. A voluntary agreement between the owners of the land and of the tithes was first promoted, and in case of no such agreement, a compulsory commutation was effected by commissioners. If the rent-charge falls in arrear, it may be distrained for, and if forty days in arrear, possession of the land may be taken and held until arrears and costs are satisfied.

(11) [The proper description of a common is, that it is a profit *a prendre*, a right to take or sever something valuable from the land of another; and this distinguishes it from mere easements, which are rights merely to use or interfere with the enjoyment of another's property. Thus, a right of way, a right to free air, light, &c., is an easement. A right to wash and water cattle at a pond, and to take from thence water for domestic purposes, has been held to be a mere easement. 5 Ad. and El. 758; 1 Nev. and P. 172. See 3 Ad. and El. 554; 3 Nev. and P. 257; 7 Mees. and W. 63. The distinction has been rendered important by the statute of prescriptions, 2 and 3 Wm. IV, c. 71. Another peculiarity of a right of common is, that it implies no duty on the part of the owner of the soil, beyond the negative duty of permission: it lies, in the old phrase, not in *render*, like a rent, but merely in *prendre*.]

(12) [Common *appendant* belongs only to arable land, and cannot be claimed for more cattle than are necessary to plough or manure the tenant's arable land. Levancy and couchancy are incident to common appendant as well as appurtenant. Willes, 227, 231; 1 B. and Ad. 710; 5 T. R. 46; 2 Mood. and R. 205. But, where a farm contains pasture, it may be pre-

ariseth from no connexion of tenure, nor from any absolute necessity: but may be annexed to lands in other lordships, (*f*) or extend to other beasts, besides such as are generally commonable; as hogs, goats, or the like, which neither plough nor manure the ground. This not arising from any natural propriety or necessity, like common appendant, is therefore not of general right; but can only be claimed by immemorial usage and prescription, (*g*) which the law esteems sufficient proof of a special grant or agreement for this purpose. Common *because of vicinage*, or neighbourhood, is where the inhabitants of two townships, which lie contiguous to each other, have usually intercommoned with one another; the beasts of the one straying mutually into the other's fields, without any molestation from either. This is indeed only a permissive right, intended to excuse what in strictness is a trespass in both, and to prevent a multiplicity of suits: and therefore either township may enclose and bar out the other, though they have intercommoned time out of mind. Neither hath any person of one [*34] town a right to put his beasts originally *into the other's common: but if they escape, and stray thither of themselves, the law winks at the trespass. (*h*) Common *in gross*, or at large, is such as is neither appendant nor appurtenant to land, but is annexed to a man's person; being granted to him and his heirs by deed; or it may be claimed by prescriptive right, as by a parson of a church, or the like corporation sole. This is a separate inheritance, entirely distinct from any landed property, and may be vested in one who has not a foot of ground in the manor.

All these species of pasturable common may be and usually are limited as to number and time; but there are also commons *without stint*, and which last all the year. (13) By the statute of Merton, however, and other subsequent statutes, (*i*) the lord of a manor may enclose so much of the waste as he pleases for tillage or woodground, provided he leaves common sufficient for such as are entitled thereto. This enclosure, when justifiable, is called in law "*approving*," an ancient expression signifying the same as "*improving*." (*k*) (14) The lord hath the sole interest in the soil; but the interest of the lord and commoner, in the common, are looked upon in law as mutual. They may both bring actions for damage done, either against strangers, or each other; the lord for the public injury, and each commoner for his private damage. (*l*)

2, 3. Common of *piscary* is a liberty of fishing in another man's water; (15)

(*f*) Cro. Car. 482. 1 Jon. 897.

(*g*) Co. Litt. 131, 122.

(*h*) Ibid. 122.

(*i*) 20 Hen. III. c. 4. 29 Geo. II. c. 36. and 31 Geo. II. c. 41.

(*k*) 2 Inst. 474.

(*l*) 9 Rep. 113.

sumed, if there is evidence of usage, that it was all originally arable. Bac. Ab. *Common*, A. 1; 4 Rep. 37; see 5 Taunt. 244.]

(13) [The notion of this species of common is exploded: a right of common without stint cannot exist in law. Bennet v. Reeve, Willes, 232; 8 T. R. 396.]

(14) The inclosure of commons is now regulated by statute 41 Geo. III. c. 109, and various acts amendatory thereof. Inclosure commissioners are appointed, before whom proposals for inclosures are laid, and the details are arranged and sanctioned by them, and allotments made to the lords and commoners in lieu of their respective interests.

(15) In tide waters the right of taking fish is common to all citizens: Parker v. Cutler Mill Dam Co., 7 Shep. 353; Coolidge v. Williams, 4 Mass. 140; Burnham v. Webster, 5 id. 266; but the town within whose bounds the waters are may have an exclusive right by grant from the state. Coolidge v. Williams, 4 Mass. 140. And it seems that a right to a several fishery in an arm of the sea may be acquired by prescription, though uninterrupted exercise and use alone would not establish it, however long continued, since the person so using it only exercises a right which, *prima facie*, he possesses in common with all others. It must further appear that all others have been excluded. Chalker v. Dickinson, 1 Conn. 382. And every presumption will be against the right. Gould v. James, 6 Cow. 369; and see Collins v. Benbury, 5 Ired. 118; Cobb v. Davenport, 3 Vroom. 369.

In rivers where the tide does not ebb and flow, the proprietor of the bank has an exclusive right of fishery to the thread of the stream: People v. Platt, 17 Johns. 209; Waters v. Lilley, 4 Pick. 145; Adams v. Pease, 2 Conn. 481; Beckman v. Creamer, 43 Ill. 447; but the state may regulate its existence with a view to the protection of the rights of all others having a like right. Commonwealth v. Chapin, 5 Pick. 199; Ingram v. Threadgill, 3 Dev. 59; Vinton v. Welsh, 9 Pick. 87.

It has been held that in those large rivers, like the Susquehanna, which are navigable by sea-going vessels, there is no exclusive right of fishery in the adjoining owners, but the right is in the public at large. Shrunk v. Schuylkill Nav. Co., 14 S. and R. 71.

as common of *turbary* is a liberty of digging turf upon another's ground.^(m) (16) There is also a common of digging for coals, minerals, stones and the like. All these bear a resemblance to common of pasture in many respects: though in one point they go much further; common of pasture being only a right of feeding on the herbage and vesture of the soil, which renews annually; but common of *turbary*, and those aforementioned, are a right of carrying away the very soil itself.

*4. Common of *estovers* or *estouviers*, (17) that is, *necessaries* (from [**35*] *estoffer*, to furnish,) is a liberty of taking necessary wood, for the use or furniture of a house or farm, from off another's estate. The Saxon wood, *bote*, is used by us as synonymous to the French *estovers*: and therefore house *bote* is a sufficient allowance of wood, to repair, or to burn in the house: which latter is sometimes called fire-*bote*: plough-*bote* and cart-*bote* are wood to be employed in making and repairing all instruments of husbandry; and hay-*bote*, or hedge-*bote*, is wood for repairing of hay, hedges or fences. These *botes* or *estovers* must be reasonable ones; and such any tenant or lessee may take off the land let or demised to him, without waiting for any leave, assignment, or appointment of the lessor, unless he be restrained by special covenant to the contrary.⁽ⁿ⁾

These several species of commons do all originally result from the same necessity as common of pasture; viz.: for the maintenance and carrying on of husbandry; common of piscary being given for the sustenance of the tenant's family; common of *turbary* and fire-*bote* for his fuel; and house-*bote*, plough-*bote*, cart-*bote*, and hedge-*bote*, for repairing his house, his instruments of tillage, and the necessary fences of his grounds. (18)

IV. A fourth species of incorporeal hereditaments is that of *ways*; or the right of going over another man's ground. I speak not here of the king's high-

(m) Co. Litt. 122.

(n) Co. Litt. 41.

For the taking of fish where the public have the right, no person can lawfully go upon the land of another without license. *Coolidge v. Williams*, 4 Mass. 140.

(16) [Common of *turbary* can only be appendant, or appurtenant, to a house, not to lands: *Tyringham's Case*, 4 Rep. 37; and the turf cut for fuel must be burned in the commoner's house: *Dean and Chapter of Ely v. Warren*, 3 Atk. 189; not sold. *Valentine v. Penny, Noy*, 145. See 2 T. R. 391; 6 id. 748, as to right to dig sand or gravel for repairs; a species of common of *estovers*.]

(17) [The liberty which every tenant for life, or years, has, of common right, to take necessary *estovers* in the lands which he holds for such estate, seems to be confounded, in most of the text-books, with right of common of *estovers*. Yet they appear to be essentially different. The privilege of the tenant for life or years is an exclusive privilege, not a commonable right. Right of common of *estovers* seems properly to mean, a right appendant or appurtenant to a messuage or tenement, to be exercised in lands not occupied by the holder of the tenement. Such a right may either be prescriptive, or it may arise from modern grant. *Countess of Arundel v. Steere*, Cro. Jac. 25. And though the grant be made to an individual, for the repairs of his house, the right is not a personal one, but appurtenant to the house. *Dean and Chapter of Windsor's Case*, 5 Rep. 25: *Sir Henry Nevill's Case*, Plowd. 381. Such a grant is not destroyed by any alteration of the house to which the *estovers* are appurtenant, but it may be restricted within the limits originally intended, if the altered state of the premises would create a consumption of *estovers* greater than that contemplated when the grant was made. *Luttrel's Case*, 4 Rep. 87.]

(18) Rights of common are very rare in the United States, and the cases which have considered them are few. See *Livingston v. Ten Broeck*, 16 Johns. 14; *Leyman v. Abeel*, id. 30; *Van Rensselaer v. Radcliff*, 10 Wend. 639; *Trustees, &c., v. Robinson*, 12 S. and R. 29; *Worcester v. Green*, 2 Pick. 429; *Smith v. Floyd*, 18 Barb. 522; *Livingston v. Ketcham*, 1 id. 592; *Hall v. Lawrence*, 2 R. I. 218; *Bell v. Ohio and Penn. R. R. Co.*, 25 Penn. St. 161.

A custom that all the inhabitants of a particular town, for the time being, have a right to depasture the unenclosed woodlands of individual proprietors within the town, is not a mere easement, but a right to take profit; and for such right, the commoner must prescribe in respect to some estate and not in respect to mere inhabitancy. The custom is therefore void. *Smith v. Floyd*, 18 Barb. 522. The fact that cattle are suffered, without objection, to run at large over the unenclosed woodlands of a new country affords no ground from which to imply a grant. Id. Common of *estovers* cannot be apportioned. If partition of the premises to which the right is appurtenant is made without reserving the right of common to one alone, it extinguishes the right. *Livingston v. Ketcham*, 1 Barb. 592; and see *Leyman v. Abeel*, 16 Johns. 30; *Van Rensselaer v. Radcliff*, 10 Wend. 639. The taking of sea weed from the beach may be a commonable right. *Knowles v. Nichols*, 2 Curt. C. C. 571.

ways, which lead from town to town; nor yet of common ways, leading from a village into the fields; (19) but of private ways, in which a particular man may

(19) Ways are either public or private. A public way is established either by the *dedication* of the owner of the land, or by an appropriation of the land for the purpose, by the sovereign authority, under what is called the right of *eminent domain*. When this right is exercised, it must be in pursuance of some express legislative authority which prescribes the formalities, and compensation must be made to the owner. The constitutions of the United States and of the several states contain declarations that private property shall not be taken for public use without compensation made therefor, but these are only declaratory of the pre-existing principle. Dedication of a way is an appropriation of land to that use by the owner thereof, and requires for its perfection an acceptance by the public. The dedication can only be made by the owner of the fee: *Wood v. Veal*, 5 B. and Ald. 454; and therefore where land is under lease, the fact that the public are permitted to make use of a way across it will not be evidence of a dedication, unless there be circumstances from which the knowledge and concurrence of the owner of the reversion can be implied. *Rex v. Barr*, 4 Camp. 16; *Davies v. Stephens*, 7 C. and P. 570. No writing is required to establish a dedication, and no particular formality. The mere throwing open the land to the use of the public for a way constitutes *ipso facto* and instantaneously a dedication, if the public accept it. *Hunter v. Trustees of Sandy Hill*, 6 Hill, 407. The intent to dedicate, however, must be unequivocal; it will not be implied from any acts of an ambiguous character. The fact that the owner acquiesced in the use and enjoyment of the way by the public for twenty years would be sufficient evidence of such intent in any case: *Smith v. State*, 3 Zab. 130; *State v. Marble*, 4 Ired. 318; but it might also be inferred from an uninterrupted use for a much less time. The question is one of fact, to be passed upon by jury. See *Angell and Durfee on Highways*, c. 3; *Hobbs v. Lowell*, 19 Pick. 405; *Pritchard v. Atkinson*, 4 N. H. 1; *Stacy v. Miller*, 4 Mo. 478; *Morrison v. Marquardt*, 24 Iowa, 35; *Noyes v. Ward*, 19 Conn. 250. A common mode, by which a party who temporarily allows the public to pass over his land negatives an intent to dedicate, is by fencing up the passage one day in the year, or doing some other unequivocal act in assertion of his paramount right. *Cook v. Hillsdale*, 7 Mich. 115. Acceptance by the public may either be by some formal resolution or other action by the proper authorities, or it may be inferred from circumstances. The mere fact that any number of individuals pass through a passage left open to them does not constitute an acceptance, but if the proper highway authorities treat it as a public way, either by expending public moneys upon it, or by setting it off into some road district for supervision and repair, they thereby accept it. See *Kelly's Case*, 8 Grat. 632; *Hobbs v. Lowell*, 19 Pick. 405; *Wright v. Tukey*, 3 Cush. 290; *People v. Jones*, 6 Mich. 176. And long continued user by the public is important evidence bearing on the question of dedication, and may in some cases be sufficient to warrant its being found. See *Angell and Durfee on highways*, § 161, and cases cited. A dedication may be of a part of a road only, as well as of the whole of it. *Valentine v. Boston*, 22 Pick. 75.

Ways are also often dedicated by laying out plats upon which streets and roads are marked, and selling lots in reference thereto. There are statutes in the several states which prescribe the effect of such plats, when duly acknowledged and recorded. If, however, the plat is not so executed as to comply with the statute, it will still be regarded, when acted upon, as an offer to the public of the streets marked upon it, and they become public ways when accepted as in other cases. And if there be no act of acceptance on the part of the public, there is nevertheless a right in those who have bought lots upon the plat with reference thereto to have all the ways laid down thereon kept open for their use with reference to the enjoyment of their purchases. *Matter of Lewis street*, 2 Wend. 472; *Smyles v. Hastings*, 22 N. Y. 217; *Smith v. Lock*, 18 Mich. 56; see *O'Linda v. Lothrop*, 21 Pick. 292.

Prescription which presupposes a grant is not properly applicable to highways.

Highways are for the use of all the public, though the mode of use may be restricted, as to foot passengers, &c. Restricted highways, however, are very rare. Turnpikes and other roads, which are constructed and controlled by corporations created for the purpose, are nevertheless public highways; the whole public having an equal right to use them on complying with the prescribed terms. Railroads are sometimes called public highways, though persons can pass along them only in the vehicles which the proprietors provide.

As a general rule the owner of land bounded on a highway owns to the center, subject to the public easement, and he may make any use thereof not inconsistent with the public occupancy, and maintain ejectment against any one who makes a permanent appropriation of any portion to the exclusion of himself and the public. *Goodtitle v. Alker*, Burr. 133; *Gardiner v. Tisdale*, 2 Wis. 153.

A private way is either a right in gross, which is purely a personal right and cannot be assigned, or it is appurtenant or annexed to an estate and passes with a conveyance of the estate. It may exist of necessity or by grant. A way of necessity exists where land is granted which is either wholly surrounded by land of the grantor, or partially by such land, and elsewhere by land of strangers. In such a case if there be no other way to the land, the law presumes that it was the intention of the parties that the grantee should have access to it over the land of the grantor, and he has a way across such last mentioned land in order to make his grant available. *Washburn on Easements*, ch. 2,

have an interest and a right, though another be owner of the soil. This may be grounded on a special permission; as when the owner of the land *grants* to another a liberty of passing over his grounds, to go to church, to market, or the like: in which case the gift or grant is particular, and confined to the grantee alone: it dies with the person; and, if the grantee leaves the country, he cannot assign over his right to any other; nor can he justify taking another *person in his company. (o) A way may be also by *prescription*; as if all [*36] the inhabitants of such a hamlet, or all the owners and occupiers of such a farm, have immemorially used to cross such a ground for such a particular purpose: for this immemorial usage supposes an original grant, whereby a right of way thus appurtenant to land or houses may clearly be created. A right of way may also arise by act and operation of law; for, if a man grants me

(o) Finch, Law, 31.

§ 2; Lawton v. Rivers, 2 McCord, 445; Wissler v. Hershey, 23 Penn. St. 333; Nichols v. Luce, 24 Pick. 102; Pheysey v. Vicary, 16 M. and W. 484; Underwood v. Carney, 1 Cush. 285; Thomas v. Bertram, 4 Bush. 317. If, however, the grantee has a way of access to the land granted, but not so convenient as the one over the grantor's land, a way of necessity will not exist over the latter, for mere convenience is not sufficient to raise the implication of an intent to give it. Turnbull v. Rivers, 3 McCord, 131; Screven v. Gregorie, 8 Rich. 158; McDonald v. Lindall, 3 Rawle, 492. If a grantor conveys land entirely surrounding a parcel which he retains, he has a way of necessity over the land conveyed, which likewise rests upon the supposed intention of the parties. Brigham v. Smith, 4 Gray, 297; Pinnington v. Galland, 20 E. L. and Eq. 561; Id. 22 Law J. Rep. (N. S.) Exch. 348.

If, however, in any case a way of necessity would be inconsistent with a grant, it cannot exist, because the intent to create it cannot be implied. As, where land is conveyed for a specific purpose, and a way across it would defeat that purpose. Seeley v. Bishop, 19 Conn. 134.

Wherever a right of way of necessity exists, the owner of the estate over which it is to pass has the right to locate it, but if he shall fail to do so within a reasonable time after request, the person entitled to it may select a suitable route therefor, having reasonable regard to the interest and convenience of the owner of the estate. When once selected by the party entitled to do so, it is fixed, and cannot afterwards be changed except by consent. Holmes v. Seely, 19 Wend. 507; Nichols v. Luce, 24 Pick. 102. A right of way of necessity is limited to the necessity, and ceases whenever the owner thereof, by purchase or otherwise, acquires a way of access over his own land to the land in respect to which it existed. Pierce v. Selleck, 18 Conn. 321; Viall v. Carpenter, 14 Gray, 126; Holmes v. Seely, 19 Wend. 507; Abbott v. Stewartstown, 47 N. H. 228.

Ways by grant are either granted separately, or as appendant or appurtenant to an estate which is conveyed. Their location is either defined by the grant, or it becomes fixed by the use of one party and the acquiescence of the other, or, in the case of ways appurtenant to an estate granted, it has been defined by previous use. A right of way may also be created by the grantor reserving it in the grant which he makes of the land.

In the case of a private way, the land owner has a general right to make use of the land in any manner he may please, not interfering with the easement. Atkins v. Bordman, 2 Met. 457. He is under no obligation to keep the way in repair unless he has bound himself to do so, nor is he obliged to suffer the party entitled to the easement to pass over the land elsewhere, if the way has become impassable. Miller v. Bristol, 12 Pick. 550; see also, Capers v. McKee, 1 Strobb. 164. The rule is different in the case of public ways, for if a highway be out of repair and impassable, the traveller may go upon the adjoining premises, doing no unnecessary damage. Williams v. Safford, 7 Barb. 309; Campbell v. Race, 7 Cush. 408; Holmes v. Seely, 19 Wend. 507. And in the case of a private way, if the owner of the estate obstructs it, the person entitled to the easement may pass around the obstruction upon other lands of the owner, without rendering himself liable. Farnum v. Platt, 8 Pick. 339.

Ways may also exist by *custom*; as that every inhabitant of a borough shall have a right of way over a parcel of land to mill or to market; but these are not frequent in America. When they exist they must rest on a user of at least twenty years.

The doctrine of *dedication* has no application to private ways. A private way may, however, be established by *prescription*. If a person has used a way over the land of another for twenty years, it will be presumed that the use had its origin in a grant, provided the following things concur: 1. The use must have been definite, both as to manner and as to locality. 2. It must have continued for the whole period without interruption. 3. It must have been accompanied by a claim of right adverse to the owner of the land, and not have been under leave and license of the owner; for if the claim has been in subordination to the right of the owner, a grant could not be presumed, since that would be inconsistent with the claim. The law of prescription is one of quiet, and is based upon the presumption that a long-continued use of land adverse to the interest of the owner would not have been acquiesced in, unless it had its origin in right. See Wallace v. Fletcher, 10 Fost. 434.

a piece of ground in the middle of his field, he at the same time tacitly and impliedly gives me a way to come at it; and I may cross his land for that purpose without trespass. (*p*) For when the law doth give any thing to one, it giveth impliedly whatsoever is necessary for enjoying the same. (*q*) By the law of the twelve tables at Rome, where a man had the right of way over another's land, and the road was out of repair, he who had the right of way might go over any part of the land he pleased: which was the established rule in public as well as private ways. And the law of England, in both cases, seems to correspond with the Roman. (*r*) (20)

(*p*) *Ibid.* 63.

(*q*) *Co. Litt.* 56.

(*r*) *Lord Raym.* 725. 1 *Brownl.* 212. 2 *Show.* 28. 1 *Jon.* 297.

(20) This statement is erroneous. He would only have that right where the owner of the land was bound by grant or prescription to repair the way. See *Taylor v. Whitehead*, Doug. 746. See also the preceding note.

It will be observed that the subject of easements receives very little attention from our author, and indeed the subject then was of very little consequence as compared with its importance at the present time. For a full discussion the reader is referred to the special treatises, and especially that by Mr. Washburn, as the latest and most complete.

An easement exists when the owner of one tenement, called the dominant tenement, has a right to compel the owner of another, called the servient tenement, to permit something to be done, or to refrain from doing something, which, as owner of his tenement, he would otherwise have been entitled to restrain or to do. An easement must be limited in extent, and must be in some way for the benefit of the dominant tenement, and not for some general benefit of its owner. *Clayton v. Corby*, 5 Q. B. 415; *Ackroyd v. Smith*, 10 C. B. 164; *Bailey v. Stephens*, 12 C. B. N. S. 94.

Among the principal easements, besides the right of way already mentioned, are the right to water, the right to light and air, the right to the natural support of the land, the right to the support of buildings by adjacent land or adjacent buildings, the right to have party walls and fences kept in repair, and the right to carry drains and gutters across adjoining land. A deed is necessary to create an easement by grant or reservation; and, where one is thus created, the grant gives to the owner of the dominant tenement the right to go upon the servient tenement, and do thereon whatever may be necessary to enable him to enjoy the easement. An easement may also exist by prescription, where the enjoyment has been for such a period of time that the law will presume a grant. And, upon this point, reference is again made to the preceding note.

The right to the flow of water in its natural course we have considered elsewhere, and need not do further here than to refer to the excellent treatise on water-courses by Mr. Angell. This right, however, is to be distinguished broadly from that to receive or to carry off water through an artificial channel, for it is inseparably annexed to the soil, and passes with it, not as an easement, nor as an appurtenance, but as a parcel. *Johnson v. Jordan*, 2 Metc. 239. The other right referred to is strictly an easement, and may be created in the same manner as a private way, and is governed by substantially the same rules. One who has a right to receive water for the use of any species of manufacture may do whatever is necessary for its enjoyment, but he has no right to foul the water by turning the refuse of the manufactory into it. *Howell v. McCoy*, 3 Rawle, 256. And an easement to drain water through the land of another for one purpose cannot be changed and enlarged by putting it to use for another purpose. *Carter v. Page*, 8 Ired. 190. Upon this subject, in general, see *Pyer v. Carter*, 1 H. and N. 922; *White v. Leeson*, 5 id. 53; *Pheysey v. Vicary*, 16 M. and W. 484; *Alston v. Grant*, 3 El. and Bl. 128; *Ferguson v. Witsell*, 5 Rich. 280.

The right to enjoy, in favor of one tenement, the right to light and air which naturally reaches it in coming laterally from and across the land of an adjacent proprietor, is an important right in the civil law, and in the law of England, but is relatively of little consequence in America, where the English doctrine, that a prescriptive right to light and air may be gained by mere length of enjoyment, has generally been discarded. See Washb. on Easements, 493 et seq., where the cases are collected.

Every man has a right to the natural support of his land by the adjacent land of another, so that, if the owner of the latter shall make excavations within his own boundaries, into which the land of the first shall fall, an action will lie for the injury. *Harris v. Ryding*, 5 M. and W. 60; *Bibby v. Carter*, 4 H. & N. 153; *Thurston v. Hancock*, 12 Mass. 226; *Lasala v. Holbrook*, 4 Paige, 169; *Foley v. Wyeth*, 2 Allen, 131; *Richardson v. Vt. Cen. R. R. Co.*, 25 Vt. 465. But it seems that this right is limited to injuries caused to the land itself, and does not afford relief for damages by the same means to artificial structures. *Foley v. Wyeth*, 2 Allen, 131; *Charles v. Rankin*, 22 Mo. 571. If, however, an injury is caused to a building by a negligent excavation on adjacent land, an action will lie for the injury. *Farrand v. Marshall*, 19 Barb. 330. And the unqualified right to lateral support for buildings may be acquired in the same way as any other easement.

Easements may be lost by ceasing to enjoy the right for such time and under such circumstances as to indicate an intention to abandon the same. *Luttrel's Case*, 4 Rep. 86; *Hale v.*

V. Offices, which are a right to exercise a public or private employment, and to take the fees and emoluments thereunto belonging, are also incorporeal hereditaments; whether public, as those of magistrates; or private, as of bailiffs, receivers, and the like. For a man may have an estate in them, either to him and his heirs, or for life, or for a term of years, or during pleasure only; save only that offices of public trust cannot be granted for a term of years, especially if they concern the administration of justice, for then they might perhaps vest in executors or administrators. (*s*) (21) Neither can any *judicial* office be granted in reversion: because though the grantee may be able to perform it at the time of the grant, yet before the office falls he may become unable and insufficient: but *ministerial* offices may be so granted; (*t*) for those may be executed by deputy. (22) Also, by statute 5 and 6 Edw. VI, c. 16, no public office (a few only excepted) shall be sold, under pain of disability to dispose of or hold it. For the law presumes that *he who buys an office will, by bribery, extortion, or [37] other unlawful means, make his purchase good, to the manifest detriment of the public. (23)

VI. Dignities bear a near relation to offices. Of the nature of these we treated at large in a former book; (*u*) it will therefore be here sufficient to mention them as a species of incorporeal hereditaments, wherein a man may have a property or estate.

VII. Franchises are a seventh species. Franchise and liberty are used as synonymous terms; and their definition is (*v*) a royal privilege, or branch of the king's prerogative, subsisting in the hands of a subject. Being therefore derived from the crown, they must arise from the king's grant; or in some cases may be held by prescription, which, as has been frequently said, presupposes a grant. (24) The kinds of them are various, and almost infinite: I will here briefly touch upon some of the principal; premising only, that they may be vested in either natural persons or bodies politic; in one man or in many; but the same identical franchise, that has before been granted to one, cannot be bestowed on another, for that would prejudice the former grant. (*w*)

To be a county palatine is a franchise, vested in a number of persons. It is likewise a franchise, for a number of persons to be incorporated, and subsist as a body politic; with a power to maintain perpetual succession, and do other corporate acts: and each individual member of such corporation is also said to have a franchise or freedom. Other franchises are to hold a court leet: to have a manor or lordship; or, at least, to have a lordship paramount; to have waifs, wrecks, estrays, treasure-trove, royal fish, forfeitures, and deodands: to have a court of one's own, or liberty of holding pleas, and trying causes; to have the

(*s*) 9 Rep. 97.(*t*) 11 Rep. 4.(*u*) See book 1, ch. 12.(*v*) Finch, L. 164.(*w*) 2 Roll. Abr. 191. Keilw. 196.

Oldroyd, 14 M. and W. 789; Ward v. Ward, 7 Exch. 838; Carr v. Foster, 3 Q. B. 581. And, where the same party becomes owner of both the dominant and servient tenement, the easement is extinguished. Washb. on Easements, 517-522. And an easement may be discharged by release to the owner of the servient tenement; but the release must be by deed. Dyer v. Sanford, 9 Met. 395.

(21) The term of office in the United States is never longer than during good behavior, and even then, unless the term is fixed by the constitution, it is subject to change by law, and may be shortened or abolished at the will of the legislature. By choosing a person to an office, the term of which is prescribed by law, the state does not contract with him that he may enjoy it during the term, or preclude itself from repealing or amending the law under which the office exists. Butler v. Pennsylvania, 10 How. 402; Conner v. New York, 2 Sandf. 355, and 5 N. Y. 285.

Offices in private corporations and companies are employments of a private character, in the nature of agencies only.

(22) [See R. v. Farrand, 3 B. and A. 260; R. v. Gravesend, 2 B. and C. 602; R. v. Roberts, 3 A. and E. 771. If two offices are incompatible, by the acceptance of the latter, the first is relinquished and vacant, even if it should be a superior office. 2 T. R. 81.]

(23) [See statute 6 Geo. IV, cc. 82, 83; 11 id. c. 20, § 47; 2 B. and Cr. 674; 4 Ves. 815; 3 You. and J. 136; 3 T. R. 681; 6 J. B. Moore, 28; 8 Cl. and Fin. 295.]

(24) [See Trotter v. Harris, 2 Y. and J. 285; R. v. Marsden, 3 Burr. 1812.]

cognizance of pleas; which is a still greater liberty, being an exclusive right, so that no other court shall try causes arising within that jurisdiction: to have [*38] a bailiwick, or liberty exempt from the sheriff of the county; *wherein the grantee only, and his officers, are to execute all process; to have a fair or market: with the right of taking toll, either there or at any other public places, as at bridges, wharfs, or the like; which tolls must have a reasonable cause of commencement (as in consideration of repairs, or the like), else the franchise is illegal and void: (x) or, lastly, to have a forest, chase, park, warren, or fishery, endowed with privileges of royalty; which species of franchise may require a more minute discussion.

As to a *forest*; this, in the hands of a subject, is properly the same thing with a chase; being subject to the common law, and not to the forest laws. (y) But a *chase* differs from a park, in that it is not enclosed, and also in that a man may have a chase in another man's ground as well as in his own, being indeed the liberty of keeping beasts of chase or royal game therein, protected even from the owner of the land, with a power of hunting them thereon. A *park* is an enclosed chase, extending only over a man's own grounds. The word *park* indeed properly signifies an enclosure; but yet it is not every field or common, which a gentleman pleases to surround with a wall or paling, and to stock with a herd of deer, that is thereby constituted a legal park: for the king's grant, or at least immemorial prescription, is necessary to make it so. (z) Though now the difference between a real park, and such enclosed grounds, is in many respects not very material: only that it is unlawful at common law for any person to kill any beasts of park or chase, (a) except such as possess these franchises of forest, chase or park. *Free-warren* is a similar franchise, erected for preservation or custody (which the word signifies) of beasts and fowls of warren; (b) which, being *feræ naturæ*, every one had a natural right to kill as he could; but upon *the [*39] introduction of the forest laws, at the Norman conquest, as will be shewn hereafter, these animals being looked upon as royal game and the sole property of our savage monarchs, this franchise of free-warren was invented to protect them; by giving the grantee a sole and exclusive power of killing such game so far as his warren extended, on condition of his preventing other persons. A man therefore, that has the franchise of warren, is in reality no more than a royal gamekeeper; but no man, not even a lord of a manor, could by common law justify sporting on another's soil, or even on his own, unless he had the liberty of free-warren. (c) (25) This franchise is almost fallen into disregard, since the new statutes for preserving the game; the name being now chiefly preserved in grounds that are set apart for breeding hares and rabbits. There are many instances of keen sportsmen in ancient times who have sold their estates, and reserved the free-warren, or right of killing game, to themselves; by which means it comes to pass that a man and his heirs have sometimes free-warren over another's ground. (d) A *free fishery*, or exclusive right of fishing in a public river, is also a royal franchise; and is considered as such in all countries where the feudal polity has prevailed; (e) though the making such grants, and by that means appropriating what seems to be unnatural to restrain, the use of running water, was prohibited for the future by King John's great charter; and the rivers that were fenced in his time were directed to be laid open, as well as the forests to be disafforested. (f) This opening was extended by the second (g) and third (h) charters of Henry III, to those also that were fenced under Richard I; so that

(x) 2 Inst. 220.

(y) 4 Inst. 314.

(z) Co. Litt. 233. 2 Inst. 199. 11 Rep. 86.

(a) These are properly buck, doe, fox, martin, and roe; but in a common and legal sense extend likewise to all the beasts of the forest; which besides the other, are reckoned to be hart, hind, hare, boar, and wolf, and in a word, all wild beasts of venary or hunting. (Co. Litt. 233.)

(b) The beasts are hares, conies, and roes; the fowls are either *campestræ*, as partridges, rails, and quails; or *sylvestres*, as woodcocks and pheasants; or *aquatilæ*, as mallards and herons. (Co. Litt. 233.)

(c) Salk. 637.

(d) Bro. Abr. tit. Warren, 3.

(e) Seld. Mar. Claus. I. 24. Dufresne, V. 503. Crag. de Jur. feod. II, 8, 15.

(f) Cap. 47, edit. Oxon.

(g) Cap. 20.

(h) 9 Hen. III, c. 16.

(25) [A free warren may be granted at this day, though such a grant is not usual. Cruise Dig. tit. 34, § 4.]

a franchise of free fishery ought now to be at least as old as the reign of Henry II. This differs from a *several* fishery; because he that has a *several* fishery must also be (or at least derive his right from) the owner of the soil, (*i*) which in a free fishery is not requisite. It differs also from a *common* of piscary before mentioned, in that the free fishery is an *exclusive right, the common of piscary is not so: and therefore, in a free fishery a man has a property in [40] the fish before they are caught, in a common of piscary not till afterwards. (*k*) (26) Some indeed have considered a *free* fishery not as a royal franchise, but merely as a private grant of a liberty to fish in the *several* fishery of the grantor. (*l*) But to consider such right as originally a flower of the prerogative, till restrained by *magna charta*, and derived by royal grant (previous to the reign of Richard I) to such as now claim it by prescription, and to distinguish it (as we have done) from a *several* and a *common* of fishery, may remove some difficulties in respect to this matter, with which our books are embarrassed. For it must be acknowledged, that the rights and distinctions of the three species of fishery are very much confounded in our law-books; and that there are not wanting respectable authorities (*m*) which maintain that a *several* fishery may exist distinct from the property of the soil, and that a *free* fishery implies no exclusive right, but is synonymous with *common* of piscary. (27)

VIII. Corodies are a right of sustenance, or to receive certain allotments of victual and provision for one's maintenance. (*n*) In lieu of which (especially when due from ecclesiastical persons) a pension or sum of money is sometimes substituted. (*o*) And these may be reckoned another species of incorporeal hereditments; though not chargeable on, or issuing from, any corporeal inheritance, but only charged on the person of the owner in respect of such his inheritance. To these may be added,

IX. Annuities, which are much of the same nature; only that these arise from temporal, as the former from spiritual persons. An annuity is a thing very distinct from a rent-charge, with which it is frequently confounded: a rent-charge being a burthen imposed upon and issuing out of *lands*, whereas an annuity is a yearly sum chargeable only upon the *person* of the grantor. (*p*) Therefore, if a man by deed grant to another the sum of 20*l.* *per annum*, without expressing out of what lands it shall issue, no land at all shall be charged with it; but it is a mere personal annuity; which is of so little account in the law, that if granted to an eleemosynary corporation, it is not within the statutes of mortmain; (*q*) and yet a man may have a real estate in it, though his security is merely personal. (28)

(*i*) *M. 17 Edw. IV, 6 P. 18 Edw. IV, 4 T. 10 Hen. VII, 24, 26. Salk. 637.* (*k*) *F. N. B. 88. Salk. 637.*

(*l*) 2 Sid. 8.

(*m*) See them well digested in Hargrave's notes on Co. Litt. 122.

(*n*) Finch, L. 162.

(*o*) See book 1, ch. 8.

(*p*) Co. Litt. 144.

(*q*) *Ibid.* 2.

(26) [A subject may have, by prescription, a *several* fishery in an arm of the sea. Per *Ld. Kenyon*, 4 T. R. 439; 1 Camp. 312. A grant of "a *several* fishery," without more, does not pass the soil. 5 B. and Cr. 881.] A public river is a public highway, and this is its distinguishing characteristic; and all rights of fishery in it must be subservient to the right of passage, and must be so exercised as not to prejudice such right when it is used in reasonable manner. *Mayor of Colchester v. Brooke*, 7 Q. B. 339; *Young v. Hichens*, 6 Q. B. 609.

(27) In the United States, franchises are derived from legislative grant, or claimed by prescription, which presupposes such grant. And, in England, at the present time, they are all more or less taken under legislative direction and control.

(28) [This appears to require some explanation. If an annuity (not charged on lands) be granted to a man and his heirs, it is a fee simple *personal*. Co. Litt. 2, a. And Mr. Hargrave, in his note upon the passage just cited, says, though an annuity of inheritance is held to be forfeitable for treason, as an hereditament: 7 Rep. 34 b; yet, being only *personal*, it is not an hereditament within the statute of mortmain, 7 Edw. I, st. 2; nor is it entailable within the statute *de donis*. Lord Coke again says, Co. Litt. 20 a. "if I, by my deed, for me and my heirs, grant an annuity to a man, and the heirs of his body, this concerneth no land, nor savoureth of the realty." And see *Earl of Stafford v. Buckley*, 2 Ves. Sen. 177; *Holderness v. Carmarthen*, 1 Br. 382; *Aubin v. Daly*, 4 Barn. and Ald. 59. Some of the diversities between a rent and an annuity are thus laid down, in the 30th chapter of the Doctor and Student, Dialogue 1: "Every rent, be it rent-service, rent-charge, or rent-seck, is going out of land. Also of an annuity there lieth no action, but only a writ of annuity; but, of a rent, the same action may lie as doth of land. Also, an annuity is never taken for assets, because it is no freehold

[*41] *X. Rents are the last species of incorporeal hereditaments. The word rent or render, *reditus*, signifies a compensation or return, it being in the nature of an acknowledgment given for the possession of some corporeal inheritance. (*r*) It is defined to be a certain profit issuing yearly out of lands and tenements corporeal. It must be a *profit*; yet there is no occasion for it to be, as it usually is, a sum of money; for spurs, capons, horses, corn, and other matters may be rendered, and frequently are rendered, by way of rent. (*s*) It may also consist in services or manual operations; as, to plough so many acres of ground, to attend the king or the lord to the wars, and the like; which services in the eye of the law are profits. This profit must also be *certain*; or that which may be reduced to a certainty by either party. It must also issue *yearly*; though there is no occasion for it to issue every successive year; but it may be reserved every second, third, or fourth year; (*t*) yet, as it is to be produced out of the profits of lands and tenements, as a recompense for being permitted to hold or enjoy them, it ought to be reserved yearly, because those profits do annually arise and are annually renewed. It must *issue out* of the thing granted, and not be part of the land or thing itself; wherein it differs from an exception in the grant, which is always of part of the thing granted. (*u*) (29) It must, lastly, issue out of *lands and tenements corporeal*; that is, from some inheritance whereunto the owner or grantee of the rent may have recourse to distrein. Therefore a rent cannot be reserved out of an advowson, a common, an office, a franchise, or the like. (*w*) But a grant of such annuity or sum may operate as a personal contract, and oblige the grantor to pay the money reserved, or subject him to an action of debt: (*x*) though it doth not affect the inheritance, and is no legal rent in contemplation of law. (30)

There are at common law (*y*) three manner of rents, rent-service, rent-charge, and rent-seck. *Rent-service* is so called *because it hath some [*42] corporal service incident to it, as at the least fealty or the feudal oath of fidelity. (*z*) For, if a tenant holds his land by fealty, and ten shillings rent; or by the service of ploughing the lord's land, and five shilling rent; these pecuniary rents, being connected with personal services, are therefore called rent-service. And for these, in case they be behind, or arrere, at the day appointed, the lord may distrein of common right, without reserving any special power of distress; provided he hath in himself the reversion, or future estate of the lands and tenements, after the lease or particular estate of the lessee or grantee is expired. (*a*) A *rent-charge* is where the owner of the rent hath no future interest, or reversion expectant in the land: as where a man by deed maketh over to

(*r*) *Ibid.* 144.

(*s*) *Ibid.* 142.

(*t*) *Ibid.* 47.

(*u*) *Plowd.* 13. 8 Rep. 71.

(*w*) *Co. Litt.* 144.

(*x*) *Ibid.* 47.

(*y*) *Litt.* § 213.

(*z*) *Co. Litt.* 142.

(*a*) *Litt.* § 215.

in the law, nor shall it be put in execution upon a statute merchant, statute staple, or *elegit*, as a rent may." No doubt, when an annuity is granted, so as to bind both the person and real estate of the grantor, the grantee hath his election, either to bring a writ of annuity, treating his demand as a personal one only, or to distrain upon the land, as for a real interest. *Co. Litt.* 144 b. The definition which Fitzherbert, N. B. p. 152, gives of an annuity is, that it either proceeds from the lands or the coffers of another. Where it is charged upon land, it may be real or personal, at the election of the holder. If it is out of the coffers, it is personal only as to the remedy; but the property itself is *real as to its descent to the heir*. And this seems to be the only sense in which an annuity, for which the security is merely personal, can be called real estate. *Turner v. Turner*, *Ambl.* 782.]

(29) [*Co. Litt.* 142; see also *Wickham v. Hawker*, 7 M. and W. 63; *Doe d. Douglas v. Lock*, 2 A. and E. 705; *Durham and S. R. Co. v. Walker*, 2 Q. B. 940; *Pannell v. Mill*, 3 C. B. 625. An exception to this exists in the case of mines, quarries, &c., where the rent or royalty consists commonly of a fixed proportion of the ore raised or stone gotten, which, it is to be observed, is a part of the land itself. *Campbell v. Leach*, *Ambl.* 740; *Buckley v. Kenyon*, 10 East, 139; *R. v. Earl of Pomfret*, 5 M. and S. 139; *R. v. Inhabitants of St. Anstell*, 5 B. and Ald. 693; *R. v. Westbrook*, 10 Q. B. 178.]

(30) [A rent may however be granted or reserved out of tithes, with all the incidents of a rent, except from the necessity of the case, that of distress. 3 Wils. 25; 2 Saund. 303; statute 5 Geo. III, c. 17. But a rent cannot be reserved out of chattels personal, and if such chattels are demised with land at an entire rent, the rent issues out of the land only. 5 Rep. 17 b; 2 N. R. 224.]

others his *whole* estate in fee-simple, with a certain rent payable thereout, and adds to the deed a covenant or clause of distress, that if the rent be arriere, or behind, it shall be lawful to distrein for the same. In this case the land is liable to the distress, not of common right, but by virtue of the clause in the deed; and therefore it is called a *rent-charge*, because in this manner the land is charged with a distress for the payment of it. (b) *Rent-seck*, *reditus siccus*, or barren rent, is in effect nothing more than a rent reserved by deed, but without any clause of distress.

There are also other species of rents, which are reducible to these three. Rents of *assize* are the certain established rents of the freeholders and ancient copyholders of a manor, (c) which cannot be departed from or varied. Those of the freeholders are frequently called *chief-rents*, *reditus capitales*: and both sorts are indifferently denominated *quit-rents*, *quieti reditus*: because thereby the tenant goes quit and free of all other services. When these payments were reserved in silver or white money, they were anciently called *white-rents*, or *blanch-farms*, *reditus albi*; (d) in contradistinction to rents reserved in work, grain, or baser money, which were called **reditus nigri*, or *black-mail*. (e) *Rack-* [43] *farm* rent is only a rent of the full value of the tenement, or near it. A *fee-farm* rent is a rent-charge issuing out of an estate in fee; of at least one-fourth of the value of the lands, at the time of its reservation: (f) for a grant of lands, reserving so considerable a rent, is indeed only letting lands to farm in fee-simple instead of the usual methods for life or years. (31)

These are the general divisions of rent; but the difference between them (in respect to the remedy for recovering them) is now totally abolished; and all persons may have the like remedy by distress for rents-seck, rents of assize, and chief-rents, as in case of rents reserved upon lease. (g)

Rent is regularly due and payable upon the land from whence it issues, if no particular place is mentioned in the reservation: (h) but in case of the king, the payment must be either to his officers at the exchequer, or to his receiver in the country. (i) And strictly the rent is demandable and payable before the time of sunset of the day whereon it is reserved; (k) though perhaps not absolutely due till midnight. (l)

With regard to the original of rents, something will be said in the next chapter; and, as to distresses and other remedies for their recovery, the doctrine relating thereto, and the several proceedings thereon, these belong properly to the third part of our Commentaries, which will treat of civil injuries, and the means whereby they are redressed.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

It is impossible to understand, with any degree of accuracy, either the civil constitution of this kingdom, (1) or the laws which regulate its landed property,

(b) Co. Litt. 143.

(c) 2 Inst. 19.

(d) In Scotland this kind of small payment is called *blanch-holding*, or *reditus alba firma*.

(e) 2 Inst. 19.

(f) Co. Litt. 143.

(g) Stat. 4 Geo. II. c. 28.

(h) Co. Litt. 201.

(i) 4 Rep. 73.

(k) Co. Litt. 302. 1 Anders. 253.

(l) 1 Saund. 287. Prec. Chanc. 555. Salk. 578.

(31) [A fee-farm rent is not necessarily a rent-charge; Mr. Hargrave indeed thought it *could only be a rent service*, and that the quantum of the rent was immaterial. Co. Litt. 143, n. 235. But in the case of *Bradbury v. Wright*, Douglas Rep. 4th ed., are notes by the reporter himself, and the late learned editor, which explain the mistake both of Blackstone and Hargrave, and show, I think, satisfactorily, that the former is correct in his account of the rent, except in calling it a rent-charge, which it may but need not necessarily be.]

(1) [An intimate acquaintance with the feudal system is absolutely necessary to the attainment of a comprehensive knowledge of the first principles and progress of our constitution.

without some general acquaintance with the nature and doctrine of feuds, or the feudal law: a system so universally received throughout Europe upwards of twelve centuries ago, that Sir Henry Spelman (*a*) does not scruple to call it the law of nations in our western world. This chapter will be therefore dedicated to this inquiry. And though, in the course of our observations in this and many other parts of the present book, we may have occasion to search pretty highly into the antiquities of our English jurisprudence, yet surely no industrious student will imagine his time misemployed, when he is led to consider that the obsolete doctrines of our laws are frequently the foundation upon which what remains is erected; and that it is impracticable to comprehend many rules of the modern law, in a scholar-like, scientific manner, without having recourse to the ancient. Nor will these researches be altogether void of rational entertainment as well as use: as in viewing the majestic ruins of Rome or Athens, of Balbec or Palmyra, it administers, both pleasure and instruction to compare them with the draughts of the same edifices, in their pristine proportion and splendour.

[*45] *The constitution of feuds (*b*) had its original from the military policy of the northern or Celtic nations, the Goths, the Huns, the Franks, the Vandals, and the Lombards, who all, migrating from the same *officina gentium*, as Crag very justly entitles it, (*c*) poured themselves in vast quantities into all the regions of Europe, at the declension of the Roman empire. It was brought by them from their own countries, and continued in their respective colonies as the most likely means to secure their new acquisitions: and to that end, large districts or parcels of land were allotted by the conquering general to the superior officers of the army, and by them dealt out again in smaller parcels or allotments to the inferior officers and most deserving soldiers. (*d*) These allotments were called *feoda*, feuds, fiefs or fees: which last appellation in the northern language (*e*) signifies a conditional stipend or reward. (*f*) Rewards or stipends they evidently were; and the condition annexed to them was, that the possessor should do service faithfully, both at home and in the wars, to him by whom they were given: for which purpose he took the *juramentum fidelitatis*, or oath of fealty: (*g*) (2) and in case of the breach of this condition and oath,

(*a*) Of parliaments, 57

(*b*) See Spelman, of feuds, and Wright of tenures, *per tot.*

(*c*) *De jure feud.* 19, 20.

(*d*) Wright, 7.

(*e*) Spelm. *Gl.* 216.

(*f*) Pontoppidan, in his history of Norway, (page 290) observes that in the northern languages *odh* signifies *proprietas*, and *all totum*. Hence he derives the *odhal* right in those countries; and thence too perhaps, is derived the *udal* right in Finland, &c. (See Mac Doual Inst. part 2.) Now the transposition of these northern syllables, *allodh*, will give us the true etymology of the *allodium*, or absolute property of the feudists; as by a similar combination of the latter syllable with the word *fee*, (which signifies, we have seen a conditional reward or stipend) *feodh* or *feodum* will denote stipendiary property.

(*g*) See this oath explained at large in *Feud.* l. 2, t. 7.

The authority of Lord Coke, upon constitutional questions, is greatly diminished by his neglect of the study of the feudal law; which Sir Henry Spelman who well knew its value and importance, feelingly laments: "I do marvel, many times, that my Lord Coke, adorning our law with so many flowers of antiquity and foreign learning, hath not turned into this field, from whence so many roots of our law have, of old, been taken and transplanted." Spelm. Orig. of Terms, c. viii.]

Upon the subject of the feudal system see, in addition to the authorities cited by Blackstone, Robertson's History of Charles V; Hallam's Middle Ages, c. 2, part 2; Guizot's History of Civilization in France, and Bell's Historical Studies of Feudalism. See also 1 Washb. on Real Prop. c. 2.

(2) [Fealty, the essential feudal bond, is so necessary to the very notion of a feud, that it is a downright contradiction to suppose the most improper feud to subsist without it; but the other properties or obligations of an original feud may be qualified or varied by the tenor or express terms of the feudal donation. Wright L. of Ten. 35. Fealty and homage are sometimes confounded; but they do not necessarily imply the same thing. Fealty was a solemn oath, made by the vassal, of fidelity and attachment to his lord. Homage was merely an acknowledgement of tenure, unless it was performed as *homagium ligeum*; that indeed did, in strictness include allegiance as a subject, and could not be renounced; but *homagium non ligeum* contained a saving or exception of faith due to other lords, and the homager might at any time free himself from feudal dependence by renouncing the land with which he had been invested. Du Fresne Gloss. voc. *Hominium*, *Legius*, et *Fidelitas*. Mr. Hargrave, in note 1 to Co. Litt. 68 a, says, in some countries on the continent of Europe, homage and fealty are blended together, so as to form one engagement; and therefore foreign jurists frequently con-

by not performing the stipulated service, or by deserting the lord in battle, the lands were again to revert to him who granted them. (*h*)

Allotments, thus acquired, naturally engaged such as accepted them to defend them: and, as they all sprang from *the same right of conquest, no part [*46] could subsist independent of the whole; wherefore all givers as well as receivers were mutually bound to defend each other's possessions. But, as that could not effectually be done in a tumultuous irregular way, government, and, to that purpose, subordination, was necessary. Every receiver of lands, or feudatory, was therefore bound, when called upon by his benefactor, or immediate lord of his feud or fee, to do all in his power to defend him. Such benefactor or lord was likewise subordinate to, and under the command of, his immediate benefactor or superior; and so upwards to the prince or general himself: and the several lords were also reciprocally bound, in their respective gradations, to protect the possessions they had given. Thus the feudal connection was established, a proper military subjection was naturally introduced, and an army of feudatories was always ready inlisted, and mutually prepared to muster, not only in defence of each man's own several property, but also in defence of the whole, and of every part of this their newly-acquired country; (*i*) the prudence of which constitution was soon sufficiently visible in the strength and spirit with which they maintained their conquests. (3)

The universality and early use of this feudal plan, among all those nations, which in complaisance to the Romans we still call barbarous, may appear from what is recorded (*k*) of the Cimbri and Teutones, nations of the same northern

(*h*) *Feud. l. 2, t. 2A.*

(*i*) *Wright, 8.*

(*k*) *L. Florus, l. 3, c. 3.*

sider them as synonymous. But, in our law, whilst *both* continued, they were in some respects distinct; fealty was sometimes done where homage was not due. And Lord Coke himself tells us, 1 Inst. 151 a, fealty may remain where homage is extinct. So Wright, L. of Ten. 55, in note, informs us, that it appears not only from the concurrent testimony of all our most authentic ancient historians (whom he cites), but likewise from Britton, Bracton, the Mirror, and Fleta, that homage and fealty were really with us distinct, though (generally) concomitant, engagements; and that homage (he of course means *homagium non ligeum*) was merely a declaration of the homager's consent to become the military tenant of certain of the lord's lands or tenements.

The short result appears to be, that, whilst the tie of homage subsisted, fealty, though acknowledged by a distinct oath, was consequential thereto; but that the converse did not hold, as fealty might be due where homage was not.]

(3) [Mr. Hallam gives an account of the origin of the feudal system rather different from that in the text. He says that, when the Germanic tribes poured down upon the empire, the conquerors made partition of the lands between themselves and the original possessors, some tribes taking a large, some a less, portion to themselves. The estates of the conquerors were termed allodial, subject to no burden but that of public defence, and inheritable. Besides these lands, others also were reserved out of the share of the conquered for the crown, partly to maintain its dignity, partly to supply its munificence. These were the fiscal lands, and for the greater part were gradually granted out under the name of benefices; and if the donation was not accompanied by any express reservation of military service, yet the beneficiary was undoubtedly more closely connected with the crown, and bound to more constant service than the allodial proprietor.]

Mr. Hallam thinks there is no satisfactory proof that these benefices were ever redeemable at pleasure, but that from the beginning they were ordinarily granted for the life of the grantee. Very early they became hereditary, and, as soon as they did so, they led to the practice of subinfeudation, which he deems the true commencement of feudal tenures.

Still, at this point the far larger part of the lands remained allodial, and the extension of the feudal system is to be attributed, in his opinion, to the forlorn and unprotected state in which the allodial proprietor found himself during the period of anarchy and private warfare which followed soon after the death of Charlemagne. In those times the connection between the beneficiary and the vassal was a protection to both; the former abstained from acts of violence against the latter, and both together protected each other against the attacks of others; while the isolated allodialist, to whom the crown in its weakness could afford no succor, was left a common prey for all. This led to a voluntary subjection of themselves to feudal lords, upon feudal conditions, and to the gradual diminution, though not extinction, of allodial estates.]

Mr. Justice Coleridge gives his assent to Mr. Hallam's theory, which he regards as more reasonable and natural than the common theory, that which is stated in the text.

original as those whom we have been describing, at their first irruption into Italy about a century before the Christian æra. They demanded of the Romans, "*ut martius populus aliquid sibi terræ daret, quasi stipendium; cæterum, ut vellet, manibus atque armis suis uteretur.*" The sense of which may be thus rendered; they desired stipendiary lands (that is, feuds) to be allowed them, to be held by military and other personal services, whenever their lord should call upon them. This was evidently the same constitution that displayed itself more fully about seven hundred years afterwards; when the Salii, Burgundians, and [*47] Franks broke in upon Gaul, the Visigoths on *Spain, and the Lombards upon Italy; and introduced with themselves this northern plan of polity, serving at once to distribute and to protect the territories they had newly gained. And from hence, too, it is probable that the Emperor Alexander Severus (1) took the hint of dividing lands conquered from the enemy among his generals and victorious soldiery, duly stocked with cattle and bondmen, on condition of receiving military service from them and their heirs forever.

Scarce had these northern conquerors established themselves in their new dominions, when the wisdom of their constitutions, as well as their personal valour, alarmed all the princes of Europe, that is, of those countries which had formerly been Roman provinces, but had revolted, or were deserted by their old masters, in the general wreck of the empire. Wherefore most, if not all, of them thought it necessary to enter into the same or a similar plan of policy. For whereas, before, the possessions of their subjects were perfectly *allodial* (that is, wholly independent, and held of no superior at all), now they parcelled out their royal territories, or persuaded their subjects to surrender up and retake their own landed property, under the like feudal obligations of military fealty. (m) And thus, in the compass of a very few years, the feudal constitution, or the doctrine of tenure, extended itself over all the western world. (4) Which alteration of landed property, in so very material a point, necessarily drew after it an alteration of laws and customs; so that the feudal laws soon drove out the Roman, which had hitherto universally obtained, but now became for many centuries lost and forgotten; and Italy itself (as some of the civilians, with more spleen than judgment, have expressed it) *belluinas, atque ferinas, immanesque Longobardorum leges accepit.* (n)

*But this feudal polity, which was thus by degrees established over all [*48] the continent of Europe, seems not to have been received in this part of our island, at least not universally, and as a part of the national constitution, till the reign of William the Norman. (o) Not but that it is reasonable to believe, from abundant traces in our history and laws, that even in the time of the Saxons, who were a swarm from what Sir William Temple calls the same northern hive, something similar to this was in use; yet not so extensively, nor attended with all the rigour that was afterwards imported by the Normans. For the Saxons were firmly settled in this island, at least as early as the year 600:

(1) "*Sola, quæ de hostibus capta sunt limitaneis ducibus et militibus donavit; ita ut eorum ita essent, si hæredes illorum militarent. nec unquam ad privatos pertinerent; dicens attentius illos militaturos, si etiam sua rura defenderent. Addidit sane his et animalia et servos, ut possent colere quod acceperent; ne per inopiam hominum vel per senectutem desererentur rura vicina barbaria, quod turpissimum ille ducebat.*"

(Æl. Lamprid. in vita Alex. Severi.)

(m) Wright, 10.

(n) Grav. Orig. l. 1, § 139.

(o) Spelm. Gloss. 218. Bract. l. 2, c. 16, § 7.

(4) [The feudal constitutions and usages were first reduced to writing about the year 1150 by two lawyers of Milan, under the title of *consuetudines feudorum*, and have been subjoined to Justinian's Novels in nearly all the editions of the body of the Roman law. Though this was the feudal law of the German empire, other states have modified this law by the spirit of their respective constitutions.

Allodial lands are commonly opposed to beneficiary, or feudal, the former being strictly proprietary, while the latter depended upon a superior. In this sense the word is of continual recurrence in ancient histories, laws and instruments. It sometimes, however, bears the sense of *inheritance*, and this seems to be its meaning in the famous 62d chapter of the Salic laws,—De Alodis. "*Allodium interdum appointur comparato,*" says Du Cange, "*in formulis veteribus.*" Hence, in the charters of the eleventh century, hereditary fiefs are frequently termed *alodie*. Hallam Mid. Ages, vol. 1, p. 97.]

and it was not till two centuries after, that feuds arrived at their full vigour and maturity, even on the continent of Europe. (*p*)

This introduction however of the feudal tenures into England, by King William, does not seem to have been effected immediately after the conquest, nor by the mere arbitrary will and power of the conqueror; but to have been gradually established by the Norman barons, and others, in such forfeited lands as they received from the gift of the conqueror, and afterwards universally consented to by the great council of the nation, long after his title was established. Indeed, from the prodigious slaughter of the English nobility at the battle of Hastings, and the fruitless insurrections of those who survived, such numerous forfeitures had accrued, that he was able to reward his Norman followers with very large and extensive possessions: which gave a handle to the monkish historians, and such as have implicitly followed them, to represent him as having by right of the sword seized on all the lands of England, and dealt them out again to his own favourites. A supposition, grounded upon a mistaken sense of the word *conquest*; which, in its feudal acceptation, signifies no more than *acquisition*; and this has led many hasty writers into a strange historical mistake, and one which, upon the slightest examination, will *be found to [*49] be most untrue. However, certain it is, that the Normans now began to gain very large possessions in England; and their regard for the feudal law under which they had long lived, together with the king's recommendation of this policy to the English, as the best way to put themselves on a military footing, and thereby to prevent any future attempts from the continent, were probably the reasons that prevailed to effect its establishment here by law. And, though the time of this great revolution in our landed property cannot be ascertained with exactness, yet there are some circumstances that may lead us to a probable conjecture concerning it. For we learn from the Saxon chronicle, (*q*) that in the nineteenth year of King William's reign an invasion was apprehended from Denmark; and the military constitution of the Saxons being then laid aside, and no other introduced in its stead, the kingdom was wholly defenceless; which occasioned the king to bring over a large army of Normans and Bretons, who were quartered upon every landholder, and greatly oppressed the people. This apparent weakness, together with the grievances occasioned by a foreign force, might co-operate with the king's remonstrances, and the better incline the nobility to listen to his proposals for putting them in a posture of defence. For, as soon as the danger was over, the king held a great council to inquire into the state of the nation; (*r*) the immediate consequence of which was the compiling of the great survey called domesday-book, (*5*) which was finished in the next year: and in the latter end of that very year the king was attended by all his nobility at Sarum; where all the principal landholders submitted their lands to the yoke of military tenure, became the king's vassals, and

(*p*) Crag. l. 2. §. 4.

(*q*) A. D. 1085.

(*r*) *Rez tenuit magnum concilium, et graves sermones habuit cum suis proceribus de hac terra; quo modo incoleretur, et a quibus hominibus.* Chron. Sax. *ibid.*

(5) The original of Domesday Book is comprised in two volumes, one a large folio, and the other a quarto, and is preserved among the other records of the exchequer in the chapter house at Westminster. In 1783 a fac simile was published by the government, and thus became generally accessible. In 1816 two volumes supplementary were published, one of which contains a general introduction with indexes. The other contains four records; three of them, namely, the Exon Domesday, the Inquisitio Eliensis, and the Liber Winton, contemporary with the survey; the other, called Boldon Book, is the survey of Durham, made in 1183 by Bishop Hugh Pudsey.

By Domesday Book the king acquired an exact knowledge of the possessions of the crown, and it afforded him also the names of the landholders, and the means of ascertaining the military strength of the country. It also pointed out the possibility of increasing the revenue in some cases. To the people Domesday Book became valuable as a record to which appeal might be made when titles were disputed.

For further information respecting this most important record, see *Domesday Book Illustrated*, by Kellam, London, 1788. Mr. Hallam says: "Ingulfus gives the plain meaning of the word Domesday, which has been disputed. The book was so called, he says, *pro sua generalitate omnia tenementa totius terræ integre continente*; that is, it was as general and conclusive as the last judgment will be." Middle Ages, ch. 9, pt. 2.

did homage and fealty to his person. (s) This may possibly have been the era of formally introducing the feudal tenures by law; and perhaps the very law, [*50] thus made at the council of Sarum, is that which is still extant, (t) *and couched in these remarkable words: "*Statuimus, ut omnes, liberi homines fœdere et sacramento affirmant, quod intra et extra universum regnum Angliæ Wilhelmo regi domino suo fideles esse volunt; terras et honores illius omni fidelitate ubique servare cum eo, et contra inimicos et alienigenas defendere.*" The terms of this law (as Sir Martin Wright has observed) (u) are plainly feudal: for, first, it requires the oath of fealty, which made, in the sense of the feudists, every man that took it a tenant or vassal: and, secondly, the tenants obliged themselves to defend their lords' territories and titles against all enemies foreign and domestic. But what clearly evinces the legal establishment of this system, is another law of the same collection, (w) which exacts the performance of the military feudal services, as ordained by the general council. "*Omnes comites, et barones, et milites, et servientes, et universi liberi homines totius regni nostri prædicti, habeant et teneant se semper bene in armis et in equis, ut decet et oportet: et sint semper prompti et bene parati, ad servitium suum integrum nobis explendum et peragendum, cum opus fuerit: secundum quod nobis debent de feodis et tenementis suis de jure facere, et sicut illis statuimus per commune concilium totius regni nostri prædicti.*"

This new polity seems therefore not to have been imposed by the conqueror, but nationally and freely adopted by the general assembly of the whole realm, in the same manner as other nations of Europe had before adopted it, upon the same principle of self-security. And, in particular, they had the recent example of the French nation before their eyes; which had gradually surrendered up all its allodial or free lands into the king's hands, who restored them to the owners as a *beneficium* or feud, to be held to them and such of their heirs as they previously nominated to the king; and thus by degrees all the allodial estates in France were converted into feuds, and the freemen became the vassals of the crown. (x) The only difference between this change of tenures in France, [*51] and that in England, was, that the former was effected gradually *by the consent of private persons; the latter was done at once, all over England, by the common consent of the nation. (y) (6)

In consequence of this change, it became a fundamental maxim and necessary principle (though in reality a mere fiction) of our English tenures, "that the king is the universal lord and original proprietor of all the lands in his kingdom: (z) and that no man doth or can possess any part of it, but what has mediately or immediately been derived as a gift from him, to be held upon feudal services." For this being the real case in pure, original, proper feuds, other nations who adopted this system were obliged to act upon the same supposition, as a substruction and foundation of their new polity, though the fact was indeed far otherwise. And indeed, by thus consenting to the introduction of feudal tenures, our English ancestors probably meant no more than to put the kingdom in a state of defence by establishing a military system; and to oblige themselves (in respect of their lands) to maintain the king's title and territories, with equal vigour and fealty, as if they had received their lands from his bounty upon these express conditions, as pure, proper, beneficiary feudatoria.

(s) *Omnes prædia tenentes, quotquot essent notæ melioris per totam Angliam, ejus homines facti sunt, et omnes se illi subdidere, ejusque facti sunt vasalli, ac ei fidelitatis juramenta præstiterunt, se contra alios quoscunque illi ados futuros.* Chron. Sax. A. D. 1066.

(t) Cap. 52. Wilk. 228.

(u) Tenures, 66.

(w) Cap. 58. Wilk. 238.

(x) Montesq. Sp. L. b. 31, c. 8.

(y) Pharaoh thus acquired the dominion of all the lands in Egypt, and granted them out to the Egyptians, reserving an annual render of the fifth part of their value. (Gen. c. xlv.)

(z) *Tout fuit in luy, et vient de luy al commencement.* (M. 24 Edw. III. 65.)

(6) Justice Coleridge says: "I do not understand Montesquieu, in the chapter cited, to say that all the allodial lands in France were surrendered up into the king's hands, and taken again as fiefs. Down to a late period the presumption of law in the southern provinces of France as to land was that it was allodial until the contrary was shown. See Hallam's Mid. Ages, c. 2, part 1."

But whatever their meaning was, the Norman interpreters, skilled in all the niceties of the feudal constitutions, and well understanding the import and extent of the feudal terms, gave a very different construction to this proceeding: and thereupon took a handle to introduce not only the rigorous doctrines which prevailed in the duchy of Normandy, but also such fruits and dependencies, such hardships and services, as were never known to other nations; (a) as if the English had, in fact as well as theory, owed every thing they had to the bounty of their sovereign lord.

Our ancestors, therefore, who were by no means beneficiaries, but had barely consented to this fiction of tenure from *the crown, as the basis of a military discipline, with reason looked upon these deductions as grievous [*52] impositions, and arbitrary conclusions from principles that, as to them, had no foundation in truth. (b) However, this king and his son William Rufus kept up with a high hand all the rigours of the feudal doctrines: but their successor, Henry I, found it expedient, when he set up his pretensions to the crown, to promise a restitution of the laws of King Edward the Confessor, or ancient Saxon system; and accordingly, in the first year of his reign, granted a charter, (c) whereby he gave up the greater grievances, but still reserved the fiction of feudal tenure, for the same military purposes which engaged his father to introduce it. But this charter was gradually broken through, and the former grievances were revived and aggravated; by himself and succeeding princes; till in the reign of King John they became so intolerable, that they occasioned his barons, or principal feudatories, to rise up in arms against him; which at length produced the famous great charter at Runing-mead, which, with some alterations, was confirmed by his son Henry III. And, though its immunities (especially as altered on its last edition by his son) (d) are very greatly short of those granted by Henry I, it was justly esteemed at the time a vast acquisition to English liberty. Indeed, by the farther alteration of tenures that has since happened, many of these immunities may now appear, to a common observer, of much less consequence than they really were when granted: but this, properly considered, will shew, not that the acquisitions under John were small, but that those under Charles were greater. And from hence also arises another inference; that the liberties of Englishmen are not (as some arbitrary writers would represent them) mere infringements of the king's prerogative, extorted from our princes by taking advantage of their weakness; but a restoration of that ancient constitution, of which our ancestors had been defrauded by the art and finesse of the Norman lawyers, rather than deprived by the force of the Norman arms.

*Having given this short history of their rise and progress, we will next consider the nature, doctrine, and principal laws of feuds; wherein [*53] we shall evidently trace the groundwork of many parts of our public polity, and also the original of such of our own tenures as were either abolished in the last century, or still remain in force.

The grand and fundamental maxim of all feudal tenure is this: that all lands were originally granted out by the sovereign, and are therefore holden, either mediately or immediately, of the crown. The grantor was called the proprietor, or *lord*: being he who retained the dominion or ultimate property of the feud or fee; and the grantee, who had only the use and possession, according to the terms of the grant, was styled the feudatory, or *vassal*, which was only another name for the tenant, or holder of the lands; though, on account of the prejudices which we have justly conceived against the doctrines that were afterwards grafted on this system, we now use the word *vassal* opprobriously, as synonymous to slave or bondman. (7) The manner of the grant was by words

(a) Spelm. of feuds, c. 28.

(b) Wright, 81.

(c) LL. Hen. I, c. 1.

(d) 9 Hen. III.

(7) [Mr. Christian says: "Nothing, I think, proves more strongly the detestation in which the people of this country held the feudal oppression, than that the word *vassal*, which once signified a feudal tenant or grantee of land, is now synonymous to slave: and that the word

of gratuitous and pure donation, *dedi et concessi*; which are still the operative words in our modern infeudations or deeds of feoffment. This was perfected by the ceremony of corporal investiture, or open and notorious delivery of possession in the presence of the other vassals; which perpetuated among them the æra of the new acquisition, at a time when the art of writing was very little known; and therefore the evidence of property was reposed in the memory of the neighborhood; who, in case of a disputed title, were afterwards called upon to decide the difference not only according to external proofs, adduced by the parties litigant, but also by the internal testimony of their own private knowledge.

Besides an oath of *fealty*, or profession of faith to the lord, which was the parent of our oath of allegiance, the vassal or tenant upon investiture did usually *homage* to his lord; openly and humbly kneeling, being ungirt, uncovered, *and holding up his hands both together between those of the lord, [*54] who sate before him; and there professing, that "he did become his *man*, from that day forth, of life and limb and earthly honour:" and then he received a kiss from his lord. (e) Which ceremony was denominated *homagium*, or *manhood*, by the feudists, from the stated form of words, *devenio vester homo*. (f)

When the tenant had thus professed himself to be the man of his superior or lord, the next consideration was concerning the *service*, which, as such, he was bound to render, in recompense for the land that he held. This, in pure, proper, and original feuds, was only two-fold; to follow, or do *suit* to, the lord in his courts in time of peace; and in his armies or war-like retinue, when necessity called him to the field. The lord was, in early times, the legislator and judge over all his feudatories: and therefore the vassals of the inferior lords were bound by their fealty to attend their domestic courts baron (g) (which were instituted in every manor or barony for doing speedy and effectual justice to all the tenants,) in order as well to answer such complaints as might be alleged against themselves, as to form a jury or homage for the trial of their fellow-tenants: and upon this account, in all the feudal institutions both here and on the continent, they are distinguished, by the appellation of the peers of the court; *pares curtis*, or *pares curiæ*. In like manner the barons themselves, or lords of inferior districts, were denominated peers of the king's court, and were bound to attend him upon summons, to hear causes of greater consequence in the king's presence, and under the direction of his grand justiciary; till in many countries the power of that officer was broken and distributed into other courts of judicature, the peers of the king's court still reserving to themselves (in [*55] *almost every feudal government) the right of appeal from those subordinate courts in the last resort. The military branch of service consisted in attending the lord to the wars, if called upon, with such a retinue, and for such a number of days, as were stipulated at the first donation, in proportion to the quantity of the land.

At the first introduction of feuds, as they were gratuitous, so also they were precarious, and held at the *will* of the lord, (h) who was then the sole judge whether his vassals performed his services faithfully. Then they became certain

(e) Litt. § 85.

(f) It was an observation of Dr. Arbuthnot, that tradition was nowhere preserved so pure and incorrupt as among children, whose games and plays are delivered down invariably from one generation to another. (Warburton's notes on Pope. vl. 134, 88.) It will not, I hope, be thought puerile to remark, in confirmation of this observation, that in one of our ancient juvenile pastimes (the *king I am* or *basilinda* of Julius Pollux, *Onomastic*. l. 9, c. 7,) the ceremonies and language of feudal homage are preserved with great exactness.

(g) Feud. l. 2, t. 55.

(h) Feud. l. 1, t. 1.

villain, which once meant only an innocent, inoffensive bondman, has kept its relative distance, and denotes a person destitute of every moral and honorable principle, and is become one of the most opprobrious terms in the English language." May it not be assumed that the system produced a moral debasement equivalent to the political degradation which it inflicted; and that, although *villain* originally meant nothing more than bondman or laborer, it became afterward, as we have seen, expressive of moral turpitude, from the vices which the system necessarily engendered in its victims.]

for one or more *years*. Among the ancient Germans they continued only from year to year; an annual distribution of lands being made by their leaders in their general councils or assemblies. (i) This was professedly done lest their thoughts should be diverted from war to agriculture, lest the strong should encroach upon the possessions of the weak, and lest luxury and avarice should be encouraged by the erection of permanent houses, and too curious an attention to convenience and the elegant superfluities of life. But, when the general migration was pretty well over, and a peaceable possession of the new-acquired settlements had introduced new customs and manners; when the fertility of the soil had encouraged the study of husbandry, and an affection for the spots they had cultivated began naturally to arise in the tillers; a more determined degree of property was introduced, and feuds began now to be granted for the *life* of the feudatory. (k) But still feuds were not yet *hereditary*; though frequently granted by the favour of the lord, to the children of the former possessor; till in process of time it became unusual, and was therefore thought hard, to reject the heir, if he were capable to perform the services: (l) and therefore infants, women, and professed monks, who were incapable of *bearing arms, were [*56] also incapable of succeeding to a genuine feud. But the heir, when admitted to the feud which his ancestor possessed, used generally to pay a fine or acknowledgment to the lord, in horses, arms, money, and the like, for such renewal of the feud: which was called a relief, because it raised up and re-established the inheritance, or in the words of the feudal writers, "*incertam et caducam hereditatem relevabat.*" This relief was afterwards, when feuds became absolutely hereditary, continued on the death of the tenant, though the original foundation of it had ceased.

For in process of time feuds came by degrees to be universally extended beyond the life of the first vassal, to his *sons*, or perhaps to such one of them as the lord should name; and in this case the form of the donation was strictly observed; for if a feud was given to a man and his *sons*, all his sons succeeded him in equal portions: and, as they died off, their shares reverted to the lord, and did not descend to their children, or even to their surviving brothers, as not being specified in the donation. (m) But when such a feud was given to a man and his *heirs*, in general terms, then a more extended rule of succession took place; and when the feudatory died, his male descendants *in infinitum* were admitted to the succession. When any such descendant, who had thus succeeded, died, his male descendants were also admitted in the first place; and, in defect of them, such of his male collateral kindred as were of the blood or lineage of the first feudatory, but no others. For this was an unalterable maxim in feudal succession, that "none was capable of inheriting a feud, but such as was of the blood of, that is, lineally descended from, the first feudatory." (n) And the descent being thus confined to males, originally extended to all the males alike; all the sons, without any distinction of primogeniture, succeeding to equal portions of the father's feud. But this being found upon many accounts inconvenient (particularly, by dividing the services, and thereby weakening the strength of the feudal union), and *honorary* feuds (or titles of nobility) being now introduced, which were not of *a divisible nature, but could only be [*57] inherited by the eldest son; (o) in imitation of these, *military* feuds (or those we are now describing) began also in most countries to descend, according to the same rule of primogeniture, to the eldest son, in exclusion of all the rest. (p)

Other qualities of feuds were, that the feudatory could not aliene or dispose of his feud; neither could he exchange, nor yet mortgage, nor even devise it by will without the consent of the lord. (q) For the reason of conferring the feud being the personal abilities of the feudatory to serve in war, it was not fit he

(i) Thus Tacitus: (*de mor. Germ. c. 26.*) "*agri ab universis per vices occupantur; arva per annos mutant.*" And Cæsar yet more fully: (*de bell. Gall. l. 6, c. 21.*) "*Neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines proprios habet; sed magistratus et principes, in annos singulos, gentibus et cognationibus hominum qui una coierunt, quantum eis et quo loco vi sum est, attribuunt agri, atque anno post alio transire cogunt.*"

(k) Feud. l. 1, t. 1.

(l) Wright, 14.

(m) Ibid. 17.

(n) Ibid. 183.

(o) Feud. 2, t. 55.

(p) Wright, 32.

(q) Ibid. 29.

should be at liberty to transfer this gift either from himself, or from his posterity who were presumed to inherit his valour, to others who might prove less able. (8) And, as the feudal obligation was looked upon as reciprocal, the feudatory being entitled to the lord's protection, in return for his own fealty and service; therefore the lord could no more transfer his seignory or protection without consent of his vassal, than the vassal could his feud without consent of his lord: (r) it being equally unreasonable that the lord should extend his protection to a person to whom he had exceptions, and that the vassal should owe subjection to a superior not of his own choosing.

These were the principal, and very simple, qualities of the genuine or original feuds; which were all of a military nature, and in the hands of military persons, though the feudatories, being under frequent incapacities of cultivating and manuring their own lands, soon found it necessary to commit part of them to inferior tenants: obliging them to such returns in service, corn, cattle, or money, as might enable the chief feudatories to attend their military duties without distraction: which returns, or *reditus*, were the original of rents, and by these means the feudal polity was greatly extended; these inferior feudatories (who held what are called in the Scots law "re-re-fiefs") being under similar obligations of fealty, to do suit of court, to answer the stipulated renders or rent-service, and to promote the welfare of their immediate superiors or lords. (s)

[*58] *But this at the same time demolished the ancient simplicity of feuds; and an inroad being once made upon their constitution, it subjected them, in a course of time, to great varieties and innovations. Feuds began to be bought and sold, and deviations were made from the old fundamental rules of tenure and succession; which were held no longer sacred, when the feuds themselves no longer continued to be purely military. Hence these tenures began now to be divided into *feoda propria et impropria*, proper and improper feuds; under the former of which divisions were comprehended such, and such only, of which we have before spoken; and under that of improper or derivative feuds were comprised all such as do not fall within the other descriptions; such, for instance, as were originally bartered and sold to the feudatory for a price; such as were held upon base or less honourable services, or upon a rent, in lieu of military service; such as were in themselves alienable, without mutual license; and such as might descend indifferently either to males or females. But, where a difference was not expressed in the creation, such new created feuds did in all respects follow the nature of an original, genuine, and proper feud. (t)

But as soon as the feudal system came to be considered in the light of a civil establishment, rather than as a military plan, the ingenuity of the same ages, which perplexed all theology with the subtilty of scholastic disquisitions, and bewildered philosophy in the mazes of metaphysical jargon, began also to exert its influence on this copious and fruitful subject: in pursuance of which, the most refined and oppressive consequences were drawn from what originally was a plan of simplicity and liberty, equally beneficial to both lord and tenant, and prudently calculated for their mutual protection and defence. From this one foundation, in different countries of Europe, very different superstructures have been raised: what effect it has produced on the landed property of England will appear in the following chapters.

(r) Wright, 30.

(s) *Ibid.* 20.

(t) *Feud.* 2, t. 7.

(8) [When a feud had descended to any one, the restraint on alienation went a step farther, and he was not allowed to alien without the consent of the next collateral heir; for though the law trusted an ancestor with the interest of his own immediate descendants, yet it would not allow him to prejudice the distinct, though remote, interest in the donation which the next collateral heir had. Wright on Tenures, 167.]

CHAPTER V.

OF THE ANCIENT ENGLISH TENURES.

IN this chapter we shall take a short view of the ancient tenures of our English estates, or the manner in which lands, tenements, and hereditaments, might have been holden, as the same stood in force, till the middle of the last century. In which we shall easily perceive, that all the particularities, all the seeming and real hardships, that attended those tenures, were to be accounted for upon feudal principles and no other; being fruits of, and deduced from, the feudal policy.

Almost all the real property of this kingdom is, by the policy of our laws, supposed to be granted by, dependent upon, and *holden* of, some superior lord, by and in consideration of certain services to be rendered to the lord by the tenant or possessor of this property. The thing holden is therefore styled a *tenement*, the possessors thereof, *tenants*, and the manner of their possession a *tenure*. Thus all the land in the kingdom is supposed to be holden, mediately or immediately, of the king, who is styled the lord *paramount*, or above all. Such tenants as held under the king immediately, when they granted out portions of their lands to inferior persons, became also lords with respect to those inferior persons, as they were still tenants with respect to the king: (1) and, thus partaking of a middle nature, were called *mesne*, or middle, lords. So that if the king granted a manor to A, and he granted a portion of the land to B, now B was said to hold *of A, and A of the king; or, in other words, B held [*60] his lands immediately of A, but mediately of the king. The king therefore was styled lord paramount; A was both tenant and lord, or was a *mesne* lord: and B was called tenant *paravail*, or the lowest tenant; being he who was supposed to make avail, or profit of the land. (a) In this manner are all the lands of the kingdom holden, which are in the hands of subjects: for, according to Sir Edward Coke, (b) in the law of England we have not properly *allodium*; which, we have seen, (c) is the name by which the feudists abroad distinguish such estates of the subject, as are not holden of any superior. So that at the first glance we may observe, that our lands are either plainly feuds, or partake very strongly of the feudal nature.

All tenures being thus derived, or supposed to be derived, from the king, those that held immediately under him, in right of his crown and dignity, were called his tenants *in capite*, or in chief; which was the most honourable species of tenure, but at the same time subjected the tenants to greater and more burdensome services, than inferior tenures did. (d) This distinction ran through all the different sorts of tenure, of which I now proceed to give an account.

I. There seems to have subsisted among our ancestors four principal species of lay tenures, to which all others may be reduced: the grand criteria of which were the natures of the several services or renders, that were due to the lords from their tenants. The services, in respect of their quality, were either *free* or *base* services; in respect of their quantity and the time of exacting them, were either *certain* or *uncertain*. *Free* services were such as were not unbecoming the character of a soldier or a freeman to perform; *as to serve under his [*61] lord in the wars, to pay a sum of money, and the like. *Base* services were

(a) 2 Inst. 296.

(b) 1 Inst. 1.

(c) Page 47.

(d) In the Germanic constitution, the electors, the bishops, the secular princes, the imperial cities, &c., which hold directly from the emperor, are called the *immediate* states of the empire; all other landholders being denominated *mediate* ones. Mod. Un. Hist. xliii, 61.

(1) [William the First, and other feudal sovereigns, though they made large and numerous grants of lands, always reserved a rent, or certain annual payments (commonly very trifling), which were collected by the sheriffs of the counties in which the lands lay, to show that they still retained the *dominium directum* in themselves. Madox Hist. Exch. c. 10; Craig. de Feud, l. 1, c. 9.]

such as were fit only for peasants or persons of a servile rank; as to plough the lord's land, to make his hedges, to carry out his dung, or other mean employments. The *certain* services, whether free or base, were such as were stinted in quantity, and could not be exceeded on any pretence; as, to pay a stated annual rent, or to plough such a field for three days. The *uncertain* depended upon unknown contingencies; as, to do military service in person, or pay an assessment in lieu of it, when called upon; or to wind a horn whenever the Scots invaded the realm; which are free services: or to do whatever the lord should command; which is a base or villein service.

From the various combinations of these services have arisen the four kinds of lay tenure which subsisted in England till the middle of the last century; and three of which subsist to this day. Of these Bracton (who wrote under Henry the Third) seems to give the clearest and most compendious account, of any author ancient or modern (e) of which the following is the outline or abstract. (f) "Tenements are of two kinds, *frank-tenement* and *villanage*. And, of frank-tenements, some are held freely in consideration of homage and *knight-service*; others in *free-socage* with the service of fealty only." And again, (g) "of villenages some are pure, and others privileged. He that holds in *pure villanage* shall do whatever is commanded him, and always be bound to an uncertain service. The other kind of villanage is called *villein-socage*; and these villein-socmen do villein services, but such as are certain and determined." Of which the sense seems to be as follows: first, where the service was *free* but *uncertain*, as military service with homage, that tenure was called the tenure [*62] in **chivalry*, *per servitium militare*, or by knight-service. Secondly, where the service was not only *free*, but also *certain*, as by fealty only, by rent and fealty, &c., that tenure was called *liberum socagium*, or free socage. These were the only *free* holdings or tenements; the others were *villanous* or servile, as thirdly, where the service was *base* in its nature, and *uncertain* as to time and quantity, the tenure was *purum villanagium*, absolute or pure villanage. Lastly, where the service was *base* in its nature, but reduced to a *certain*ty, this was still villanage, but distinguished from the other by the name of privileged villanage, *villanagium privilegiatum*; or it might still be called socage (from the certainty of its services), but degraded by their *baseness* into the inferior title of *villanum socagium*, villein-socage.

I. The first, most universal, and esteemed the most honourable species of tenure, was that by knight-service, called in Latin *servitium militare*; and in law French, *chivalry*, or *service de chevalier*, answering to the *fief d'haubert* of the Normans, (h) which name is expressly given it by the *Mirrou*. (i) This differed in very few points, as we shall presently see, from a pure and proper feud, being entirely military, and the general effect of the feudal establishment in England. To make a tenure by knight-service, a determinate quantity of land was necessary, which was called a knight's fee, *feodum militare*; the measure of which in 3 Edw. I. was estimated at twelve ploughlands, (k) and its value (though it varied with the times) (l) in the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, (m) was stated at 20*l.* *per annum*. (2) And he who held this proportion of land

(e) L. 4. tr. 1. c. 28.

(f) *Tenementorum aliud liberum, aliud villanagium. Item, liberorum aliud tenetur libere pro homagio et servitio militari; aliud in libero socagio cum fidelitate tantum.* § 1.

(g) *Villanagiorum aliud parum, aliud privilegiatum. Qui tenet in puro villanagio faciet quicquid ei preceptum fuerit, et semper tenebitur ad incertum. Aliud genus villanagii dicitur villanum socagium; et hujusmodi villani socmanni—villana faciunt servitia, sed certa, et determinata.* § 5.

(h) Spelm. Gloss. 219.

(i) C. 2. § 27.

(k) Pasch. 3 Edw. I. Co. Litt. 69.

(l) 2 Inst. 596.

(m) Stat. Westm. 1. c. 36. Stat. de milit. 1 Edw. II. Co. Litt. 69.

(2) Mr. Justice Coleridge is of the opinion that the fluctuation in the value of knight's fees was so uncertain and extraordinary that it could not be accounted for by any change in the times. With regard to the extent, he has no hesitation in assenting to the doctrine that it varied with the goodness of the land; at the same time the measure might be the same, as twelve plough lands of rich soil would contain a less space than the same number in a lighter and less productive soil. There might therefore be always the same number of plough lands though the number of acres might vary; nor is it at all inconsistent with this that there might be appended to the plough lands wood, meadow and pasture, for the arable land was the

(or a whole fee) by knight-service, was bound to attend his lord to the wars for forty days in every year, if called upon; (*n*) which attendance was his *reditus* or return, his rent or service for the land he claimed to hold. If he held only half a knight's fee, he was only bound to attend twenty days, and so in proportion. (*o*) And there is reason to *apprehend that this service was the whole that our ancestors meant to subject themselves to; the other fruits [*63] and consequences of this tenure being fraudulently superinduced, as the regular (though unforseen) appendages of the feudal system.

This tenure of knight-service had all the marks of a strict and regular feud; it was granted by words of pure donation, *dedi et concessi*; (*p*) was transferred by investiture or delivering corporal possession of the land, usually called livery of seisin; and was perfected by homage and fealty. It also drew after it these seven fruits and consequences, as inseparably incident to the tenure in chivalry; viz: aid, relief, primer seisin, wardship, marriage, fines for alienation, and escheat: all which I shall endeavour to explain, and to show to be of feudal original. (3)

1. Aids were originally mere benevolences granted by the tenant to his lord, in times of difficulty and distress; (*q*) but in process of time they grew to be considered as a matter of right, and not of discretion. These aids were principally three; first, to ransom the lord's person, if taken prisoner; a necessary consequence of the feudal attachment and fidelity: insomuch that the neglect of doing it, whenever it was in the vassal's power, was by the strict rigour of the feudal law an absolute forfeiture of his estate. (*r*) Secondly, to make the lord's eldest son a knight; a matter that was formerly attended with great ceremony, pomp, and expense. This aid could not be demanded till the heir was fifteen years old, or capable of bearing arms: (*s*) the intention of it being to breed up the eldest son and heir apparent of the seignory, to deeds of arms and chivalry, for the better defence of the nation. Thirdly, to marry the lord's eldest daughter, by giving her a suitable portion: for daughters' portions were in those days extremely slender, few lords being able to save much out of *their [*64] income for this purpose; nor could they acquire money by other means, being wholly conversant in matters of arms; nor, by the nature of their tenure, could they charge their lands with this or any other incumbrances. (4) From bearing their proportion to these aids, no rank or profession was exempted: and therefore even the monasteries, till the time of their dissolution, contributed to the knighting of their founder's male heir (of whom their lands were holden), and the marriage of his female descendants. (*t*) And one cannot but observe in this particular the great resemblance which the lord and vassal of the feudal law bore to the patron and client of the Roman republic; between whom also there subsisted a mutual fealty, or engagement of defence and protection. For, with regard to the matter of aids, there were three which were usually raised by

(*n*) See writs for this purpose in *Memorand. Scacch.* 36, prefixed to Maynard's yearbook, Edw. II.

(*o*) Litt. § 96. (*p*) Co. Litt. 9.

(*q*) *Auxilia, sunt de gratia et non de jure, — cum dependant ex gratia tenentium, et non ad voluntatem domino- rum.* Bracton, l. 2. tr. 1, c. 16. § 8.

(*r*) *Feud. l. 2, § 24.*

(*s*) 2 Inst. 223.

(*t*) Phillip's Life of Pole, I, 223.

principal thing considered in all ancient agriculture; wood, meadow and pasture were appendages, furnishing the estovers and botes of the tenant of the arable land. Mr. Seldon contends that a knight's fee did not consist of land of a fixed extent or value, but was as much as the king was pleased to grant upon condition of having the service of one knight. Tit. of Hon. b. 2, c. 5, ss. 17 and 26.

(3) [Sir John Dalrymple, in an Essay on Feudal Property, p. 24, says, that "in England, before the 12 of Car. II, if the king had granted lands without reserving any particular services or tenure, the law creating a tenure for him would have made the grantee hold by knight's service."

Wright also says, that "military tenure was created by pure words of donation." Wright's Ten. 141.]

(4) [By the statute West. 1, c. 36, the aid for the marriage portion of the lord's eldest daughter could not be demanded till she was seven years of age, and if he died, leaving her unmarried, she might by the same statute recover the amount so received by him from his executors.]

the client; viz.: to marry the patron's daughter; to pay his debts and to redeem his person from captivity. (*u*)

But besides these ancient feudal aids, the tyranny of lords by degrees exacted more and more: as, aids to pay the lord's debts (probably in imitation of the Romans), and aids to enable him to pay aids or reliefs to his superior lord; from which last indeed the king's tenants *in capite* were, from the nature of their tenure, excused, as they held immediately of the king, who had no superior. To prevent this abuse, King John's *magna charta* (*v*) ordained that no aids be taken by the king without consent of parliament, nor in anywise by inferior lords, save only the three ancient ones above mentioned. But this provision was omitted in Henry III's charter, and the same oppressions were continued till the 25 Edward I, when the statute called *confirmatio chartarum* was enacted; which in this respect revived King John's charter, by ordaining that none but the ancient aids should be taken. But though the species of aids was [*65] thus *restrained, yet the quantity of each aid remained arbitrary and uncertain. King John's charter indeed ordered, that all aids taken by inferior lords should be reasonable; (*w*) and that the aids taken by the king of his tenants *in capite* should be settled by parliament. (*x*) But they were never completely ascertained and adjusted till the statute Westm. 1, 3 Edw. I, c. 36, which fixed the aids of inferior lords at twenty shillings, or the supposed twentieth part of the annual value of every knight's fee, for making the eldest son a knight, or marrying the eldest daughter: and the same was done with regard to the king's tenants *in capite* by statute 25 Edw. III, c. 11. The other aid, for ransom of the lord's person, being not in its nature capable of any certainty, was therefore never ascertained.

2. Relief, *relevium*, was before mentioned as incident to every feudal tenure, by way of fine or composition with the lord for taking up the estate, which was lapsed or fallen in by the death of the last tenant. But though reliefs had their original while feuds were only life-estates, yet they continued after feuds became hereditary; and were therefore looked upon, very justly, as one of the greatest grievances of tenure: especially when, at the first, they were merely arbitrary and at the will of the lord; so that, if he pleased to demand an exorbitant relief it was in effect to disinherit the heir. (*y*) The English ill brooked this consequence of their new-adopted policy; and therefore William the Conqueror, by his law, (*z*) ascertained the relief, by directing (in imitation of the Danish heriots) that a certain quantity of arms, and habiliments of war, should be paid by the earls, barons, and vavasours respectively: and if the latter had no arms, they should pay 100s. William Rufus broke through this composition, and again demanded arbitrary uncertain reliefs, as due by the feudal laws; thereby in effect obliging every heir to new-purchase or *redeem* his land: (*a*) but his brother Henry I, by the charter before mentioned, restored his father's [*66] law; *and ordained, that the relief to be paid should be according to the law so established, and not an arbitrary redemption. (*b*) But afterwards, when, by an ordinance in 27 Hen. II, called the assize of arms, it was provided that every man's armour should descend to his heir, for defence of the realm; and it thereby became impracticable to pay these acknowledgments in arms according to the laws of the conqueror, the composition was universally accepted of 100s. for every knight's fee; as we find it ever after established. (*c*) But it must be remembered, that this relief was only then payable, if the heir at the death of his ancestor had attained his full age of one and twenty years.

3. *Primer seisin* was a feudal burthen, only incident to the king's tenants *in capite*, and not to those who held of inferior or mesne lords. It was a right which the king had, when any of his tenants *in capite* died seised of a knight's

(*u*) *Erat autem hæc inter utrosque officiorum vicissitudo—ut clientes ad collocandas senatorum filias de suo conferrent: in æris alieni dissolutionem gratuitam pecuniam erogarent; et ab hostibus in bello captos redimerent.* Paul Manutius de senatu Romano, c. 1.

(*w*) *Ibid.* 15.

(*x*) *Ibid.* 14.

(*y*) Wright, 99.

(*z*) C. 22, 23, 24.

(*v*) Cap. 12, 15,

(*a*) 2 Roll. Abr. 514.

(*b*) "*Hæres non redimet terram suam sicut faciebat tempore fratris mei, sed legitima et justa relefatione relebabit eam.*" (*Text. Roffens. Cap. 34.*)

(*c*) Glanv. l. 9, c. 4. Litt. § 112.

fee, to receive of the heir (provided he were of full age) one whole year's profits of the lands, if they were in immediate possession, and half a year's profits, if the lands were in reversion expectant on an estate for life. (*d*) This seems to be little more than an additional relief, but grounded upon this feudal reason; that by the ancient law of feuds, immediately upon the death of a vassal, the superior was entitled to enter and take seisin or possession of the land, by way of protection against intruders, till the heir appeared to claim it, and receive investiture: during which interval the lord was entitled to take the profits; and, unless the heir claimed within a year and a day, it was by the strict law a forfeiture. (*e*) This practice however seems not to have long obtained in England, if ever, with regard to tenure under inferior lords; but as to the king's tenures *in capite*, the *prima seisin* was expressly declared, under Henry III and Edward II, to belong to the king by prerogative, in contradistinction to other lords. (*f*) The king was entitled to enter and receive the *whole profits [**67*] of the land, till livery was sued; which suit being commonly made within a year and a day next after the death of the tenant, in, pursuance of the strict feudal rule, therefore the king used to take as an average the *first fruits*, that is to say, one year's profits of the land. (*g*) And this afterwards gave a handle to the popes, who claimed to be feudal lords of the church, to claim in like manner from every clergyman in England, the first year's profits of his benefice, by way of *primitiæ*, or first fruits.

4. These payments were only due if the heir was of full age; but if he was under the age of twenty-one, being a male, or fourteen, being a female, (*h*) the lord was entitled to the *wardship* of the heir, and was called the guardian in chivalry. This wardship consisted in having the custody of the body and lands of such heir, without any account of the profits, till the age of twenty-one in males, and sixteen in females. For the law supposed the heir-male unable to perform knight-service till twenty-one: but as for the female, she was supposed capable at fourteen to marry, and then her husband might perform the service. The lord therefore had no wardship, if at the death of the ancestor the heir-male was of the full age of twenty-one, or the heir-female of fourteen; yet, if she was then under fourteen, and the lord once had her in ward, he might keep her so till sixteen, by virtue of the statute of Westm. 1, 3 Edw. I, c. 22, the two additional years being given by the legislature for no other reason but merely to benefit the lord. (*i*) (5)

This wardship, so far as it related to land, though it was not nor could be part of the law of feuds, so long as they were arbitrary, temporary, or for life only; yet, when they became hereditary, and did consequently often descend upon infants, who by reason of their age could neither perform nor stipulate for the services of the feud, does not seem upon feudal principles to have been unreasonable. For the wardship of the land, or custody of the feud, was retained by the lord,

(*d*) Co. Litt. 77.(*e*) Feud. l. 2, §. 24.(*f*) Stat. Marl. c. 16. 17 Edw. II, c. 8.(*g*) Staundf. Prerog. 12.(*h*) Litt. § 103.(*i*) Litt. § 103.

(5) [According to Lord Coke, 2 Inst. 204, it is not quite correct to say that the lord might keep her *in ward* for the two additional years; he had the land by the statute, but the guardianship was at an end. The distinction was not merely a verbal one, for being no longer guardian, he was not liable to the actions in respect to the land which as guardian he must have answered; for example, the widow of the last tenant could not bring her writ of dower against him; on the other hand, he had not all the established rights of a guardian against the heir, and therefore, if he tendered her a marriage during the two years, and she contracted a marriage elsewhere, there lay no forfeiture of the value of the marriage against her.

It is necessary also to make another qualification of the text, for the statute did not apply if the female was married, though under fourteen, the two years being given to the lord ostensibly not so much for his benefit as that during that time he might find his ward a proper husband; and therefore if he married her within the two years, he immediately lost the land. 2 Inst. 203. On the other hand, the capability of marriage at fourteen, and the performance of the service by the husband, were not the sole reasons for limiting her wardship to that age; because by law she might marry at twelve; and if she had so done, and her husband were able to perform the service, still the lord would have the wardship of the land till her age of fourteen. Co. Litt. 79.]

[*68] that he might out of the profits thereof provide a fit person *to supply the infant's services, till he should be of age to perform them himself. (6) And if we consider the feud in its original import, as a stipend, fee, or reward for actual service, it could not be thought hard that the lord should withhold the stipend, so long as the service was suspended. Though undoubtedly to our English ancestors, where such a stipendiary donation was a mere supposition or figment, it carried abundance of hardship; and accordingly it was relieved by the charter of Henry I, before mentioned, which took this custody from the lord, and ordained that the custody, both of the land and the children, should belong to the widow or next of kin. But this noble immunity did not continue many years.

The wardship of the body was a consequence of the wardship of the land; for he who enjoyed the infant's estate was the properest person to educate and maintain him in his infancy: and also, in a political view, the lord was most concerned to give his tenant suitable education, in order to qualify him the better to perform those services which in his maturity he was bound to render.

When the male-heir arrived to the age of twenty-one, or the heir-female to that of sixteen, they might sue out their livery or *ousterlemain*; (*k*) that is, the delivery of their lands out of their guardian's hands. For this they were obliged to pay a fine, namely, half a year's profit of the land; though this seems expressly contrary to *magna carta*. (*l*) However, in consideration of their lands having been so long in ward, they were excused all reliefs, and the king's tenants also all primer seisins. (*m*) In order to ascertain the profits that arose to the crown by these first fruits of tenure, and to grant the heir his livery, the itinerant justices, or justices in eyre, had it formerly in charge to make inquiry concerning them by a jury of the county, (*n*) commonly called an *inquisitio post mortem*; which was instituted to inquire (at the death of any man of [*69] fortune) the value of his estate, the tenure by which it was *holden, and who, and of what age his heir was; thereby to ascertain the relief and value of the primer seisin, or the wardship and livery accruing to the king thereupon. A manner of proceeding that came in process of time to be greatly abused, and at length an intolerable grievance; it being one of the principal accusations against Empson and Dudley, the wicked engines of Henry VII, that by colour of false inquisitions they compelled many persons to sue out livery from the crown, who by no means were tenants thereunto. (*o*) And afterwards, a court of wards and liveries was erected, (*p*) for conducting the same inquiries in a more solemn and legal manner.

When the heir thus came of full age, provided he held a knight's fee *in capite* under the crown, he was to receive the order of knighthood, and was compellable to take it upon him, or else pay a fine to the king. For in those herolical times, no person was qualified for deeds of arms and chivalry, who had not received this order, which was conferred with much preparation and solemnity. We may plainly discover the footsteps of a similar custom in what Tacitus relates of the Germans, who, in order to qualify their young men to bear arms, presented them in a full assembly with a shield and lance; which ceremony, as was formerly hinted, (*q*) is supposed to have been the original of the feudal knighthood. (*r*) This prerogative, of compelling the king's vassals (7)

(*k*) Co. Litt. 77.

(*l*) 9 Hen. III, c. 3.

(*m*) Co. Litt. 77.

(*n*) Hoveden, *sub. Ric. I.*

(*o*) 4 Inst. 198.

(*p*) Stat. 32 Hen. VIII, c. 48.

(*q*) Book I, p. 404.

(*r*) "*In ipso concilio vel principum aliquis, vel pater, vel propinquus, scuto frumaeque juvenem ornant. Hac apud illos toga, hic primus juvenis honos: ante hoc domus pars videntur; mox republica.*" *De Mor. Germ. cap. 13.*

(6) [If an infant tenant by knight service was created a knight, the king was no longer entitled to the wardship of his person, nor to the value of his marriage. Sir John Radcliffe's Case, Plow. 267. And the reason there assigned is, that "when he is made a knight by the king, who is the chief captain of all chivalry, or by some other great captain assigned by the king for that purpose, he is thereby allowed and admitted to be able to perform knight's service; and then his body ought not to be in ward, because his imbecility ceases, and *cessant causa, cessabit effectus.*"]

(7) [I do not find that this prerogative was confined to the king's tenants: Lord Coke does not make that distinction in his commentary on the statute *de milit.* 2 Inst. 593. Nor is the

to be knighted, or to pay a fine, was expressly recognized in parliament by the statute *de militibus*, 1 Edw. II.; was exerted as an expedient for raising money by many of our best princes, particularly by Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth; but yet was the occasion of heavy murmurs when exerted by Charles I; among whose many misfortunes it was, that neither himself nor his people seemed able to distinguish between the arbitrary stretch, and the legal exertion of prerogative. However, among the other concessions made by *that [*70] unhappy prince, before the fatal recourse to arms, he agreed to divest himself of this undoubted flower of the crown, and it was accordingly abolished by statute 16 Car. I, c. 20.

5. But, before they came of age, there was still another piece of authority, which the guardian was at liberty to exercise over his infant wards; I mean the right of *marriage* (*maritagium*, as contradistinguished from *matrimonium*), which in its feudal sense signifies the power which the lord or guardian in chivalry had of disposing of his infant ward in matrimony. For, while the infant was in ward, the guardian had the power of tendering him or her a suitable match, without *disparagement* or inequality; which if the infants refused, they forfeited the value of the marriage, *valorem maritagii*; (s) that is, so much as a jury would assess, or any one would *bona fide* give to the guardian for such an alliance; (t) and, if the infants married themselves without the guardian's consent, they forfeited double the value, *duplicem valorem maritagii*. (u) (8) This seems to have been one of the greatest hardships of our ancient tenures. There were indeed substantial reasons why the lord should have the *restraint and control* of the ward's marriage, especially of his female ward; because of their tender years, and the danger of such female ward's intermarrying with the lord's enemy; (w) but no tolerable pretence could be assigned why the lord should have the *sale or value* of the marriage. Nor indeed is this claim of strictly feudal original; the most probable account of it seeming to be this: that by the custom of Normandy the lord's consent was necessary to the marriage of his *female* wards; (x) which was introduced into England, together with the rest of the Norman doctrine of feuds: and it is likely that the lords usually took money for such their consent, since, in the often-cited charter of Henry the First, he engages for the future to take nothing for *his* consent; which also he promises in general to give, provided such female ward were not *married to his enemy. But this, among other beneficial parts of that [*71] charter, being disregarded, and guardians still continuing to dispose of their wards in a very arbitrary, unequal manner, it was provided by King John's great charter that heirs should be married without disparagement, the next of kin having previous notice of the contract; (y) or, as it was expressed in the first draught of that charter, *ita maritentur ne disparagenter, et per consilium propinquorum de consanguinitate sua*. (z) But these provisions in behalf of the relations were omitted in the charter of Henry III; wherein (a) the clause stands merely thus, "*hæredes maritentur absque disparagatione*:" meaning certainly, by *hæredes*, heirs female, as there are no traces before this to be found of the lord's claiming the marriage (b) of heirs male; and as Glanvil (c) expressly confines it to heirs female. But the king and his great lords thenceforward took a handle (from the ambiguity of this expression) to claim them both *sive sit masculus sive fœmina*, as Bracton more than once expresses it: (d) and also as nothing but disparagement was restrained by *magna carta*, they thought

(s) Litt. § 110.

(t) Stat. Mert. c. 6. Co. Litt. 82.

(u) Litt. § 110.

(w) Bract. l. 2, c. 37, § 6.

(z) Gr. Const. 96.

(y) Cap. 6. edit. Oxon.

(z) Cap. 3. *ibid.*

(a) Cap. 6.

(b) The words *maritare* and *maritagium* seem *ex vi termini* to denote the providing of an husband.

(c) L. 9, c. 9 § 12, § l. 2, c. 4.

(d) L. 2, c. 38, § 1.

power of the commissioners limited to the king's tenants in the commissions issued by Edw. VI, and Queen Elizabeth, which see in 15 Rym. Fœd. 124 and 493; see 16 Car. I, c. 20; 2 Rushw. 70; and book 1, p. 404. CHRISTIAN.]

(8) [That is, after a suitable match had been tendered by the lord. In the case of a tender and refusal, and no marriage elsewhere, the lord had the single value. Female heirs were not subject to the *duplex valor maritagii*. Co. Litt. 82, b.]

themselves at liberty to make all other advantages that they could, (e) And afterwards this right, of selling the ward in marriage, or else receiving the price or value of it, was expressly declared by the statute of Merton; (f) which is the first direct mention of it that I have met with, in our own or any other law. (9)

6. Another attendant or consequence of tenure by knight-service was that of *finés* due to the lord for every *alienation*, whenever the tenant had occasion to make over his land to another. This depended on the nature of the feudal connexion; it not being reasonable or allowed, as we have before seen, that a feudatory should transfer his lord's gift to another, and substitute a new tenant to do the service in his own stead, without the consent of the lord: and, as the [*72] *feudal obligation was considered as reciprocal, the lord also could not alienate his seignory without the consent of his tenant, which consent of his was called an *attornment*. This restraint upon the lords soon wore away; that upon the tenants continued longer. For when every thing came in process of time to be bought and sold, the lords would not grant a license to their tenant to aliene, without a fine being paid; apprehending that, if it was reasonable for the heir to pay a fine or relief on the renovation of his paternal estate, it was much more reasonable that a stranger should make the same acknowledgment on his admission to a newly purchased feud. With us in England, these fines seem only to have been exacted from the king's tenants *in capite*, who were never able to aliene without a license: but as to common persons, they were at liberty by *magna carta*, (g) (10) and the statute of *quia emptores* (h) (if not earlier), to aliene the whole of their estate, to be holden of the same lord as they themselves held it of before. But the king's tenants *in capite* not being included under the general words of these statutes, could not aliene without a license; for if they did, it was in ancient strictness an absolute forfeiture of the land; (i) though some have imagined otherwise. But this severity was mitigated by the statute 1 Edw. III, c. 12, which ordained, that in such case the lands should not be forfeited, but a reasonable fine be paid to the king. Upon which statute it was settled, that one-third of the yearly value should be paid for a license of alienation; but if the tenant presumed to aliene without a license, a full year's value should be paid. (k) (11)

(e) Wright, 97.

(f) 20 Hen. III, c. 6.

(g) Cap. 32.

(h) 18 Edw. I, c. 1.

(i) 2 Inst. 66.

(k) *Ibid.* 67.

(9) [What fruitful sources of revenue these wardships and marriages of the tenants, who held lands by knight's service, were to the crown, will appear from the two following instances, collected among others by Lord Lyttleton, Hist. Hen. II, 2 vol. 296: "John, earl of Lincoln, gave Henry the Third 3000 marks to have the marriage of Richard de Clare, for the benefit of Matilda, his eldest daughter; and Simon de Montford gave the same king 10,000 marks to have the custody of the lands and heir of Gilbert de Unfraville, with the heir's marriage, a sum equivalent to a hundred thousand pounds at present." In this case the estate must have been large, the minor young, and the alliance honorable. For, as Mr. Hargrave informs us, who has well described this species of guardianship, "the guardian in chivalry was not accountable for the profits made of the infant's lands during the wardship, but received them for his own private emolument, subject only to the bare maintenance of the infant. And this guardianship, being deemed more an interest for the profit of the guardian than a trust for the benefit of the ward, was salable and transferable, like the ordinary subjects of property, to the best bidder; and if not disposed of, was transmissible to the lord's personal representatives. Thus, the custody of the infant's person, as well as the care of his estate, might devolve upon the most perfect stranger to the infant; one prompted by every pecuniary motive to abuse the delicate and important trust of education, without any ties of blood or regard to counteract the temptations of interest, or any sufficient authority to restrain him from yielding to their influence." Co. Litt. 88, n. 11. One cannot read this without astonishment that such should continue to be the condition of the country till the year 1660, which, from the extermination of these feudal oppressions, ought to be regarded as a memorable era in the history of our law and liberty.]

(10) [The construction of *magna charta*, from which this consequence is deduced, is not very obvious, and has not always been approved of. See Sulliv. Lect. p. 385.]

(11) Justice Coleridge very properly remarks that it is of the utmost importance, in discussing any point relating to the feudal system, to determine the *time* which is spoken of; thus, according to feudal principles, and while those principles were *strictly* maintained, alienation without license must have involved forfeiture; for the tenant of course could not have compelled the

7. The last consequence of tenure in chivalry was *escheat*; which is the determination of the tenure, or dissolution of the mutual bond between the lord and tenant from the extinction of the blood of the latter, by either natural or civil means: if he died without heirs of his blood, or if his blood was corrupted and stained by commission of treason or felony; (12) whereby every inheritable quality was entirely blotted out *and abolished. In such cases the lands [*73] escheated, or fell back to the lord of the fee; (1) that is, the tenure was determined by breach of the original condition expressed or implied in the feudal donation. In the one case, there were no heirs subsisting of the blood of the first feudatory or purchaser, to which heirs alone the grant of the feud extended; in the other, the tenant, by perpetrating an atrocious crime, shewed that he was no longer to be trusted as a vassal, having forgotten his duty as a subject; and therefore forfeited his feud, which he held under the implied condition that he should not be a traitor or a felon. The consequence of which in both cases was, that the gift, being determined, resulted back to the lord who gave it. (m)

These were the principal qualities, fruits, and consequences of tenure by knight-service: a tenure, by which the greatest part of the lands in this kingdom were holden, and that principally of the king *in capite*, till the middle of the last century; and which was created, as Sir Edward Coke expressly testifies, (n) for a military purpose, viz.: for defence of the realm by the king's own principal subjects, which was judged to be much better than to trust to hirelings or foreigners. The description here given is that of a knight-service proper; which was to attend the king in his wars. There were also some other species of knight-service; so called, though improperly, because the service or render was of a free and honourable nature, and equally uncertain as to the time of rendering as that of knight-service proper, and because they were attended with similar fruits and consequences. Such was the tenure by *grand serjeanty*, (13) *per magnum servitium*, whereby the tenant was bound, instead of serving the king *generally* in his wars, to do some special honorary service to the king in person; (14) as to carry his banner, his sword, or the like; or to be his butler, champion, or other officer, at his coronation. (o) It was in most other respects like knight-service; (p) only he was not bound to pay aid, (q) or escuage; (r) *and, when tenant by knight-service paid five pounds for a [*74] relief on every knight's fee, tenant by grand serjeanty paid one year's

(1) Co. Litt. 13.
(p) *Ibid.* § 158.

(m) *Feud. l. 2, t. 86.*
(q) 2 Inst. 233.

(n) 4 Inst. 192.
(r) Litt. § 158.

(o) Litt. § 153.

lord to receive the homage and fealty of a new tenant, and by his own act he had renounced his own holding. But it is obvious that there was always a struggle in the advancing spirit of the age to loosen the bonds of feudal tenure; and it may not be possible to fix the period at which the *practice* of alienation became too strong for the law, and, being first winked at, was finally legalized.

(12) The doctrine of corruption of blood was peculiar to England. In the United States attainder of treason can work corruption of blood or forfeiture only during the life of the person attainted. Const. art. 3, § 3. And since the statute 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 106, enlarging 54 Geo. III, c. 145, attainder in England for any crime cannot extend to the disinheriting of heirs except during the life of the offender.

(13) [Mr. Hargrave (note 1 to Co. Litt. 108 a) observes, that the tenure by grand serjeanty still continues, though it is so regulated by the 12th of Car. II, c. 24, as to be made in effect free and common socage, except so far as regards the merely honorary parts of grand serjeanty.]

(14) [Perhaps, more correctly, "to do some special honorary service in person to the king," the general rule being that it was to be done by the tenant in person, if able, though there are many instances in which it was not to be done to the king in person. This may explain why he who held in grand serjeanty paid no escuage. The devout attachment to the lord's person, which was so much fostered by the feudal system, is in none of its minor consequences more conspicuous than in the nature of the personal services which the haughtiest barons were proud to render to their lord paramount. To be the king's butler or carver are familiar instances. Mr. Madox mentions one more singular, of a tenure in grand serjeanty by the service of holding the king's head in the ship which carried him in his passage between Dover and Whitsand. Baronia, 3, c. 5.]

value of his land, were it much or little. (*s*) Tenure by *cornage*, (15) which was to wind a horn when the Scots or other enemies entered the land, in order to warn the king's subjects, was (like other services of the same nature) a species of grand serjeanty. (*t*)

These services, both of chivalry and grand serjeanty, were all personal, and uncertain as to their quantity or duration. But, the personal attendance in knight-service growing troublesome and inconvenient in many respects, the tenants found means of compounding for it; by first sending others in their stead, and in process of time making a pecuniary satisfaction to the lords in lieu of it. This pecuniary satisfaction at last came to be levied by assessments, at so much for every knight's fee; and therefore this kind of tenure was called *scutagium* in Latin, or *servitium scuti*; *scutum* being then a well-known denomination for money: and, in like manner, it was called, in our Norman French, *escuage*; being indeed a pecuniary, instead of a military, service. (16) The first time this appears to have been taken was in the 5 Hen. II, on account of his expedition to Toulouse; but it soon came to be so universal, that personal attendance fell quite into disuse. Hence we find in our ancient histories, that, from this period, when our kings went to war, they levied scutages on their tenants, that is, on all the landholders of the kingdom, to defray their expenses, and to hire troops; and these assessments in the time of Hen. II seem to have been made arbitrarily, and at the king's pleasure. Which prerogative being greatly abused by his successors, it became matter of national clamour; and King John was obliged to consent by his *magna carta*, that no scutage should be imposed without consent of parliament. (*u*) But this clause was omitted in [*75] his son Henry III's charter, where we only find (*w*) that scutages *or escuage should be taken as they were used to be taken in the time of Henry II: that is, in a reasonable and moderate manner. Yet afterwards, by statute 25 Edw. I, cc. 5, 6, and many subsequent statutes, (*x*) it was again provided, that the king should take no aids or tasks but by the common consent of the realm: hence it was held in our old books, that escuage or scutage could not be levied but by consent of parliament; (*y*) such scutages being indeed the groundwork of all succeeding subsidies, and the land-tax of later times.

Since therefore escuage differed from knight-service in nothing, but as a compensation differs from actual service, knight-service is frequently confounded with it. And thus Littleton (*z*) must be understood, when he tells us, that tenant by homage, fealty, and escuage, was tenant by knight-service: that is, that this tenure (being subservient to the military policy of the nation) was respected (*a*) as a tenure in chivalry. (*b*) But as the actual service was uncertain, and depended upon emergencies, so it was necessary that this pecuniary compensation should be equally uncertain, and depend on the assessments of the legislature suited to those emergencies. For had the escuage been a settled, invariable sum, payable at certain times, it had been neither more nor less than a mere pecuniary rent; and the tenure, instead of knight-service, would have then been of another kind, called socage, (*c*) of which we shall speak in the next chapter.

(*s*) *Ibid.* § 154.

(*t*) *Ibid.* § 156.

(*u*) *Nullum statutum ponatur in regno nostro, nisi per commune consilium regni nostri.* Cap. 12.

(*w*) Cap. 37.

(*x*) See book I, page 140.

(*y*) Old Ten. tit. *Escuage*.

(*z*) § 103.

(*a*) Wright, 122.

(*b*) *Pro feodo militari reputatur.* Flet. l. 2, c. 14, § 7.

(*c*) Litt. § 97, 120.

(15) [The well-known case of the Pusey horn, where a bill in chancery was brought for its recovery, *Pusey v. Pusey*, 1 Vern. 273, was an instance where land had been held by the Pusey family by "a horn anciently given to their ancestors by Canute, the Danish king." Camd. Brit. Berks. p. 203, ed. 1607. The inscription on the horn was as follows: "K yng Knowd gave Wylliam Powse, this horne to hold by thy londe."]

(16) [But Littleton, Coke and Bracton render it the service of the shield, i. e. of arms, being a compensation for actual service. Co. Litt. 68, b.]

Sir M. Wright considers that escuage, though in some instances the compensation made to the lord for the omission of actual service, was also in many others a pecuniary aid or tribute originally reserved by particular lords instead of personal service, varying in amount according to the expenditure which the lord had to incur in his personal attendance upon the king in his wars. This explanation tends to elucidate the distinction between knight-service and escuage in the old authors. See Wright, 121, 134; Litt. s. 98, 120.]

For the present I have only to observe, that by the degenerating of knight-service, or personal military duty, into escuage, or pecuniary assessments, all the advantages (either promised or real) of the feudal constitution were destroyed, and nothing but the hardships remained. Instead of forming a national militia composed of barons, knights, and gentlemen, bound by their interest, their honour, and their oaths, to defend their king and country, the whole of this system of *tenures now tended to nothing else but a wretched means of [*76] raising money to pay an army of occasional mercenaries. In the mean time the families of all our nobility and gentry groaned under the intolerable burthens, which (in consequence of the fiction adopted after the conquest) were introduced and laid upon them by the subtlety and finesse of the Norman lawyers. For, besides the scutages to which they were liable in defect of personal attendance, which however were assessed by themselves in parliament, they might be called upon by the king or lord paramount for *aids*, whenever his eldest son was to be knighted, or his eldest daughter married; not to forget the ransom of his own person. The heir on the death of his ancestor, if of full age, was plundered of the first emoluments arising from his inheritance, by way of *relief* and *primer seisin*; and if under age, of the whole of his estate during infancy. And then, as Sir Thomas Smith (*d*) very feelingly complains, "when he came to his own, after he was out of *wardship*, his woods decayed, houses fallen down, stock wasted and gone, lands let forth and ploughed to be barren," to reduce him still farther, he was yet to pay half a year's profits as a fine for suing out his *livery*; and also the price or value of his *marriage*, if he refused such wife as his lord and guardian had bartered for, and imposed upon him; or twice that value if he married another woman. Add to this, the untimely and expensive honour of *knighthood*, to make his poverty more completely splendid. And when by these deductions his fortune was so shattered and ruined, that perhaps he was obliged to sell his patrimony, he had not even that poor privilege allowed him without paying an exorbitant fine for a *license of alienation*. (17)

A slavery so complicated, and so extensive as this, called aloud for a remedy in a nation that boasted of its freedom. Palliatives were from time to time applied by successive acts of parliament, which assuaged some temporary grievances. Till at length the humanity of King James I consented, (*e*) in consideration of a proper equivalent, to abolish them all; though the plan *proceeded [*77] not to effect; in like manner as he had formed a scheme, and begun to put it into execution, for removing the feudal grievance of heritable jurisdiction in Scotland, (*f*) which has since been pursued and effected by the statute 20 Geo. II, c. 43. (*g*) King James's plan for exchanging our military tenures seems to have been nearly the same as that which has been since pursued; only with this difference, that, by way of compensation for the loss which the crown and other lords would sustain, an annual fee-farm rent was to have been settled and inseparably annexed to the crown and assured to the inferior lords, payable out of every knight's fee within their respective seignories. An expedient seemingly much better than the hereditary excise, which was afterwards made the principal equivalent for these concessions. For at length the military tenures, with all their heavy appendages (having during the usurpation been discontinued,) were destroyed at one blow by the statute 12 Car. II, c. 24, which enacts, "that the court of wards and liveries, and all wardships, liveries, primer seisins, and ousterlemains, values, and forfeitures of marriage, by reason of any tenure of the king or others, be totally taken away. And that all fines for alienations, tenures by homage, knight-service, and escuage, and also aids for marrying the daughter or knighting the son, and all tenures of the king *in capite*, be likewise taken

(*d*) Commonw. l. 3. c. 3.

(*e*) 4 Inst. 202.

(*f*) Dalrymp. of Feuds, 292.

(*g*) By another statute of the same year (20 Geo. II, c. 50,) the tenure of *wardholding* (equivalent to the knight-service of England) is forever abolished in Scotland.

(17) [The license was to be paid by the alienee; that is, he was liable for it; but of course it formed part of the purchase-money of the land.]

away. (18) And that all sorts of tenures, held of the king or others, be turned into free and common socage: save only tenures in frankalmoign, copyholds, and the honorary services (without the slavish part) of grant serjeanty." A statute, which was a greater acquisition to the civil property of this kingdom than even *magna carta* itself; since that only pruned the luxuriances that had grown out of the military tenures, and thereby preserved them in vigour; but the statute of King Charles extirpated the whole, and demolished both root and branches.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE MODERN ENGLISH TENURES.

ALTHOUGH, by the means that were mentioned in the preceding chapter, the oppressive or military part of the feudal constitution itself was happily done away, yet we are not to imagine that the constitution itself was utterly laid aside, and a new one introduced in its room: since by the statute 12 Car. II, the tenures of socage and frankalmoign, the honorary services of grand serjeanty, and the tenure by copy of court roll, were reserved; nay all tenures in general, except frankalmoign, grand serjeanty, and copyhold, were reduced to one general species of tenure, then well known, and subsisting, called *free and common socage*. And this being sprung from the same feudal original as the rest, demonstrates the necessity of fully contemplating that ancient system; since it is that alone to which we can recur, to explain any seeming or real difficulties that may arise in our present mode of tenure.

The military tenure, or that by knight-service, consisted of what were reputed the most free and honourable services, but which in their nature were unavoidably uncertain in respect to the time of their performance. The second species of tenure, or *free-socage*, consisted also of free and honourable services; but such as were liquidated and reduced to an absolute certainty. And this tenure [*79] not only subsists to *this day, but has in a manner absorbed and swallowed up (since the statute of Charles the Second) almost every other species of tenure. And to this we are next to proceed.

II. Socage, in its most general and extensive signification, seems to denote a tenure by any certain and determinate service. And in this sense it is by our ancient writers constantly put in opposition to chivalry, or knight-service, where the render was precarious and uncertain. Thus Bracton; (a) if a man holds by rent in money, without any escuage or serjeanty, "*id tenementum dici potest socagium*:" but if you add thereto any royal service, or escuage, to any, the smallest amount, "*illud dici poterit feodum militare*." So, too, the author of Fleta; (b) "*ex donationibus, servitiâ militaria vel magnæ serjantiæ non continentibus, oritur nobis quoddam nomen generale, quod est socagium*." Littleton also (c) defines it to be, where the tenant holds his tenement of the lord by any

(a) L. 2, c. 16, § 9.

(b) L. 3, c. 14, § 9.

(c) § 117.

(18) [Both Mr. Madox and Mr. Hargrave have taken notice of this inaccuracy in the title and body of the act, viz. of taking away tenures *in capite*: Mad. Bar. Ang. 238: Co. Litt. 108, n. 5; for tenure *in capite* signifies nothing more than that the king is the immediate lord of the land-owner; and the land might have been either of military or socage tenure. The same incorrect language was held by the speaker of the house of commons in his pedantic address to the throne upon presenting this bill: "Royal sir, your tenures *in capite* are not only turned into a tenure in socage (though that alone will forever give your majesty a just right and title to the labor of our plows, and the sweat of our brows), but they are likewise turned into a tenure *in corde*. What your majesty had before in your court of wards, you will be sure to find it hereafter in the exchequer of your people's hearts." Journ. Dom. Proc. 11 vol. 234.]

certain service in lieu of all other services; so that they be not services of chivalry, or knight-service. And therefore afterwards (*d*) he tells us, that whatsoever is not tenure in chivalry is tenure in socage: in like manner as it is defined by Finch, (*e*) a tenure to be done out of war. The service must therefore be certain, in order to denominate it socage: as to hold by fealty and 20s. rent; or, by homage, fealty and 20s. rent: or, by homage and fealty without rent or, by fealty and certain corporal service, as ploughing the lord's land for three days; or by fealty only without any other service: for all these are tenures in socage. (*f*)

But socage, as was hinted in the last chapter, is of two sorts: *free* socage, where the services, are not only certain, but honourable; and *villein*-socage, where the services, though certain, are of a baser nature. Such as hold by the former tenure are called in Glanvil, (*g*) and other subsequent authors, by the name of *liberi sokemanni*, or tenants in free-socage. Of this tenure we are first to speak; and this, both in the *nature of its service, and the fruits and [*80] consequences appertaining thereto, was always by much the most free and independent species of any. And therefore I cannot but assent to Mr. Somner's etymology of the word; (*h*) who derives it from the Saxon appellation *soc*, which signifies liberty or privilege, and being joined to a usual termination, is called *socage*, in Latin *socagium*; signifying thereby a free or privileged tenure. (*i*) This etymology seems to be much more just than that of our common lawyers in general, who derive it from *soca*, an old Latin word, denoting (as they tell us) a plough: for that in ancient time this socage tenure consisted in nothing else but services of husbandry, which the tenant was bound to do to his lord, as to plough, sow, or reap for him; but that in process of time, this service was changed into an annual rent by consent of all parties, and that, in memory of its original, it still retains the name of socage or plough service. (*k*) But this by no means agrees with what Littleton himself tells us, (*l*) that to hold by fealty only, without paying any rent, is tenure in socage; for here is plainly no commutation for plough-service. Besides, even services, confessedly of a military nature and original (as escuage, which, while it remained uncertain, was equivalent to knight-service), the instant they were reduced to a certainty changed both their name and nature, and were called socage. (*m*) It was the *certainly* therefore that denominated it a socage tenure; and nothing sure could be a greater liberty or privilege, than to have the service ascertained, and not left to the arbitrary calls of the lord, as the tenures of chivalry. Wherefore also Britton, who describes lands in socage tenure under the name of *fraunke ferme*, (*n*) tells us, that they are "lands and tenements whereof the nature of the fee is changed by feoffment *out of chivalry* for *certain* yearly services, and in respect whereof neither homage, ward, marriage, nor relief can be demanded." Which leads us also to another observation, that if socage tenures were of such base and servile *original, it is hard to account for the very great immunities [*81] which the tenants of them always enjoyed; so highly superior to those of the tenants by chivalry, that it was thought, in the reigns of both Edward I and Charles II, a point of the utmost importance and value to the tenants, to reduce the tenure by knight-service to *fraunke ferme* or tenure by socage. We may, therefore, I think, fairly conclude in favour of Somner's etymology, and the liberal extraction of the tenure in free socage, against the authority even of Littleton himself.

Taking this then to be the meaning of the word, it seems probable that the socage tenures were the relics of Saxon liberty: retained by such persons as had neither forfeited them to the king, nor been obliged to exchange their tenure, for the more honourable, as it was called, but, at the same time, more burthensome, tenure of knight-service. This is peculiarly remarkable in the tenure which prevails in Kent called gavelkind, which is generally acknowledged to be a species of socage tenure; (*o*) the preservation whereof inviolate from the

(*d*) § 118.(*e*) L. 147.(*f*) Litt. § 117, 118, 119.(*g*) L. 3, c. 7.(*h*) Gavelk. 183.

(*i*) In like manner Skene, in his exposition of the Scots' law, title *socage*, tell us, that it is "any kind of holding of lands quhen any man is infeft *freely*," &c.

(*k*) Litt. § 119.(*l*) § 118.(*m*) § 98, 120.(*n*) C. 66.(*o*) Wright, 211.

innovations of the Norman conqueror is a fact universally known. And those who thus preserved their liberties were said to hold in *free* and *common socage*.

As therefore the grand criterion and distinguishing mark of this species of tenure are the having its renders or services ascertained, it will include under it all other methods of holding free lands by certain and invariable rents and duties: and, in particular, *petit serjeanty*, tenure in *burgage*, and *gavelkind*.

We may remember that, by the statute 12 Car. II, grand serjeanty is not itself totally abolished, but only the slavish appendages belonging to it: for the honorary services (such as carrying the king's sword or banner, officiating as his butler, carver, &c., at the coronation) are still reserved. Now *petit serjeanty* bears a great resemblance to grand serjeanty; for as the one is a personal service, so the other is a rent or render, both tending to some purpose relative to the [*82] king's *person. Petit serjeanty, as defined by Littleton, (*p*) consists in holding lands of the king by the service of rendering to him annually some small implement of war, as a bow, a sword, a lance, an arrow, or the like. This, he says, (*q*) is but socage in effect: for it is no personal service, but a certain rent: and, we may add, it is clearly no predial service, or service of the plough, but in all respects *liberum et commune socagium*: only being held of the king, it is by way of eminence dignified with the title of *parvum servitium regis*, or petit serjeanty. And *magna carta* respected it in this light, when it enacted, (*r*) that no wardship of the lands or body should be claimed by the king in virtue of a tenure by petit serjeanty. (1)

Tenure in *burgage* is described by Glanvil, (*s*) and is expressly said by Littleton, (*t*) to be but tenure in socage: and it is where the king or other person is lord of an ancient borough, in which the tenements are held by a rent certain. (*u*) It is indeed only a kind of town socage; as common socage, by which other lands are holden, is usually of a rural nature. A borough, as we have formerly seen, is usually distinguished from other towns by the right of sending members to parliament, and, where the right of election is by burgage tenure, that alone is a proof of the antiquity of the borough. Tenure in burgage, therefore, or burgage tenure, is where houses, or lands which were formerly the site of houses, in an ancient borough, are held of some lord in common socage, by a certain established rent. And these seem to have withstood the shock of the Norman encroachments principally on account of their insignificance; which made it not worth while to compel them to an alteration of tenure; as an hundred of them put together would scarce have amounted to a knight's fee. Besides, the owners of them, being chiefly artificers and persons engaged in trade, could not with any tolerable propriety be put on such a military establishment, as the tenure in chivalry was. And here also we have again an instance, where a tenure is confessedly in socage, and yet could not possibly ever have been held by [*83] plough-service; since the *tenants must have been citizens or burghers, the situation frequently a walled town, the tenement a single house; so that none of the owners was probably master of a plough, or was able to use one, if he had it. The free socage therefore, in which these tenements are held, seems to be plainly a remnant of Saxon liberty; which may also account for the great variety of customs, affecting many of these tenements so held in ancient

(*p*) § 159.

(*q*) § 160.

(*r*) *Cap.* 27.

(*s*) *Lit.* 7, *cap.* 3.

(*t*) § 162.

(*u*) *Litt.* § 162, 163.

(1) [The tenure of petit serjeanty is not named in 12 Car. II, but the statute is not without its operation on this tenure. It being necessarily a tenure *in capite*, though in effect only so by socage, *livery* and *primer seisin* were of course incident to it on a descent, and these are expressly taken away by the statute from every species of tenure *in capite*, as well socage *in capite* as knight's service *in capite*. But we apprehend that in other respects petit serjeanty is the same as it was before, that it continues in denomination and still is a dignified branch of the tenure by socage, from which it only differs in name on account of its reference to war. Harg. and Butl. Co. Litt. 108, b. n. 1. The tenure by which the grants to the duke of Marlborough and the duke of Wellington, for their great military services, are held, are of this kind, each rendering a small flag, or ensign annually, which is deposited in Windsor castle.]

burgage: the principal and most remarkable of which is that called *Borough English*, (2) so named in contradistinction as it were to the Norman customs, and which is taken notice of by Glanvil, (*w*) and by Littleton; (*x*) viz.: that the youngest son, and not the eldest, succeeds to the burgage tenement on the death of his father. For which Littleton (*y*) gives this reason; because the younger son, by reason of his tender age, is not so capable as the rest of his brethren to help himself. Other authors (*z*) have indeed given a much stranger reason for this custom, as if the lord of the fee had anciently a right of concubinage with his tenant's wife on her wedding night; and that therefore the tenement descended not to the eldest, but the youngest son, who was more certainly the offspring of the tenant. But I cannot learn that ever this custom prevailed in England, though it certainly did in Scotland (under the name of *mercheta* or *marcheta*), till abolished by Malcolm III. (*a*) And perhaps a more rational account than either may be fetched (though at a sufficient distance) from the practice of the Tartars; among whom, according to father Duhalde, this custom of descent to the youngest son also prevails. That nation is composed totally of shepherds and herdsmen; and the elder sons, as soon as they are capable of leading a pastoral life, migrate from their father with a certain allotment of cattle; and go to seek a new habitation. The youngest son, therefore, who continues latest with his father, is naturally the heir of his house, the rest being already provided for. And thus we find that, among many other northern nations, it was the custom for all the sons but one to migrate from the father, which one *became his heir. (*b*) So that possibly this custom, wherever [*84] it prevails, may be the remnant of that pastoral state of our British and German ancestors, which Cæsar and Tacitus describe. Other special customs there are in different burgage tenures; as that, in some, the wife shall be endowed of *all* her husband's tenements, (*c*) and not of the third part, only, as at the common law: and that, in others, a man might dispose of his tenements by will, (*d*) which, in general, was not permitted after the conquest till the reign of Henry the Eighth; though in the Saxon times it was allowable. (*e*) A pregnant proof that these liberties of socage tenure were fragments of Saxon liberty. (3)

(*w*) *Ubi supra*.(*x*) § 165.(*y*) § 211.(*z*) 3 Mod. Pref.(*a*) Seld. tit. of hon. 2. 1, 47. *Reg. Mag. l. 4, c. 31.*(*b*) *Pater cunctos filios adultos a se pellebat, præter unum quem hæredem sui juris relinquebat.* (*Walsingh. Upodigm. Neustr. c. 1.*)(*c*) Litt. § 166.(*d*) § 167.(*e*) Wright, 172.

(2) [This custom prevailed in the manors of Ford, Cundover, Wem, and Loppington, in Staffordshire; Bishop Hampton, Herefordshire; Havenham, Sussex; Malden, Essex; Skidby, East Riding, Yorkshire; and some others.]

In some places the custom is confined to the children of the deceased proprietor; in others, in default of children, the youngest brother or other collateral male relation is preferred. But the former custom is the most usual. In some places the youngest *female* relations, lineal and collateral, inherit on failure of heirs male.]

(3) [Custom, if properly pleaded and proved, seems to be conclusive in all questions as to descent in borough English. In *Chapman v. Chapman*, March, 54, pl. 82, a custom respecting certain lands in borough English, that, if there were an estate in fee in those lands, they should descend to the younger son, according to the custom; but if the estate was in tail, they should descend to the heir at common law; was held to be good. The customary descent may, in particular places, be confined to estates in fee simple. *Reeve v. Malster*, W. Jones, 363; and see Append. to Robbins. on Gavelk. But it may extend to fee tail, or any other inheritance. Lord Coke says: 1 Inst. 110, b; "if lands of the nature of borough English be letten to a man and his heirs during the life of J.S. and the lessee dieth, the youngest son shall enjoy it." And, in the same place, he tells us, "the customary descent may in particular places, extend to collaterals;" but then it must be specially pleaded; for, the custom is in most places confined to cases of lineal descent: *Bayley v. Stevens*, Cro. Jac. 198; *Reve v. Barrow*, Cro. Car. 410; and where lands would at common law descend to the issue of the eldest son, *jure representationis*, they will, by the custom of borough English, descend upon the issue of the youngest. *Clements v. Scudamore*, 2 Lord Raym. 1024; S. C., 1 P. Wms. 63; and 1 Salk. 243. The course of descent of lands held in gavelkind, or in borough English, cannot be altered by any limitation of the parties; for customs which go with the land, and direct the course of inheritance, can be altered only by parliament. Co. Litt. 27, a; Jenkins Cent. page 220; S. P., Dyer, 179, b.; *Roe v. Aistrop*, 2 W. Blacks. 1229; 2 Hale's Hist. of Com. L. 103.]

The nature of the tenure in *gavelkind* affords us a still stronger argument. It is universally known what struggles the Kentish men made to preserve their ancient liberties, and with how much success those struggles were attended. (4) And as it is principally here that we meet with the custom of *gavelkind* (though it was and is to be found in some other parts of the kingdom, (f) we may fairly conclude that this was a part of those liberties; agreeably to Mr. Selden's opinion, that *gavelkind* before the Norman conquest was the general custom of the realm. (g) The distinguishing properties of this tenure are various; some of the principal are these: 1. The tenant is of age sufficient to aliene his estate by feoffment at the age of fifteen. (h) 2. The estate does not escheat in case of an attainder and execution for felony; their maxim being "the father to the bough, the son to the plough." (i) 3. In most places he had a power of devising lands by will, before the statute for that purpose was made. (k) 4. The lands descend, not to the eldest, youngest, or any one son only, but to all the sons together; (l) which [*85] was indeed anciently the most usual *course of descent all over Eng-land, (m) though in particular places particular customs prevailed. These, among other properties, distinguished this tenure in a most remarkable manner: and yet it is said to be only a species of a socage tenure, modified by the custom of the country; the lands being holden by suit of court and fealty, which is a service in its nature certain. (n) Wherefore by a charter of King John, (o) Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury was authorized to *exchange* the *gavelkind* tenures holden of the see of Canterbury, into tenures by knight's service; and by statute 31 Hen. VIII, c. 3, for disgaveling the lands of divers lords and gentlemen in the county of Kent, they are directed to be descendible for the future *like other lands which were never holden by service of socage*. Now the immunities which the tenants in *gavelkind* enjoyed were such, as we cannot conceive should be conferred upon mere ploughmen and peasants; from all which I think it sufficiently clear that tenures in free socage are in general of a nobler original than is assigned by Littleton, and after him by the bulk of our common lawyers.

Having thus distributed and distinguished the several species of tenure in free socage, I proceed next to shew that this also partakes very strongly of the feudal nature. Which may probably arise from its ancient Saxon original; since (as was before observed) (p) feuds were not unknown among the Saxons, though they did not form a part of their military policy, nor were drawn out into such arbitrary consequences as among the Normans. It seems therefore reasonable to imagine, that socage tenure existed in much the same state before the conquest

(f) Stat. 32 Hen. VIII, c. 29. Kitch. of courts, 200.

(g) *In toto regno, ante ducis adventum, frequens et usitata fuit: postea ceteris adempta, sed privatis quorundam locorum consuetudinibus alibi postea regerminans: Cantianis solum integra et inviolata remansit.* (Analect. l. 2. c. 7.)

(h) Lamb. Peramb. 614.

(i) Lamb. 614.

(k) F. N. B. 198. Cro. Car. 561.

(l) Litt. § 210.

(m) Glanvil, l. 7, c. 3.

(n) Wright, 211.

(o) Spelm. cod. vet. leg. 355.

(p) Page 48.

But there is a great difference between the descent of such land and the purchase thereof: for if upon such purchase a remainder be limited to the right heir of the purchaser, or of any other person, the heir at common law will take it, and not the customary heir. For, the remainder, being newly created, could not be considered within the old custom. *Counden v. Clerk*, Hob. 31. On the other hand, if a man seized in fee of lands in *gavelkind*, make a gift in tail, or a lease to a stranger for life, with remainder to his own right heirs, it seems all his sons will take; for the remainder limited to the right heirs of the donor is not a new purchase, but only a reversion, which will follow the customary course of descent. *Co. Litt. 10 a; Chester v. Chester*, 3 P. Wms. 63.

If the court of chancery is called upon to administer a will, creating an executory trust respecting lands held in borough English, or *gavelkind*, and the *cestuis que trust* are to take as purchasers, the lands will be directed to be conveyed not to heirs according to the custom, but to the heirs at common law. *Roberts v. Dixwell*, 1 Atk. 609; *Starkey v. Starkey*, 7 Bac. Ab. 179. And all *gavelkind* and borough English lands are now devisable; but, since the Statute of Frauds, 29 Car. II, c. 3, devise of these, as of other lands, must be in writing.]

(4) The modern historians, however, deny that the Kentish men made any such struggles for their liberties as are here supposed, and they quote ancient authorities in support of their position. See Hume, Lingard and Turner; also Taylor's History of *Gavelkind*. These authorities infer that it was the more ready submission of the Kentish people that secured them this favor, rather than their more determined resistance.

as after; that in Kent it was preserved with a high hand, as our histories inform us it was; and that the rest of the socage tenures dispersed through England escaped the general fate of other property, partly out of favour and affection to their particular owners, and partly from their own insignificance: since I do not apprehend the number of socage tenures soon after the conquest to have been very considerable, nor their value by any means large; till by successive *charters of enfranchisement granted to the tenants, which are particularly mentioned by Britton, (*q*) their number and value began to swell so far, [*86] as to make a distinct, and justly envied, part of our English system of tenures.

However this may be, the tokens of their feudal original will evidently appear from a short comparison of the incidents and consequences of socage tenure with those of tenure in chivalry; remarking their agreement or difference as we go along.

1. In the first place, then, both were held of superior lords; one of the king, either immediately, or as lord paramount, and (in the latter case) of a subject or mesne lord between the king and his tenant. (5)

2. Both were subject to the feudal return, render, rent, or service of some sort or other, which arose from a supposition of an original grant from the lord to the tenant. In the military tenure, or more proper feud, this was from its nature uncertain; in socage, which was a feud of the improper kind, it was certain, fixed, and determinate (though perhaps nothing more than bare fealty), and so continues to this day.

3. Both were, from their constitution, universally subject (over and above all other renders) to the oath of fealty, or mutual bond of obligation between the lord and tenant. (*r*) Which oath of fealty usually draws after it suit to the lord's court. And this oath every lord, of whom tenements are holden at this day, may and ought to call upon his tenants to take in his court baron; if it be only for the reason given by Littleton, (*s*) that if it be neglected, it will by long continuance of time grow out of memory (as doubtless it frequently hath done) whether the land be holden of the lord or not; and so he may lose his seignory, and the profit which may accrue to him by escheats and other contingencies. (*t*)

4. The tenure in socage was subject, of common right, to aids for knighting the son and marrying the eldest *daughter: (*u*) which were fixed by the statute of Westm. 1, c. 36, at 20*s.* for every 20*l.* *per annum* so held; as [*87] in knight-service. These aids, as in tenure by chivalry, were originally mere benevolences, though afterwards claimed as a matter of right; but were all abolished by the statute 12 Car. II.

5. Relief is due upon socage tenure, as well as upon tenure in chivalry: but the manner of taking it is very different. The relief on a knight's fee was 5*l.* or one-quarter of the supposed value of the land; but a socage relief is one year's rent or render, payable by the tenant to the lord, be the same either great or small: (*w*) and therefore Bracton (*x*) will not allow this to be properly a relief, but *quædam præstatio loco relevii in recognitionem domini*. So too the statute 28 Edw. I, c. 1, declares, that a free sokeman shall give *no relief*, but shall double his rent after the death of his ancestor, according to that which he hath used to pay his lord, and shall not be grieved about measure. Reliefs in knight-service were only payable, if the heir at the death of his ancestor was of full age: but in socage they were due even though the heir was under age, because the lord has no wardship over him. (*y*) The statute of Charles II reserves the reliefs incident to socage tenures: and, therefore, wherever lands in fee-simple are holden by a rent, relief is still due of common right upon the death of a tenant. (*z*) (6)

(*q*) C. 68.

(*r*) Litt. § 117, 181.

(*s*) § 130.

(*t*) *Et maxime præstandum est, ne dubium reddatur jus domini et vetustate temporis obscuretur*, (Corvin.

ius feud. l. 2, t. 1.)

(*u*) Co. Litt. 91.

(*m*) Litt. § 126.

(*x*) L. 2, c. 37, § 8.

(*y*) Litt. § 127.

(*z*) 3 Lev. 145.

(5) Justice Coleridge says, there is some mistake in introducing the word "one" into this sentence, because both might be held of the king in chief, and both of him as lord paramount.

(6) [Where the tenure is by fealty only, of course there can of *common right*, be no relief, being a year's rent, it cannot be calculated if no rent be payable. Co. Litt. 93, a. But by

6. Primer seisin was incident to the king's socage tenants *in capite*, as well as to those by knight-service. (a) But tenancy *in capite* as well as primer seisins are, among the other feudal burthens, entirely abolished by the statute.

7. Wardship is also incident to tenure in socage; but of a nature very different from that incident to knight-service. For if the inheritance descend to an infant under fourteen, the wardship of him does not, nor ever did, belong to the lord of the fee; because in this tenure, no military or *other personal [*88] service being required, there was no occasion for the lord to take the profits, in order to provide a proper substitute for his infant tenant; but his nearest relation (to whom the inheritance cannot descend) shall be his guardian in socage, and have the custody of his land and body till he arrives at the age of fourteen. The guardian must be such a one, to whom the inheritance by no possibility can descend; as was fully explained, together with the reasons for it, in the former book of these commentaries. (b) At fourteen this wardship in socage ceases; and the heir may oust the guardian and call him to account for the rents and profits: (c) for at this age the law supposes him capable of choosing a guardian for himself. It was in this particular, of wardship, as also in that of marriage, and in the certainty of the render or service, that the socage tenures had so much the advantage of the military ones. But as the wardship ceased at fourteen, there was this disadvantage attending it; that young heirs, being left at so tender an age to choose their own guardians till twenty-one, might make an improvident choice. Therefore, when almost all the lands in the kingdom were turned into socage tenures, the same statute, 12 Car. II, c 24, enacted, that it should be in the power of any father by will to appoint a guardian, till his child should attain the age of twenty-one. And, if no such appointment be made, the court of chancery will frequently interpose, and name a guardian, to prevent an infant heir from improvidently exposing himself to ruin.

8. Marriage, or the *valor maritagii*, was not in socage tenure any perquisite or advantage to the guardian, but rather the reverse. For, if the guardian married his ward under the age of fourteen, he was bound to account to the ward for the value of the marriage, even though he took nothing for it, unless he married him to advantage. (d) For, the law in favor of infants is always jealous of guardians, and therefore, in this case it made them account, not only for what they *did*, but also for what they *might*, receive on the infant's behalf; [*89] *lest by some collusion the guardian should have received the value, and not brought it to account; but the statute having destroyed all values of marriages, this doctrine of course hath ceased with them. At fourteen years of age the ward might have disposed of himself in marriage, without any consent of his guardian, till the late act for preventing clandestine marriages. These doctrines of wardship and marriage in socage tenure were so diametrically opposite to those in knight-service, and so entirely agree with those parts of King Edward's laws, that were restored by Henry the First's charter, as might alone convince us that socage was of a higher original than the Norman conquest.

9. Fines for alienation were, I apprehend, due for lands holden of the king *in capite* by socage tenure as well as in case of tenure by knight-service: for the statutes that relate to this point, and Sir Edward Coke's comment on them, (e) speak generally of all tenants *in capite*, without making any distinction: but now all fines for alienation are demolished by the statute of Charles the Second.

10. Escheats are equally incident to tenure in socage, as they were to tenure by knight-service; except only in gavelkind lands, which are (as is before men-

(a) Co. Litt. 77.
(d) Litt. s. 123.

(b) Book I, page 461.
(e) 1 Inst. 43. 2 Inst. 65, 66, 67.

(c) Litt. s. 123. Co. Litt. 89.

custom or express reservation there may be a relief wholly unconnected with the yearly rent, and this, it is presumed, may be payable when there is no yearly rent. In Hargrave and Butler's Co. Litt. is a learned note by the former, p. 93, a. n. 2, pointing out several differences between socage relief proper and improper, or payable only by special custom or express reservation.]

tioned) subject to no escheats for felony, though they are to escheats for want of heirs. (f)

Thus much for the two grand species of tenure, under which almost all the free lands of the kingdom were holden till the restoration in 1660, when the former was abolished and sunk into the latter; so that lands of both sorts are now holden *by one universal tenure of free and common socage*.

The other grand division of tenure, mentioned by Bracton, as cited in the preceding chapter, is that of *villénage*, as contradistinguished from *liberum tenementum*, or frank tenure. And this (we may remember) he subdivided into two classes, *pure* and *privileged* villénage: from whence have arisen two other species of our modern tenures.

*III. From the tenure of pure villénage have sprung our present *copyhold* tenures, or tenure by copy of court roll at the will of the lord: in [*90] order to obtain a clear idea of which, it will be previously necessary to take a short view of the original and nature of manors.

Manors are in substance as ancient as the Saxon constitution, though perhaps differing a little, in some immaterial circumstances, from those that exist at this day; (g) just as we observed of feuds, that they were partly known to our ancestors, even before the Norman conquest. A manor, *manerium*, a *manendo*, (7) because the usual residence of the owner seems to have been a district of ground, held by lords or great personages; who kept in their own hands so much land as was necessary for the use of their families, which were called *terras dominicales* or *demesne* lands; being occupied by the lord, or *dominus manerii*, and his servants. The other, or *tenemental*, lands they distributed among their tenants; which from the different modes of tenure were distinguished by two different names. First, *book-land*, or charter-land, which was held by deed under certain rents and free services, and in effect differed nothing from the free-socage lands; (h) and from hence have arisen most of the freehold tenants who hold of particular manors, and owe suit and service to the same. The other species was called *folk-land*, which was held by no assurance in writing, but distributed among the common folk or people at the pleasure of the lord, and resumed at his discretion; being indeed land held in villénage, which we shall presently describe more at large. (8) The residue of the manor, being uncultivated, was termed the lord's waste, and served for public roads, and for common or pasture to the lord and his tenants. Manors were formerly called baronies, as they are still lordships: and each lord or baron was empowered to hold a domestic court, called the court-baron, for redressing misdemeanors and nuisances within the manor; and for settling disputes of property among the tenants. This court is an inseparable ingredient of every manor; and if the number *of suitors should so fail as not to leave sufficient [*91] to make a jury or homage, that is, two tenants at least, the manor itself [*91] is lost. (9)

(f) Wright, 210.

(g) Co. Cop. s. 2 & 10.

(h) Co. Cop. s. 3.

(7) [Although a mansion house is not now a necessary part of a manor, yet such an appendage appears formerly to have been always included in the notion of a manor, as the place at which the tenants were to render and perform their services and duties. See 5 Man. and R. 154, n.]

(8) [The lands here designated *folk* lands are no other than the modern copyholds, and seem rather to form part of the *demesne* lands of the lord of the manor.]

(9) [In the case of *Glover v. Lane*, 3 T. R. 447, Lord Kenyon said that to constitute a manor it was necessary, not only that there should be two freeholders within the manor, but two freeholders holding of the manor subject to escheats.

The reason assigned for this number is, that freemen could only be tried by their peers, and if there be one tenant only, he has no peer or judge. But this reason would evince the necessity of there being more than two, for if one were plaintiff and the other defendant, no court at all could be holden to try the cause. In Brooke's Abr. tit. *cause a remover plea* pl. 35, it is said that the parol was removed from the court baron because there were only four suitors, and he makes a quere of the smallest competent number. The reference is to the Register, f. 11, where such a precedent is given in a *mort d. ancestor*.]

In the early times of our legal constitution, the king's greater barons, who had a large extent of territory held under the crown, granted out frequently smaller manors to inferior persons to be holden of themselves: which do therefore now continue to be held under a superior lord, who is called in such cases the lord paramount over all these manors; and his seignory is frequently termed an honour, not a manor, especially if it hath belonged to an ancient feudal baron, or hath been at any time in the hands of the crown. In imitation whereof these inferior lords began to carve out and grant to others still more minute estates, to be held as of themselves, and were so proceeding downwards *in infinitum*: till the superior lords observed, that by this method of subinfeudation they lost all their feudal profits of wardships, marriages, and escheats, which fell into the hands of these mesne or middle lords, who were the immediate superiors of the *terre-tenant*, or him who occupied the land; and also that the mesne lords themselves were so impoverished thereby, that they were disabled from performing their services to their own superiors. This occasioned, first, that provision in the thirty-second chapter of *magna carta*, 9 Hen. III, (which is not to be found in the first charter granted by that prince, nor in the great charter of King John,) (i) that no man should either give or sell his land, without reserving sufficient to answer the demand of his lord; and afterwards the statute of Westm. 3, or *quia emptores*, 18 Edw. I, c. 1, which directs, that, upon all sales or feoffments of land, the feoffee shall hold the same, not of his immediate feoffor, but of the chief lord of the fee, of whom such feoffor himself held it. But these provisions, not extending to the king's own tenants *in capite*, the like law concerning them is declared by the statutes of *prerogativa regis*, 17 Edw. II, c. 6, and of 34 Edw. III, c. 15, by which last all subinfeudations, previous to the reign of King *Edward I, were confirmed: but all subsequent [*92] to that period were left open to the king's prerogative. And from hence it is clear, that all manors existing at this day must have existed as early as King Edward the First: for it is essential to a manor, that there be tenants who hold of the lord; and by the operation of these statutes, no tenant *in capite* since the accession of that prince, and no tenant of a common lord since the statute of *quia emptores*, could create any new tenants to hold of himself. (10)

Now with regard to the folk-land, or estates held in villenage, this was a species of tenure neither strictly feudal, Norman, or Saxon; but mixed and compounded of them all: (k) and which also, on account of the heriots that usually attend it, may seem to have somewhat Danish in its composition. Under the Saxon government there were, as Sir William Temple speaks, (l) a sort of people in a condition of downright servitude, used and employed in the most servile works, and belonging, both they, their children and effects, to the lord of the soil, like the rest of the cattle or stock upon it. These seem to have been those who held what was called the folk-land, from which they were removable at the lord's pleasure. On the arrival of the Normans here, it seems not improbable, that they who were strangers to any other than a feudal state might give some sparks of enfranchisement to such wretched persons as fell to their share, by admitting them, as well as others, to the oath of fealty; which conferred a right of protection, and raised the tenant to a kind of estate superior to downright slavery, but inferior to every other condition. (m) This they called villenage, and the tenants villeins, either from the word *vilis*, or else, as Sir Edward Coke tells us, (n) *a villa*; because they lived chiefly in villages, and were employed in rustic works of the most sordid kind: resembling the Spartan *helotes*, to whom alone the culture of the lands was consigned; their rugged masters, like our northern ancestors, esteeming war the only honourable employment of mankind.

(i) See the Oxford editions of the charters.

(k) Wright, 215.

(l) Introd. Hist. Engl. 59.

(m) Wright, 217.

(n) 1 Inst. 116.

(10) [See, however, 5 Man. and Ry. 156, n, and a case arising out of certain patents granted by Charles II, of lands in Ireland, giving rights to create manors notwithstanding *Quia Emptores*. *Delacherois v. Delacherois*, 11 H. L. 62.]

*These villeins, belonging principally to lords of manors, were either [*93] villeins *regardant*, that is, annexed to the manor or land: or else they were *in gross*, or at large, that is, annexed to the person of the lord and transferable by deed from one owner to another. (*o*) They could not leave their lord without his permission; but if they ran away, or were purloined from him, might be claimed and recovered by action, like beasts or other chattels. They held indeed small portions of land by way of sustaining themselves and families; but it was at the mere will of the lord, who might dispossess them whenever he pleased; and it was upon villein services, that is, to carry out dung, to hedge and ditch the lord's demesnes, and any other the meanest offices: (*p*) and their services were not only base, but uncertain both as to their time and quantity. (*q*) A villein, in short, was in much the same state with us, as Lord Molesworth (*r*) describes to be that of the boors in Denmark, and which Stiernhook (*s*) attributes also to the *traals* or slaves in Sweden; which confirms the probability of their being in some degree monuments of the Danish tyranny. A villein could acquire no property either in lands or goods: but, if he purchased either, the lord might enter upon them, oust the villein, and seize them to his own use, unless he contrived to dispose of them again before the lord had seized them; for the lord had then lost his opportunity. (*t*) (11)

In many places also a fine was payable to the lord, if the villein presumed to marry his daughter to any one without leave from the lord, (*u*) and, by the common law, the lord might also bring an action against the husband for damages in thus purloining his property. (*w*) For the children of villeins were also in the same state of bondage with their *parents; whence they were called in [*94] Latin, *nativi*, which gave rise to the female appellation of a villein, who was called a *neife*. (*x*) In case of a marriage between a freeman and a neife, or a villein and a freewoman, the issue followed the condition of the father, being free if he was free, and villein if he was villein; contrary to the maxim of the civil law, that *partus sequitur ventrem*. But no bastard could be born a villein, because of another maxim in our law, he is *nullius filius*: and as he can gain nothing by inheritance, it were hard that he should lose his natural freedom by it. (*y*) The law however protected the persons of villeins, as the king's subjects, against atrocious injuries of the lord: for he might not kill or maim his villein: (*z*) though he might beat him with impunity; since the villein had no action or remedy at law against his lord, but in case of the murder of his ancestor, or the maim of his own person. (12) Neifes indeed had also an appeal of rape in case the lord violated them by force. (*a*)

Villeins might be enfranchised by manumission, which is either express or implied: express, as where a man granted to the villein a deed of manumission: (*b*) implied, as where a man bound himself in a bond to his villein for a sum of money, granted him an annuity by deed, or gave him an estate in fee, for life or years; (*c*) for this was dealing with his villein on the footing of a freeman; it was in some of the instances giving him an action against his lord and in others vesting in him an ownership entirely inconsistent with his former state of bondage. So also if the lord brought an action against his villein, this enfranchised him; (*d*) for as the lord might have a short remedy against his

(*o*) Litt. s. 181.

(*p*) *Ibid.* s. 127.

(*q*) *Ille qui tenet in villenagio faciet quicquid et præceptum fuerit, nec scire debet sero quid facere debet in crastino, et semper tenebitur ad incerta.* (Bracton, l. 4, tr. 1, c. 28.)

(*r*) C. 8.

(*s*) *De jure Sueonum*, l. 2, c. 4.

(*t*) Litt. s. 177.

(*u*) Co. Litt. 140.

(*w*) Litt. s. 202.

(*x*) *Ibid.* s. 187.

(*y*) *Ibid.* s. 187, 188.

(*z*) *Ibid.* s. 189, 194.

(*a*) *Ibid.* s. 190.

(*b*) *Ibid.* s. 204.

(*c*) S. 204, 5, 6.

(*d*) Litt. s. 208.

(11) [Villeins were not protected by *magna charta*; *nullus liber homo capiatur vel imprisonatur, &c.*, was cautiously expressed to exclude the poor villein; for, as Lord Coke tells us, the lord might beat his villein, and if it be without cause, he cannot have any remedy.

What a degraded condition for a being endued with reason!]

(12) [In case of mayhem, he had no remedy by action or appeal, for the damages recovered in either case might immediately have been seized by the lord, and so the proceeding would have been illusory. But the lord was subject to an indictment at the king's suit. Litt. s. 194.

villein, by seizing his goods (which was more than equivalent to any damages he could recover,) the law, which is always ready to catch at any thing in favour of liberty, presumed that by bringing this action he meant to set his villein on [*95] the same footing with himself, and therefore held it an implied *manumission. But, in case the lord indicted him for felony, it was otherwise; for the lord could not inflict a capital punishment on his villein, without calling in the assistance of the law.

Villeins, by these and many other means, in process of time gained considerable grounds on their lord; and in particular strengthened the tenure of their estates to that degree, that they came to have in them an interest in many places full as good, in others better than their lords. (13) For the good-nature and benevolence of many lords of manors having, time out of mind, permitted their villeins and their children to enjoy their possessions without interruption, in a regular course of descent, the common law, of which custom is the life, now gave them title to prescribe against their lords; and, on performance of the same services, to hold their lands, in spite of any determination of the lord's will. For though in general they are still said to hold their estates at the will of the lord, yet it is such a will as is agreeable to the custom of the manor; which customs are preserved and evidenced by the rolls of the several courts baron in which they are entered, or kept on foot by the constant immemorial usage of the several manors in which the lands lie. And, as such tenants had nothing to shew for their estates but these customs, and admissions in pursuance of them, entered on those rolls, or the copies of such entries witnessed by the steward, they now began to be called *tenants by copy of court-roll*, and their tenure itself a *copyhold*. (e) (14)

Thus copyhold tenures, as Sir Edward Coke observes, (f) although very meanly descended, yet come of an ancient house; for, from what has been premised it appears, that copyholders are in truth no other but villeins, who by a long series of immemorial encroachments on the lord, have at last established a customary right to those estates, which before were held absolutely at the lord's [*96] will. Which *affords a very substantial reason for the great variety of customs that prevail in different manors with regard both to the descent of the estates, and the privileges belonging to the tenants. And these encroachments grew to be so universal, that when tenure in villenage was virtually abolished (though copyholds were reserved) by the statute of Charles II, there was hardly a pure villein left in the nation. For Sir Thomas Smith (g) testifies, that in all his time (and he was secretary to Edward VI) he never knew any villein in gross throughout the realm; and the few villeins regardant that were then remaining, were such only as had belonged to bishops, monasteries, or other ecclesiastical corporations, in the preceding times of popery. For he tells us, that "holy fathers, monks, and frairs, had in their confessions, and especially in their extreme and deadly sickness, convinced the laity how dangerous a practice it was, for one Christian man to hold another in bondage: so that temporal men, by little and little, by reason of that terror in their consciences, were glad to manumit all their villeins. But the said holy fathers, with the abbots and priors, did not in like sort by theirs: for they also had a scruple in conscience to impoverish and despoil the church so much, as to manumit such as were bond to their churches, or to the manors which the church had gotten; and so kept their villeins still." By these several means the generality of villeins in the kingdom have long ago sprouted up into copyholders; their persons being enfranchised by manumission or long acquiescence; but their estates, in strictness, remaining subject to the same servile conditions and forfeitures as before;

(e) F. N. B. 12.

(f) Cop. s. 32.

(g) Commonwealth, b. 3, c. 10.

(13) As to the final disappearance of villenage in England, see Cooley, Constitutional Limitations, 295-299.

(14) [See this subject very ingeniously handled in Hallam's Middle Ages, c. viii, part 3.]

though, in general, the vellein services are usually commuted for a small pecuniary quit-rent. (*h*)

*As a further consequence of what has been premised, we may collect [*97] these two main principles, which are held (*i*) to be the supporters of the copyhold tenure, and without which it cannot exist: 1. That the land be parcel of, and situate within that manor, under which it is held. 2. That they have been demised, or demisable, by copy of court-roll immemorially. For immemorial custom is the life of all tenures by copy; so that no new copyhold can, strictly speaking, be granted at this day. (15)

In some manors, where the custom hath been to permit the heir to succeed the ancestor in his tenure, the estates are styled copyholds of inheritance; (16) in others, where the lords have been more vigilant to maintain their rights, they remain copyholds for life only: for the custom of the manor has in both cases so far superseded the will of the lord, that, provided the services be performed or stipulated for by fealty, he cannot, in the first instance, refuse to admit the heir of his tenant upon his death, nor, in the second, can he remove his present tenant so long as he lives, though he holds nominally by the precarious tenure of his lord's will. (17)

The fruits and appendages of a copyhold tenure, that it hath in common with free tenures, are fealty, services (as well in rents as otherwise), reliefs, and escheats. The two latter belong only to copyholds of inheritance; the former to those for life also. But besides these, copyholds have also heriots, wardship, and fines. Heriots, which I think are agreed to be a Danish custom, and of which we shall say more hereafter, (*j*) are a render of the best beast or other good (as the custom may be) to the lord on the death of the tenant. This is plainly a relic of vellein tenure; there being originally less hardship in it, when all the goods and chattels belonged to the lord, and he might have seised them even in the villein's lifetime. These are incident to both species of copyhold; but wardship and fines to those of inheritance only. Wardship, in copyhold

(*h*) In some manors the copyholders were bound to perform the most servile offices, as to hedge and ditch the lord's grounds, to lop his trees, and reap his corn, and the like; the lord usually finding them meat and drink, and sometime (as is still the use in the highlands of Scotland) a minstrel or piper for their diversion. (*Rot. Maner. de Edgware Comm. M^{id}.*) As in the kingdom of Whidah, on the slave coast of Africa, the people are bound to cut and carry in the king's corn from off his demesne lands, and are attended by music during all the time of their labor. (*Mod. Un. Hist. xvi, 429.*)

(*i*) Co. Litt. 58.

(*j*) See ch. 38.

(15) [1 Watk. Cop. 33; 2 T. R. 415; 3 B. and P. 346; Doe d. Lowes v. Davidson, 2 M. and S. 175; 2 B. and Ald. 189; Boulcott v. Winmill, 2 Camp. 261; Paine v. Ryder, 24 Beav. 154. As to where there is a special custom, see the provision made by 4 and 5 Vic. c. 35, s. 91.]

(16) [It is to be noticed that the heir of copyhold lands is to be ascertained by the custom of the manor, and often according to rules very different from those which regulate the descent of freehold lands. There often exists considerable difficulty in ascertaining the customary heir. See Lock v. Colman, 1 M. and Cr. 423; 2 id. 42 and 635; Trask v. Wood, 4 M. and Cr. 324; Muggleton v. Barnett, 2 H. and N. 252; Bickley v. Bickley, Law R. 4 Eq. 216. A similar difference between the customary and common law exists as to the rights of a widow in her deceased husband's lands. See Smith v. Adams, 5 D. G. M. and G. 712.]

(17) [As soon as the death of a copyhold tenant is known to the homage, it should be presented at the next general court, and three several proclamations should be made at three successive general courts for the heir or other person claiming title to the land whereof such copyholder died seised, to come in and be admitted. Proclamation is said to be unnecessary where the heir appears in court, either personally or by attorney; but, until such presentment and proclamations, the heir, though of full age, is not bound to come into court to be admitted. If, after the third proclamation, no such person claims to be admitted, a precept may be issued by the lord, or steward, to the bailiff of the manor, to seize the lands into the lord's hands for want of a tenant. Watkins on Copyholds, 239; H. Chitty's Descent's 165; 1 Keb. 287; Kitch. 246; 1 Leon. 100; 3 id. 221; 4 id. 30; 1 Scriv. 341, 342. But the seizure must be quousque, etc., and not as an absolute forfeiture, unless there be a custom to warrant it. 3 T. R. 162.]

The admittance is merely as between the lord and the tenant, Cowp. 741, and the title of the heir to a copyhold is, as against all but the lord, complete without admittance. If the heir is refused admittance, he shall be terre-tenant, even though the lord loses his fine. Comyn, 245. For the lord is only trustee for the heir, and merely the instrument of the custom for the purpose of admittance. 1 Watk. Cop. 281; Cro. Car. 16; Co. Cop. s. 41.]

[*98] estates, *partakes both of that in chivalry and that in socage. Like that in chivalry, the lord is the legal guardian; (18) who usually assigns some relation of the infant tenant to act in his stead; and he, like the guardian in socage, is accountable to his ward for the profits. Of fines, some are in the nature of primer seisins, due on the death of each tenant, others are mere fines for the alienation of the lands; in some manors only one of these sorts can be demanded, in some both, and in others neither. They are sometimes arbitrary and at the will of the lord, sometimes fixed by custom; but, even when arbitrary, the courts of law, in favor of the liberty of copyholds, have tied them down to be *reasonable* in their extent; otherwise they might amount to a disherison of the estate. No fine therefore is allowed to be taken upon descents and alienations (unless in particular circumstances) (19) of more than two years' improved value of the estate. (k) (20) From this instance we may judge of the favourable disposition that the law of England (which is a law of liberty) hath always shewn to this species of tenants; by removing, as far as possible, every real badge of slavery from them, however some nominal ones may continue. It suffered custom very early to get the better of the express terms upon which they held their lands; by declaring, that the will of the lord was to be interpreted by the custom of the manor: and, where no custom has been suffered to grow up to the prejudice of the lord, as in this case of arbitrary fines, the law itself interposes with an equitable moderation, and will not suffer the lord to extend his power so far as to disinherit the tenant.

Thus much for the ancient tenure of *pure villenage*, and the modern one of *copyhold at the will of the lord*, which is lineally descended from it.

IV. There is yet a fourth species of tenure, described by Bracton under the name sometimes of *privileged villenage*, and sometimes of *villein-socage*. This, he tells us, (l) is such as has been held of the kings of England from the conquest [*99] *downwards; that the tenants herein, "*villana faciunt servitia, sed certa et determinata*," that they cannot aliene or transfer their tenements by grant or feoffment, any more than pure villeins can: but must surrender them to the lord or his steward, to be again granted out and held in villenage. And from these circumstances we may collect, that what he here describes is no other than an exalted species of copyhold, subsisting at this day, viz.: the tenure in *ancient demesne*; to which, as partaking of the baseness of villenage in the nature of its services, and the freedom of socage in their certainty, he has therefore given a name compounded out of both, and calls it *villanum socagium*.

Ancient demesne consists of those lands or manors, which, though now perhaps granted out to private subjects, were actually in the hands of the crown in the time of Edward the Confessor, or William the Conqueror; and so appear to have been by the great survey in the exchequer called domesday-book. (m) The

(k) 2 Ch. Rep. 134.

(l) L. 4, *tr.* 1, c. 28.

(m) F. N. B. 14, 16.

(18) [This authority of the lord must be by virtue of a special custom in a manor; for, by the 12 Car. II, c. 24, s. 8 and 9, a father may appoint a guardian by his will as to the copyholds of his child; and though this custom is not abolished in terms, nor can be said to be taken away by implication in this statute, yet, where the custom does not exist in a manor, the better opinion is that the statute will operate, and even where the custom prevails, Mr. Watkins thinks, the father may by this statute appoint a guardian of the *person* of his child, if not of his copyhold property. See 2 Watk. on Copyh. 104, 105.]

(19) [These are where the lord is not compellable to admit, and where the grant on his part is voluntary, as in case of copyholds for lives where there is no right of renewal, or even where there is a binding custom to renew, but which allows the copyholder to put in more than one life at a time, for there in fact two admissions take place at once, and therefore there can be no hardship in a double fine. See Scriven on Copyholds, 374.]

(20) [It is now established as a universal rule, that where the fine upon the descent or alienation of a copyhold is arbitrary, it cannot be more than two years' improved value. In ascertaining the yearly value, the quit-rents must be deducted, but not the land-tax. Doug. 697.]

The fine may be recovered by the lord in an action of *assumpsit*. But he has no right to it until the admission of the tenant. 2 T. R. 484. The lord assesses the fine at his peril; if he assess it too high, he is not entitled to recover it. See as to fines, Doug. 724, n.; 7 Bing. 327; 2 B. and Ad. 350; 5 Mees. and W. 608; 10 Ad. and El. 236; 3 Scott, 623.]

tenants of these lands, under the crown, were not all of the same order or degree. Some of them, as Britton testifies, (*n*) continued for a long time pure and absolute villeins, dependent on the will of the lord; and those who have succeeded them in their tenures now differ from common copyholders in only a few points. (*o*) Others were in a great measure enfranchised by the royal favour; being only bound in respect of their lands to perform some of the better sort of villein services, but those determinate and certain; as, to plough the king's land for so many days, to supply his court with such a quantity of provisions, or other stated services: all of which are now changed into pecuniary rents: and in consideration hereof they had many immunities and privileges granted to them; (*p*) as to try the right of their property in a peculiar court of their own, called a court of ancient demesne, by a peculiar process, denominated a writ of *right close*; (*q*) not to pay toll or taxes; not to contribute to the expenses of knights of the shire; not to be put on juries; and the like. (*r*)

These tenants therefore, though their tenure be absolutely copyhold, [100] yet have an *interest* equivalent to a freehold: for notwithstanding their services were of a base and villenous original, (*s*) yet the tenants were esteemed in all other respects to be highly privileged villeins; and especially for that their services were fixed and determinate, and that they could not be compelled (like pure villeins) to relinquish these tenements at the lord's will, or to hold them against their own: "*et ideo*," says Bracton, "*dicuntur liberi*," Britton also, from such their freedom, calls them absolutely *sokemans*, and their tenure *sokemanries*; which he describes (*t*) to be "lands and tenements which are not held by knight-service, nor by grand serjeanty, nor by petit, but by simple services, being, as it were, lands enfranchised by the king or his predecessors from their ancient demesne." And the same name is also given them in Fleta. (*u*) Hence Fitzherbert observes (*w*) that no lands are ancient demesne, but lands holden in socage; that is, not in free and common socage, but in this amphibious subordinate class of villein-socage. And it is possible, that as this species of socage tenure is plainly founded upon predial services, or services of the plough, it may have given cause to imagine that all socage tenures arose from the same original; for want of distinguishing, with Bracton, between free socage or socage of frank tenure, and villein-socage or socage of ancient demesne.

Lands holden by this tenure are therefore a species of copyhold, and as such preserved and exempted from the operation of the statute of Charles II. Yet they differ from common copyholds, principally in the privileges before mentioned: as also they differ from freeholders by one special mark and tincture of villenage, noted by Bracton, and remaining to this day, viz.: that they cannot be conveyed from man to man by the general common-law conveyances of feoffment, and the rest; but must pass by surrender, to the lord or his steward, in the manner of common copyholds: *yet with this distinction, (*x*) that [* 101] in the surrender of these lands in ancient demesne, it is not used to say "*to hold at the will of the lord*" in their copies, but only, "*to hold according to the custom of the manor*."

Thus have we taken a compendious view of the principal and fundamental points of the doctrine of tenures, both ancient and modern, in which we cannot but remark the mutual connection and dependence that all of them have upon each other. And upon the whole it appears, that whatever changes and alterations these tenures have in process of time undergone, from the Saxon æra to 12 Car. II, all lay tenures are now in effect reduced to two species; *free* tenure in common socage, and *base* tenure by copy of court-roll.

I mentioned *lay* tenures only; because there is still behind one other species of tenure, reserved by the statute of Charles II, which is of a *spiritual* nature, and called the tenure in frankalmoign.

V. Tenure in *frankalmoign in libera eleemosyna*, or free alms, is that whereby a religious corporation, aggregate or sole, holdeth lands of the donor to them

(*n*) C. 66. (*o*) F. N. B. 228. (*p*) 4 Inst. 269. (*q*) F. N. B. 11. (*r*) *Ibid.* 14.
 (*s*) Gilb. hist. of exch. 16 and 30. (*t*) C. 66. (*u*) L. 1, c. 8. (*w*) N. B. 13. (*x*) Kitchen on courts, 194.

and their successors forever. (y) The service which they were bound to render for these lands was not certainly defined; but only in general to pray for the soul of the donor and his heirs, dead or alive; and therefore, they did no fealty, (which is incident to all other services but this,) (z) because this divine service was of a higher and more exalted nature. (a) This is the tenure, by which almost all the ancient monasteries and religious houses held their lands; and by which the parochial clergy, and very many ecclesiastical and eleemosynary foundations, hold them at this day; (b) the nature of the service being upon the reformation [*102] altered, and made conformable to the purer doctrines* of the church of England. It was an old Saxon tenure; and continued under the Norman revolution, through the great respect that was shewn to religion and religious men in ancient times. Which is also the reason that tenants in *frankalmoign* were discharged of all other services, except the *trinoda necessitas*, of repairing the highways, building castles, and repelling invasions: (c) just as the Druids, among the ancient Britons, had *omnium rerum immunitatem*. (d) And, even at present, this is a tenure of a nature very distinct from all others; being not in the least feudal, but merely spiritual. For if the service be neglected, the law gives no remedy by distress or otherwise to the lord of whom the lands are holden: but merely a complaint to the ordinary or visitor to correct it. (e) Wherein it materially differs from what was called *tenure by divine service*; in which the tenants were obliged to do some special divine services in certain; as to sing so many masses, to distribute such a sum in alms, and the like; which, being expressly defined and prescribed, could with no kind of propriety be called *free alms*; especially as for this, if unperformed, the lord might distress, without any complaint to the visitor. (f) All such donations are indeed now out of use: for, since the statute of *quia emptores*, 18 Edw. I, (21) none but the king can give lands to be holden by this tenure. (g) So that I only mention them because *frankalmoign* is excepted by name in the statute of Charles II, and therefore subsists in many instances at this day. Which is all that shall be remarked concerning it: herewith concluding our observations on the nature of tenures. (22)

(y) Litt. s. 138.

(z) *Ibid.* s. 131.(a) *Ibid.* s. 135.

(b) Bracton l. 4, tr. 1, c. 28, § 1.

(c) Seld. Jan. 1, 42.

(d) *Cæsar de bell. Gall.* l. 6, c. 13.

(e) Litt. s. 138.

(f) *Ibid.* 137.(g) *Ibid.* 140.

(21) [This statute enacts that "it shall be lawful to every freeman to sell at his own pleasure his lands and tenements, or part of them, so that the feoffee shall hold the same of the chief lord of the same fee *by such service and customs as his feoffor held before.*"]

(22) We may properly add in this place a few words in regard to tenures in America. Although the feudal system never obtained much foothold in this country, there are many things in our law of real estate which can only be understood by bearing in mind the fact that our system is based upon the common law of England, and that that law grew up while the feudal system was in force. As lands in England were held under that system, and its maxims thoroughly pervaded the law of real estate, it was not to be expected that, when grants of land were made in this country, under circumstances unknown in England, a new system of law, with new terms and maxims, would at once spring into existence to provide for the new condition of things, and bearing no trace of the system which it supplanted.

As a matter of fact, however, the early grants in America were made with reference to a continuation of something like feudal tenure, and many incidents of that system attached themselves to these grants. The tenure prescribed was, tenure in free and common socage to be held of the king, as of some manor in England. When the colonies threw off allegiance to the crown, and became independent states, each of them succeeded to all the rights of the crown within its limits, while the United States as a sovereignty succeeded to all the rights of the crown to unoccupied territory not within the limits of any of the states and not previously conveyed.

Being thus possessed of the vacant lands, the United States and the several individual states have proceeded to make sale and conveyance thereof, and to give titles which, though called *fees*, were in truth allodial. At the same time the states, by statutory and constitutional provisions, have gradually abolished such of the feudal incidents as still attached to the estates previously granted by the crown, until, as Chancellor Kent says, 3 Com. 513, "by one of those singular revolutions incident to human affairs, allodial estates, once universal in Europe, and then almost universally exchanged for feudal tenures, have now, after the lapse of many centuries, regained their primitive estimation in the minds of freemen."

We still, indeed, in America recognize the sovereignty as the source of all title, and as entitled to succeed thereto in default of heirs; but this right is not peculiar to the feudal

CHAPTER VII.

OF FREEHOLD ESTATES OF INHERITANCE.

THE next objects of our disquisitions are the nature and properties of *estates*. An *estate* in lands, tenements, and hereditaments, signifies such *interest* as the tenant has therein: so that if a man grants all of *his estate* in Dale to A and his heirs, every thing that he can possibly grant shall pass thereby. (a) (1) It is called in Latin *status*; it signifying the condition, or circumstance, in which the owner stands with regard to his property. And to ascertain this with proper precision and accuracy, estates may be considered in a three-fold view: *first*, with regard to the *quantity of interest* which the tenant has in the tenement: *secondly*, with regard to the *time* at which that quantity of interest is to be enjoyed: and, *thirdly*, with regard to the *number* and *connexions* of the tenants.

First, with regard to the *quantity of interest* which the tenant has in the tenement, this is measured by its duration and extent. Thus, either his right of possession is to subsist for an uncertain period, during his own life, or the life of another man: to determine at his own decease, or to remain to his descendants after him: or it is circumscribed within a certain number of years, months or days: or, lastly, it is infinite and unlimited, being vested in him and his representatives forever. And this occasions the primary division of *estates into such as are *freehold*, and such as are *less than freehold*.

An estate of freehold, *liberum tenementum*, or franktenement, is defined by Britton (b) to be the "*possession of the soil by a freeman*." And St. Germyn (c) tells us, that "the possession of the land is called in the law of England the franktenement or freehold." Such estate, therefore, and no other, as requires actual possession of the land, is, legally speaking, *freehold*: which actual possession can, by the course of the common law, be only given by the ceremony called livery of seisin, which is the same as the feudal investiture. And from these principles we may extract this description of a freehold; that it is such an estate in lands as is conveyed by livery of seisin, or in tenements of any incorporeal nature, by what is equivalent thereto. And accordingly it is laid down by Littleton, (d) that where a freehold shall pass, it behoveth to have livery of seisin. As, therefore, estates of inheritance and estates for life could not by common law be conveyed without livery of seisin, these are properly estates of freehold; and as no other estates were conveyed with the same solemnity, therefore no others are properly freehold estates. [*104]

Estates of freehold (thus understood) are either estates of *inheritance*, or estates *not of inheritance*. The former are again divided into inheritances *absolute*, or fee-simple; and inheritances *limited*, one species of which we usually call fee-tail.

I. Tenant in fee-simple (or, as he is frequently styled, tenant in fee) is he that hath lands, tenements, or hereditaments, to hold to him and his heirs forever: (e) generally, absolutely, and simply; without mentioning *what* heirs, but referring

(a) Co. Litt. 345.

(b) C. 32.

(c) Dr. & Stud. b. 2, d. 22.

(d) § 59.

(e) Litt. § 1.

system, neither is the right of eminent domain, which is sometimes referred to in this connection as being one of the incidents of that system which still remains. The right of eminent domain is a right existing in the necessities of government, not attaching to land merely, and not dependent upon any peculiar tenure of land.

(1) [In 1 Preston on Estates, 20, the term is thus defined: "The *interest* which any one has in lands, or any other subject of property, is called his *estate*, and to this term, at least in a conveyance by deed, some adjunct or expression should be added, when the time for which the estate is to continue, as for years, for life, in tail or in fee, or the manner in which it is to be held, as on condition, in joint tenancy, &c., is to be described; thus, it is said, a man has an estate in fee, in tail, for life, for years, on condition, etc." Sometimes the term "*estate*" is used merely as a local description, as "all my *estate* at Ashton;" but the word "*estate*" when so used in a will, always carried the fee to the devisee, unless restrained by other words, though it is otherwise in a conveyance by deed.]

that to his own pleasure, or to the disposition of the law. The true meaning of the word fee (*feodum*) is the same with that of feud or fief, and in its original [*105] sense it is *taken in contradistinction to *allodium*; (*f*) which latter the writers on this subject define to be every man's own land, which he possesseth merely in his own right, without owing any rent or service to any superior. This is property in its highest degree; and the owner thereof hath *absolutum et directum dominium*, and therefore is said to be seised thereof absolutely *in dominico suo*, in his own demesne. But *feodum*, or fee, is that which is held of some superior on condition of rendering him service; in which superior the ultimate property of the land resides. And therefore Sir Henry Spelman (*g*) defines a feud or fee to be the right which the vassal or tenant hath in lands, to *use* the same, and take the profits thereof to him and his heirs, rendering to the lord his due services: the mere allodial *propriety* of the soil always remaining in the lord. This allodial property no subject in England has; (*h*) it being a received, and now undeniable principle in the law, that all the lands in England are holden mediately or immediately of the king. The king therefore only hath *absolutum et directum dominium*: (*i*) but all subjects' lands are in the nature of *feodum* or fee: whether derived to them by descent from their ancestors, or purchased for a valuable consideration; for they cannot come to any man by either of those ways, unless accompanied with those feudal clogs which were laid upon the first feudatory when it was originally granted. A subject therefore hath only the usufruct, and not the absolute property of the soil; or, as Sir Edward Coke expresses it, (*k*) he hath *dominium utile*, but not *dominium directum*. And hence it is, that, in the most solemn acts of law, we express the strongest and highest estate that any subject can have, by these words: "he is seised thereof *in his demesne, as of fee*." It is a man's demesne, *dominicum*, or property, since it belongs to him and his heirs forever: yet this *dominicum*, property, or demesne, is strictly not absolute or allodial, but qualified or feudal: it is his demesne, *as of fee*: that is, it is not purely and simply his own, since it is held of a superior lord, in whom the ultimate property resides.

[*106] *This is the primary sense and acceptation of the word *fee*. But (as Sir Martin Wright very justly observes) (*l*) the doctrine, "that all lands are holden," having been for so many ages a fixed and undeniable axiom, our English lawyers do very rarely (of late years especially) use the word *fee* in this its primary original sense, in contradistinction to *allodium* or absolute property, with which they have no concern; but generally use it to express the continuance or quantity of estate. A *fee* therefore, in general, signifies an estate of inheritance; being the highest and most extensive interest that a man can have in a feud: and when the term is used simply, without any other adjunct, or has the adjunct of *simple* annexed to it (as a fee or a fee-simple,) it is used in contradistinction to a fee conditional at the common law, or a fee-tail by the statute; importing an absolute inheritance, clear of any condition, limitation, or restrictions to particular heirs, but descendible to the heirs general whether male or female, lineal or collateral. And in no other sense than this is the king said to be seised in fee, he being the feudatory of no man. (*m*)

Taking therefore *fee* for the future, unless where otherwise explained in this its secondary sense, as a state of inheritance, it is applicable to, and may be had in, any kind of hereditaments either corporeal or incorporeal. (*n*) But there is this distinction between the two species of hereditaments: that, of a corporeal inheritance a man shall be said to be seised *in his demesne, as of fee*; of an incorporeal one, he shall only be said to be seised *as of fee*, and not in his demesne. (*o*) For, as incorporeal hereditaments are in their nature collateral to, and issue out of, lands and houses, (*p*) their owner hath no property, *domin-*

(*f*) See pp. 45. 47.

(*g*) Of feuds, c. 1.

(*h*) Co. Litt. 1.

(*i*) *Prædium domini regis est directum dominium, cujus nullus est author nisi Deus.* Ibid.

(*k*) Co. Litt. 1.

(*l*) Of ten, 148.

(*m*) Co. Litt. 1.

(*n*) *Feodum est quod quis tenet sibi et hæredibus suis, sive sit tenementum, sive redditus, &c.* Flet. 1. 5, c. 5. § 7

(*o*) Litt. § 10.

(*p*) See page 20.

icum, or demesne, in the *thing* itself, but hath only something derived out of it; resembling the *servitudes*, or services, of the civil law. (q) The *dominicum* or property is frequently *in one man, while the appendage or service is [*107] in another. Thus Gaius may be seised *as of fee* of a way leading over the land, of which Titius is seised *in his demesne as of fee*. (2)

The fee-simple or inheritance of lands and tenements is generally vested and resides in some person or other; though divers inferior estates may be carved out of it. As if one grants a lease for twenty-one years, or for one or two lives, the fee-simple remains vested in him and his heirs; and after the determination of those years or lives, the land reverts to the grantor or his heirs, who shall hold it again in fee-simple. Yet sometimes the fee may be in *abeyance*, that is, (as the word signifies,) in expectation, remembrance, and contemplation in law; there being no person *in esse* in whom it can vest and abide: though the law considers it as always potentially existing, and ready to vest whenever a proper owner appears. (3) Thus, in a grant to John for life, and afterwards to the heirs of Richard, the inheritance is plainly neither granted to John nor Richard, nor can it vest in the heirs of Richard till his death, *nam nemo est hæres viventis*: it remains therefore in waiting or abeyance, during the life of Richard. (r) (4) This is likewise always the case of a parson of a church, who hath only an estate therein for the term of his life; and the inheritance remains in abeyance. (s) And not only the fee, but the freehold also, may be an abeyance; as, when a parson dies, the freehold of his glebe is in abeyance, until a successor be named, and then it vests in the successor. (t) (5)

(q) *Servitus est jus, quo res mea alterius rei vel personæ servit.* *Ff.* 8. 1. 1.

(r) *Co. Litt.* 342.

(s) *Litt.* § 646.

(t) *Ibid.* § 647.

(2) [See page 20, where the author does not confine incorporeal hereditaments to things issuing out of lands and houses, but to things issuing out of any thing corporate, real or personal. But the true reason of the distinction is clearly, not that the owner of the derivative has no property in the land or house from which it is derived, but that the thing in which he has a property, the right of way for instance, is incorporeal, and incapable of being *in manu*, or actual possession.]

When a man is said to be seised in his demesne, it seems rather to be intended to express that he has the actual beneficial property, and not a mere seignory or right to services. This is the well known meaning of the term when the demesne lands of a manor are spoken of.]

(3) [This rule and its exceptions are thus distinctly stated by Mr. Preston in his treatise on Estates, 1 vol. 216, 217. "It may be assumed as a general rule, that the first estate of freehold passing by any deed, or other assurance operating under the rules of the *common law*, cannot be put in abeyance. 5 Rep. 94; 2 Bla. Com. 165; 1 Burr. 107. This rule is so strictly observed: 2 Bla. Com. 165; 5 Rep. 194; Com. Dig. Abeyance; that no instance can be shewn in which the law allows the freehold to be in abeyance by the *act of the party*. The case of a *parson* is not an exception to the rule: for it is by the act of law, and not of the party, that the freehold is, in this instance, in abeyance, from the death of the incumbent till the induction of his successor: 1 Inst. 341, a; and considered as an exception, it is not within the reason of the rule."]

(4) [The inheritance or remainder in such a case has been said to be in abeyance, or *in nubibus*, or *in gremio legis*; but Mr. Fearn, with great ability and learning, has exposed the futility of these expressions, and the erroneous ideas which have been conveyed by them. Mr. Fearn produces authorities, which prove beyond controversy, "that where a remainder of inheritance is limited in *contingency* by way of use, or by devise, the inheritance in the mean time, if not otherwise disposed of, remains in the grantor and his heirs, or in the heirs of the testator, until the contingency happens to take it out of them." *Fearn Cont. Rem.* 513, 4th edit.]

But although, as Mr. Fearn observes, "different opinions have prevailed in respect to the admission of this doctrine in conveyances at common law:" *id.* 526; yet he adduces arguments and authorities which render the doctrine as unquestionable in this case as in the two former of *uses* and *devises*. If, therefore, in the instance put by the learned judge, John should determine his estate either by his death or by a feoffment in fee, which amounts to a forfeiture, in the life time of Richard, under which circumstance the remainder never could vest in the heirs of Richard, in that case the grantor and his heir may enter and resume the estate.]

(5) [Mr. Fearn having attacked with so much success the doctrine of abeyance, the editor may venture to observe with respect to the two last instances, though they are collected from the text of Littleton, that there hardly seems any necessity to resort to abeyance, or to the *clouds*, to explain the residence of the inheritance, or of the freehold. In the first case, the whole fee simple is conveyed to a sole corporation, the parson and his successors; but if any interest is not conveyed, it still remains, as in the former note, in the grantor and his heirs, to

The word "heirs" is necessary in the grant or donation, in order to make a fee, or inheritance. For if land be given to a man forever, or to him and his assigns forever, this vests in him but an estate for life. (u) This very great nicety about the insertion of the word "heirs" in all feoffments and grants, in order to vest a fee, is plainly a relic of the feudal strictness; by which we may [*108] remember (w) it was required, *that the form of the donation should be punctually pursued; or that, as Cragg (x) expresses it in the words of Baldus, "*donationes sint stricti juris, ne quis plus donasse præsumatur quam in donatione expresserit.*" And therefore, as the personal abilities of the donee were originally supposed to be the only inducements to the gift, the donee's estate in the land extended only to his own person, and subsisted no longer than his life; unless the donor, by an express provision in the grant, gave it a longer continuance, and extended it also to his heirs. But this rule is now softened by many exceptions. (y)

For, 1. It does not extend to devises by will; (6) in which, as they were introduced at the time when the feudal rigour was apace wearing out, a more liberal

(u) *Ibid.* § 1.

(w) See page 56.

(x) *l.* 1, *t.* 9, § 17.

(y) *Co. Litt.* 9. 10.

whom, upon the dissolution of the corporation, the estate will revert. See book 1, 484. And in the second case the freehold seems, in fact, from the moment of the death of the parson, to rest and abide in the successor, who is brought into view and notice by the institution and induction; for after induction he can recover all the rights of the church, which accrued from the death of his predecessor.] See 6 Cl. and Fin. 850.

(6) [See *post*, the 23d chapter of this book, page 380. Lord Coke teaches us, 1 Inst. 322, b, that it was the maxim of the common law, and not, as has been sometimes said, *Idle v. Cook*, 1 P. Wms. 77, a principle arising out of the wording of the statutes of wills: 32 Hen. VIII, c. 1; 34 Hen. VIII, c. 5; "*quod ultima voluntas testatoris est perimplenda, secundum veram intentionem suam.*" For this reason, Littleton says, sect. 586, if a man deviseth tenements to another, *habendum in perpetuum*, the devisee taketh a fee simple; yet, if a deed of feoffment had been made to him by the devisor of the said tenements, *habendum sibi in perpetuum*, he should have an estate but for term of his life, for want of the word *heirs*. In *Webb v. Herring*, 1 Rolle's Rep. 399, it was determined, that a devise to a man and his successors, gives a fee. But, whether a devise to a man and his posterity would give an estate tail, or a fee, was doubted in *The Attorney-General v. Bamfield*, 2 Freem. 268. Under a devise to a legatee, "for her own use, and to give away at her death to whom she pleases," Mr. Justice Fortescue said, there was no doubt a fee passed: *Timewell v. Perkins*, 2 Atk. 103; and the same doctrine was held in *Goodtitle v. Otway*, 2 Wils. 7; see also *infra*. And a devise of the testator's lands and tenements to his executors, "freely to be possessed and enjoyed by them alike," was held, in *Loveacres v. Blight*, Cowp. 357, to carry the fee: for the testator had charged the estate with the payment of an annuity, which negatived the idea, that, by the word *freely* he only meant to give the estate *free of incumbrances*: the free enjoyment, therefore, it was held, must mean, free from all limitations. But, if the testator had not put any charge on the estate, this would not have been the necessary construction; nor would so extended a meaning have been given to those words against the heir, in any case where it was not certain that the testator meant more than that his devisee should possess and enjoy the estate, *free from all charges*, or, *free from impeachment of waste*. *Goodright v. Barron*, 11 East, 224.

Thus, if a man devises all his freehold estate to his wife, *during her natural life*, and also at her disposal afterwards, to leave it to whom she pleases, the word *leave* confines the authority of the devisee for life to a disposition by will only. *Doe v. Thorley*, 16 East, 443; and see *infra*. This, it will at once be obvious, is by no means inconsistent with what was laid down in *Timewell v. Perkins*, as before cited. The distinction is pointed out in *Tomlinson v. Dighton*: 1 P. Wms. 174; thus, where a power is given, with a particular description and limitation of the estate devised to the donee of the power, the power is a distinct gift, coming in by way of addition, but will not enlarge the estate expressly given to the devisee; though, when the devise is general and indefinite, with a power to dispose of the fee, there the devisee himself takes the fee. In some few instances, indeed, courts of equity have inclined to consider a right of enjoyment for life, coupled with a power of appointment, as equivalent to the absolute property. *Standen v. Standen*, 2 Ves. Jun. 594. A difference, however, seems now to be firmly established, not so much with regard to the party possessing a power of disposal, as out of consideration for those parties whose interests depend upon the non-execution of that power. *Croft v. Slee*, 4 Ves. 64. Confining the attention to the former, there may be no reason why that which he has power to dispose of should not be considered as his property; but the interests of the latter ought not to be affected in any other manner than that specified at the creation of the power. *Holmes v. Coghill*, 7 Ves. 506; *Jones v. Curry*, 1 Swanst. 73; *Reid v. Shergold*, 10 Ves. 383. When, therefore, a devise or bequest (for the principle seems to apply equally to realty as to personalty), is made to any one expressly for life, with a power

construction is allowed; and therefore by a devise to a man forever, or to one and his assigns forever, or to one in fee-simple, the devisee hath an estate of inheritance; for the intention of the deviser is sufficiently plain from the words of perpetuity annexed, though he hath omitted the legal words of inheritance. But if the devise be to a man and his assigns, without annexing words of per-

of appointment, by will only, superadded, that power (as already has been intimated) must be executed in the manner prescribed; for, the property not being absolute in the first taker, the objects of the power cannot take without a formal appointment; but, where the devise or bequest is made indefinitely, with a superadded power to dispose by will *or deed*, the property (as we have seen) vests absolutely. The distinction may, perhaps, seem slight, but it has been judicially declared to be perfectly settled. *Bradly v. Westcott*, 13 Ves. 453; *Anderson v. Dawson*, 15 id. 536; *Barford v. Street*, 16 id. 139; *Nannock v. Horton*, 7 id. 398; *Irwin v. Farrer*, 19 id. 87. Where an estate is devised absolutely, without any prior estate limited to such uses as a person shall appoint, that is an estate in fee. *Langham v. Nenny*, 3 Ves. 470. And the word "estate," when used by a testator, and not restrained to a narrower signification by the context of the will, *Doe v. Hurrell*, 5 Barn. and Ald. 21, is sufficient to carry real estate: *Barnes v. Patch*, 8 Ves. 608; *Woollam v. Kenworthy*, 9 id. 142; and that not merely a life interest therein, but the fee, although no words of limitation in perpetuity are added. *Roe v. Right*, 7 East, 268; *Right v. Sidebotham*, 2 Dougl. 763; *Charlton v. Taylor*, 3 Ves. and Bea. 163; *Pettward v. Prescott*, 7 Ves. 545; *Nicholls v. Butcher*, 18 id. 195. And although the mere introductory words of a will, intimating in general terms the testator's intention to dispose of "all his estate, real and personal," will not of themselves pass a fee, if the will, in its operative clauses, contains no further declaration of such intent; still, where the subsequent clauses of devise are inexplicit, the introductory words will have an effect on the construction, as affording some indication of the testator's intention. *Ibbetson v. Beckwith*, Ca. temp. Talb. 160; *Goodright v. Stocker*, 5 T. R. 13; *Doe v. Buckner*, 6 id. 612; *Gulliver v. Poyntz*, 3 Wils. 143; *Smith v. Coffin*, 2 H. Bla. 450. But though slight circumstances may be admitted to explain obscurities: *Randall v. Morgan*, 12 Ves. 77; and words may be enlarged, abridged, or transposed, in order to reach the testator's meaning, when such liberties are necessary to make the will consistent: *Keiley v. Fowler*, Wilm. notes, 309; still, no operative and effective clause in a will must be controlled by ambiguous words occurring in the introductory parts of it, unless this is absolutely necessary in order to furnish a reasonable interpretation of the whole: *Lord Oxford v. Churchill*, 3 Ves and Bea. 67; *Hampson v. Brandwood*, 1 Mad. 388; *Leigh v. Norbury*, 13 Ves. 344; *Doe v. Pearce*, 1 Pr. 365: neither can a subsequent clause of limitation as to one subject of devise, be governed by words of introduction which, though clear, are not properly applicable to that particular subject: *Nash v. Smith*, 17 Ves. 33; *Doe v. Clayton*, 8 East, 144; *Denn v. Gaskin*, Cowp. 661; while, on the other hand, an express disposition in an early part of a will must not receive an exposition from a subsequent passage, affording only a conjectural inference. *Roach v. Hynes*, 8 Ves. 590; *Barker v. Lea*, 3 Ves. and Bea. 117; *S. C.*, 1 Turn. and Russ. 416; *Jones v. Colbeck*, 8 Ves. 42; *Parsons v. Baker*, 18 id. 478; *Thackeray v. Hampson*, 2 Sim. and Stu. 217.

Where an estate is devised, and the devisee is subjected to a charge, which charge is not directed to be paid out of the rents and profits, the devise will carry a fee-simple, notwithstanding the testator has added no words of express limitation in perpetuity. Upon this point, the distinction is settled, that, where the charge is on the person to whom the land is devised (in general terms, not where he has an estate-tail given him, *Dean v. Slater*, 5 T. R. 337), there he must take the fee; but not where the charge is upon the land devised, and payable out of it. And the reason given why, in the former case, the devisee must take the fee, is because otherwise the estate may not be sufficient to pay the charge during the life of the devisee, which would make him a loser, and that could not have been the intention of the deviser. *Goodtitle v. Maddern*, 4 East, 500; *Doe v. Holmes*, 8 T. R. 1; *Doe v. Clarke*, 2 New Rep. 349; *Roe v. Daw*, 3 Mau. and Sel. 522; *Baddeley v. Leapingwell*, Wilm. Notes, 235; *Collier's Case*, 6 Rep. 16.

With regard to the operation of the word "hereditaments" in a will, Mr. Justice Buller said, there have been various opinions; in some cases it has been held to pass a fee, in others not: *Doe v. Richards*, 3 T. R. 360; but the latter construction seems now to be firmly established as the true one. The settled sense of the word "hereditaments," Chief Baron Macdonald declared in *Moore v. Denn*, 2 Bos. and Pull. 251, is, to denote such things as may be the subject-matter of inheritance, but not the inheritance itself; and cannot, therefore, by its own intrinsic force, enlarge an estate which is *prima facie* a life estate, into a fee. It may have weight, under particular circumstances, in explaining the other expressions in a will, from whence it may be collected, in a manner agreeable to the rules of law, that the testator intended to give a fee; but in *Canning v. Canning*, Mosely, 242, it was considered as quite settled by the decision in *Hopewell v. Ackland*, 1 Salk. 239, that a fee will not pass merely by the use of the word "hereditament." And see the same case of *Denn v. Moore*, in its previous stages of litigation: 3 Anstr. 787; 5 T. R. 563; as also *Pocock v. The Bishop of Lincoln*, 3 Brod. and Bing. 33.]

By the wills act, 1 Vic. c. 26, s. 28, it is provided that a devise of any real estate without words of limitation, shall carry the fee-simple, or the whole interest, whatever it may be, of the testator, unless a contrary intention appear by the will.

petuity, there the devisee shall take only an estate for life; for it does not appear that the devisor intended any more. 2. Neither does this rule extend to fines or recoveries considered as a species of conveyance; for thereby an estate in fee passes by act and operation of law without the word "heirs," as it does also, for particular reasons, by certain other methods of conveyance, which have relation to a former grant or estate, wherein the word "heirs" was expressed. (z) 3. In creations of nobility by writ, the peer so created hath an inheritance in his title, without expressing the word "heirs;" for heirship is implied in the creation, unless it be otherwise specially provided: but in creations by patent, which are *stricti juris* the word "heirs" must be inserted, otherwise there is no inheritance. 4. In grants of lands to sole corporations and their successors, the word "successors" supplies the place of "heirs;" for as heirs take from the ancestor, [*109] so doth the successor from the predecessor. (7) Nay, in *a grant to a bishop, or other sole spiritual corporation, in *frankalmoign*; the word "*frankalmoign*" supplies the place of "successors" (as the word "successors" supplies the place of "heirs") *ex vi termini*; and in all these cases a fee-simple vests in such sole corporation. But, in a grant of lands to a corporation aggregate, the word "successors" is not necessary, though usually inserted: for, albeit such simple grant be strictly only an estate for life, yet, as that corporation never dies, such estate for life is perpetual, or equivalent to a fee-simple, and therefore the law allows it to be one. (a) 5. Lastly, in the case of the king, a fee-simple will vest in him, without the word "heirs" or "successors" in the grant; partly from prerogative royal, and partly from a reason similar to the last, because the king in judgment of law never dies. (b) But the general rule is, that the word "heirs" is necessary to create an estate of inheritance. (8)

(z) Co. Litt. 9.

(a) See Book I. p. 484.

(b) See book I, p. 249.

(7) [But the word "heirs" in a grant to a corporation sole, will not convey a fee, any more than the word "successors" in a grant to a natural person. Co. Litt. 8, b.]

(8) In many of the states of the American union, the strict rule of the common law requiring the use of the word "heirs" has been changed by statutes, which make a deed convey an estate of inheritance where it appears from the instrument that such was the intent of the parties. In the absence of such statutes, however, the common law rule is still in force. *Sedgwick v. Laffin*, 10 Allen, 430; *Clearwater v. Rose*, 1 Blackf. 137; *Adams v. Ross*, 1 Vroom, 511; *Jones v. Bramblet*, 1 Scam. 276; *Van Horn v. Harrison*, 1 Dall. 137.

And generally no other words, though conveying to the unprofessional mind a clear intent to transfer an inheritance, will be sufficient for the purpose. A strong illustration of this is the case of *Foster v. Joice*, 3 Wash. C. C. 498, where a deed to M. "and his generation, to endure so long as the waters of the Delaware run," was held to convey a life estate only. See an exceptional case in *Johnson v. Gilbert*, 13 Rich. Eq. 42. In Vermont, it was held that a lease of premises to hold, "as long as wood grows and water runs," conveyed a fee: *Arms v. Burt*, 1 Vt. 303; but this case is not in harmony with the others above referred to. See 4 Kent, 6. A legislative grant, it has been held, may convey a fee without making use of the technical words essential in a deed. *Rutherford v. Greene*, 2 Wheat. 196. And a government deed given to carry into effect a donation previously confirmed by the proper authorities, and which runs to the donee "or his heirs," in trust for the person or persons rightfully entitled, will be regarded as intending to convey the fee to the donee, if living, and to his heirs if he be dead. *Ready v. Kearsley*, 14 Mich. 215. See *Freidman v. Goodwin*, 1 McAll. 142; *Griffing v. Gibb*. Ibid. 212. A government grant in any form the legislature may prescribe is sufficient, and it will take effect according to the intent. *Patton v. Easton*, 1 Wheat. 476; *Rutherford v. Greene*, 2 Wheat. 196; *Strother v. Lucas*, 6 Pet. 763.

That where, by will, lands are devised in terms which indicate an intent to pass all the testator's interest, a fee (if he has it) will pass without the use of the word "heirs," see the following American cases; *Newkerk v. Newkerk*, 2 Caines, 345; *Morrison v. Semple*, 6 Binn. 94; *Jackson v. Merrill*, 6 Johns. 192; *Jackson v. Housel*, 17 id. 281; *Fogg v. Clark*, 1 N. H. 163; *Baker v. Bridge*, 12 Pick. 31; *Godfrey v. Humphrey*, 18 id. 537; *Lambert v. Paine*, 3 Cranch, 97; *Kellogg v. Blair*, 6 Metc. 322; *Tracy v. Kilborn*, 3 Cush. 557; *Lilliard v. Robinson*, 3 Litt. 415.

Another important class of cases ought to be mentioned here as an exception to the general rule, that the use of the word "heirs" is essential to pass a fee. We refer to conveyances in trust, in which case the trustee must be held to take an estate as large as may be necessary for the purposes of the trust, whether the instrument of conveyance contains words of inheritance or not. Illustrations of this exception may be seen in the following cases: *Spessard v. Rhorer*, 9 Gill, 261; *Newhall v. Wheeler*, 7 Mass. 189; *Farquharson v. Eichelberger*, 15 Md. 63; *Gould v. Lamb*, 11 Metc. 87; *Angell v. Rosenbury*, 12 Mich. 241; *Fisher v. Fields*, 10 Johns. 495; *Welch v. Allen*, 21 Wend. 147; *Attorney-General v. Proprietors, etc.*, 3 Gray, 48; *Neilson v. Lagow*, 12 How. 98; *Korn v. Cutler*, 26 Conn. 4; *North v. Philbrook*, 34 Me. 532. See as to this rule *Weller v. Rolason*, 2 Green, N. J., 13; *Perry on Trusts*, sec. 312 to sec. 320. A grant to a sovereignty requires no words of inheritance. *Josephs v. United States*, 1 Court of Claims R. 197.

II. We are next to consider limited fees, or such estates of inheritance as are clogged and confined with conditions, or qualifications, of any sort. And these we may divide into two sorts: 1. *Qualified*, or *base fees*; and, 2. *Fees conditional*, so called at the common law; and afterwards *fees-tail*, in consequence of the statute *de donis*.

1. A base, or qualified fee, is such a one as hath a qualification subjoined thereto, and which must be determined whenever the qualification annexed to it is at an end. As, in the case of a grant to A and his heirs, *tenants of the manor of Dale*; in this instance, whenever the heirs of A cease to be tenants of that manor, the grant is entirely defeated. So when Henry VI granted to John Talbot, lord of the manor of Kingston-Lisle in Berks, that he and his heirs, lords of the said manor, should be peers of the realm, by the title of barons of Lisle; here John Talbot had a base or qualified fee in that dignity, (c) and, the instant he or his heirs quitted the seignory of this manor, the dignity was at an end. This *estate (9) is a fee, because by possibility it may endure forever in a man and his heirs: yet as that duration depends upon the [*110] concurrence of collateral circumstances, which qualify and debase the purity of the donation, it is therefore a qualified or base fee.

2. A conditional fee, at the common law, was a fee restrained to some particular heirs, exclusive of others: "*donatio stricta et coarctata*; (d) *sicut certis hæredibus, quibusdam a successione exclusis*;" as to the heirs of a man's body, by which only his lineal descendants were admitted, in exclusion of collateral heirs; or to the heirs *male of his body*, in exclusion both of collaterals, and lineal females also. It was called a conditional fee, by reason of the condition expressed or implied in the donation of it, that if the donee died without such particular heirs, the land should revert to the donor. For this was a condition annexed by law to all grants whatsoever; that, on failure of the heirs specified in the grant, the grant should be at an end, and the land return to its ancient proprietor. (e) Such conditional fees were strictly agreeable to the nature of feuds, when they first ceased to be mere estates for life, and were not yet arrived to be absolute estates in fee-simple. And we find strong traces of these limited, conditional fees, which could not be alienated from the lineage of the first purchaser, in our earliest Saxon laws. (f)

Now, with regard to the condition annexed to these fees by the common law, our ancestors held, that such a gift (to a man and the heirs of his body) was a gift upon condition, that it should revert to the donor if the donee had no heirs of his body; but, if he had, it should then remain to the donee. They therefore call it a fee-simple, on condition that he had issue. (10) Now we must observe, that, when any condition is performed, it is thenceforth entirely gone; and the thing to which it was before annexed becomes absolute,

(c) Co. Litt. 27.

(d) Flet. l. 3, c. 8, § 5.

(e) Plowd. 241.

(f) *Si quis terram hereditariam habeat, eam non vendat a cognatis hæredibus suis, si illi viro prohibitum sit, qui eam ab initio acquisivit, ut ita facere nequeat.* LL. Ælfred, c. 37.

(9) [The proprietor of a qualified or base fee has the same rights and privileges over his estate, till the contingency upon which it is limited occurs, as if he were tenant in fee simple. *Walsingham's Case*, Plowd. 557.]

(10) [In the great case of *Willion v. Berkeley*, Plowd. 233, Lord C. J. Dyer said, upon the grant of a conditional fee, the fee-simple vested at the beginning; by having issue, the donee acquired power to alien, which he had not before, but the issue was not the cause of his having the fee, the first gift vested that: and in p. 235 it was said, when land was given (before the statute *de donis*) to a man and the heirs of his body, this was a fee-simple, with a condition annexed, that, if the donee died without such heirs, the land should revert to the donor; to whom, therefore, the common law gave a *formedon in reverter*. But he was not entitled to a writ of *formedon in remainder*, for no remainder could be limited upon such an estate, which, though determinable, was considered a fee-simple, until the statute of *de donis* was made: since the statute we call that an estate-tail, which before was a conditional fee: id. p. 239; and while it continued so, if the donee had issue, he had power to alienate the fee, and to bar not only the succession of his issue, but the reversion of the donor in case his issue subsequently failed. To redress which evils (as they were thought to be), the act *de donis conditionalibus* was made. Id. p. 242, 245.]

[*111] *and wholly unconditional. (11) So that, as soon as the grantee had any issue born, his estate was supposed to become absolute, by the performance of the condition; at least for these three purposes: 1. To enable the tenant to aliene the land, and thereby to bar not only his own issue, but also the donor of his interest in the reversion. (g) 2. To subject him to forfeit it for treason; which he could not do, till issue born, longer than for his own life; lest thereby the inheritance of the issue, and reversion of the donor, might have been defeated. (h) 3. To empower him to charge the land with rents, commons, and certain other incumbrances, so as to bind his issue. (i) And this was thought the more reasonable, because, by the birth of issue, the possibility of the donor's reversion was rendered more distant and precarious; and *his* interest seems to have been the only one which the law, as it then stood, was solicitous to protect; without much regard to the right of succession intended to be vested in the issue. However, if the tenant did not in fact aliene the land, the course of descent was not altered by this performance of the condition; for if the issue had afterwards died, and then the tenant, or original grantee, had died, without making any alienation; the land, by the terms of the donation, could descend to none but the heirs of *his body*, and therefore, in default of them, must have reverted to the donor. For which reason, in order to subject the lands to the ordinary course of descent, the donees of these conditional fee-simples took care to aliene as soon as they had performed the condition by having issue; and afterwards repurchased the lands, which gave them a fee-simple absolute, that would descend to the heirs general according to the course of the common law. And thus stood the old law with regard to conditional fees: which things, says Sir Edward Coke, (k) though they seem ancient, are yet necessary to be known; as well for the declaring how the common law stood in such cases, as for the sake of annuities, and such like inheritances, as are not within the statutes of entail, and therefore remain as at the common law.

[*112] *The inconveniences which attended these limited and fettered inheritances, were probably what induced the judges to give way to this subtle finesse of construction (for such it undoubtedly was), in order to shorten the duration of these conditional estates. But, on the other hand, the nobility, who were willing to perpetuate their possessions in their own families, to put a stop to this practice, procured the statute of Wesminster the second (l) (commonly called the statute *de donis conditionalibus*) to be made; which paid a greater regard to the private will and intentions of the donor, than to the propriety of such intentions, or any public consideration whatsoever. This statute revived in some sort the ancient feudal restraints which were originally laid on alienations, by enacting, that from thenceforth the will of the donor be observed; and that the tenements so given (to a man and the heirs of his body) should at all events go to the issue, if there were any; or, if none, should revert to the donor.

Upon the construction of this act of parliament, the judges determined that the donee had no longer a conditional fee-simple, which became absolute and at his own disposal, the instant any issue was born; but they divided the estate into two parts, leaving in the donee a new kind of particular estate, which they denominated a *fee-tail*; (m) and investing in the donor the ultimate fee-simple

(g) Co. Litt. 19. 2 Inst. 233.

(h) Co. Litt., *ibid.* 2 Inst. 234.

(i) Co. Litt. 19.

(k) 1 Inst. 19.

(l) 13 Edw. I. c. 1.

(m) The expression *fee-tail*, or *feodum talliatum*, was borrowed from the feudists (see Crag. l. 1. t. 10, s. 24, 25); among whom it signified any mutilated or truncated inheritance, from which the heirs general were cut off; being derived from the barbarous verb *taliare*, to cut; from which the French *taller* and the Italian *tagliare* are formed. (Spelm., Gloss. 631.)

(11) [Where the person to whom a conditional fee was limited had issue, and suffered it to descend to such issue, they might alien it. But, if they did not alien, the donor would still have been entitled to his right of reverter; for the estate would have continued subject to the limitations contained in the original donation. *Nevill's Case*, 7 Rep. 124; *Willion v. Berkeley*, Plowd. 247. This authority supports the statement of our author, to a similar effect, lower down in the page; but it hardly authorizes the assertion that, after issue, the estate became wholly unconditional.]

of the land, expectant on the failure of issue: which expectant estate is what we now call a reversion. (*n*) And hence it is that Littleton tells us (*o*) that tenant in fee-tail is by virtue of the statute of Westminster the second.

Having thus shewn the *original* of estates-tail, I now proceed to consider, *what things* may, or may not, be entailed *under the statute *de donis*. [*113] *Tenements* is the only word used in the statute; and this Sir Edward Coke (*p*) expounds to comprehend all corporeal hereditaments whatsoever; and also all incorporeal hereditaments which savour of the reality, that is, which issue out of corporeal ones, or which concern, or are annexed to, or may be exercised within, the same; as, rents, estovers, commons, and the like. Also offices and dignities, which concern lands, or have relation to fixed and certain places, may be entailed. (*q*) But mere personal chattels, which savour not at all of the realty, cannot be entailed. Neither can an office, which merely relates to such personal chattels: nor an annuity, which charges only the person, and not the lands of the grantor. But in these last, if granted to a man and the heirs of his body, the grantee hath still a fee-conditional at common law, as before the statute; and by his alienation (after issue born) may bar the heir or reversioner. (*r*) (12) An estate to a man and his heirs for another's life cannot be entailed: (*s*) for this is strictly no estate of inheritance (as will appear hereafter), and therefore not within the statute *de donis*. Neither can a copyhold estate be entailed by virtue of the statute; for that would tend to encroach upon and restrain the will of the lord: but, by the *special custom* of the manor, a copyhold may be limited to the heirs of the body; (*t*) for here the custom ascertainment and interprets the lord's will.

Next, as to the several *species* of estates-tail, and how they are respectively created. Estates-tail are either *general* or *special*. Tail-general is where lands and tenements are given to one, and the *heirs of his body begotten*: which is called tail-general, because, how often soever such donee in tail be married, his issue in general by all and every such marriage is, in successive order, capable

(*n*) 2 Inst. 335.

(*r*) Co. Litt. 19, 20.

(*o*) § 13.

(*s*) 2 Vern. 225.

(*p*) 1 Inst. 19, 20.

(*t*) 3 Rep. 8.

(*q*) 7 Rep. 33.

(12) [If an annuity is granted out of personal property to a man and the heirs of his body, it is a fee-conditional at common law, and there can be no remainder or further limitation of it, and when the grantee has issue, he has the full power of alienation, and of barring the possibility of its reverting to the grantor by the extinction of his issue. 2 Ves. 170; 1 Bro. 325.]

But out of a term for years, or any personal chattel, except in the instance of an annuity, neither a fee-conditional nor an estate-tail can be created; for, if they are granted or devised by such words as would convey an estate-tail in real property, the grantee or devisee has the entire and absolute interest without having issue; and as soon as such an interest is vested in any one, all subsequent limitations of consequence become null and void. 1 Bro. 274; Harg. Co. Litt. 20; Fearn, 345, 3d ed.; Roper on Legacies, chap. xvii; see post, 398.

An annuity, when granted with words of inheritance, is descendible. It may be granted in fee: of course it may as a qualified or conditional fee; but it cannot be entailed, for it is not within the statute *de donis*; and, consequently, it has been held, there can be no remainder limited upon such a grant: but it seems there may be a limitation by way of executory devise, provided that is within the prescribed limits, and does not tend to a perpetuity. An annuity may be granted as a fee-simple conditional; but then, it must end or become absolute, in the life of a particularized person. *Turner v. Turner*, 1 Bro. 325; S. C., Ambl. 782; *Earl of Stafford v. Buckley*, 2 Ves. Sen. 180. An annuity granted to one, and the heirs male of his body being a grant not coming within the statute *de donis*, all the rules applicable to conditional fees at common law still hold, with respect to such a grant. *Nevill's Case*, 7 Rep. 125.

The instance of an annuity, charging merely the person of the grantor, seems to be the only one in which a fee-conditional of a personal chattel can now be created. Neither leaseholds, nor any other descriptions of personal property (except such annuities as aforesaid) can be limited so as to make them transmissible in a course of succession to heirs; they must go to personal representatives. *Countess of Lincoln v. Duke of Newcastle*, 12 Ves. 225; *Keiley v. Fowler*, Wilm. Notes, 310. There is consistency, therefore, in holding, that the very same words may be differently construed, and have very different operations, when applied, in the same instrument, to different descriptions of property, governed by different rules. *Forth v. Chapman*, 1 P. Wms. 667; *Elton v. Eason*, 19 Ves. 77. Thus, the same words which would only give an estate-tail in freehold property, will carry the absolute interest in leasehold or other personal property. *Green v. Stephens*, 19 Ves. 73; *Crook v. De Vandes*, 9 id. 203; *Tothill v. Pitt*, 1 Mad. 509.]

of inheriting the estate-tail, *per formam doni.* (u) Tenant in tail special is where the gift is restrained to certain heirs of the donee's body, and does not go to all of them in general. And this may *happen several ways. (w) I [*114] shall instance in only one; as where lands and tenements are given to a man and the *heirs of his body on Mary his now wife to be begotten*; here no issue can inherit, but such general issue as is engendered between them two; not such as the husband may have by another wife; and therefore it is called special tail. And here we may observe, that the words of inheritance (to him and his *heirs*) give him an estate in fee: but they being heirs *to be by him begotten*, this makes it a fee-tail; and the person being also limited, on whom such heirs shall be forgotten (viz.: *Mary his present wife*), this makes it a fee-tail special.

Estates, in general and special tail, are farther diversified by the distinction of sexes in such entails; for both of them may either be in tail *male* or tail *female*. As if lands be given to a man, and his *heirs male of his body begotten*, this is an estate in tail male general; but if to a man and the heirs *female of his body on his present wife begotten*, this is an estate in tail female special. And, in case of an entail male, the heirs female shall never inherit, nor any derived from them; nor *e converso*, the heirs male, in case of a gift in tail female. (x) Thus, if the donee in tail male hath a daughter, who dies leaving a son, such grandson, in this case cannot inherit the estate-tail; for he cannot deduce his descent wholly by heirs male. (y) And as the heir male must convey his descent wholly by males, so must the heir female wholly by females. And therefore if a man hath two estates-tail, the one in tail male, the other in tail female; and he hath issue a daughter, which daughter hath issue a son; this grandson can succeed to neither of the estates; for he cannot convey his descent wholly either in the male or female line. (z)

As the word *heirs* is necessary to create a fee, so in farther limitation of the strictness of the feudal donation, the word *body*, or some other words of procreation, are necessary to make it a fee-tail, and ascertain to what heirs in particular *the fee is limited. If, therefore, either the words of inheritance, or words of procreation be omitted, albeit the others are inserted in the grant, this will not make an estate-tail. As, if the grant be to a man and his *issue of his body*, to a man and his *seed*, to a man and his *children*, or *offspring*: all these are only estates for life, there wanting the words of inheritance, his heirs. (a) So, on the other hand, a gift to a man, and his *heirs male or female*, is an estate in fee-simple, and not in fee-tail: for there are no words to ascertain the body out of which they shall issue. (b) Indeed, in last wills and testaments, wherein greater indulgence is allowed, an estate-tail may be created by a devise to a man and his *seed*, or to a man and his *heirs male*; or by other irregular modes of expression. (c) (13)

There is still another species of entailed estates, now indeed grown out of use, yet still capable of subsisting in law; which are estates *in libero maritagio*, or *frankmarriage*. These are defined (d) to be, where tenements are given by one man to another, together with a wife, who is the daughter or cousin of the donor, to hold in frankmarriage. Now, by such gift, though nothing but the word *frankmarriage* is expressed, the donees shall have the tenements to them, and the heirs of their two bodies begotten; that is, they are tenants in special tail. For this one word, *frankmarriage* does *ex vi termini* not only create an inheritance, like the word *frankalmoign*, but likewise limits that inheritance; supplying not only words of descent, but of procreation also. Such donees in frankmarriage are liable to no service but fealty; for a rent reserved thereon is

(u) Litt. § 14, 15.

(w) *Ibid.* § 16, 26, 27, 28, 29.(x) *Ibid.* § 21, 22.(y) *Ibid.* § 24.

(z) Co. Litt. 25.

(a) Co. Litt. 20.

(b) Litt. § 31. Co. Litt. 27.

(c) Co. Litt. 9, 27.

(d) Litt. § 17.

(13) [Or to a man and his children, if he has no children at the time of the devise: 6 Co. 17; or to a man and his posterity: 1 H. Bl. 447; or by any other words, which show an intention to restrain the inheritance to the descendants of the devisee. See 2 Jarr. on Wills, 232 et seq.]

void, until the fourth degree of consanguinity be past between the issues of the donor and donee. (e)

The incidents to a tenancy in tail, under the statute Westm. 2, are chiefly these. (f) 1. That a tenant in tail may commit *waste* on the estate-tail, by felling timber, pulling down houses, or the like, without being impeached, or called to account for the same. *2. That the wife of the tenant in tail shall have [*116] her *dower*, or thirds, of the estate-tail. 3. That the husband of a female tenant in tail may be tenant by the *curtesy* of the estate-tail. 4. That an estate-tail may be *barred*, or destroyed by a fine, by a common recovery, or by lineal warranty descending with assets to the heir. All which will hereafter be explained at large.

Thus much for the nature of estates-tail: the establishment of which family law (as it is properly styled by Pigott) (g) occasioned infinite difficulties and disputes. (h) Children grew disobedient when they knew they could not be set aside: farmers were ousted of their leases made by tenants in tail; for, if such leases had been valid, then under colour of long leases the issue might have been virtually disinherited; creditors were defrauded of their debts; for, if a tenant in tail could have charged his estate with their payment, he might also have defeated his issue, by mortgaging it for as much as it was worth; innumerable latent entails were produced to deprive purchasers of the lands they had fairly bought; of suits in consequence of which our ancient books are full: and treasons were encouraged; as estates-tail were not liable to forfeiture, longer than for the tenant's life. So that they were justly branded, as the source of new contentions, and mischiefs unknown to the common law; and almost universally considered as the common grievance of the realm. (i) But as the nobility were always fond of this statute, because it preserved their family estates from forfeiture, there was little hope of procuring a repeal by the legislature, and therefore, by the connivance of an active and politic prince, a method was devised to evade it.

About two hundred years intervened between the making of the statute *de donis*, and the application of common recoveries to this intent, in the twelfth year of Edward IV; which were then openly declared by the judges to be a *sufficient bar of an estate-tail. (k) For though the courts had, so long [*117] before as the reign of Edward III, very frequently hinted their opinion that a bar might be effected upon these principles, (l) yet it was never carried into execution; till Edward IV, observing (m) (in the disputes between the houses of York and Lancaster) how little effect attainders for treason had on families, whose estates were protected by the sanctuary of entails, gave his countenance to this proceeding, and suffered Taltarum's case to be brought before the court; (n) wherein, in consequence of the principles then laid down, it was in effect determined, that a common recovery suffered by tenant in tail should be an effectual destruction thereof. What common recoveries are, both in their nature and consequences, and why they are allowed to be a bar to the estate-tail, must be reserved to a subsequent inquiry. At present I shall only say, that they are fictitious proceedings, introduced by a kind of *pia fraud*, to elude the statute *de donis*, which was found so intolerably mischievous, and which yet one branch of the legislature would not then consent to repeal: and that these recoveries, however clandestinely introduced, are now become by long use and acquiescence a most common assurance of lands; and are looked upon as the legal mode of conveyance, by which tenant in tail may dispose of his lands and tenements: so that no court will suffer them to be shaken or reflected on, and even acts of parliament (o) have by a sidewind countenanced and established them.

(e) *Ibid.* § 19, 20.

(f) Co. Litt. 224.

(g) Com. Recov. 5.

(h) 1 Rep. 131.

(i) Co. Litt. 19. Moor, 156. 10 Rep. 38.

(k) 1 Rep. 131. 6 Rep. 40.

(l) 10 Rep. 37, 38.

(m) Pigott, 8.

(n) Year-book, 12 Edw. IV, 14, 19. Fitzh. Abr. tit. *fauz recov.* 20 Bro. *Ibid.* 30 lit. *recov. in value*, 19. *tit. tail.* 38.

(o) 11 Henry VII, c. 20. 7 Henry VIII, c. 4. 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 20. 14 Eliz. c. 8. 4 and 5 Ann, c. 16. 14 Geo. II, c. 20.

This expedient having greatly abridged estates tail with regard to their duration, others were soon invented to strip them of other privileges. The next that was attacked was their freedom from forfeitures for treason. For, notwithstanding the large advances made by recoveries, in the compass of about threescore years, towards unfettering these inheritances, and thereby subjecting the lands to forfeiture, the rapacious prince then reigning, finding them frequently *resettled in a similar manner to suit the convenience of families, had address enough to procure a statute (*p*) whereby all estates of inheritance (under which general words estates-tail were covertly included) are declared to be forfeited to the king upon any conviction of high treason.

The next attack which they suffered in order of time, was by the statute 32 Henry VIII, c. 28, whereby certain leases made by tenants in tail, which do not tend to the prejudice of the issue, were allowed to be good in law, and to bind the issue in tail. But they received a more violent blow, in the same session of parliament, by the construction put upon the statute of fines, (*q*) by the statute 32 Henry VIII, c. 36, which declares a fine duly levied by tenant in tail to be a complete bar to him and his heirs, and all other persons claiming under such entail. This was evidently agreeable to the intention of Henry VII, whose policy it was (before common recoveries had obtained their full strength and authority) to lay the road as open as possible to the alienation of landed property, in order to weaken the overgrown power of his nobles. But as they, from the opposite reasons, were not easily brought to consent to such a provision, it was therefore couched, in his act, under covert and obscure expressions. And the judges, though willing to construe that statute as favorably as possibly for the defeating of entailed estates, yet hesitated at giving fines so extensive a power by mere implication, when the statute *de donis* had expressly declared, that they should *not* be a bar to estates-tail. But the statute of Henry VIII, when the doctrine of alienation was better received, and the will of the prince more implicitly obeyed than before, avowed and established that intention. Yet, in order to preserve the property of the crown from any danger of infringement, all estates-tail created by the crown and of which the crown has the reversion, are excepted out of this statute. And the same was done with regard to common recoveries, by the statute 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 20, which enacts, that no feigned recovery had against tenants in tail, where the estate was created by the [*119] *crown, (*r*) and the remainder or reversion continues still in the crown, shall be of any force and effect. Which is allowing, indirectly and collaterally, their full force and effect with respect to ordinary estates-tail, where the royal prerogative is not concerned.

Lastly, by a statute of the succeeding year, (*s*) all estates-tail are rendered liable to be charged for payment of debts due to the king by record or special contract; as since, by the bankrupt laws, (*t*) they are also subjected to be sold for the debts contracted by a bankrupt. (14) And, by the construction put on

(*p*) 26 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
(*s*) 33 Hen. VIII, c. 39, § 75

(*q*) 4 Hen. VII, c. 24.
(*t*) Stat. 21 Jac. I, c. 19.

(*r*) Co. Litt. 372.

(14) 6 Geo. IV, c. 16, s. 65.

And now in England, by stat. 3 and 4 William IV, c. 74, the tenant in tail is enabled "by an ordinary deed of conveyance (if duly enrolled), and without resort to the indirect and operose expedient of a fine or recovery (which the statute wholly abolishes) to aliene in fee-simple absolute, or for any less estate, the lands entailed, and thereby to bar himself, and his issue and all persons having any ulterior estate therein. Yet this is subject to an important qualification, designed for the protection of family settlements. For in these it is usual to settle a life estate (which is a freehold interest) on the parent, prior to the estate-tail limited to the children; and the nature of a recovery (by which alone interests ulterior to the estate-tail could formerly be barred) was such as to make the concurrence of the immediate tenant of the freehold indispensable to its validity. In order therefore to continue to the parent (or other prior taker) a control of the same general description, the act provides that where, under the same settlement which created the estate-tail, a prior estate of freehold, or for years determinable with life, shall have been conferred, it shall not be competent for the tenant in tail to bar any estate taking effect upon the determination of the estate-tail, without consent of the person to whom such prior estate was given; who receives for that reason the appellation of

the statute 43 Eliz. c. 4, an appointment (*u*) by tenant in tail of the lands entailed, to a charitable use, is good without fine or recovery.

Estates-tail, being thus by degrees unfettered, are now reduced again to almost the same state, even before issue born, as conditional fees were in at common law, after the condition was performed, by the birth of issue. For, first, the tenant in tail is now enabled to aliene his lands and tenements by fine, by recovery, or by certain other means; and thereby to defeat the interest as well of his own issue, though unborn, as also of the reversioner, except in the case of the crown: secondly, he is now liable to forfeit them for high treason: and lastly, he may charge them with reasonable leases, and also with such of his debts as are due to the crown on specialties, or have been contracted with his fellow-subjects in a course of extensive commerce. (15)

CHAPTER VIII.

OF FREEHOLDS, NOT OF INHERITANCE.

WE are next to discourse of such estates of freehold, as are not of inheritance, but *for life* only. And of these estates for life, some are *conventional*, or expressly created by the act of the parties; others merely *legal*, or created by construction and operation of law. (*a*) We will consider them both in their order.

1. Estates for life, expressly created by deed or grant (which alone are properly conventional), are where a lease is made of lands or tenements to a man, to hold for the term of his own life, or for that of any other person, or for more lives than one: in any of which cases he is styled tenant for life; only when he holds the estate by the life of another, he is usually called tenant *per auter vie*. (*b*) These estates for life are, like inheritances, of feudal nature; and were, for some time, the highest estate that any man could have in a feud, which (as we have before seen) (*c*) was not in its original hereditary. They are given or conferred by the same feudal rights and solemnities, the same investiture or liv-

(*a*) 2 Vern. 458. Chan. Prec. 16.

(*a*) Wright, 190.

(*b*) Litt. § 56.

(*c*) Page, 55.

protector of the settlement. But the object not being to restrain the power of the tenant in tail over the estate-tail itself (which he could have barred before the statute by *fine*, without any other person's concurrence) his alienation (in the manner prescribed by the act) is allowed to be effectual, even without the consent of the protector, so far as regards the barring of himself and his issue." 1 Stephen's Commentaries, 237. And later than the statute above mentioned, by 1 and 2 Vic. c. 110, estates-tail were made liable to judgments recovered for ordinary debts.

Mr. Stephen remarks that "estates-tail have thus been gradually unfettered; and are now subject to even less restraint than attached to conditional fees at common law, after the condition was performed by the birth of issue. For, first, the tenant in tail is now enabled by any ordinary deed of conveyance (enrolled) to alien his lands and tenements in fee-simple absolute, or otherwise, and thereby to bar his issue (born or unborn) and all ulterior claimants, subject only to the necessity, so far as the latter are concerned, of obtaining the consent of the protector, where there is one. Secondly, he is liable to forfeit them for treason. Thirdly, he may charge them with reasonable leases, even by deed not enrolled; and lastly, they are subject to be sold for payment of his debts to the same extent to which he would himself have had power to dispose of them."

(15) Estates-tail were introduced into the American colonies with other elements of the common law, and in some of the colonies the mode of barring them by common recovery obtained before the revolution. But now these estates are either changed into fee-simples, or reversionary estates in fee-simple, and do not exist at all as estates-tail, or may be converted into estates in fee-simple by familiar forms of conveyance in the several states, by force of their respective statutes. 1 Washburn on Real Property, 83, 84. It is competent for the legislature to make this change in the nature of estates: Cooley on Const. Lim. 360, and cases there cited.

ery of seisin, as fees themselves are; (1) and they are held by fealty, if demanded, and such conventional rents and services as the lord or lessor, and his tenant or lessee, have agreed on.

[*121] *Estates for life may be created, not only by the express words before mentioned, but also by a general grant, without defining or limiting any specific estate. As, if one grants to A B the manor of Dale, this makes him tenant for life. (*d*) For though, as there are no words of inheritance or *heirs* mentioned in the grant, it cannot be construed to be a fee, it shall however be construed to be as large an estate as the words of the donation will bear, and therefore an estate for life. Also such a grant at large, or a grant for term of life generally, shall be construed to be an estate for the life of the grantee; (*e*) in case the grantor hath authority to make such grant: for an estate for a man's own life is more beneficial and of a higher nature than for any other life; and the rule of law is, that all grants are to be taken most strongly against the grantor, (*f*) unless in the case of the king.

Such estates for life will, generally speaking, endure as long as the life for which they are granted: but there are some estates for life, which may determine upon future contingencies, before the life, for which they are created expires. As, if an estate be granted to a woman during her widowhood, or to a man until he be promoted to a benefice; in these, and similar cases, whenever the contingency happens, when the widow marries, or when the grantee obtains a benefice, the respective estates are absolutely determined and gone. (*g*) Yet while they subsist, they are reckoned estates for life: because, the time for which they will endure being uncertain, they may by possibility last for life, if the contingencies upon which they are to determine do not sooner happen. And, moreover, in case an estate be granted to a man for his life, generally, it may also determine by his *civil* death: as if he enters into a monastery, whereby he is dead in law: (*h*) for which reason in conveyances the grant is usually made "for the term of a man's *natural* life;" which can only determine by his *natural* death. (*i*)

[*122] *The incidents to an estate for life are principally the following; which are applicable not only to that species of tenants for life, which are expressly created by deed; but also to those which are created by act and operation of law.

1. Every tenant for life, unless restrained by covenant or agreement, may of common right take upon the land demised to him reasonable *estovers* (*k*) or *botes*. (*l*) For he hath a right to the full enjoyment and use of the land, and all its profits, during his estate therein. But he is not permitted to cut down timber, or do other waste upon the premises: (*m*) for the destruction of such things as are not the temporary profits of the tenement is not necessary for the tenant's complete enjoyment of his estate; but tends to the permanent and lasting loss of the person entitled to the inheritance. (2)

(*d*) Co. Litt. 42.
(*h*) 2 Rep. 48.

(*e*) *Ibid.*
(*h*) See book I, p. 132.

(*f*) *Ibid.* 36.
(*k*) See p. 35.

(*g*) Co. Litt. 42.
(*l*) Co. Litt. 41.

3 Rep. 20.
(*m*) *Ibid.* 53.

(1) [An estate for life may be created by any of the modes of assurance or conveyance proper for passing freehold estates; as by bargain and sale operating under the statute of uses; by release from the reversioner to the tenant for years; by grant of a reversion to a stranger, or, as mentioned in the text, by feoffment. In each of these conveyances words of inheritance are necessary to confer an estate of inheritance; and if no words of inheritance and nothing equivalent to them occur, the conveyance passes but an estate for the life of the grantee.]

(2) [Where the commission of acts of waste, such as cutting down timber that is falling into decay, is clearly for the benefit of all persons interested in the property, the courts have permitted a tenant for life to cut it, the proceeds being invested for the benefit of the remaindermen, but the annual interest being given to the tenant for life. *Tooker v. Annesley*, 5 Sim. 235; *Waldo v. Waldo*, 7 id. 261; *Phillips v. Barlow*, 14 id. 263; *Bateman v. Hotchkin*, 31 Beav. 436.]

Estates may be created without impeachment of waste, in which case the tenant has a much larger power, though even then he must not commit acts which tend to the destruction of the estate, such as the demolition of a castle: *Vane v. Lord Barnard*, 2 Vern. 738; or ornamental trees: *Aston v. Aston*, 1 Ves. Sen. 265. But the doctrine that he must not cut down timber is not entirely applicable to the condition of the American States, in some parts of which and under some circumstances it would be regarded as beneficial to both parties for the tenant to clear and improve a portion of the land. See *Crockett v. Crockett*, 2 Ohio N. S. 180; *McCay v. Wait*, 51 Barb. 225.

2. Tenant for life, or his representatives, shall not be prejudiced by any sudden determination of his estate, because such a determination is contingent and uncertain. (*n*) Therefore if a tenant for his own life sows the lands and dies before harvest, his executors shall have the *emblemments* or profits of the crop: (3) for the estate was determined by the *act of God*, and it is a maxim in the law, that *actus Dei nemini facit injuriam*. The representatives, therefore, of the tenant for life shall have the emblements to compensate for the labour and expense of tilling, manuring and sowing the lands; and also for the encouragement of husbandry, which being a public benefit, tending to the increase and plenty of provisions, ought to have the utmost security and privilege that the law can give it. Wherefore by the feudal law, if a tenant for life died between the beginning of September and the end of February, the lord, who was entitled to the reversion, was also entitled to the profits of the whole year; but if he died between the beginning of March and the end of August, the heirs of [*123] the tenant received the whole. (*o*) From hence our law of emblements [*123] seems to have been derived, but with very considerable improvements. So it is, also, if a man be tenant for the life of another, and *cestui que vie*, or he on whose life the land is held, dies after the corn sown, the tenant *per auter vie* shall have the emblements. The same is also the rule, if a life estate be determined by the *act of law*. Therefore if a lease be made to husband and wife during coverture (which gives them a determinable estate for life), and the husband sows the land, and afterwards they are divorced *a vinculo matrimonii*, the husband shall have the emblements in this case; for the sentence of divorce is the act of law. (*p*) But if an estate for life be determined by the tenant's *own act* (as, by forfeiture for waste committed; or, if a tenant during widowhood thinks proper to marry), in these, and similar cases, the tenants, having thus determined the estate by their own acts, shall not be entitled to take the emblements. (*q*) (4) The doctrine of emblements extends not only to corn sown, but to roots planted, or other annual artificial profit, but it is otherwise of fruit trees, grass, and the like; which are not planted annually at the expense and labour of the tenant, but are either a permanent or natural profit of the earth. (*r*) For when a man plants a tree, he cannot be presumed to plant it in contemplation of any present profit; but merely with a prospect of its being useful to

(*n*) *Ibid.* 55.(*o*) *Feudl.* 2, t. 28.(*p*) 5 Rep. 116.(*q*) Co. Litt. 55.(*r*) Co. Litt. 55, 56. 1 Roll. Abr. 728.

(3) This means such crops as are produced by annual planting and culture, and not such as grass, fruit and the like, as are the annual produce from permanent roots. *Stewart v. Doughty*, 9 Johns. 108. But hops, it is said, are an exception, and will go to the tenant as emblements, because they require annual training and culture: 1 Washb. Real. Prop. 102; and so will trees, shrubs, &c., planted by gardeners and nurserymen for sale. *Penton v. Robart*, 2 East, 88. The mere preparation of the soil for crops will give the tenant no right to emblements, if they have not been actually planted when his estate terminates. *Stewart v. Doughty*, 9 Johns. 108; *Thompson v. Thompson*, 6 Munf. 514; *Price v. Pickett*, 21 Ala. 741.

(4) [Emblements are considered for most purposes as goods and chattels; they go, as has been seen, to the executors, they may be taken in execution, and contracts relating to them have been held not to be contracts relating to any interest in lands within the statute of frauds, in contradistinction to contracts relating to growing grass, crops of fruit, &c. 2 Brod. and B. 368; 5 B. and C. 829; 8 Dowl. and Ry. 611; 4 Mee. and W. 363.]

To entitle the tenant to emblements, his estate must be of uncertain duration, and must have been terminated in some other manner than by his own act. For if he knows when his estate is to cease, and plants crops which will not ripen during the term, it is his own folly, and the reversioner is not to be the sufferer in consequence. And the law will not protect him against the consequences of his act if he voluntarily puts an end to an estate before his crops are matured. *Kittredge v. Woods*, 3 N. H. 503; *Whitmarsh v. Cutting*, 10 Johns. 360; *Harris v. Carson*, 7 Leigh, 632; *Davis v. Brocklebank*, 9 N. H. 73; *Chandler v. Thurston*, 10 Pick. 205; *Chesley v. Welch*, 37 Me. 106. Therefore a widow holding land during widowhood is not entitled to emblements if she terminates the estate by marriage. *Hawkins v. Skeggs*, 10 Humph. 31. Nor is a parson who resigns his living: *Bulwer v. Bulwer*, 2 B. and Ald. 470. See *Davis v. Eyton*, 7 Bing. 154.

Incident to the right to emblements, is the right to go upon the premises for the purpose of cultivation and harvest, the reversioner being in possession for all other purposes. 1 Washb. Real Prop. 105, 106.

him in future, and to future successions of tenants. The advantages also of emblements are particularly extended to the parochial clergy by the statute 28 Hen. VIII, c. 11. For all persons, who are presented to any ecclesiastical benefice, or to any civil office, are considered as tenants for their own lives, unless the contrary be expressed in the form of donation.

3. A third incident to estates for life relates to the under-tenants, or lessees. For they have the same, nay, greater indulgences than their lessors, the original tenants for life. The same; for the law of estovers and emblements *with [*124] regard to the tenant for life, is also law with regard to his under-tenant, who represents him and stands in his place: (s) and greater; for in those cases where tenant for life shall not have the emblements, because the estate determines by his own act, the exception shall not reach his lessee, who is a third person. As in the case of a woman who holds *durante viduitate*: her taking husband is her own act, and therefore deprives her of the emblements; but if she leases her estate to an under-tenant, who sows the land, and she then marries, this her act shall not deprive the tenant of his emblements, who is a stranger, and could not prevent her. (t) The lessees of tenants for life had also at the common law another most unreasonable advantage; for at the death of their lessors, the tenants for life, these under-tenants, might if they pleased quit the premises, and pay no rent to any body for the occupation of the land since the last quarter day, or other day assigned for the payment of rent. (u) To remedy which it is now enacted, (v) that the executors or administrators of tenant for life, on whose death any lease determined, shall recover of the lessee a ratable proportion of rent from the last day of payment to the death of such lessor. (5)

II. The next estate for life is of the legal kind, as contradistinguished from conventional; viz: that of tenant *in tail after possibility of issue extinct*. This happens where one is tenant in special tail; and a person, from whose body the issue was to spring, dies without issue; or, having left issue, that issue becomes extinct: in either of these cases the surviving tenant in special tail becomes tenant in tail after possibility of issue extinct. As where one has an estate to him and his heirs on the body of his present wife to be begotten, and the wife dies without issue: (w) in this case the man has an estate-tail, which cannot possibly descend to any one; and therefore the law makes use of this long periphrasis, as absolutely necessary to give an adequate idea of his estate. For if it had called him [*125] barely *tenant in fee-tail special*, that *would not have distinguished him from others; and besides, he has no longer an estate of inheritance or fee, (x) for he can have no heirs capable of taking *per formam doni*. Had it called him *tenant in tail without issue*, this had only related to the present fact, and would not have excluded the possibility of future issue. Had he been styled *tenant in tail without possibility of issue* this would exclude time past as well as present, and he might under this description never have had any possibility of issue. No definition therefore could so exactly mark him out, as this of *tenant in tail after possibility of issue extinct*, which (with a precision peculiar to our own law) not only takes in the possibility of issue in tail which he once had, but also states that this possibility is now extinguished and gone.

This estate must be created by the act of God, that is, by the death of that person out of whose body the issue was to spring; for no limitation, conveyance, or other human act can make it. For, if land be given to a man and his wife, and the heirs of their two bodies begotten, and they are divorced *a vinculo*

(s) Co. Litt. 55.

(t) Cro. Eliz. 461. 1 Roll. Abr. 727.

(u) 10 Rep. 127.

(v) Stat. 11 Geo. II, c. 19, § 15.

(w) Litt. § 32.

(x) 1 Roll. Rep. 184. 11 Rep. 80.

(5) At the common law a tenant for life, unless expressly authorized by the instrument creating the estate, could grant no lease which would have force after the termination of the life estate; but by statute 19 and 20 Vic. c. 120, amended by later statutes, leases of the lands, excepting the manor house and the demesnes and lands usually occupied with it, may be made for any term not exceeding twenty-one years, to take effect in possession; and even longer leases may be given by consent of the court of chancery.

matrimonii, they shall neither of them have this estate, but be barely tenants for life, notwithstanding the inheritance once vested in them. (y) A possibility of issue is always supposed to exist, in law, unless extinguished by the death of the parties; even though the donees be each of them an hundred years old. (z)

This estate is of an amphibious nature, partaking partly of an estate-tail, and partly of an estate for life. The tenant is, in truth, only tenant for life, but with many of the privileges of a tenant in tail; as not to be punishable for waste, &c.; (a) (6) or, he is tenant in tail, with many of the restrictions of a tenant for

(y) Co. Litt. 28.

(z) Litt. § 34. Co. Litt. 28.

(a) Co. Litt. 27.

(6) [See *post*, chapter 18 of this book, p. 283. All authorities agree, that tenant in tail after possibility of issue extinct is dispunishable for waste: Doctor and Student, dial. 2, c. 1; but, in *Herlakenden's Case*, 4 Rep. 63, C. J. Wray is reported to have said, that, although tenant in tail after possibility, &c., cannot be punished in waste for cutting down trees upon the land he holds as such tenant; yet he cannot have the absolute interest in the trees, and if he sells them, cannot retain the price. This *dictum* is noticed by Mr. Hargrave in his 2d note to Co. Litt. 27 b; and is countenanced by another *dictum* in *Abraham v. Bubb*, 2 Freeman, 53; Mr. Christian, too, in his annotation upon the passage of the text, considers it as settled law, that, if a tenant in tail after possibility, &c., cuts down trees, they do not become his property, but will belong to the party who has the first estate of inheritance. In opposition, however, to the doctrine imputed to C. J. Wray, and the *obiter dictum* in *Abraham v. Bubb*, it was distinctly resolved by the whole court of king's bench, (consisting of Coke, Crooke, Doddridge, and Haughton,) in the case of *Bowles v. Bertee*, 1 Rolle's Rep. 184; S. C., 11 Rep. 84, that a tenant after possibility has the whole property in trees which he either causes to be cut down, or which are blown down, on the estate. And this seems to be now firmly settled by the case of *Williams v. Williams*. When that case was before Lord Chancellor Eldon, his lordship (as reported in 15 Ves. 427) intimated, that he could not imagine how it was doubted that the tenant, being dispunishable, had not, as a consequence, the property in the trees. That it was singular there should be an argument raised, that such a tenant should be restrained from committing *malicious* waste, by cutting ornamental timber: *Garth v. Cotton*, 1 Dick. 209; if it was understood to be the law that he could not commit waste of *any* kind. Attorney-General v. Duke of Marlborough, 3 Mad. 539. However, as all the previous cases in which tenant in tail after possibility of issue extinct had been determined to be dispunishable of waste, were cases in which the tenant had once been tenant in tail *with* the other donee in possession; and in the case of *Williams v. Williams* the tenant claimed in *remainder*, after the death of the joint donee; Lord Eldon thought it advisable, before he made a final decree, to direct a case to the court of King's Bench, not describing the claimant as tenant in tail after possibility of issue extinct, but stating the limitations of the settlement under which the claim was made. The case was accordingly argued at law, and a certificate returned: that the claimant was tenant in tail after possibility of issue extinct; was unimpeachable of waste upon the estate comprised in the settlement; and, having cut timber thereon, was entitled to the timber so cut as her own property. 12 East, 221.

A tenant for life, without impeachment of waste, and a tenant in tail after possibility of issue extinct, seem to stand upon precisely the same footing in regard to all questions of waste: Attorney-General v. Duke of Marlborough, 3 Mad. 539; and a tenant for life, dispunishable for waste, is clearly not compellable to pursue such a course of management of the timber upon the estate, as a tenant in fee might think most advantageous. Whatever trees are fit for the purpose of timber he may cut down, though they may be still in an improving state. *Smythe v. Smythe*, 2 Swanst. 252; *Brydges v. Stevens*, id. 152, n; *Coffin v. Coffin*, Jacob's Rep. 72. No tenant for life, however, of any description, although not subject to impeachment for waste, must cut down trees planted for ornament or shelter to a mansion-house, or saplings not fit to be felled as timber, for this would not be a fairly beneficial exercise of the license given to him, but a malicious and fraudulent injury to the remainder-man. *Chamberlayne v. Dammer*, 2 Br. 549; *Cholmeley v. Paxton*, 3 Bing. 212; *Lord Tamworth v. Lord Ferrers*, 6 Ves. 420. In this respect, the claim which might, perhaps, be successfully asserted in a court of law, as to the right of felling any timber whatsoever, is controlled in courts of equity: *Marquis of Downshire v. Lady Sandys*, 6 Ves. 114; *Lord Bernard's Case*, Prec. in Cha. 455; and that even on the application of a mere tenant for life in remainder. *Davies v. Leo*, 6 Ves. 787. And not only wanton malice, but fraud and collusion, by which the legal remedies against waste may be evaded, will give to courts of equity a jurisdiction over such cases, often beyond, and even contrary to, the rules of law. *Garth v. Cotton*, 3 Atk. 755.

A tenant for life, without impeachment of waste, has no interest in the timber on the estate while it is standing: nor can he convey any interest in such growing timber to another: *Cholmeley v. Paxton*, 3 Bing. 211; if, in execution of a power, he should sell the estate, with the timber growing thereon, he cannot retain, for his own absolute use, that part of the purchase money which was the consideration for the timber; though, before he sold the estate, he might, it seems, have cut down every sizable tree, and put the produce into his pocket. *Doran v. Wiltshire*, 3 Swanst. 701. And the peculiar privileges which a tenant for life after

life; as to forfeit his estate, if he alienes it in fee-simple: (*b*) whereas such alienation by tenant in tail, though voidable by the issue, is no forfeiture of the [*126] estate to the reversioner: who is not concerned in interest, *till all possibility of issue be extinct. But, in general, the law looks upon this estate as equivalent to an estate for life only; and, as such, will permit this tenant to exchange his estate with a tenant for life, which exchange can only be made, as we shall see hereafter, of estates that are equal in their nature.

III. Tenant *by the curtesy of England*, is where a man marries a woman seised of an estate of inheritance, that is, of lands and tenements in fee-simple or fee-tail; and has by her issue, born alive, which was capable of inheriting her estate. In this case, he shall, on the death of his wife, hold the lands for his life, as tenant by the curtesy of England. (*c*) (*?*)

This estate, according to Littleton, has its denomination, because it is used within the realm of England only; and it is said in the *Mirroure* (*d*) to have been introduced by King Henry the First; but it appears also to have been the established law of Scotland, wherein it was called *curialitas*, (*e*) so that probably our word *curtesy* was understood to signify rather an attendance upon the lord's court or *curtis* (that is, being his vassal or tenant), than to denote any peculiar favour belonging to this island. And therefore it is laid down (*f*) that by having issue, the husband shall be entitled to do homage to the lord, for the wife's lands, alone: whereas, before issue had, they must both have done it together. It is likewise used in Ireland, by virtue of an ordinance of King Henry III. (*g*) It also appears (*h*) to have obtained in Normandy; and was likewise used among the ancient Almaines or Germans. (*i*) And yet it is not generally apprehended to have been a consequence of feudal tenure, (*k*) though I think some substantial feudal reasons may be given for its introduction. For if a woman seised of lands hath issue by her husband, and dies, the husband is the natural guardian of the child, and as such is in reason entitled to [*127] *the profits of the lands in order to maintain it; for which reason the heir apparent of a tenant by the curtesy could not be in ward to the lord of the fee, during the life of such tenant. (*l*) As soon, therefore, as any child was born, the father began to have a permanent interest in the lands; he became one of the *pares curtis*, did homage to the lord, and was called tenant by the curtesy *initiate*; and this estate being once vested in him by the birth of the child, was not suffered to determine by the subsequent death or coming of age of the infant.

There are four requisites necessary to make a tenancy by the curtesy; marriage, seisin of the wife, issue, and death of the wife. (*m*) 1. The marriage must be canonical and legal. 2. The seisin of the wife must be an actual seisin, or possession of the lands; not a bare right to possess, which is a seisin in law, but an actual possession, which is a seisin in deed. (8) And therefore a man shall not be tenant by the curtesy of a remainder or reversion. (9) But of some incorporeal hereditaments a man may be tenant by the curtesy, though there

(*b*) Co. Litt. 28.

(*c*) Litt. § 35. 52.

(*d*) c. 1, § 3.

(*e*) Crag. 1. 2, c. 19, § 4.

(*f*) Litt. § 90. Co. Litt. 30. 67.

(*g*) Pat. 11 H. III. m. 30, in 2 Bac. Abr. 650.

(*h*) Grand Coustum. c. 119.

(*i*) Lindenbrog. LL. Alman. t. 92.

(*k*) Wright, 294.

(*l*) F. N. B. 143.

(*m*) Co. Litt. 30.

possibility of issue extinct is allowed to enjoy, because the inheritance was once in him, are personal privileges; if he grants over his estate to another, his grantee will be bare tenant for life. 2 Inst. 302; George Ap Rice's Case, 3 Leon. 241.]

(7) [See a reference to some old instances of curtesy of titles and offices of honor, Co. Litt. 29, a. Mr. Hargrave says: "I cannot learn that there have been any claims of dignities by curtesy since Lord Coke's time."]

(8) [Entry is not always necessary to an actual seisin or seisin in deed; for, if the land be in lease for years, curtesy may be without entry or even receipt of rent, the possession of the lessee being the possession of the husband and wife. Co. Litt. 29, a. n. 3; 3 Atk. 469. But if the lands were not let, and the wife died before entry, there could be no curtesy. Co. Litt. 29.]

(9) [A man will not be entitled to tenancy by the curtesy of, nor a woman to dower out of, a reversion or remainder *expectant upon an estate of freehold*; but upon a reversion expectant upon an estate for years, both these rights (of dower and of curtesy) accrue: Stoughton v. Leigh. 1 Taunt. 410; for the possession of the tenant for years constitutes a legal seisin of the freehold in reversion. De Gray v. Richardson, 3 Atk. 470; Goodtitle v. Newman, 3 Wils. 521.]

have been no actual seisin of the wife: as in case of an advowson, where the church has not become void in the lifetime of the wife: which a man may hold by the curtesy, because it is impossible ever to have actual seisin of it, and *impotentia excusat legem*. (n) If the wife be an idiot, the husband shall not be tenant by the curtesy of her lands; for the king by prerogative is entitled to them, the instant she herself has any title; and since she could never be rightfully seised of the lands, and the husband's title depends entirely upon her seisin, the husband can have no title as tenant by the curtesy. (o) (10) 3. The issue must be born alive. Some have had a notion that it must be heard to cry; but that is a mistake. Crying indeed is the *strongest* evidence of its being born alive; but it is not the *only* evidence. (p) (11) The issue also must be born during the life of the mother; for if the mother dies in labour, and the Cæsarean operation is performed, the husband in this case shall not be tenant by the *curtesy; because, at the instant of the mother's [*128] death he was clearly not entitled, as having had no issue born, but the land descended to the child while he was yet in his mother's womb; and the estate being once so vested, shall not afterwards be taken from him. (q) In gavelkind lands, a husband may be tenant by the curtesy, without having any issue. (r) But in general there must be issue born: and such issue as is also capable of inheriting the mother's estate. (s) Therefore, if a woman be tenant in tail *male*, and hath only a *daughter* born, the husband is not thereby entitled to be tenant by the curtesy; because such issue female can never inherit the estate in tail *male*. (t) And this seems to be the principal reason why the husband cannot be tenant by the curtesy of any lands of which the wife was not actually seised; (12) because, in order to entitle himself to such estate, he must have begotten issue that may be heir to the wife: but no one, by the standing rule of law, can be heir to the ancestor of any land, whereof the ancestor was not actually seised: and therefore, as the husband hath never begotten any issue that can be heir to those lands, (13) he shall not be tenant of them by the

(n) Co. Litt. 29.
(q) Co. Litt. 29.

(o) Co. Litt. 30. Plowd. 283.
(r) *Ibid.* 30.

(s) Litt. § 56.

(p) Dyer 25. 8 Rep. 34.
(t) Co. Litt. 29.

(10) There can be no curtesy in such case, because the marriage was absolutely void, for the want of legal capacity on the part of the woman to form the relation. See book 1, p. 438, 439; *Ex parte Barnsley*, 3 Atk. 168; *Foster v. Means*, 1 Speers, Eq. 569; *Crump v. Morgan*, 3 Ired. Eq. 91.

(11) See *Marsellis v. Thalhimer*, 2 Paige, 35; *Brock v. Kellack*, 30 L. J. Ch. 498.

(12) The seisin of the wife need not be of a legal estate; for if the lands are held for her in trust, and she is entitled to the rents and profits in fee, she has such a seisin as will give the husband an equitable estate by the curtesy. *Hearle v. Greenbank*, 3 Atk. 717; *Davis v. Mason*, 1 Pet. 503; *Morgan v. Morgan*, 5 Madd. 408. But if her equitable estate of inheritance is settled upon her to her separate use, curtesy will not attach. 1 Washb. Real Prop. 130; *Cockran v. O'Hern*, 4 W. and S. 95. But it is otherwise by statute in some states. See 1 Washb. Real Prop. 131; *Tillinghast v. Coggeshall*, 7 R. I. 383. If the wife has the legal estate, a constructive seisin is sufficient; as where the lands are vacant or are held under lease by tenant for years: *Jackson v. Johnson*, 5 Cow. 74; *Chew v. Commissioners, &c.*, 5 Rawle, 160; *Day v. Cochran*, 24 Miss. 261; *Stephens v. Hume*, 25 Mo. 349; *Davis v. Mason*, 1 Pet. 506; *Pierce v. Wanett*, 10 Ired. 446; *Wells v. Thompson*, 13 Ala. 793; *McCorry v. King*, 3 Humph. 267; *Lowry v. Steele*, 4 Ohio, 170. But in Kentucky actual seisin in the wife appears to be necessary; *Neely v. Butler*, 10 B. Monr. 48; *Stinebaugh v. Wisdom*, 13 id. 467; though if the wife is in the receipt of the rents and profits, this is sufficient; the possession of her tenant being regarded as her possession. *Powell v. Gossom*, 18 id. 179. If the wife's seisin is only of a reversionary interest, after the determination of a prior freehold estate, and such freehold estate does not terminate in her lifetime, the husband has no curtesy; *Malone v. McLaurin*, 40 Miss. 163; *Taylor v. Gould*, 10 Barb. 388; *Reed v. Reed*, 3 Head, 491; *Stewart v. Barclay*, 2 Bush. 550; and generally whatever defeats or determines the wife's estate will defeat curtesy also. On this subject see 1 Washb. Real Prop. 131-135.

If the wife is only seized as trustee for another, the husband has no curtesy; and if she has sold lands before the marriage and received payment, but has not yet conveyed, the husband is not entitled to curtesy, as in equity she is regarded as merely trustee for the purchaser. *Welch v. Chandler*, 13 B. Mon. 431.

(13) [This is not stated with our author's usual precision. The issue, in the case put, might be heir to the *lands*, though he could not take as heir to his mother, but as heir to his ancestor, who was last actually seised. See *post*, chapter 14 of this book, pp. 209, 227; see also 1 Inst. 11 b.]

curtesy. (*u*) And hence we may observe, with how much nicety and consideration the old rules of law were framed; and how closely they are connected and interwoven together, supporting, illustrating, and demonstrating one another. The time when the issue was born is immaterial, provided it were during the coverture; for, whether it were born before or after the wife's seisin of the lands, whether it be living or dead at the time of the seisin, or at the time of the wife's decease, the husband shall be tenant by the curtesy. (*w*) The husband by the birth of the child becomes (as was before observed) tenant by the curtesy initiate (*x*) (14) and may do many acts to charge the lands, but his estate is not consummate till the death of the wife; which is the fourth and last requisite to make a complete tenant by the curtesy. (*y*)

[*129] *IV. Tenant in *dower* is where the husband of a woman is seised (15) of an estate of inheritance, and dies; in this case, the wife shall have the third (16) part of all the lands and tenements whereof he was seised at any time during the coverture, to hold to herself for the term of her natural life. (*z*)

Dower is called in Latin by the foreign jurists *doarium*, but by Bracton and our English writers *dos*: which among the Romans signified the marriage portion which the wife brought to her husband; but with us is applied to signify this kind of estate, to which the civil law, in its original state, had nothing that bore a resemblance: nor indeed is there anything in general more different, than the regulation of landed property according to the English and Roman laws. Dower out of the lands seems also to have been unknown in the early part of our Saxon constitution; for, in the laws of King Edmond, (*a*) the wife is directed to be supported wholly out of the personal estate. Afterwards, as may be seen in gavelkind tenure, the widow became entitled to a conditional estate in one-half of the lands; with a proviso that she remained chaste and unmarried (*b*); as is usual also in copyhold dowers or freebench. (17) Yet some

(*u*) Co. Litt. 40.

(*w*) Co. Litt. 29.

(*x*) *Ibid.* 30.

(*y*) *Ibid.*

(*z*) Litt. § 36.

(*a*) Willk. 75.

(*b*) Somner. Gavelk. 51. Co. Litt. 33. Bro. Dower, 70.

(14) When the right to curtesy is initiate, the husband is seized of the freehold, and he has such an estate as may be sold on execution against him. *Wickes v. Clarke*, 8 Paige, 172; *Canby's Lessee v. Porter*, 12 Ohio, 80. And it would pass to the assignee in a general assignment for the benefit of creditors. *Gardner v. Hooper*, 3 Gray, 398. The seisin however, is the joint seisin of the husband and wife, and must be so stated in pleading. *Melvin v. Proprietors, &c.*, 16 Pick. 161. And the right at the common law to take the husband's interest on execution during the life time of the wife, is taken away in some of the American states by the statutes for the protection of the rights of married women. See *Curry v. Bott*, 53 Penn. St. 400; *Staples v. Brown*, 13 Allen, 64. In some also curtesy is abolished or greatly changed. See *Thurber v. Townsend*, 22 N. Y. 517; *Beamish v. Hoyt*, 2 Rob. 307; *Tong v. Marvin*, 15 Mich. 73; *Shields v. Keys*, 24 Iowa 298; 1 Washb. on Real Prop. 129.

(15) The statute 3 and 4 William IV, c. 105, enacts that widows shall be entitled to dower out of equitable estates, and that seisin in the husband shall not be necessary to give the widow title to dower; but on the other hand it is enacted that no widow shall be entitled to dower out of any land which shall have been absolutely disposed of by her husband in his life time, or by his will; and all charges, debts and contracts to which his lands are liable shall be effectual as against his widow's right to dower. It is also enacted that a husband may, either subject to restrictions or totally bar his widow's right to dower, by a declaration in a deed or in his will. And a devise by a husband of any real estate (liable to dower) to his widow, shall bar her claim to dower out of any other land of her husband, unless a contrary intention shall be declared by his will. Provided that courts of equity may still enforce any covenant or agreement, entered into by any husband not to bar the right of his widow to dower.]

(16) [But of gavelkind-lands, a woman is endowed of a moiety while she remains chaste and unmarried. Co. Litt. 33. b; Rob. Gavelk. 159. And of borough English lands, the widow is entitled for her dower to the whole of her husband's lands held by that tenure. But of copyhold lands, a woman is endowed only of such lands whereof her husband was seized at the time of his death. Cowp. 481. And her title to dower or free-bench is governed by the custom; according to its authority she may take a moiety, or three parts, or the whole, or even less than a third, but it must be found precisely as it is pleaded. *Boraston v. Hay*, Cro. Eliz. 15.]

(17) [The distinction between *free-bench* and *dower* is, that free-bench is a widow's estate in such lands as her husband dies seised of; whereas, dower is the estate of the widow in all lands of which the husband was seised during the coverture. *Godwin v. Winsmore*, 2 Atk. 525; see also Carth. 275; 2 Ves. 633, 638; Cowp. 481; and Gilb. Ten. ed. Watkins, n. 164. The custom of *free-bench* prevails in the manors of East and West Enborne, and Chadleworth, in

have ascribed the introduction of dower to the Normans, as a branch of *their* local tenures; though we cannot expect any feudal reason for its invention, since it was not a part of the pure, primitive, simple laws of feuds, but was first of all introduced into that system (wherein it was called *triens tertia* (*d*) and *dotalitium*) by the Emperor Frederick the Second; (*e*) who was contemporary with our King Henry III. It is possible, therefore, that it might be with us the relic of a Danish custom: since, according to the historians of that country, dower was introduced into Denmark by Swein, the father of our Canute the Great, out of gratitude to the Danish ladies, who sold all their *jewels [**130*] to ransom him when taken prisoner by the Vandals. (*f*) However this be, the reason which our law gives for adopting it, is a very plain and sensible one; for the sustenance of the wife, and the nurture and education of the younger children. (*g*)

In treating of this estate, let us, first, consider *who* may be endowed; secondly, of *what* she may be endowed; thirdly, the manner *how* she shall be endowed; and, fourthly, how dower may be *barred* or prevented.

1. Who may be endowed. She must be the actual wife of the party at the time of his decease. If she be divorced *a vinculo matrimonii*, she shall not be endowed; for *ubi nullum matrimonium ibi nulla dos*. (*h*) (18) But a divorce *a mensa et thoro* only, doth not destroy the dower; (*i*) no, not even for adultery itself by the common law. (*k*) Yet now by the statute Westm. 2, (*l*) if a woman voluntarily leaves (which the law calls eloping from) her husband, and lives with an adulterer, she shall lose her dower, unless her husband be voluntarily reconciled to her. (19) It was formerly held, that the wife of an idiot might be endowed, though the husband of an idiot could not be tenant by the curtesy; (*m*) but as it seems to be at present agreed, upon principles of sound sense and reason, that an idiot cannot marry, being incapable of consenting to any contract, this doctrine cannot now take place. (20) By the ancient law, the wife of a person

(*d*) Crag. l. 2, c. 22, § 9. (*e*) *Ibid.* (*f*) Mod. Un. Hist. xxxii, 91.

(*g*) Bract. l. 2, c. 39. Co. Litt. 30.

(*h*) Bract. l. 2, c. 39, § 4.

(*i*) Co. Litt. 32.

(*k*) Yet, among the ancient Goths, an adulteress was punished by the loss of her *dotalitii et trientis ex bonis mobilibus viri*. (Sternh. l. 3, c. 2.)

(*l*) 13 Edw. I, c. 34.

(*m*) Co. Litt. 31.

the county of Berks; at Torr, in Devonshire; Kilmersdon, in Somersetshire; and other places in the west of England.]

(18) See *McCraney v. McCraney*, 5 Iowa, 232; *Whitsell v. Mills*, 6 Ind. 229. This is so even where the divorce was decreed for the adultery or other misconduct of the husband. *Cropsey v. Ogden*, 11 N. Y. 228. The hardship of this rule is obviated by the power in the court granting the decree to compel the husband to make suitable provision for his wife; and in some of the states the statute gives her dower notwithstanding the divorce.

(19) The statute Westm. 2 is part of the American common law. *Cogswell v. Tibbets*, 3 N. H. 41; *Bell v. Nealy*, 1 Bailey, 312. But the statutes of some of the states on the subject of dower are perhaps inconsistent with it. See *Reynolds v. Reynolds*, 24 Wend. 193; *Lakin v. Lakin*, 2 Allen, 45; *Bryan v. Batcheller*, 6 R. I. 543. The statute is applicable to the case of a woman who, while living separate from her husband, commits adultery and afterwards remains with the adulterer. *Hetherington v. Graham*, 6 Bing. 137. And the husband after such misconduct is not obliged to receive her back again. *Govier v. Hancock*, 6 T. R. 603. See, further, *Woodward v. Dowse*, 10 C. B. N.S. 722; *Bostock v. Smith*, 34 Beav. 57.

(20) The marriage must be a *legal* one, or if voidable, it must not have been avoided during the lifetime of the husband. A marriage with an idiot, or with an insane person, unless during a lucid interval, is absolutely void. *Ex parte Barnsley*, 3 Atk. 168; *Foster v. Means*, 1 Spears, Eq. 569; *Crump v. Morgan*, 3 Ired. Eq. 91; *Jenkins v. Jenkins*, 2 Dana, 102; *Wightman v. Wightman*, 4 Johns. Ch. 347. So is a second marriage while either party has a former husband or wife living, from whom no divorce from the bonds of matrimony has been obtained. So is a marriage which is incestuous by the law of nature; but it seems that no marriage is to be so considered except between persons in the direct line of consanguinity, and brothers and sisters. *Sutton v. Warren*, 10 Metc. 451. Certain marriages are also, by statute, expressly prohibited and declared void; as between persons of different races in some cases. And in all such cases the woman would not be entitled to dower. A marriage, where one of the parties is under the age of consent, is voidable by either party when the proper age is reached. A marriage procured by force or fraud is voidable at the option of the party compelled or defrauded. In either of these cases dower will attach if the marriage is not actually avoided in the husband's lifetime.

attainted of treason or felony could not be endowed; to the intent, says Staunforde, (n) that if the love of a man's own life cannot restrain him from such atrocious acts, the love of his wife and children may, though Britton (o) gives it another turn: viz.: that it is presumed the wife was privy to her husband's crime. However, the statute 1 Edw. VI, c. 12, abated the rigour of the common law in this particular, and allowed *the wife her dower. But a subsequent statute (p) revived this severity against the widows of traitors, who are now barred of their dower (except in the case of certain modern treasons relating to the coin,) (q) but not the widows of felons. An alien also cannot be endowed, (21) unless she be queen consort; for no alien is capable of holding lands. (r) The wife must be above nine years old at her husband's death, otherwise she shall not be endowed: (s) though in Bracton's time the age was indefinite, and dower was then only due "*si uxor possit dotem promereri, et virum sustinere.*" (t)

2. We are next to inquire, of what a wife may be endowed. And she is now by law entitled to be endowed of all lands and tenements, of which her husband was seised in fee-simple or fee-tail, at any time during the coverture; and of which any issue, which she might have had, might by possibility have been heir. (u) Therefore, if a man be seised in fee-simple, hath a son by his first wife, and after marries a second wife, she shall be endowed of his lands; for her issue might by possibility have been heir, on the death of the son by the former wife. But if there be a donee in special tail who holds lands to him and the heirs of his body begotten on Jane his wife; though Jane may be endowed of these lands, yet if Jane dies, and he marries a second wife, that second wife shall never be endowed of the lands entailed; for no issue that she could have, could by any possibility inherit them. (v) A seisin in law of the husband will be as effectual as a seisin in deed, in order to render the wife dowable; for it is not in the wife's power to bring the husband's title to an actual seisin, as it is in the husband's power to do with regard to the wife's lands: which is one reason why he shall not be tenant by the curtesy, but if such lands whereof the wife, or he himself in her right, was actually seised in deed. (w) The seisin of the husband, for a *transitory* [*132] *instant* *only, when the same act which gives him the estate conveys it also out of him again (as where, by a fine, land is granted to a man, and he immediately renders it back by the same fine,) such a seisin will not entitle the wife to dower; (x) (22) for the land was merely *in transitu*, and never rested in the husband, the grant and render being one continued act. But, if the land abides in him for the interval of but a *single moment*, it seems that the wife

(n) P. C. b. 3, c. 8.

(o) c. 110.

(p) 5 & 6 Edw. VI, c. 11.

(q) Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 11.

18 Eliz. c. 1. 8 & 9 W. III. c. 26. 15 & 16 Geo. II, c. 28.

(r) Co. Litt. 31.

(s) Litt. § 36.

(t) L. 2, c. 9, § 3.

(u) Litt. §§ 36, 53.

(v) *Ibid.* § 53.

(w) Co. Litt. 31.

(x) Cro. Jac. 615. 2 Rep. 67. Co. Litt. 31.

The validity of a marriage, except where it is incestuous or polygamous, is to be determined by the law of the country where it was celebrated: if valid there, it is generally to be held valid every where.

(21) This is no longer the law. See statute 7 and 8 Vic. c. 66.

(22) The time during which the seisin continues is wholly immaterial, so that it be a *beneficial* seisin in the husband. *Broughton v. Randall*, Cro. Eliz. 502. But if one receive the title for the purpose solely of passing it over to another, or as naked trustee, his wife has no dower. *McCauley v. Grimes*, 2 Gill and J. 318. And if one buy land and give a mortgage for the purchase price, his wife will have dower only subject to the mortgage, even though it may have been given at a time subsequent to the giving of the deed. *Wheatley v. Calhoun*, 12 Leigh. 264. See, further, *Clark v. Munroe*, 14 Mass. 351; *Mayburry v. Brien*, 15 Pet. 39; *Smith v. Stanley*, 37 Me. 11. But the wife in such cases has dower in the whole lands, as against every one but the mortgagee or those claiming under him. *Bullard v. Bowers*, 10 N. H. 500; *Keckley v. Keckley*, 2 Hill Ch. 250; Washb. on Real Prop. 175-179.

It is not always essential, in order to establish the right of the wife to dower, that she should prove an actual or constructive seisin in the husband. If one is in possession of lands claiming title, and has derived his possession and claims from the husband, either by descent or by purchase, the widow is *prima facie* entitled to dower; and it has sometimes been held that the party so in possession was *estopped* from disputing her right, but this, it is believed, is not the true rule. See this subject fully examined in *Sparrow v. Kingman*, 1 N. Y. 242.

shall be endowed thereof. (y) And, in short, a widow may be endowed of all her husband's lands, tenements, and hereditaments, corporeal or incorporeal, (23) under the restrictions before mentioned; unless there be some special reason to the contrary. Thus a woman shall not be endowed of a castle built for defence of the realm: (z) nor of a common without stint; for, as the heir would then have one portion of this common, and the widow another, and both without stint, the common would be doubly stocked. (a) Copyhold estates are also not liable to dower, being only estates at the lord's will; unless by the special custom of the manor, in which case it is usually called the widow's free bench. (b) But where dower is allowable, it matters not though the husband aliene the lands during the coverture; for he alienes them liable to dower. (c) (24)

3. Next, as to the manner in which a woman is to be endowed. There are now subsisting four species of dower; the fifth, mentioned by Littleton, (d) *de la plus belle*, having been abolished together with the military tenures, of which it was a consequence. 1. Dower by the *common law*; or that which is before described. 2. Dower by particular *custom*; (e) as that the wife should have half the husband's lands, or in some places the whole, and in some only a quarter. 3. Dower *ad ostium ecclesiæ*, (f) (25) which is where tenant in fee-simple [*133] of full age, openly at the church door, where all marriages were formerly celebrated, after affiance made and (Sir Edward Coke in his translation of Littleton, adds) troth plighted between them, doth endow the wife with the whole, or such quantity as he shall please, of his lands; at the same time specifying and ascertaining the same; on which the wife, after her husband's death, may enter without further ceremony. 4. Dower *ex assensu patris*; (g) which is only a species of dower *ad ostium ecclesiæ*, made when the husband's father is alive, and the son by his consent, expressly given, endows his wife with parcel of his father's lands. In either of these cases, they must (to prevent frauds) be made (h) *in facie ecclesiæ et ad ostium ecclesiæ; non enim valent facta in lecto mortali, nec in camera, aut alibi ubi clandestina fuere conjugia*.

It is curious to observe the several revolutions which the doctrine of dower has undergone, since its introduction into England. It seems first to have been of the nature of the dower in gavelkind, before mentioned; viz.: a moiety of the husband's lands, but forfeitable by incontinency or a second marriage. By the famous charter of Henry I, this condition of widowhood and chastity was only required in case the husband left any issue; (i) and afterwards we hear no more of it. Under Henry the Second, according to Glanvil, (k) the dower *ad ostium ecclesiæ* was the most usual species of dower; and here, as well as in

(y) This doctrine was extended very far by a jury in Wales, where the father and son were both hanged in one cart, but the son was supposed to have survived the father, by appearing to struggle longest; whereby he became seised of an estate in fee by survivorship, in consequence of which seisin his widow had a verdict for her dower. (Cro. Eliz. 503.)

(z) Co. Litt. 31. 3 Lev. 401.

(a) Co. Litt. 32. 1 Jon. 315.

(b) 4 Rep. 22.

(c) Co. Litt. 32.

(d) Co. Litt. §§ 48, 49.

(e) Litt. § 67.

(f) Ibid. § 39.

(g) Ibid. § 40.

(h) Bracton, l. 2, c. 39, § 4.

(i) *Si mortuo viro uxor ejus remanserit, et sine liberis fuerit, dotem suam habebit;—si vero uxor cum liberis remanserit, dotem quidem habebit, dum corpus suum legitime servaverit.* (Cart. Hen. I, A. D. 1001.) Introduced to great charter, edit. Oxon. pag. iv.

(k) l. 6, c. 1 and 2.

(23) [Our author, we may be sure, did not mean to intimate that a widow was entitled to dower out of *all* her husband's incorporeal hereditaments, of what nature soever; but only out of such incorporeal hereditaments as savor of the realty. *Buckeridge v. Ingram*, 2 Ves. Jun. 664.]

(24) [If a man has made an exchange of lands, his widow must not be endowed both out of the lands given in exchange, and also of those taken in exchange, though the husband was seized of both during the coverture. The widow, however, may make her election out of which of the two estates she will take her dower. Co. Litt. 31 b.]

In the United States dower is generally held to attach to estates of inheritance to which the husband is entitled as *cestui que trust*; but in some states the doctrine is otherwise. See 1 Washb. on Real Prop. 163.

In England the wife now has dower in the husband's equitable estates of inheritance. Stat. 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 105.

(25) [Dower *ad ostium ecclesiæ*, and dower *ex assensu patris*, are both abolished by statute 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 105, s. 13.]

Normandy, (*l*) it was binding upon the wife, if by her consented to at the time of marriage. Neither, in those days of feudal rigour, was the husband allowed to endow her *ad ostium ecclesiæ* with more than the third part of the lands whereof he then was seised, though he might endow her with less; lest by such liberal endowments the lord should be defrauded of his wardships and other [*134] feudal profits. (*m*) But if no specific dotation was made at the *church porch, then she was endowed *by the common law* of the third part (which was called her *dos rationabilis*) of such lands and tenements as the husband was seised of at the time of the espousals, and no other; unless he specially engaged before the priest to endow her of his future acquisitions: (*n*) and, if the husband had no lands, an endowment in goods, chattels, or money, at the time of espousals, was a bar of any dower (*o*) in lands which he afterwards acquired. (*p*) In King John's *magna carta*, and the first chapter of Henry III., (*q*) no mention is made of any alteration of the common law, in respect of the lands subject to dower: but in those of 1217 and 1224, it is particularly provided, that a widow shall be entitled for her dower to the third part of *all* such lands as the husband had held in his lifetime: (*r*) yet in case of a specific endowment of less *ad ostium ecclesiæ*, the widow had still no power to waive it after her husband's death. And this continued to be law during the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. (*s*) In Henry IV's time it was denied to be law, that a woman can be endowed of her husband's goods and chattels: (*t*) and, under Edward IV., [*135] Littleton lays it down *expressly, that a woman may be endowed *ad ostium ecclesiæ* with more than a third part; (*u*) and shall have her election, after her husband's death, to accept such dower or refuse it, and betake herself to her dower at common law. (*w*) Which state of uncertainty was probably the reason, that these specific dowers, *ad ostium ecclesiæ* and *ex assensu patris*, have since fallen into total disuse. (26)

I proceed, therefore, to consider the method of endowment or assigning dower, by the common law, which is now the only usual species. By the old law, grounded on the feudal exactions, a woman could not be endowed without a fine paid to the lord; neither could she marry again without his license; lest she should contract herself, and so convey part of the feud, to the lord's enemy. (*x*) This license the lords took care to be well paid for; and, as it seems, would sometimes force the dowager to a second marriage, in order to gain the fine. But, to remedy these oppressions, it was provided, first by the charter of Henry I., (*y*) and afterwards by *magna carta*, (*z*) that the widow shall pay nothing for her marriage, nor shall be distrained to marry afresh, if she chooses to live without a husband; but shall not however marry against the consent of the lord; and farther, that nothing shall be taken for assignment of the widow's

(*l*) *Gr. Coustum.* c. 101.

(*m*) *Bract.* l. 2. c. 39, § 8.

(*n*) *De questu suo.* (Glan. *ib.*)—*de terris acquisitis et acquirendis.* (Bract. *ib.*)

(*o*) Glanv. c. 2.

(*p*) When special endowments were made *ad ostium ecclesiæ*, the husband after affiance made, and troth plighted, used to declare with what specific lands he meant to endow his wife (*quod dotam eam de tali manerio cum pertinentiis, &c.* Bract. *ibid.*) and therefore in the old York ritual (Seld. *Ux. Hebr.* l. 2. c. 27.) there is, at this part of the matrimonial service, the following rubric: *sacerdos interroget dotem mulieris: et, si terra ei in dotem detur, tunc dicatur psalmus iste, &c.* When the wife was endowed generally *ubi quis uxorem suam dotaverit in generali, de omnibus terris et tenementis*; Bract. *ib.*) the husband seems to have said, "with all my lands and tenements I thee endow;" and then they all became liable to her dower. When he endowed her with personalty only, he used to say, "with all my worldly goods (or, as the Salisbury ritual has it, *with all my worldly chattel*) I thee endow;" which entitled the wife to her thirds, or *pars rationabilis*, of his personal estate, which is provided for by *magna carta*, cap. 26, and will be farther treated of in the concluding chapter of this book; though the retaining this last expression in our modern liturgy, if of any meaning at all, can now refer only to the right of maintenance, which she acquires during coverture, out of her husband's personalty.

(*q*) A. D. 1216, c. 7, edit. Ozon.

(*r*) *Assignetur autem ei pro dote sua tertia pars totius terre mariti sui quæ sua fuit in vita sua, nisi de minori dotata fuerit ad ostium ecclesiæ* C. 7. (*Ibid.*)

(*s*) Bract. *ubi supra*. Britton, c. 101, 102. Flet. l. 5, c. 23, §§ 11, 12.

(*t*) P. 7 Hen. IV., 13, 14.

(*u*) § 39. F. N. B. 150.

(*w*) § 41.

(*x*) *Mirr.* c. 1, § 8.

(*y*) *Ubi supra.* (*z*) cap. 7.

(26) The only species of dower which exist in the United States are: 1. Dower at the common law, under which head would be included all cases in which dower exists independent of statute, or only regulated by it; and 2. Dower by statute, where something is given as a substitute for that to which the widow was entitled as dower before. See 1 Washb. Real Prop. 149.

dower, but that she shall remain in her husband's capital mansion house for forty days after his death, during which time her dower shall be assigned. These forty days are called the widow's *quarantine*, a term made use of in law to signify the number of forty days, whether applied to this occasion, or any other. (a) The particular lands, to be held in dower, must be assigned (b) by the heir of the husband, or his guardian; not only for the sake of notoriety, but also to entitle the lord of the fee to demand his services of the heir, in respect of the lands so holden. For the heir by this entry becomes tenant *thereof to the lord, and the widow is immediate tenant to the heir, by [*136] a kind of sub-infeudation, or under-tenancy completed by this investiture or assignment; which tenure may still be created, notwithstanding the statute of *quia emptores*, because the heir parts not with the fee-simple, but only with an estate for life. If the heir or his guardian do not assign her dower within the term of quarantine, or do assign it unfairly, she has her remedy at law, and the sheriff is appointed to assign it. (c) Or if the heir (being under age) or his guardian assign more than she ought to have, it may be afterwards remedied by writ of *admeasurement* of dower. (d) If the thing of which she is endowed be divisible, her dower must be set out by metes and bounds; but if it be indivisible, she must be endowed specially; as the third presentation to a church, the third toll-dish of a mill, the third part of the profits of an office, the third sheaf of tithe, and the like. (e) (27)

Upon preconcerted marriages, and in estates of considerable consequence, tenancy in dower happens very seldom: for the claim of the wife to her dower at the common law diffusing itself so extensively, it became a great clog to alienations, and was otherwise inconvenient to families. Wherefore, since the alteration of the ancient law respecting dower *ad ostium ecclesiæ*, which hath occasioned the entire disuse of that species of dower, jointures have been introduced in their stead, as a bar to the claim at common law. Which leads me to inquire, lastly,

4. How dower may be *barred* or prevented. (28) A widow may be barred of her dower not only by elopement, divorce, being an alien, the treason of her husband, and other disabilities before mentioned, but also by detaining the title deeds or evidences of the estate from the heir, until she restores them: (f) and, by the statute of Gloucester, (g) if a dowager alienes the land assigned her for dower, she forfeits it *ipso facto*, and the heir may recover it by action. (29) [*137] A woman also may be barred of her dower, by levying a fine, or suffering

(a) It signifies, in particular, the forty days, which persons coming from infected countries are obliged to wait, before they are permitted to land in England.

(b) Co. Litt. 34. 35.

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) F. N. B. 148. Finch. L. 314. Stat. Westm. 2. 13 Edw. I. c. 7.

(e) Co. Litt. 32.

(f) *Ibid.* 39.

(g) 6 Edw. I. c. 7.

(27) The widow's quarantine is considerably enlarged in the United States by statute, but the rule, we suppose, still obtains that dower should be assigned during its continuance. The following may be stated as the modes in which she may obtain an assignment: 1. The owner of the reversion should make assignment; and in that case no writing is necessary, but it is sufficient if made by parol and accepted by the dowress. *Meserve v. Meserve*, 19 N. H. 240; *McCormick v. Taylor*, 2 Ind. 336; *Jones v. Brewer*, 1 Pick. 314; *Blood v. Blood*, 23 id. 80. But the dowress is not compelled to accept the assignment of the reverser, and in that case, 2. Dower may be assigned, as of common right, by legal proceedings on the application of the reverser. Precisely what those legal proceedings must be, will depend upon the statutes of the state. 3. The courts empowered to take cognizance of proceedings in the settlement of estates of deceased persons are usually empowered, as incidental to such settlement, to assign dower to the widow in all the lands of which her husband died seised of an estate of inheritance, but not in any which he had previously conveyed. 4. If dower be not assigned in either of the preceding modes, the widow may bring her action at law for it, or a suit in equity. *Palmer v. Casperson*, 2 Green N. J. 204; *Brooks v. Woods*, 40 Ala. 538.*

(28) [By the custom of Kent, the wife's dower of the moiety of gavelkind lands was in no case forfeitable for the felony of the husband, but where the heir should lose his inheritance. *Noy's Max.* 28. But this custom does not extend to treason. *Wright's Tenures*, 118; *Rob. Gavelk.* 230.]

(29) [“The mischief before the making of this statute, Gloucester, c. 7, was not where a gift or feoffment was made in fee or for term of life (of a stranger) by tenant in dower, for in that case, he in the reversion might enter for the forfeiture, and avoid the estate. But the

a recovery of the lands, during her coverture. (*h*) (30) But the most usual method of barring dowers is by jointures, as regulated by the statute 27 Hen. VIII, c. 10. (31)

A jointure, which, strictly speaking, signifies a joint estate, limited to both husband and wife, but in common acceptation extends also to a sole estate, limited to the wife only, is thus defined by Sir Edward Coke; (*i*) "a competent livelihood of freehold for the wife, of lands and tenements; to take effect, in profit or possession, presently after the death of the husband, for the life of the wife at least." This description is framed from the purview of the statute 27 Henry VIII, c. 10, before-mentioned; commonly called the statute of *uses*, of which we shall speak fully hereafter. At present I have only to observe, that before the making of that statute, the greatest part of the land of England was conveyed to uses; the property or possession of the soil being vested in one man, and the *use*, or profits thereof, in another; whose directions, with regard to the disposition thereof, the former was in conscience obliged to follow, and might be compelled by a court of equity to observe. Now, though a husband had the *use* of lands in absolute fee-simple, yet the wife was not entitled to any dower therein; he not being *seised* thereof: wherefore it became usual, on marriage, to settle by express deed some special estate to the use of the husband and his wife, for their lives, in joint-tenancy, or jointure; which settlement would be a provision for the wife in case she survived her husband. At length the statute of uses ordained, that such as had the *use* of lands should, to all intents and purposes, be reputed and taken to be absolutely *seised* and possessed of the soil itself. In consequence of which legal seisin, all wives would have become dowable of such lands as were held to the use of their husbands, and also entitled at the same time to any special lands that might be settled in jointure: had not [*138] the same statute provided, that *upon making such an estate in jointure to the wife before marriage, she shall be forever precluded from her dower. (*k*) But then these four requisites must be punctually observed: 1. The

(*h*) Plg. of recov. 66.

(*i*) 1 Inst. 36.

(*k*) 4 Rep. 1, 2.

mischief was, that when the feoffee, or any other, died *seised*, whereby the entry of him in the reversion was taken away, he in the reversion could have no writ of entry *ad communem legem* until after the decease of tenant in dower, and then the warranty contained in her deed barred him in the reversion if he were her heir, as commonly he was; and for the remedy of this mischief this statute gave the writ of entry *in casu proviso* in the lifetime of tenant in dower." 2 Inst. 309. But the statute was not intended to restrain tenant in dower from aliening for *her own life*, for such an estate wrought no wrong. *Id.*]

(30) The most usual mode of barring dower in America is by the wife joining with the husband in a deed of conveyance of his lands, and acknowledging the same in such manner as the statute prescribes shall be effectual for this purpose. The statutes are not uniform in their provisions, but generally they provide for some examination of the wife by an officer, separate and apart from the husband, in order to make certain that she is not acting under compulsion. These provisions must be strictly complied with, or the bar will not be effectual. *Elwood v. Klock*, 13 Barb. 50; *Sibley v. Johnson*, 1 Mich. 380; *Barstow v. Smith*, Wal. Ch. 394; *Jordan v. Corey*, 2 Ind. 385; *Witter v. Biscoe*, 8 Eng. 422; *Manning v. Laboree*, 33 Me. 343. The wife must be twenty-one years of age to render the act effectual, as the statute only relieves her from the disability of coverture. *Hughes v. Watson*, 10 Ohio, 127; *Jones v. Todd*, 2 J. J. Marsh. 359; *Thomas v. Gammel*, 6 Leigh, 9; *Priest v. Cummings*, 16 Wend. 617, and 20 id. 338; and the deed ought to contain words of release on her part. *Catlin v. Ware*, 9 Mass. 218; *Stevens v. Owen*, 25 Me. 94; *Leavitt v. Lamprey*, 13 Pick. 382; *Witter v. Biscoe*, 8 Eng. 422. But in some states this is not necessary. See *Burge v. Smith*, 7 Fost. 332. The wife cannot release her contingent right of dower by parol. *Keeler v. Tatnell*, 3 N. J. 62. And even her agreement by parol with one to whom as administratrix on the estate of her husband she sells the land, that she will not claim dower in it, will not be binding upon her. *Wright v. De Groff*, 14 Mich. 164. But see as to this, *Connolly v. Branstler*, 3 Bush, 702. In some of the states if the husband's estate is sold for the satisfaction of his debts, the wife's right of dower is gone; but this is not the general rule. The foreclosure of a mortgage given by the husband before the marriage, or given afterwards and executed by the wife in due form of law, will bar her right. *Farwell v. Cotting*, 8 Allen, 211; *Nottingham v. Calvert*, 1 Ind. 527; *Lewis v. Smith*, 9 N. Y. 502. By agreement in a deed of separation, a wife may also bar herself of all claim to dower. *Stephenson v. Osborne*, 41 Miss. 119; *Hitner's Appeal*, 54 Penn. St. 110.

(31) Upon the subject of Jointure see Cruise Dig. 196 and index, tit. Jointure, and 1 Washb. Real Prop. Book 1, ch. 8. Jointures are uncommon in the United States, and questions concerning them arise but seldom.

jointure must take effect immediately on the death of the husband. 2. It must be for her own life at least, and not *per auter vie*, or for any term of years, or other smaller estate. (32) 3. It must be made to herself, and no other in trust for her. 4. It must be made, and so in the deed particularly expressed to be, (33) in satisfaction of her whole dower, and not of any particular part of it. If the jointure be made to her *after* marriage, she has her election after her husband's death, as in dower *ad ostium ecclesiæ*, and may either accept it, or refuse it and betake herself to her dower at common law; for she was not capable of consenting to it during coverture. (34) And if, by any fraud or accident, a

(32) [Although the estate must be in point of quantity for her life, yet it may be such as may be determined sooner by her own act. Thus, an estate *durante viduitate* is a good jointure, because unless sooner determined by herself, it continues to her for life. *Mary Vernon's Case*, 4 Rep. 3.]

(33) [Or it may be averred to be. 4 Rep. 3. An assurance was made to a woman, to the intent it should be for her jointure, but it was not so expressed in the deed. And the opinion of the court was, that it might be averred that it was for a jointure, and that such averment was traversable. *Owen*, 33. But since the Statute of Frauds, which expressly enacts, that no estates or interests of freehold shall be surrendered unless by a deed or note *in writing*, there have been several decisions that such averment is not admissible. *Charles v. Andrews*, 9 Mod. 152. *Tinney v. Tinney*, 3 Atk. 8.]

(34) [It is well established, as general doctrine, that since dower is a legal right, the intention to exclude that right, by a *devise or bequest* of something else, must be demonstrated, if not by express words, at least by (what appears to the court to amount to) necessary implication. It is only where the claim of dower would be inconsistent with the will, or plainly tend to defeat some other part of the testator's disposition of his property, that the widow can be compelled to elect whether she will take her dower, or the interest devised to her. *Strahan v. Sutton*, 3 Ves. 252; *Thompson v. Nelson*, 1 Cox, 447. Of course, acceptance of a bequest of personalty can never operate in bar of dower, unless an intention to that effect can be unequivocally established: *Ayres v. Willis*, 1 Ves. Sen. 230; nor will a devise to the testator's widow of part of those lands out of which she might claim dower, exclude that claim with respect to the remainder of such lands: *Lawrence v. Lawrence*, 1 Br. P. C. 591; S. C., 2 Freem. 234; *Lord Dorchester v. Lord Effingham*, Coop. 324; *Hitchins v. Hitchins*, 2 Freem. 241; unless the terms of the devise express, or clearly imply, that it was the testator's intent, the bequest of part of the lands, if accepted, should be in satisfaction of dower out of the remainder: *Chalmers v. Storil*, 2 Ves. and Bea. 224; *Dickson v. Robinson*, Jacob's Rep. 503; and a devise of a *contingent remainder* to a woman for life, in the whole of the lands out of which her dower is demandable, it is well settled, will not, by implication, exclude her *immediate title* to dower; for there is nothing inconsistent in the two interests. *Inledon v. Northcote*, 3 Atk. 435. In short, wherever a clear, incontrovertible result does not arise from the testator's will, that he meant to exclude his widow from dower, she will not be put to her election; he may not have known that she would, under the circumstances, be dowable; but this will not be enough to exclude her right: it must appear that he did know it, and meant to bar her; or at least, that her demand of dower would be repugnant to the dispositions he has made. *French v. Davies*, 2 Ves. Jun. 577, 581. Although a testator has devised his estate to trustees, charged with an annuity, or a gross sum, to his widow; still, as a wife's title to dower is paramount to the devise, a Court of equity will not readily infer that, because the testator has given all his property to trustees, it was necessarily his intention to give them that which was not *his*. *Foster v. Cook*, 3 Br. 351; *Pitts v. Snowden*, 1 Br. 292; *Greatrex v. Cary*, 6 Ves. 616. But, although this would be inadmissible as a general construction, circumstances may justify it: *Druce v. Dennison*, 6 Ves. 400; *Judd v. Pratt*, 13 Ves. 174; *Attorney-General v. Grote*, 3 Meriv. 320; *Penticost v. Ley*, 2 Jac. and Walk. 210; *Hewson v. Reed*, 5 Madd. 451; *Forester v. Cotton*, 1 Eden, 535; *Dillon v. Parker*, 1 Swanst. 374; if the estates would be insufficient to satisfy the charges expressly imposed upon them, in case the title to dower were sustained, *that* might show an intention to bar the claim of dower; and, it seems, a reference to ascertain that fact will be granted. *Pearson v. Pearson*, 1 Br. 292; *French v. Davies*, 2 Ves. Jun. 580. Still the admissibility of parol evidence to enlarge the effect of the terms used in a will, though not in all cases absolutely rejected, is strongly discountenanced by the very highest authority. *Doe v. Chichester*, 4 Dow, 89, 93.

A legacy given by a testator to his widow, as the price of her release of dower, must be *fully* paid before any mere legatees can claim: *Burridge v. Bradyll*, 1 P. Wms. 127; *Davenhill v. Fletcher*, Amb. 245; for the widow, in such case, is a purchaser, and justly entitled to a preference: *Blower v. Morrett*, 2 Ves. Sen. 242; and it will not vary the principle of the case, to show that the legacy was not the only consideration for the release of dower. *Heath v. Dendy*, 1 Russ. 545.

Where a widow has accepted, and continued in the enjoyment of an interest, between which and her title to dower, she might have elected, that election, though she has not expressly declared it, will be fairly inferred from such circumstances: *Ardesoife v. Bennett*, 2 Dick. 467;

jointure made before marriage proves to be on a bad title, and the jointress is evicted, or turned out of possession, she shall then (by the provisions of the same statute) have her dower *pro tanto* at the common law. (l) (35)

There are some advantages attending tenants in dower that do not extend to jointresses; and so, *vice versa*, jointresses are in some respects more privileged than tenants in dower. Tenant in dower by the old common law is subject to no tolls or taxes; and hers is almost the only estate on which, when derived from the king's debtor, the king cannot distrein for his debt; if contracted during the coverture. (m) But, on the other *hand, a widow may enter at [*139] once, without any formal process, on her jointure land; as she also might have done on dower *ad ostium ecclesiæ*, which a jointure in many points resembles; and the resemblance was still greater, while that species of dower continued in its primitive state: whereas no small trouble, and a very tedious method of proceeding, is necessary to compel a legal assignment of dower. (n) And, what is more, though dower be forfeited by the treason of the husband, yet lands settled in jointure remain unimpeached to the widow. (o) Wherefore Sir Edward Coke very justly gives it the preference, as being more sure and safe to the widow, than even dower *ad ostium ecclesiæ*, the most eligible species of any.

CHAPTER IX.

OF ESTATES LESS THAN FREEHOLD.

OF estates that are less than freehold, there are three sorts: 1. Estates for years: 2. Estates at will: 3. Estates by sufferance.

I. An estate for *years* is a contract for the possession of lands or tenements, for some determinate period; and it takes place where a man letteth them to another for the term of a certain number of years, agreed upon between the

(l) These settlements, previous to marriage, seem to have been in use among the ancient Germans, and their kindred nation the Gauls. Of the former Tacitus gives us this account. "*Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert; intersunt parentes et propinqui, et munera probant.*" (*De mor. Germ.* c. 18.) And Cæsar (*de bello Gallico*, l. 6, c. 13) has given us the terms of a marriage settlement among the Gauls, as nicely calculated as any modern jointure. "*Viri, quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine acceperunt, tantas ex suis bonis, æstimatione facta, cum dotibus communicant. Hujus omnis pecunia conjunctim ratio habetur, fructusque servantur. Uter eorum vita superavit, ad eum pars utriusque cum fructibus superiorum temporum pervenit.*" The dauphin's commentator on Cæsar supposes that this Gaulish custom was the ground of the new regulations made by Justinian (*Nov. 87*) with regard to the provision for widows among the Romans; but surely there is as much reason to suppose, that it gave the hint for our statutable jointures.

(m) Co. Litt. 31, a. F. N. B. 150.

(n) Co. Litt. 36.

(o) *Ibid.* 37.

and her partial accession to a settlement may be held an election to abide by the whole. *Milner v. Lord Harewood*, 17 Ves. 277. But, generally speaking, acts done by a party before he, or she, is fully informed of his or her rights, will not amount to an election. *Pasey v. Desbouverie*, 3 P. Wms. 321; *Chalmers v. Storil*, 2 Ves. and Bea. 225; *Dillon v. Parker*, 1 Swanst. 381; *Whistler v. Webster*, 2 Ves. Jun. 371; *Edwards v. Morgan*, M'Clel. 551.

A trust estate may constitute a good equitable jointure in bar of dower; and if a jointure be made of freehold estates in trust for an infant, this will, in equity, be a bar to her claim of dower. It was, indeed, once doubted whether a jointure, however formal, settled on an infant before marriage, was a bar to dower; but it has been determined that such a jointure is binding upon the infant, who cannot waive it after her husband's death, and claim her dower. *Earl of Buckingham v. Drury*, 2 Eden, 73.]

(35) In addition to the modes of barring dower specified in the text may be mentioned that by *non-claim*; where the widow fails to assert her right within the time allowed by the statute of limitations. It has also been held that if the lands have been appropriated to public uses under the right of eminent domain, in the lifetime of the husband, the right to dower is gone: *Moore v. New York*, 8 N. Y. 110; and the same is true where they have been dedicated to public uses by the husband. *Gwynne v. Cincinnati*, 3 Ohio, 24.

lessor and lessee, (a) and the lessee enters thereon. (b) (1) If the lease be but for half a year or a quarter, or any less time, this lessee is respected as a tenant for years, and is styled so in some legal proceedings; a year being the shortest term which the law in this case takes notice of. (c) And this may, not improperly, lead us into a short digression, concerning the division and calculation of time by the English law.

The space of a *year* (2) is a determinate and well-known period, consisting

(a) We may here remark, once for all, that the termination of “—or” and “—ee” (obtain in law, the one an active, the other a passive signification; the former usually denoting the doer of any act, the latter him to whom it is done. The feoffor is he that maketh a feoffment; the feoffee is he to whom it is made; the donor is one that giveth lands in tail; the donee is he who receiveth it; he that granteth a lease is denominated the lessor; and he to whom it is granted the lessee. (Litt. § 57.)

(b) *Ibid*, 58.

(c) *Ibid*, 67.

(1) [Of course our author will be understood to put this case of letting, only as a particular instance of one mode in which an estate for years may be created. See *post*, p. 143. There are obviously various ways in which such an estate may arise. Thus, where a person devises lands to his executors for payment of his debts, or until his debts are paid, the executors take an estate, not of freehold, but for so many years as are necessary to raise the sum required. *Carter v. Barnardiston*, 1 P. Wms. 509; *Hitchens v. Hitchens*, 2 Vern. 404; S. C., 2 Freem. 242; *Doe v. Simpson*, 5 East, 171; *Doe v. Nicholls*, 1 Barn. and Cress. 342. Though, in such case, if a gross sum ought to be paid at a fixed time, and the annual rents and profits will not enable them to make the payment within that time, the court of chancery will direct a sale or mortgage of the estate, as circumstances may render one course or the other most proper. *Berry v. Askham*, 2 Vern. 26; *Sheldon v. Dormer*, id. 311; *Green v. Belchier*, 1 Atk. 506; *Allen v. Backhouse*, 1 Ves. and Bea. 75; *Bootel v. Blundell*, 1 Meriv. 233.]

So if the vendor put the vendee, under an executory contract for the purchase of lands, into possession, and by the contract the latter is to have possession so long as he makes without default the payments specified in the contract, this makes him tenant for years, and not at will merely. *White v. Livingston*, 10 Cush. 259.

One of the most difficult questions in this connection often is, whether a particular instrument operates as a present demise of the premises, or a contract for a future one. Mr. Washburn, in 1 Washb. on Real Property, 300 et seq., has collected the cases in which this question has arisen, and has shown the difficulty in reconciling them all. The question, he says, “seems to turn on whether the writing shows that the parties intend a present demise and parting with the possession by the lessor to the lessee; for if it does, it will operate as a lease, though it is contemplated that a future writing should be drawn more explicit in its terms. And it may be a good lease, in distinction from an executory contract to lease, though it be to commence in *futuro*. *Whitney v. Allaire*, 1 Comst. 305, 311. But if a fuller lease is to be prepared and executed before the demise is to take effect, and possession given, it is an agreement for a lease, and not a lease which creates an estate. *Aiken v. Smith*, 21 Vt. 172; *People v. Gillis*, 24 Wend. 201; *Jenkins v. Eldredge*, 3 Story, 325; *Buell v. Cook*, 4 Conn. 238.”

To constitute one a tenant for years he must have an interest in the land, and a right to its possession and use. *Maverick v. Lewis*, 3 McCord, 211; *Adams v. McKesson*, 53 Penn. St. 83. One who puts in a crop upon the land of another upon shares, is not tenant for years, but only tenant in common of the crop, and the possession of the land, except so far as may be necessary to enable him to cultivate and harvest the crop, is in the owner of the land. *Bradish v. Schenck*, 8 Johns. 151; *Moulton v. Robinson*, 7 Post. 550; *Putnam v. Wise*, 1 Hill, 234; *Aiken v. Smith*, 21 Vt. 172. But if the party is put in possession of the land, and is to pay rent in produce, he is tenant for years, as much as if he paid in money. *Newcomb v. Ramer*, 2 Johns. 421; *Putnam v. Wise*, 1 Hill, 234; *Gould v. School District*, 8 Minn. 431; *Dixon v. Niccolls*, 39 Ill., 372.

(2) [Before 1752, the year commenced on the 25th of March, and the Julian calendar was used, and much inaccuracy and inconvenience resulted, which occasioned the introduction of the *new style* by the 24 Geo. II, c. 23, which enacts, that the 1st January shall be reckoned to be the first day of the year, and throws out eleven days in that year, from the 2d September to the 14th, and in other respects regulates the future computation of time, with a saving of ancient customs, &c. See the statute set forth in Burn Ecc. L. tit. Kalendar. It has been held, that in a lease or other instrument under seal, if the feast of Michaelmas, &c., be mentioned, it must be taken to mean New Michaelmas, and parol evidence to the contrary is not admissible: 11 East, 312; but upon a parol agreement it is otherwise. 4 B. and A. 588.

The *year* consists of three hundred and sixty-five days; there are six hours, within a few minutes, over in each year, which every fourth year makes another day, viz.: three hundred and sixty-six, and being the 29th February, constitute the bissextile or leap-year. Where a statute speaks of a year, it shall be computed by the whole twelve months, according to the calendar, and not by a lunar month: Cro. Jac. 166; but if a statute direct a prosecution to be within twelve months, it is too late to proceed after the expiration of twelve lunar months. Carth. 407. A twelve-month, in the singular number, includes all the year; but twelve months shall be computed according to twenty-eight days for every month. 6 Co. 62.

Half a year consists of one hundred and eighty-two days, for there shall be no regard to a part or a fraction of a day: Co. Litt. 135, b.; Cro. Jac. 166. The time to collate within six

[*141] commonly of 365 days; for though in *bissextile or leap-year, it consists properly of 366, yet, by the statute 21 Hen. III, the increasing day in the leap-year, together with the preceding day, shall be accounted for one day only. That of a *month* is more ambiguous: there being, in common use, two ways of calculating months; either as lunar, consisting of twenty-eight days, the supposed revolution of the moon, thirteen of which make a year: or, as calendar months of unequal lengths, according to the Julian division in our common almanacks, commencing at the calends of each month, whereof in a year there are only twelve. A month in law is a lunar month, or twenty-eight days, unless otherwise expressed; not only because it is always one uniform per-

months shall be reckoned half a year, or one hundred and eighty-two days, and not lunar months. Cro. Jac. 166; 6 Co. 61.

So a *quarter of a year* consists but of ninety-one days, for the law does not regard the six hours afterwards. Co. Litt. 135, b.; 2 Roll. 521, l. 40; Com. Dig. Ann. A.

But both half years and quarters are usually divided according to certain feasts or holidays, rather than a precise division of days, as Lady-day, Midsummer-day, Michaelmas-day, or Christmas, or Old Lady-day, (6th April), or Old Michaelmas-day, (the 11th October). In these cases, such division of the year by the parties is regarded by the law, and therefore, though half a year's notice to quit is necessary to determine a tenancy from year to year, yet a notice served on the 29th September to quit on the 25th March, being half a year's notice according to the above division, is good, though there be less than one hundred and eighty-two, viz.: one hundred and seventy-eight, days. 4 Esp. R. 5 and 198; 6 id. 53.

A *month* is *solar*, or computed according to the calendar, which contains thirty or thirty-one days, or lunar, which consists of twenty-eight days. Co. Litt. 135, b. In temporal matters, it is usually construed to mean lunar; in ecclesiastical, solar or calendar. 1 Bla. R. 450; 1 M. and S. 111; 1 Bing. Rep. 307. In general, when a *statute* speaks of a month without adding "calendar," or other words showing a contrary intention, it shall be intended a lunar month of twenty-eight days. See cases Com. Dig. Ann. B.; 6 Term. Rep. 224; 3 East, 407; 1 Bingh. R. 307. And generally, in all matters temporal, the term "month" is understood to mean lunar; but in matters ecclesiastical, as non-residence, it is deemed a calendar month; because in each of these matters a different mode of computation prevails; the term, therefore, is taken in that sense which is conformable to the subject matter to which it is applied; 2 Roll. Ab. 521, 51; Hob. 179; 1 Bla. R. 450; 1 M. and S. 117; 1 Bing. R. 307; Com. Dig. Ann. B.; and, therefore, when a deed states *calendar* months, and in pleading the word *calendar* be omitted, it is not necessarily a variance. 3 Brod. and B. 186.

When a *deed* speaks of a month, it shall be intended a lunar month, unless it can be collected from the context that it was intended to be calendar. 1 M. and S. 111; Com. Dig. Ann. B.; Cro. Jac. 167; 4 Mod. 185. So in *all other contracts*: 4 Mod. 185; 1 Stra. 446; unless it be proved that the general understanding in that department of trade is, that bargains of that nature are according to calendar months. 1 Stra. 652; 1 M. and S. 111. And the *custom of trade*, as in case of bills of exchange and promissory notes, has established, that a month named in those contracts shall be deemed calendar. 3 Brod. and B. 187.

In all *legal proceedings*, as in commitments, pleadings, &c., a month means four weeks. 3 Bur. 1455; 1 Bla. R. 450; Dougl. 463, 446. When a calendar month's notice of action is required, the day on which it is served is included, and reckoned one of the days; and therefore, if a notice be served on 28th of April, it expires on 27th of May, and the action may be commenced on 28th of May. 3 T. R. 623; 2 Campb. 294. And when a statute requires the action against an officer of customs to be brought within three months, they mean lunar, though the same act requires a calendar month's notice of action. 1 Bing. R. 307.

A *day* is *natural*, which consists of twenty-four hours; or *artificial*, which contains the time from the rising of the sun to the setting. Co. Litt. 135, a. A day is usually intended of a natural day, as in an indictment for burglary we say, in the night of the same day: Co. Litt. 135, a.; 2 Inst. 318. Sometimes days are calculated exclusively, as where an act required ten clear days' notice of the intention to appeal, it was held, that the ten days are to be taken exclusively, both of the day of serving the notice and the day of holding the sessions. 3 B. and A. 581. A legal act done at any part of the day will in general relate to the first period of that day. 11 East, 498.

The law generally rejects *fractions of a day*. 15 Ves. 257; Co. Litt. 135, b.; 9 East, 154; 4 T. R. 660; 11 East, 496, 498; 3 Co. 36, a. But though the law does not in general allow of the fraction of a day, yet it admits it in cases where it is necessary to distinguish for the purposes of justice; and I do not see why the very hour may not be so too where it is necessary, and can be done, for it is not like a mathematical point which cannot be divided. Per Ld. Mansfield, 3 Burr. 1434; 9 East, 154; 3 Coke Rep. 36, a. Therefore fraction of a day was admitted in support of a commission of bankruptcy, by allowing evidence that the act of bankruptcy, though on the same day, was previous to issuing the commission. 8 Ves. 30. So where goods are seized under a fieri facias the same day that the party commits an act of bankruptcy, it is open to inquire at what time of the day the goods were seized and the act of

iod, but because it falls naturally into a quarterly division by weeks. (3) Therefore a lease for "twelve months" is only for forty-eight weeks; but if it be for a "twelvemonth" in the singular number, it is good for the whole year. (d) For herein the law recedes from its usual calculation, because the ambiguity between the two methods of computation ceases; it being generally understood that by the space of time called thus, in the singular number, a twelvemonth, is meant the whole year, consisting of one solar revolution. In the space of a day all the twenty-four hours are usually reckoned, the law generally rejecting all fractions of a day, in order to avoid disputes. (e) (4) Therefore, if I am bound to pay money on any certain day, I discharge the obligation if I pay it before twelve o'clock at night; after which the following day commences. But to return to estates for years.

These estates were originally granted to mere farmers or husbandmen, who every year rendered some equivalent in money, provisions, or other rent, to the lessors or landlords; but, in order to encourage them to manure and cultivate the ground, they had a permanent interest granted them, not determinable at the will of the lord. And yet their possession was esteemed of so little consequence, that they were rather considered as the bailiffs or servants of the lord, who were to *receive and account for the profits at a settled price, than as [*142] having any property of their own. And therefore they were not allowed to have a freehold estate: but their interest (such as it was) vested after their deaths in their executors, who were to make up the accounts of their testator with the lord, and his other creditors, and were entitled to the stock upon the farm. The lessee's estate might also, by the ancient law, be at any time defeated by a common recovery suffered by the tenant of the freehold; (f) which annihilated all leases for years then subsisting, unless afterwards renewed by the recoverer, whose title was supposed superior to his by whom those leases were granted.

(d) 6 Rep. 61.

(e) Co. Litt. 135.

(f) Co. Litt. 46.

bankruptcy was committed; and the validity of the execution depends on the actual priority. 4 Camp. 197; 2 B. and A. 586.

There is a distinction in law as to the certainty of stating a month or a day, and an hour when a fact took place; "*circa horam*" is sufficient; but not so as to a day, which must be stated with precision, though it may be varied from the proof. 2 Inst. 318.

It has been considered an established rule, that if a thing is to be done within such a time after such a fact, the day of the fact shall be taken inclusive. Hob. 139; Dougl. 463; 3 T. R. 623; Com. Dig. Temps. A.; 3 East, 407. And therefore where the statute 21 Jac. I, c. 19, s. 2, enacts, that a trader lying in prison two months after an arrest for debt shall be adjudged a bankrupt, that includes the day of the arrest. 3 East, 407. When a month's notice of action is necessary, it begins with the day on which the notice is given: 3 T. R. 623; and if a robbery be committed on the 9th October, the action against the hundred must be brought in a year inclusive of that day. Hob. 139. But where it is limited within such a time after the date of a deed, &c., the day of the date of the deed shall be taken exclusive; as if a statute require the enrollment within a specified time after date of the instrument. Hob. 139; 2 Campb. 294; Cowp. 714. Thus where a patent dated 10th May contains a proviso that a specification shall be enrolled within one calendar month, next and immediately after the date thereof, and the specification was enrolled on the 10th June following, it was held, that the month did not begin to run till the day after the date of the patent, and that the specification was in time. 2 Campb. 294; see 15 Ves. 248.]

(3) This rule of the common law is generally changed by statutes in the United States, and "month" is declared to mean a calendar month. And in England a month will be held to mean a calendar month where such is the apparent intent of the parties. *R. v. Chawton*, 1 Q. B. 247; *Hipwell v. Knight*, 1 Y. and C. 401.

(4) Fractions of a day are not regarded except for the purpose of guarding against injustice: *Blydenburgh v. Cotheal*, 4 N. Y. 418; or for the purpose of determining the actual priority of conflicting rights which have accrued on the same day. A week means a full week of seven days; and therefore if by statute or rule of court a notice is to be published for a certain number of weeks, the publication is not completed until that number of weeks has fully expired from the time of the first publication. Thus, if the publication is to be once in each week for six successive weeks, and the first publication is on Tuesday, the publication is not completed without including Monday of the seventh week, which is the forty-second day, and whatever was to be done dependent on such publication could not be done earlier than Tuesday of that week. *Bunce v. Reed*, 16 Barb. 347; *Olcott v. Robinson*, 20 id. 148. *Saving's Society v. Thompson*, 32 Cal. 347; *Bowman v. Wood*, 41 Ill. 203

While estates for years were thus precarious, it is no wonder that they were usually very short, like our modern leases upon rack rent; and indeed we are told (*g*) that by the ancient law no leases for more than forty years were allowable, because any longer possession (especially when given without any livery declaring the nature and duration of the estate) might tend to defeat the inheritance. Yet this law, if ever it existed, was soon antiquated; for we may observe, in Madox's collection of ancient instruments, some leases for years of a pretty early date, which considerably exceed that period: (*h*) and long terms, for three hundred years or a thousand, were certainly in use in the time of Edward III, (*i*) and probably of Edward I. (*k*) But certainly, when by the statute 21 Hen. VIII, c. 15, the termor (that is, he who is entitled to the term of years) was protected against these fictitious recoveries, and his interest rendered secure and permanent, long terms began to be more frequent than before; and were afterwards extensively introduced, being found extremely convenient for family settlements and mortgages: continuing subject, however, to the same [*143] rules of succession, *and with the same inferiority to freeholds, as when they were little better than tenancies at the will of the landlord.

Every estate which must expire at a period certain and prefixed, by whatever words created, is an estate for years. And therefore this estate is frequently called a term, *terminus*, because its duration or continuance is bounded, limited, and determined: for every such estate must have a certain beginning and certain end. (*l*) But *id certum est, quod certum reddi potest*: therefore if a man make a lease to another, for so many years as J S shall name, it is a good lease for years; (*m*) for though it is at present uncertain, yet when J S hath named the years, it is then reduced to a certainty. If no day of commencement is named in the creation of this estate, it begins from the making, or delivery, of the lease. (*n*) (5) A lease for so many years as J S shall live, is void from the beginning, (*o*) for it is neither certain, nor can ever be reduced to a certainty, during the continuance of the lease. And the same doctrine holds, if a parson make a lease of his glebe for so many years as he shall continue parson of Dale; for this is still more uncertain. But a lease for twenty or more years, if J S shall so long live, or if he should so long continue parson, is good: (*p*) for there is a certain period fixed, beyond which it cannot last; though it may determine sooner, on the death of J S or his ceasing to be parson there.

We have before remarked, and endeavoured to assign the reason of, the inferiority in which the law places an estate for years, when compared with an estate for life, or an inheritance: observing, that an estate for life, even if it be *per auter vie*, is a freehold; but that an estate for a thousand years is only a chattel, and reckoned part of the personal estate. (*q*) (6) Hence it follows, that a lease for years may be made to commence *in futuro*, though a lease for life cannot. As, if I grant lands to Titius to hold from Michaelmas next for [*144] *twenty years, this is good; but to hold from Michaelmas next for the term of his natural life, is void. For no estate of freehold can commence

(*g*) Mirror, c. 2, § 27. Co. Litt. 45, 46.

(*h*) Madox *Formulare Anglican.* n°. 239. fol. 140. Demise for eighty years, 21 Ric. II. . . . *Ibid.* n°. 245, fol. 146, for the like term, A. D. 1429. . . . *Ibid.* n°. 248, fol. 148, for fifty years, 7 Edw. IV.

(*i*) 32 Ass. pl. 6. Bro. Abr. t. *mordauncestor*, 49; *spoliation*, 6.

(*k*) Stat. of mortmain, 7 Edw. I.

(*l*) Co. Litt. 45.

(*m*) 6 Rep. 35.

(*n*) Co. Litt. 46

(*o*) *Ibid.* 45.

(*p*) *Ibid.*

(*q*) *Ibid.* 46.

(5) Our author means here, we apprehend, that the instrument, if in such form only as would be requisite to create an estate for years, is void, for a conveyance by feoffment in these terms might be good as an estate for the life of J S.

A devise of lands to an executor for the payment of debts, creates an estate for years under the maxim referred to in the text. 1 Cruise Dig. 223; and see *Batchelder v. Dean*, 16 N. H. 268. A lease "for years," without mentioning how many, is for two certain. *Dunn v. Cartright*, 4 East, 29. And a lease for seven years, or for fourteen years, is for seven years, and for fourteen as soon as the lessee shall so elect. *Doe v. Dixon*, 9 East, 15. As to tenancies from year to year, see note p. 147, *post*.

(6) See *Matter of Gay*, 5 Mass. 419; *Brewster v. Hill*, 1 N. H. 350; *Bisbee v. Hall*, 3 Ohio, 449; *Dillingham v. Jenkins*, 7 S. and M. 479; *Spangler v. Stanler*, 1 Md. Ch. Dec. 36. The constitutions of New York and Michigan forbid leases of agricultural lands for a longer period than twelve years.

in futuro; (7) because it cannot be created at common law without livery of seisin, or corporal possession of the land; and corporal possession cannot be given of an estate now, which is not to commence now, but hereafter. (r) And, because no livery of seisin is necessary to a lease for years, such lessee is not said to be *seised*, or to have true legal seisin of the lands. Nor indeed does the bare lease vest any estate in the lessee; but only gives him a right of entry on the tenement, which right is called his *interest in the term*, or *interesse termini*: but when he has actually so entered, and thereby accepted the grant, the estate is then, and not before, vested in him, and he is *possessed*, not properly of the land, but of the term of years: (s) the possession or seisin of the *land* remaining still in him who hath the freehold. Thus the word, *term*, does not merely signify the time specified in the lease, but the estate also and interest that passes by that lease; and therefore the *term* may expire, during the continuance of the *time*; as by surrender, forfeiture, and the like. For which reason, if I grant a lease to A for the term of three years, and after the expiration of the said *term*, to B for six years, and A surrenders or forfeits his lease at the end of *one* year, B's interest shall immediately take effect: but if the remainder had been to B from and after the expiration of the said *three years*, or from and after the expiration of the said *time*, in this case B's interest will not commence till the time is fully elapsed; whatever may become of A's term. (t) (8)

Tenant for term of years hath incident to and inseperable from his estate, unless by special agreement, the same estovers, which we formerly observed (u) that tenant for life was entitled to; that is to say, house-bote, fire-bote, plough-bote, and hay-bote; (v) terms which have been already explained. (x) (9)

(r) 5 Rep. 94.
(u) Page 123.

(s) Co. Litt. 48.
(w) Co. Litt. 45.

(t) *Ibid.* 45.
(x) Page 85.

(7) [That is, no estate of freehold *in futuro* can pass by a *common law* conveyance, as by feoffment; but, by a conveyance under the statute of uses, there may be a grant of a freehold to commence *in futuro*, and in the mean time the rent undisposed of will be a resulting trust. Sand. on U. and T. 1 vol. 128; 2 vol. 7.]

(8) It is a general rule that one who is put in possession of premises by a lessor, as his tenant, shall not be allowed, while he retains such possession, to question his lessor's title in any suit brought by the latter to recover either the rent agreed upon, or the possession of the premises, or to enforce any of the stipulations or agreements contained in the lease. *Gray v. Johnson*, 14 N. H. 414; *Brown v. Dysinger*, 1 Rawle, 408; *Dezell v. Odell*, 3 Hill, 219; *Hodges v. Shields*, 18 B. Monr. 830; *Coburn v. Palmer*, 8 Cush. 124; *Moore v. Beasley*, 3 Ohio, 294; *Caldwell v. Harris*, 4 Humph. 24; *Lee v. Payne*, 4 Mich. 106. The tenant in such case is said to be *estopped* from disputing the landlord's title; and the rule of estoppel applies also to a sub-tenant, or any other person who may have been put into possession by the tenant: *Phillips v. Rothwell*, 4 Bibb, 33; and it applies in favor of any one who may have become the assignee of the lessor. *Funk's Lessee v. Kincaid*, 5 Md. 404. And any agreement of the tenant to attorn or pay rent to a third person is so far void that the tenant himself may repudiate it. *Byrne v. Beeson*, 1 Doug. Mich. 179. The estoppel, however, only continues during the term. *Page v. Kinsman*, 43 N. H. 331; *Zeller's Lessee v. Eckert*, 4 How. 289; *Jackson v. Collins*, 11 Johns. 1; *Duke v. Harper*, 6 Yerg. 230; *Doe v. Reynolds*, 27 Ala. 376. And if the lessor's title has expired during the term, the tenant may avail himself of that fact to resist the landlord's demands. *Jackson v. Rowland*, 6 Wend. 666; *Wild's Lessee v. Serpell*, 10 Gratt. 415; *Tilghman v. Little*, 13 Ill. 241. He may show, also, that he has been evicted by legal proceedings, under a title paramount to that of the landlord, or that on demand of possession being made under such a title, he has yielded to it and surrendered possession. *Simers v. Saltus*, 3 Denio, 217; *Morse v. Goddard*, 13 Metc. 177; *Stewart v. Roderick*, 4 W. and S. 188. But if he surrender to an adverse claim without legal proceedings, he takes upon himself the burden of proving that such adverse claim was a valid one. If a tenant buys in an outstanding title, he should nevertheless surrender possession: *Hodges v. Shields*, 18 B. Monr. 832; and afterwards he is in position to assert his own title. *Williams v. Garrison*, 29 Geo. 503. If the tenant is evicted from part of the premises under paramount title, he is entitled to an abatement of rent in proportion: *Lawrence v. French*, 25 Wend. 443; *Martin v. Martin*, 7 Md. 375; but if he is disturbed in the possession of any part of the premises by the landlord, or if the conduct of the latter renders a reasonable enjoyment of the premises impracticable, the tenant may treat it as an eviction, and defeat the collection of rent. *Dyett v. Pendleton*, 8 Cow. 727; *Lewis v. Payn*, 4 Wend 423; *Wilson v. Smith*, 5 Yerg. 379; *Shumway v. Collins*, 6 Gray, 227.

(9) In general, where the lessee of premises has not exacted of the lessor any covenants respecting the condition of the premises, or the preservation or repair of the buildings, he takes them in the condition in which they are at the time, and he cannot oblige the landlord to put them

[*145] *With regard to emblements, or the profits of lands sowed by tenant for years, there is this difference between him and tenant for life; that where the term of tenant for years depends upon a certainty, as if he holds from midsummer for ten years, and in the last year he sows a crop of corn, and it is not ripe and cut before midsummer, the end of his term, the landlord shall have it; for the tenant knew the expiration of his term, and therefore it was his own folly to sow what he could never reap the profits of. (*y*) But where the lease for years depends upon an uncertainty: as, upon the death of a lessor, being himself only tenant for life, or being a husband seised in right of his wife; or if the term of years be determinable upon a life or lives; in all these cases the estates for years not being certainly to expire at a time foreknown, but merely by the act of God, the tenant, or his executors, shall have the emblements in the same manner that a tenant for life or his executors shall be entitled thereto. (*z*) Not so, if it determine by the act of the party himself: as if tenant for years does any thing that amounts to a forfeiture: in which case the emblements shall go to the lessor and not to the lessee, who hath determined his estate by his own default. (*a*)

II. The second species of estates not freehold, are estates at will. An estate at will is where lands and tenements are left by one man to another, to have and to hold at the will of the lessor; and the tenant by force of this lease obtains possession. (*b*) Such tenant hath no certain indefeasible estate, nothing that can be assigned by him to any other; because the lessor may determine his will, and put him out whenever he pleases. But every estate at will, is at the will of both parties, landlord and tenant; so that either of them may determine his will, and quit his connexions with the other at his own pleasure. (*c*)

[*146] Yet this must be understood with some restriction. *For if the tenant at will sows his land, and the landlord, before the corn is ripe, or before it is reaped, put him out, yet the tenant shall have the emblements, and free ingress, egress, and regress, to cut and carry away the profits. (*d*) And this for the same reason upon which all the cases of emblements turn; viz.: the point of uncertainty: since the tenant could not possibly know when his landlord would determine his will, and therefore could make no provision against it;

(*y*) Litt. § 68.
(*b*) Litt. § 68.

(*z*) Co. Litt. 56.
(*c*) Co. Litt. 56.

(*r*) *Ibid.* 55.
(*d*) *Ibid.* 56.

in tenantable condition. *Sutton v. Temple*, 12 M. and W. 52; *Hart v. Windsor*, id. 68; *Arden v. Pullen*, 10 M. and W. 321; *Foster v. Peyser*, 9 Cush. 242; *McGlashan v. Tallmadge*, 37 Barb. 313; *Elliott v. Aiken*, 45 N. H. 36. And if the principal value of the premises consists of buildings, and after the term commences the buildings are accidentally destroyed, the tenant, in the absence of an express agreement to that effect, can neither compel the landlord to rebuild, nor can he resist the payment of the rent agreed upon. *Pindar v. Ainsley*, cited, 1 T. R. 312; *Hallett v. Wylie*, 3 Johns. 44; *Phillips v. Stevens*, 16 Mass. 238. And equity can give no relief in such a case. *Holtzapffel v. Baker*, 18 Ves. 115. But the statutes of some states have made provision for such cases. If the premises leased consist of a single room only, and that is wholly destroyed, the right to further rent is gone. *Graves v. Berdan*, 29 Barb. 100, and 26 N. Y. 498. And see *Winton v. Cornish*, 5 Ohio, 477.

A tenant may assign his interest under the lease, or give sub-leases, if he has not covenanted in the lease not to do so; and a covenant not to do the one will not preclude his doing the other. *Robinson v. Perry*, 21 Geo. 183; *Copland v. Parker*, 4 Mich. 660. As to what constitutes an assignment, and what a sub-letting, see 1 Washb. on Real Prop. 333. The parting by the tenant of his entire interest in the term is an assignment, but if he make a lease to another under which he will have any reversionary interest in the term, it is a sub-letting.

As regards private nuisances upon leased premises, it may be remarked that a landlord who has leased his premises in good condition and not covenanted to repair, is not responsible for injuries caused by a nuisance created during the tenancy. *Bears v. Ambler*, 9 Penn. St. 193; *Lowell v. Spaulding*, 4 Cush. 277. A tenant for years—and the rule is the same as regards an alienee of lands—is not liable for the continuance of a nuisance existing at the time of the transfer of the land to him, until notified thereof and requested to remove it. *Penruddock's Case*, 5 Co. 102; *Pierson v. Glean*, 2 N. J. 37; *Johnson v. Lewis*, 13 Conn. 303; *Woodman v. Tufts*, 9 N. H. 88; *Nichols v. Boston*, 98 Mass. 39; *Dodge v. Stacy*, 39, Vt. 559. But see *Caldwell v. Gale*, 11 Mich. 77; *Bonner v. Welborn*, 7 Ges. 314. If, however, the tenant voluntarily continue the nuisance, it seems he may be held responsible to the party injured thereby. *Morris B. and C. Co. v. Ryerson*, 3 Dutch. 457; *Crommelin v. Cox*, 30 Ala. 318.

and having sown the land, which is for the good of the public, upon a reasonable presumption, the law will not suffer him to be a loser by it. But it is otherwise, and upon reason equally good, where the tenant himself determines the will; for in this case the landlord shall have the profits of the land. (e)

What act does, or does not, amount to a determination of the will on either side, has formerly been matter of great debate in our courts. But it is now, I think, settled, that (besides the express determination of the lessor's will, by declaring that the lessee shall hold no longer; which must either be made upon the land, (f) or notice must be given to the lessee) (g) (10) the exertion of any act of ownership by the lessor, as entering upon the premises and cutting timber, (h) taking a distress for rent, and impounding it thereon, (i) or making a feoffment, or lease for years of the land, to commence immediately; (k) (11) any act of desertion by the lessee, as assigning his estate to another, or committing waste, which is an act inconsistent with such a tenure, (l) (12) or, which is *instar omnium*, the death or outlawry of either lessor or lessee: (m) puts an end to or determines the estate at will.

The law is, however, careful that no sudden determination of the will by one party shall tend to the manifest and unforeseen prejudice of the other. This appears in the case of *emblements before mentioned; and, by a parity [*147] of reason, the lessee, after the determination of the lessor's will, shall have reasonable ingress and egress to fetch away his goods and utensils. (n) And if rent be payable quarterly or half-yearly, and the lessee determines the will, the rent shall be paid to the end of the current quarter or half year. (o) And, upon the same principle, courts of law have of late years leaned as much as possible against construing demises, where no certain term is mentioned, to be tenancies at will; but have rather held them to be tenancies from year to year so long as both parties please, especially where an annual rent is reserved: (13)

(e) *Ibid.* 55.(f) *Ibid.*

(g) 1 Vent. 248.

(h) Co. Litt. 55.

(i) *Ibid.* 57.

(k) 1 Rol. Abr. 860.

2 Lev. 88.

(l) Co. Litt. 55.

(m) 5 Rep. 116.

Co. Litt. 57, 62.

(n) Litt. § 69.

(o) Salk. 414. 1 Sid. 339.

(10) As to the necessity of notice in order to determine an estate at will at the common law, see *Ellis v. Paige*, 2 Pick. 71 and note. Notice is generally provided for by statutes in the United States. If notice is given in any case, and possession is not surrendered in compliance with it, it will be deemed to be waived if the landlord shall afterwards accept rent for the premises for a period subsequent to the time specified in the notice for the surrender; or shall do any other act inconsistent with an intention to insist upon the notice. *Prindle v. Anderson*, 19 Wend. 391; *Collins v. Canty*, 6 Cush. 415; *Jackson v. Sheldon*, 5 Cow. 448.

(11) See *Benedict v. Morse*, 10 Mete. 223; *Kelly v. Waite*, 12 id. 300; *Curtis v. Galvin*, 1 Allen, 215; *Howard v. Merriam*, 5 Cush. 563. If the landlord take possession of part of the premises, or commit waste thereon, this is a determination of the tenancy at the election of the tenant. *Dickinson v. Goodspeed*, 8 Cush. 119.

(12) See *Daniels v. Pond*, 21 Pick. 367; *Phillips v. Covert*, 7 Johns. 1.

(13) A tenancy from year to year is where tenements are expressly or impliedly demised by the landlord to the tenant to hold from year to year, so long as the parties shall respectively please; and there cannot be such a tenancy determinable only at the will of the tenant, for then it would operate as a tenancy for his life, which is not creatable by parol, but only by feoffment or other deed. 8 East, 167. What was formerly considered as a tenancy at will, has, in modern times, been construed to be a tenancy from year to year, and from a general occupation such a tenancy will be inferred, unless a contrary intent appear. 3 Burr. 1609; 1 T. R. 163; 3 id. 16; 8 id. 3. And so in the cases in which the statute against frauds, 29 Car. II, c. 3, declares that the letting shall only have the effect of an estate at will, it operates as a tenancy from year to year. 8 T. R. 3; 5 id. 471. So where rent is received by a landlord, that raises an implied tenancy from year to year, though the tenant was originally let in under an invalid lease. 3 East, 451. So if a tenant hold over by consent after the expiration of a lease, he becomes tenant from year to year; 5 Esp. R. 173; even where the lease was determined by the death of the lessor tenant for life in the middle of a year. 1 H. Bl. 97.

But if the circumstances of the case clearly preclude the construction in favor of such a tenancy, it will not exist; as where a party let a shed to another for so long as both parties should like, on an agreement that the tenant should convert it into a stable, and the defendant should have all the dung for a compensation, there being no reservation referable to any aliquot part of a year, this was construed to be an estate at will. 4 Taunt. 128. And it must by no means be understood that a strict tenancy at will cannot exist at the present day,

in which case they will not suffer either party to determine the tenancy even at the end of the year, without reasonable notice to the other, which is generally understood to be six months. (*p*) (14)

There is one species of estates at will that deserves a more particular regard than any other; and that is, an estate held by copy of court-roll: or, as we usually call it, a *copyhold* estate. This, as was before observed, (*q*) was in its original and foundation nothing better than a mere estate at will. But, the kindness and indulgence of successive lords of manors having permitted these estates to be enjoyed by the tenants and their heirs, according to particular customs established in their respective districts; therefore, though they still are held at the will of the lord, and so are in general expressed in the court-rolls to be, yet that will is qualified, restrained and limited, to be exerted according to the custom of the manor. This custom being suffered to grow up by the lord, is looked upon as the evidence and interpreter of his will: his will is no longer arbitrary and precarious; but fixed and ascertained by the custom to be the same and no other, that has time out of mind been exercised and declared by his ancestors. A copyhold tenant is therefore now full as properly a tenant by

(*p*) This kind of lease was in use as long ago as the reign of Henry VIII, when half a year's notice seems to have been required to determine it. (*T. 13 Hen. VIII, 15, 16.*)

(*q*) Page 93.

for it may clearly be created by the express agreement of the parties. 5 B. and A. 604; 1 Dowl. and R. 272. So under an agreement that the tenant shall always be subject to quit at three months' notice, he is not tenant from year to year, but from quarter to quarter. 3 Camp. 510.]

Estates at will are never regarded with favor, and by construction of law will be changed into estates from year to year whenever the circumstances are such that an intention that they shall continue for at least a year can fairly be implied. This implication is generally a necessary one where an annual rent is reserved, and if, after the expiration of one year, the tenant is allowed to hold over, he will be regarded as in for another year, on the same terms as before. *Conway v. Starkweather*, 1 Denio, 113; *Prindle v. Anderson*, 19 Wend. 393; *Prickett v. Ritter*, 16 Ill. 96; *Williamson v. Paxton*, 18 Grat. 475. But the holding over must be for such time and under such circumstances that the consent of the landlord thereto may fairly be implied. *Den v. Adams*, 7 Halst. 99. And the tenant is then entitled, in the absence of statutory regulation, to a six months' notice to quit, the notice to terminate at the end of a year. 1 Washb. Real Prop. 332. If the rent is payable at periods less than a year, the tenant is in for the whole of one of such periods, and the same rule as to holding over for the period covered by the payment of rent, will afterwards apply as is above stated where the rent is annual. And the notice to quit must expire at the end of one of such periods. *Hanchett v. Whitney*, 1 Vt. 311; *Prescott v. Elm*, 7 Cush. 346.

A vendee put in possession of land by the vendor, under an executory contract of sale which is silent on the subject of possession, is a species of tenant at will. *Dakin v. Allen*, 8 Cush. 33. But he is under no obligation to pay rent while not in default on his contract. *Dwight v. Cutler*, 3 Mich. 566; *McNair v. Schwartz*, 16 Ill. 24. And his possession may be terminated at any time without the notice which tenants at will, properly so called, are entitled to.

(14) [When a lease or demise is determinable on a certain event, or at a particular period, no notice to quit is necessary, because both parties are equally apprised of the determination of the term: 1 T. R. 162; but in general when the tenancy would otherwise continue, there must be given *half a year's notice to quit* expiring at that time of the year when the tenancy commenced, whether the tenancy was of land or buildings: 1 T. R. 159; and where the tenant enters on different parts of the premises at different times, the notice should be given with reference to the substantial and principal part of them, and will be good for all, and what is the substantial part is a question for the jury. See instances 2 Bla. R. 1224; 6 East, 120; 7 id. 551; 11 id. 498. As to the *case of lodgings*, that depends on a particular contract, and is an exception to the general rule. The agreement between the parties may be for a month or less time, and there a much shorter notice may suffice: 1 T. R. 162; and usually the same space of time for the notice is required as the period for which the lodgings were originally taken, as a week's notice when taken by the week, and a month's notice when taken by the month, and so on. 1 Esp. Rep. 94; *Adams* 124. If lodgings are taken generally at so much per annum, it is construed to be only a taking for one year, and no notice to quit is necessary. 3 B. and C. 90.

When it is doubtful at what time of the year the tenancy commenced, it is advisable to serve a notice "to quit at the expiration of the current year of your tenancy, which shall expire next after one half year from the time of your being served with this notice." 2 Esp. R. 589. See further as to notices to quit, the service and waiver thereof, *Adams on Ejectment*, 96 to 140; *I Saunders*, by *Patteson and Williams*, 276, note a.]

the custom as a tenant at will; the custom *having arisen from a series of uniform wills. And, therefore, it is rightly observed by Calthorpe, (r) [*148] that "copyholders and customary tenants differ not so much in nature as in name; for although some be called copyholders, some customary, some tenants by the verge, some base tenants, some bond tenants, and some by one name and some by another, yet do they all agree in substance and kind of tenure; all the said lands are holden in one general kind, that is, by custom and continuance of time; and the diversity of their names doth not alter the nature of their tenure."

Almost every copyhold tenant being therefore thus tenant at the will of the lord according to the custom of the manor; which customs differ as much as the humour and temper of the respective ancient lords (from whence we may account for their great variety), such tenant, I say, may have, so far as the custom warrants, any other of the estates or quantities of interest, which we have hitherto considered, or may hereafter consider, and hold them united with this customary estate at will. A copyholder may, in many manors, be tenant in fee-simple, in fee-tail, for life, by the curtesy, in dower, for years, at sufferance, or on condition: subject however to be deprived of these estates upon the concurrence of those circumstances which the will of the lord, promulgated by immemorial custom, has declared to be a forfeiture, or absolute determination of those interests; as in some manors the want of issue male, in others the cutting down timber, the non-payment of a fine, and the like. Yet none of these interests amount to a freehold; for the freehold of the whole manor abides always in the lord only, (s) who hath granted out the use and occupation, but not the corporeal seisin or true legal possession, of certain parcels thereof, to these his customary tenants at will.

The reason of originally granting out this complicated kind of interest, so that the same man shall, with regard to the same land, be at one and the same time tenant in fee-simple, and also tenant at the lord's will, seems to [*149] have arisen from the nature of villenage tenure; in which a grant of any estate of freehold, or even for years absolutely, was an immediate enfranchisement of the villein. (t) The lords therefore, though they were willing to enlarge the interest of their villeins, by granting them estates which might endure for their lives, or sometimes be descendible to their issue, yet not caring to manumit them entirely, might probably scruple to grant them any absolute freehold; and for that reason it seems to have been contrived, that a power of resumption at the will of the lord should be annexed to these grants, whereby the tenants were still kept in a state of villenage, and no freehold at all was conveyed to them in their respective lands: and of course, as the freehold lands of all must necessarily rest and abide somewhere, the law supposed it still to continue and remain in the lord. Afterwards, when these villeins became modern copyholders, and had acquired by custom a sure and indefeasible estate in their lands, on performing their usual services, but yet continued to be styled in their admissions tenants at the will of the lord, the law still supposed it an absurdity to allow that such as were thus nominally tenants at will could have any freehold interest; and therefore continued and now continues to determine, that the freehold of lands so holden abides in the lord of the manor, and not in the tenant; for though he *really* holds to him and his heirs forever, yet he is also *said* to hold at another's will. But with regard to certain other copyholders of free or privileged tenure, which are derived from the ancient tenants in villein-socage, (u) and are not said to hold *at the will of the lord*, but only *according to the custom of the manor*, there is no such absurdity in allowing them to be capable of enjoying a freehold interest: and therefore the law doth not suppose the freehold of such lands to rest in the lord of whom they are holden, but in the tenants themselves; (v) who are sometimes called *customary freeholders*, being allowed to have a freehold interest, though not a freehold tenure.

(r) On copyholds, 51, 54.

(s) Litt. § 81. 2 Inst. 325.

(t) Mirr. c. 2, § 28. Litt. § 204, 5, 6.

(u) See page, 98, &c.

(v) Fitz. Abr. tit. corone. 310, custom. 12 Bro. Abr. tit. custom, 2, 17; tenant per copie, 22. 9 Rep. 76. Co. Litt. 59. Co. Copyh. § 32. Cro. Car. 229. 1 Roll. Abr. 562. 2 Ventr. 143. Carth. 432. Lord Raym. 1225.

[*150] *However, in common cases, copyhold estates are still ranked (for the reasons above-mentioned) among tenancies at will; though custom, which is the life of the common law, has established a permanent property in the copyholders who were formerly nothing better than bondmen, equal to that of the lord himself, in the tenements holden of the manor; nay sometimes even superior; for we may now look upon a copyholder of inheritance, with a fine certain, to be little inferior to an absolute freeholder in point of interest, and in other respects, particularly in the clearness and security of his title, to be frequently in a better situation.

III. An estate at *sufferance*, is where one comes into possession of land by lawful title, but keeps it afterwards without any title at all. As if a man takes a lease for a year, and after a year is expired continues to hold the premises without any fresh leave from the owner of the estate. Or if a man maketh a lease at will and dies, the estate at will is thereby determined: but if the tenant continueth possession, he is tenant at sufferance. (*w*) (15) But no man can be tenant at sufferance against the king, to whom no *laches*, or neglect in not entering and ousting the tenant is ever imputed by law; but his tenant, so holding over, is considered as an absolute intruder. (*x*) But, in the case of a subject, this estate may be destroyed whenever the true owner shall make an actual entry on the lands and oust the tenant: for, before entry, he cannot maintain an action of trespass against the tenant by sufferance, as he might against a stranger: (*y*) and the reason is, because the tenant being once in by a lawful title, the law (which presumes no wrong in any man) will suppose him to continue upon a title equally lawful; unless the owner of the land, by some public and avowed act, such as entry is, will declare his continuance to be tortious, or, in common language, wrongful. (16)

[*151] *Thus stands the law with regard to tenants by sufferance, and landlords are obliged in these cases to make formal entries upon their lands, (*z*) and recover possession by the legal process of ejectment; (17) and at the utmost, by the common law, the tenant was bound to account for the profits of the land so by him detained. (18) But now, by statute 4 Geo. II, c. 28, in case any tenant for life or years, or other person claiming under or by collusion with such tenant, shall wilfully hold over after the determination of the term, and demand made and notice in *writing* given by him, to whom the remainder or reversion of the premises shall belong, for delivering the possession thereof; such person, so holding over or keeping the other out of possession, shall pay for the time he detains the lands, at the rate of double their yearly *value*. And,

(*w*) Co. Litt. 57.

(*z*) *Ibid.*

(*y*) *Ibid.*

(*x*) 5 Mod. 384.

(15) [At the common law, in the absence of any special agreement, after the execution of a legal mortgage, the mortgagor, so long as he retains possession, is tenant at sufferance of the mortgagee; but if there is a general agreement, either verbal or by writing, that he shall retain the possession, and no term is specified, he is tenant at will. See 1 Salk. 209; 3 Scott, 271; 1 T. R. 378; 3 Man. and R. 107; 2 B. and Ad. 473.]

(16) *Jackson v. Parkhurst*, 5 Johns. 128; *Rising v. Stannard*, 17 Mass. 282. After entry made, the owner may maintain trespass against the tenant; *Dorrell v. Johnson*, 17 Pick. 266; unless the statute requires notice to terminate the tenancy, in which case the tenant will not be liable to trespass before such notice.

(17) [It has been a generally received notion, that if a tenant for a term, from year to year, at will or at sufferance, hold over, and do not quit on request, the landlord is put to his action of ejectment, and cannot take possession; but see 7 T. R. 431; 1 Price Rep. 53; 1 Bing. Rep. 158; 6 Taunt. 202-7; from which it appears, that if the landlord can get possession, without committing a breach of the peace, he may do so; and indeed if he were to occasion a breach of the peace, and be liable to be indicted for a forcible entry, still he would have a defence to any action at the suit of the party wrongfully holding over, because the plea of *liberum tenementum*, or other title in the lessor, would necessarily be pleadable in bar.] See *Jones v. Chapman*, 2 Exch. 803; *Harvey v. Brydges*, 14 M. and W. 437; *Davis v. Burrell*, 10 C. B. 821; *Pollen v. Brewer*, 7 C. B., N. S. 371.

(18) Where the tenancy, by the statute, is to be determined by notice, the tenant holding over after notice is liable to pay rent. *Hogsett v. Ellis*, 17 Mich. 357.

by statute 11 Geo. II, c. 19, in case any tenant, having power to determine his lease, shall give notice of his intention to quit the premises, and shall not deliver up the possession at the time contained in such notice, he shall thenceforth pay double the former *rent*, for such time as he continues in possession. These statutes have almost put an end to the practice of tenancy by sufferance, unless with the tacit consent of the owner of the tenement. (19)

CHAPTER X.

OF ESTATES UPON CONDITION.

BESIDES the several divisions of estates, in point of interest, which we have considered in the three preceding chapters, there is also another species still remaining, which is called an estate *upon condition*; (1) being such whose existence depends upon the happening or not happening of some uncertain event, whereby the estate may be either originally created, or enlarged, (2) or finally defeated. (a) (3) And these conditional estates I have chosen to reserve till last, because they are indeed more properly qualifications of other estates, than a distinct species of themselves; seeing that any quantity of interest, a fee, a freehold, or a term of years, may depend upon these provisional restrictions.

(a) Co. Litt. 201.

(19) For still more summary remedies, see the statutes 1 and 2 Vic. c. 74, and 9 and 10 Vic. c. 94, s. 122. Some of the American statutes entitle a tenant at sufferance to notice before proceedings are taken to dispossess him. It is not quite clear what these mean, but it is assumed that the mere holding over does not entitle the occupant to notice, unless the holding is continued under circumstances from which an implication of assent on the part of the owner can arise. See *Rowan v. Lytle*, 11 Wend. 616; *Livingston v. Tanner*, 12 Barb. 481, and 14 N. Y. 64; *Allen v. Carpenter*, 15 Mich. 25.

(1) [As to things executed (a conveyance of lands, for instance), a condition, to be valid, must be created and annexed to the estate at the time that it is made, not subsequently; the condition may, indeed, be contained in a separate instrument, but then, that must be sealed and delivered at the same time with the principal deed. Co. Litt. 236, b; Touch. 126. As to things executory (such as rents, annuities, &c.), a grant of them may be restrained by a condition created after the execution of such grant. Co. Litt. 237, a. Littleton (in his 328th and three following sections) says, divers words there be, which, by virtue of themselves, make estates upon condition. Not only the express words, "upon condition," but also the words "provided always," or "so that," will make a feoffment, or deed, conditional. And again (in his 331st section) he says, the words "if it happen" will make a condition in a deed, provided a *power of entry* is added. Without the reservation of such a power, the words "if it happen" will not, alone, and by their own force, make a good condition. This distinction is also noticed in Sheph. Touch. 122, where it is also laid down, that although the words "proviso," "so that," and "on condition," are the most proper words to make a condition; yet they have not always that effect, but frequently serve for other purposes; sometimes they operate as a qualification or limitation, sometimes as a covenant. And when inserted *among the covenants* in a deed, they operate as a *condition*, only when attended with the following circumstances: 1st. When the clause wherein they are found is a substantive one, having no dependence upon any other sentence in the deed, or rather, perhaps, not being used merely in qualification of such other sentence, but standing by itself. 2d. When it is compulsory upon the feoffee, donee, or lessee. 3d. When it proceeds from the part of the feoffor, donor, or lessor, and declares *his* intention, (but as to this point, see *Whichcote v. Fox*, Cro. Jac. 398; *Cromwell's Case*, 2 Rep. 72, and *infra*). 4th. When it is applied to the estate, or other subject matter. As to what words will constitute a condition, see *Whichcote v. Fox*, Cro. Jac. 398; Co. Litt. 203, b.; *Englefield's Case*, Moor, 307; S. C., 7 Rep. 78; *Berkley v. The Earl of Pembroke*, Moor, 707; S. C., Cro. Eliz. 306, 560; *Browning v. Beeston*, Plowd. 131.]

(2) [A particular estate may be limited, with a condition, that, after the happening of a certain event, the person to whom the first estate is limited shall have a larger estate. Such a condition may be good and effectual, as well in relation to things which lie in grant as to things which lie in livery, and may be annexed as well to an estate-tail, which cannot be drowned, as to an estate for life or years, which may be merged by the access of a greater estate.]

(3) [It is a rule of law, that a condition, the effect of which is to defeat or determine an estate to which it is annexed, must defeat the whole of such estate; not determine it in part only, leaving it good for the residue. *Jermin v. Arscot*, stated by Chief Justice Anderson, in *Corbet's Case*, 1 Rep. 85, b., and see *ibid.* 86, b.; *Chudleigh's Case*, 1 Rep. 138, b.]

Estates, then, upon condition thus understood, are of two sorts: 1. Estates upon condition *implied*: 2. Estates upon condition *expressed*: under which last may be included, 3. Estates held *in vadio, gage, or pledge*: 4. Estates by *statute merchant*, or *statute staple*: 5. Estates held by *elegit*.

I. Estates upon condition implied in law, are where a grant of an estate has a condition annexed to it inseparably, from its essence and constitution, although no condition be expressed in words. As if a grant be made to a man of an office, generally, without adding other words; the law tacitly annexes hereto a secret condition, that the grantee shall duly execute his office, *(b)* on breach of which condition *it is lawful for the grantor, or his heirs, to oust him and grant it to [*153] another person. *(c)* For an office, either public or private, may be forfeited by *mis-user* or *non-user*, both of which are breaches of this implied condition. 1. By *mis-user*, or abuse; as if a judge takes a bribe, or a park-keeper kills deer without authority. 2. By *non-user*, or neglect; which in public offices, that concern the administration of justice, or the commonwealth, is of itself a direct and immediate cause of forfeiture; but non-user of a private office is no cause of forfeiture, unless some special damage is proved to be occasioned thereby. *(d)* For in the one case delay must necessarily be occasioned in the affairs of the public, which require a constant attention: but, private offices not requiring so regular and unremitted a service, the temporary neglect of them is not necessarily productive of mischief: upon which account some special loss must be proved, in order to vacate these. Franchises also, being regal privileges in the hands of a subject, are held to be granted on the same condition of making a proper use of them; and therefore they may be lost and forfeited, like offices, either by abuse or by neglect. *(e)* (4)

Upon the same principle proceed all the forfeitures which are given by law of life estates and others; for any acts done by the tenant himself, that are incompatible with the estate which he holds. As if tenants for life or years enfeoff a stranger in fee-simple: this is, by the common law, a forfeiture of their several estates; being a breach of the condition which the law annexes thereto, viz.: that they shall not attempt to create a greater estate than they themselves are entitled to. *(f)* So if any tenants for years, for life, or in fee, commit a felony; the king or other lord of the fee is entitled to have their tenements, because their estate is determined by the breach of the condition, "that they shall not commit felony," which the law tacitly annexes to every feudal donation.

[*154] *II. An estate on condition expressed in the grant itself is where an estate is granted, either in *fee-simple* or *otherwise*, with an express qualification

(b) Litt. § 378.

(c) *Ibid.* § 379.

(d) Co. Litt. 233.

(e) 9 Rep. 50.

(f) Co. Litt. 215.

(4) The grant of a franchise to be a corporation is always upon the implied condition that the grantees shall act up to the end or design for which they are incorporated, and any misuser of the corporate privileges will render them liable to forfeiture as for condition broken. Ang. and A. on Corp. § 774-776; *People v. Bank of Niagara*, 6 Cow. 196; *Lehigh Bridge Co. v. Lehigh Coal Co.*, 4 Rawle, 9; *McIntyre School v. Zanesville Canal Co.*, 9 Ohio, 203; *People v. River Raisin and Lake Erie R. R. Co.*, 12 Mich. 389. So corporate franchises may be lost by non-user; but what length of non-user shall be requisite for that purpose must depend very much upon the circumstances and the character of the franchise and consequent interest the public may have in its exercise. See *State v. Commercial Bank*, 10 Ohio, 535; *People v. Bank of Pontiac*, 12 Mich. 537; *Matter of Jackson Marine Ins. Co.*, 4 Sandf. Ch. 559; *Ward v. Sea Ins. Co.*, 7 Paige, 294. The state alone can take advantage of a breach of the condition, and it must be done by a proceeding instituted directly for that purpose, and not in any collateral or incidental proceeding. *Commonwealth v. Union Ins. Co.*, 5 Mass. 230; *Enfield Toll Bridge Co. v. Connecticut R. R. Co.*, 7 Conn. 46; *Crump v. U. S. Mining Co.*, 7 Gratt. 352; *Planter's Bank v. Bank of Alexandria*, 10 Gill and J. 346; *Myers v. Manhattan Bank*, 20 Ohio, 283; *Bank of Gallipolis v. Trimble*, 6 B. Monr. 599; *Smith v. Mississippi R. R. Co.*, 6 S. and M. 179; *Cahill v. Kalamazoo M. Ins. Co.*, 2 Doug. Mich. 141; *Vermont and Canada R. R. Co. v. Vermont Central R. R. Co.*, 34 Vt. 57; *State v. Mississippi R. R. Co.*, 20 Ark. 495; *Brookville T. Co. v. McCarty*, 8 Ind. 392; *Wood v. Coosa, &c., R. R. Co.*, 32 Ga. 273. And the state may waive the broken condition as an individual might. Ang. and A. on Corp. § 777. As to what shall be deemed a waiver, see *Commercial Bank v. State*, 6 S. and M. 622; *State v. Bank of Charleston*, 2 McMullan, 439; *People v. Kingston T. Co.*, 23 Wend. 193; *People v. Phoenix Bank*, 24 id. 431; *People v. Bank of Pontiac*, 12 Mich. 527.

annexed, whereby the estate granted shall either commence, be enlarged or be defeated, upon performance or breach of such qualification or condition. (g) (5) These conditions are therefore either *precedent* or *subsequent*. (6) Precedent are such as must happen or be performed before the estate can vest or be enlarged: subsequent are such, by the failure or non-performance of which an estate already vested may be defeated. (7) Thus, if an estate for life be limited to A upon his marriage with B, the marriage is a precedent condition, and till that happens no estate (h) is vested in A. Or, if a man grant to his lessee for years, that upon payment of a hundred marks within the term he shall have the fee, this also is a condition precedent, and the fee-simple passeth not till the hundred marks be paid. (i) But if a man grants an estate in fee-simple, reserving to himself and his heirs a certain rent; and that if such rent be not paid at the times limited, it shall be lawful for him and his heirs to re-enter, and avoid the estate: in this case the grantee and his heirs have an estate upon condition subsequent, which is defeasible if the condition be not strictly performed. (k) (8) To this class may also be referred all base fees, and fee-simples conditional at the common law. (l) Thus an estate to a man and his heirs, *tenants of the manor of Dale*, is an estate on condition that he and his heirs continue tenants of that manor. And so, if a personal annuity be granted at this day to a man and the heirs of his body, as

(g) *Ibid.* 201.
(h) *Litt.* § 326.

(i) Show. Parl. Cas. 83, &c.
(j) See pages 109, 110, 111.

(k) Co. Litt. 217.

(5) The instances of conditions which now most frequently arise in practice are those contained in leases or agreements between lessor and lessee, and are principally conditions subsequent, provided for in the usual clauses of re-entry in case of a breach of a particular, or any covenant in the lease, as non-payment of rent, not repairing, not insuring, not residing on the premises, or in case of an assignment, or parting with the possession, or of bankruptcy, or insolvency, &c. See the cases upon this subject, 2 Cruise Dig. 10, 11, 13; 4 Cruise, 506; Adams, Ejectm. index, Covenant; 2 Saunders, by Patteson and Williams, index, Forfeiture.]

(6) [Equity will not allow any one to take advantage of a bequest over, who has himself been instrumental in causing the breach of a condition. *Garrett v. Pretty*, stated from Reg. Lib. in 3 Meriv. 120; *Clark v. Parker*, 19 Ves. 12; *D'Aguilar v. Drinkwater*, 2 Ves. and Bea. 225. But, it is a general rule, that where a condition is annexed by will to a devise or bequest, and no one is bound to give notice of such condition, the parties must themselves take notice and perform the condition in order to avoid a forfeiture. *Chauncy v. Graydon*, 2 Atk. 619; *Fry v. Porter*, 1 Mod. 314; *Burgess v. Robinson*, 3 Meriv. 9; *Phillips v. Bury*, Show. P. C. 50. Infancy will be no excuse, in such case, for non-performance of the condition. *Bertie v. Lord Falkland*, 2 Freem. 221; *Lady Ann Fry's Case*, 1 Ventr. 200. The application of this general rule, however, is subject to one restriction: where a condition is annexed to a devise of real estate to the testator's heir at law, there notice of the condition is necessary before he can incur a forfeiture; for, an heir at law, will be supposed to have entered and made claim by descent, not under the will. *Burleton v. Homfray*, Ambl. 250.]

(7) There are no technical words to distinguish conditions precedent and subsequent, but whether they be the one or the other is matter of construction, and depends upon the intention of the party creating the estate. 4 Kent, 125; *Rogan v. Walker*, 1 Wis. 555; *Burnett v. Strong*, 26 Miss. 116; *Finlay v. King's Lessee*, 3 Pet. 346; *Hotham v. East India Co.*, 1 T. R. 645.

(8) *Van Rensselaer v. Ball*, 19 N. Y. 100. So a condition that a conveyance shall be void unless within a specified time a certain sum of money is paid. *Brannan v. Mesick*, 10 Cal. 108. So a condition in a conveyance of land to a child that the grantee shall support the grantor in a particular manner. *Willard v. Henry*, 2 N. H. 120. But the condition must be something substantial; if it be merely nominal, as to pay an ear of Indian corn for a grant of land, for the first ten years if lawfully demanded, a failure to perform will be no ground of forfeiture. *People v. Society, &c.*, 1 Paine, C. C. 652; *King's Chapel v. Pelham*, 9 Mass. 501. And in any case a mere stipulation in a deed that the grantee shall do or abstain from doing a particular act is not to be regarded as a condition; the law presuming that the grantor relied upon the personal responsibility of the grantee instead of any security which a condition would afford. The construction is therefore always against conditions where the language will admit of it, and the grantee will have the benefit of all doubts. *Merrifield v. Cobleigh*, 4 Cush. 178. And if held to be conditions, they will be strictly construed. A grant, upon condition that the land shall be used for a raceway, is not forfeited, if it is used for that purpose, because of being used for other purposes also. *McKelway v. Seymour*, 5 Dutch. 322. And a condition that a grantee shall maintain a fence, not naming his heirs or assigns, will not be broken by the neglect of his heirs after his death to maintain it. *Emerson v. Simpson*, 43 N. H. 475; see *Gadberry v. Sheppard*, 27 Miss. 202; *Bradstreet v. Clark*, 21 Pick. 389; *Mead v. Ballard*, 7 Wal. 290.

this is no tenement within the statute of Westminster the second, it remains as at common law, a fee-simple on condition that the grantee has heirs of his body. Upon the same principle depend all the determinable estates of freehold, which we mentioned in the eighth chapter: as *durante viduitate*, &c.; these are estates upon condition that the grantees do not marry, and the like. And, on the breach [*155] of any of these *subsequent conditions, by the failure of these contingencies; by the grantee's not continuing tenant of the manor of Dale, by not having heirs of his body, or by not continuing sole; the estates which were respectively vested in each grantee are wholly determined and void. (9)

A distinction is however, made between a *condition in deed* and a *limitation*, which Littleton (*m*) denominates also a *condition in law*. For when an estate is so expressly confined and limited by the words of its creation, that it cannot endure for any longer time than till the contingency happens upon which the estate is to fail, this is denominated a *limitation*: as when land is granted to a man *so long as* he is parson of Dale, or *while* he continues unmarried, or *until* out of the rents and profits he shall have made 500*l.*, and the like. (*n*) In such case the estate determines as soon as the contingency happens (when he ceases to be parson, marries a wife, or has received the 500*l.*) and the next subsequent estate, which depends upon such determination, becomes immediately vested, without any act to be done by him who is next in expectancy. But when an estate is, strictly speaking, upon *condition in deed* (as if granted expressly *upon condition* to be void upon the payment of 40*l.* by the grantor, or *so that the* grantee continues unmarried, or *provided* he goes to York, &c.), (*o*) the law permits it to endure beyond the time when such contingency happens, unless the grantor or his heirs or assigns take advantage of the breach of the condition, and make either an entry or a claim in order to avoid the estate. (*p*) (10) Yet, though strict words of condition be used in the creation of the estate, if on breach of the condition the estate be limited over to a third person, and does not immediately revert to the grantor or his representatives (as if an estate be granted by A to B, on condition that within two years B intermarry with C, and on failure thereof then to D and his heirs), this the law construes to be a [*156] limitation and not a *condition: (*q*) because if it were a condition, then, upon the breach thereof, only A or his representatives could avoid the estate by entry, and so D's remainder might be defeated by their neglecting to enter; but, when it is a limitation, the estate of B determines, and that of D commences, and he may enter on the lands the instant that the failure happens. So also, if a man by his will devises land to his heir at law, on condition that he

(*m*) § 380. 1 Inst. 234.

(*n*) 10 Rep. 41.

(*o*) *Ibid.* 42.

(*p*) Litt. § 347. Stat. 32 Hen. VIII, c. 34.

(*q*) 1 Vent. 202.

(9) But a condition subsequent in *general* restraint of marriage is void: *Morley v. Rennoldson*, 2 Hare, 570; *Williams v. Cowden*, 13 Mo. 211; though one imposing *reasonable* restraints, as that the grantee shall not marry without consent of parent, guardian or trustee, or not to a person or persons named, or not to a native of a particular country, and the like will be sustained. See *Perrin v. Lyon*, 9 East, 170; *Daley v. Desbouverie*, 2 Atk. 261. And a husband has such an interest in his wife remaining single after his death that he may make that a valid condition of a grant or devise. *Lloyd v. Lloyd*, 16 Jurist, 306; *Dumey v. Schoffler*, 24 Mo. 170; *Vaughn v. Lovejoy*, 34 Ala. 437; *Pringle v. Dunkley*, 14 Sm. and M. 16; *Commonwealth v. Stauffer*, 10 Penn. St. 385.

(10) The material distinction between a condition and a limitation is, that a condition does not defeat the estate, though it be broken, until entry by the grantor or his heirs, while a limitation actually determines the estate without any act or ceremony whatsoever. 4 Kent, 426, 427: *Proprietors, &c., v. Grant*, 3 Gray, 147; *Tallman v. Snow*, 35 Me. 342; *Lockyer v. Savage*, 2 Strange, 947; 1 Washb. Real Prop. 457, 458. The right to make entry for breach of condition is not assignable separate from any reversion in the land to which the condition relates. *Nicoll v. N. Y. and E. R. R. Co.*, 12 N. Y. 121.

The person entitled to make entry for breach of condition may waive the right to do so, and will be regarded as having done so by any act inconsistent with an intent to rely upon the forfeiture. As where a leasehold estate has become forfeited for non-payment of rent, and the lessor accepts from the tenant rent which has accrued subsequent to the breach. See *Chalker v. Chalker*, 1 Conn. 79; *Coon v. Brickett*, 2 N. H. 163; *Jackson v. Allen*, 3 Cow. 220; *Gray v. Blanchard*, 8 Pick. 284; *Sharon Iron Co. v. Erie*, 41 Penn. St. 349.

pays a sum of money, and for non-payment devises it over, this shall be considered as a limitation; otherwise no advantage could be taken of the non-payment, for none but the heir himself could have entered for a breach of condition. (r)

In all these instances, of limitations or conditions subsequent, it is to be observed, that so long as the condition, either express or implied, either in deed or in law, remains unbroken, the grantee may have an estate of freehold, provided the estate upon which such condition is annexed be in itself of a freehold nature; as if the original grant express either an estate of inheritance, or for life; or no estate at all, which is constructively an estate for life. For, the breach of these conditions being contingent and uncertain, this uncertainty preserves the freehold; (s) because the estate is capable to last forever, or at least for the life of the tenant, supposing the condition to remain unbroken. But where the estate is at the utmost a chattel interest, which must determine at a time certain, and may determine sooner (as a grant for ninety-nine years, provided A, B and C, or the survivor of them, shall so long live), this still continues a mere chattel, and is not, by such its uncertainty, ranked among estates of freehold.

These express conditions, if they be *impossible* at the time of their creation, or afterwards become impossible by the act of God or the act of the feoffor himself, (11) or if they be *contrary to law* or *repugnant* to the nature of the estate, are void. In any of which cases, if they be conditions *subsequent*, that *is, to be performed after the estate is vested, the estate shall become [*157] absolute in the tenant. As, if a feoffment be made to a man in fee- simple, on condition that unless he goes to Rome in twenty-four hours; or unless he marries with Jane S. by such a day (within which time the woman dies, or the feoffor marries her himself); or unless he kills another; or in case he alienes in fee; that then and in any of such cases the estate shall be vacated and determine: here the condition is void, and the estate made absolute in the feoffee. For he hath by the grant the estate vested in him, which shall not be defeated afterwards by a condition either impossible, illegal, or repugnant. (t) (12) But if the condition be *precedent*, or to be performed before the estate vests, as a grant to a man that, if he kills another or goes to Rome in a day, he shall have an estate in fee; here, the void condition being precedent, the estate which depends thereon is also void, and the grantee shall take nothing by the grant: for he hath no estate until the condition be performed. (u)

There are some estates defeasible upon condition subsequent, that require a more peculiar notice. Such are,

III. Estates held *in vadio*, in *gage*, or *pledge*; which are of two kinds, *vivum vadium*, or living pledge; and *mortuum vadium*, dead pledge, or *mortgage*.

(r) Cro. Eliz. 206. 1 Roll. Abr. 411.

(s) Co. Litt. 42.

(t) Co. Litt. 206.

(u) *Ibid*.

(11) See *Merrill v. Emery*, 10 Pick. 507. Or by the course of public events, as where a grant is made on condition that certain settlements be made upon it, and a change of jurisdiction, or the disturbed state of the country render it impracticable. *U. S. v. Arredondo*, 6 Pet. 691; *U. S. v. Fremont*, 17 How. 560; *U. S. v. Reading*, 18 How. 1. And so where a condition is designed for the benefit of a third person, who by his own act renders performance impossible. *Jones v. Doe*, 1 Scam. 276; see *Jones v. Walker*, 13 B. Monr. 163.

(12) A condition in general restraint of alienation, either by the grantee himself or on legal proceedings against him, is void in a conveyance in fee, as repugnant to the estate conveyed. *Blackstone Bank v. Davis*, 21 Pick. 42; *Taylor v. Sutton*, 15 Geo. 103; see *Newkerk v. Newkerk*, 2 Caines, 345. But reasonable restraints upon the mode in which premises are to be used, may be made conditions even in grants of the fee. See *Gillis v. Bailey*, 1 Post. 149; *Gray v. Blanchard*, 8 Pick. 253; *Wheeler v. Earle*, 5 Cush. 31; *Verplank v. Wright*, 23 Wend. 506. A condition that land granted for a church and a school shall be used only for a church is void for repugnancy. *Canal Bridge Co. v. Methodist Society*, 13 Metc. 335. If the act of the law renders performance impossible, the party is excused. *Anglesea v. Church Wardens*, 6 Q. B. 114.

Although equity will sometimes relieve against conditions where the act to be done was such that the injury from failure to perform it is capable of a certain compensation in damages, it will not assist in enforcing them by forfeiture, but will leave parties to their remedy at law. *Warner v. Bennett*, 31 Conn. 478; *Crane v. Dwyer*, 9 Mich. 350.

Vivum vadium, or living pledge, is when a man borrows a sum (suppose 200*l.*) of another; and grants him an estate, as of 20*l. per annum*, to hold till the rents and profits shall repay the sum so borrowed. This is an estate conditioned to be void, as soon as such sum is raised. And in this case the land or pledge is said to be living; it subsists, and survives the debt; and immediately on the discharge of that, results back to the borrower. (*w*) But *mortuum vadium*, a dead pledge, or *mortgage* (which is much more common than the other), is where [*158] a man borrows of another a specific sum (*e. g.* 200*l.*) *and grants him an estate in fee, on condition that if he, the mortgagor, shall repay the mortgagee the said sum of 200*l.* on a certain day mentioned in the deed, that then the mortgagor may re-enter on the estate so granted in pledge; or, as is now the more usual way, that then the mortgagee shall re-convey the estate to the mortgagor: in this case, the land, which is so put in pledge, is by law, in case of non-payment at the time limited, forever dead and gone from the mortgagor; and the mortgagee's estate in the lands is then no longer conditional, but absolute. But, so long as it continues conditional, that is, between the time of lending the money, and the time allotted for payment, the mortgagee is called tenant in mortgage. (*x*) But as it was formerly a doubt, (*y*) whether, by taking such estate in fee, it did not become liable to the wife's dower, and other incumbrances, of the mortgagee (though that doubt has been long ago overruled by our courts of equity), (*z*) it therefore became usual to grant only a long term of years by way of mortgage; with condition to be void on re-payment of the mortgage-money; which course has been since pretty generally continued, principally because on the death of the mortgagee such term becomes vested in his personal representatives, who alone are entitled in equity to receive the money lent, of whatever nature the mortgage may happen to be. (13)

As soon as the estate is created, the mortgagee may immediately enter on the lands; but is liable to be dispossessed, upon performance of the condition by payment of the mortgage-money at the day limited. And therefore the usual way is to agree that the mortgagor shall hold the land till the day assigned for payment; when, in case of failure, whereby the estate becomes absolute, the mortgagee may enter upon it and take possession, without any possibility *at law* of being afterwards evicted by the mortgagor, to whom the land is now forever dead. But here again the courts of equity interpose; and though a mortgage [*159] be thus forfeited, and the *estate absolutely vested in the mortgagee at the common law, yet they will consider the real value of the tenements compared with the sum borrowed. And, if the estate be of greater value than

(*w*) *Ibid.* 205.(*x*) *Litt.* § 332.(*y*) *Ibid.* § 357. *Cro. Car.* 191.(*z*) *Hardr.* 466.

(13) There are two parts to a mortgage, the conveyance and the defeasance. These are usually embraced in the same instrument, which is executed by the mortgagor alone, and conveys the land at the same time that it specifies the condition on which the conveyance shall be defeated. But sometimes they are executed separately, in which case the mortgagor executes the conveyance, and the mortgagee executes and delivers to the mortgagor an instrument of defeasance. A deed absolute in form without any written defeasance is nevertheless a mortgage if given to secure a pre-existing debt, and resort may be had to the surrounding circumstances to determine whether that was the real purpose or not. And in some of the states it is held that a parol agreement cotemporaneous with the giving of a deed may be shown in order to establish that a deed was to be a mortgage only. See authorities collected in *Emerson v. Atwater*, 7 Mich. 12. And see *Hodges v. Ins. Co.*, 8 N. Y. 416; *Despard v. Walbridge*, 15 id. 374.

The vendor of real estate who has not been fully paid the purchase money has a lien upon the land for the payment, in the absence of any express contract on the subject, unless he has received security for the payment, or the circumstances are such as to preclude the idea that the parties expected such a lien to exist. *White v. Williams*, 1 Paige, 502; *Sears v. Smith*, 2 Mich. 243; *Chilton v. Braiden's Admr.*, 2 Black, 458; *Tobey v. McAlister* 9 Wis. 463; *Neil v. Kinney*, 11 Ohio, N. S. 58; *Boos v. Ewing*, 17 Ohio, 500; *Manly v. Slason*, 21 Vt. 277; *Lusk v. Hopper*, 3 Bush. 179; *Piedmont, &c. Co. v. Green*, 3 W. Va. 54; *Boynton v. Champlin*, 42 Ill. 57. This lien continues so long as the land remains in the hands of the purchaser, and would also follow it in the hands of one who received a conveyance with knowledge of the lien or without consideration. See *Mackreth v. Symmons*, 15 Ves. 329, and notes thereto in 1 Lead. Cas. in Equity. The lien is enforced in equity as an equitable mortgage. This lien does not appear to exist in Kansas. *Simpson v. Mundee*, 3 Kansas, 172.

the sum lent thereon, they will allow the mortgagor at any reasonable time to recall or redeem his estate; (14) paying to the mortgagee his principal, interest, and expenses: for otherwise, in strictness of law, an estate worth 1000*l.* might be forfeited for non-payment of 100*l.* or a less sum. This reasonable advantage, allowed to mortgagors, is called the *equity of redemption*: and this enables a mortgagor to call on the mortgagee, who has possession of his estate, to deliver it back and account for the rents and profits received, on payment of his whole debt and interest; thereby turning the *mortuum* into a kind of *vivum vadium*. But, on the other hand, the mortgagee may either compel the sale of the estate, in order to get the whole of his money immediately; or else call upon the mortgagor to redeem his estate presently, or in default thereof, to be forever *foreclosed* from redeeming the same; that is, to lose his equity of redemption without possibility of recall. (15) And also, in some cases of fraudulent mortgages, (a)

(a) Stat. 4 and 5 W. & M. c. 16.

(14) [The policy of the statute of limitations applies as strongly to a mortgaged estate as to any other. So long as the estate can be shown to have been treated as a pledge, so long there is a recognition of the mortgagor's title: *Hodde v. Healey*, 1 Ves. and Bea. 540; S. C. 6 Mad. 181; *Grubb v. Woodhouse*, 2 Freem. 187; but from the time when all accounts have ceased to be kept by the mortgagee; and provided, also, he has in no other way (either in communications to the mortgagor or in dealings with third parties: *Hansard v. Hardy*, 18 Ves. 459; *Ord v. Smith*, Sel. Ca. in Cha. 10) admitted the estate to be held as a security only; the statute will begin to run, unless the mortgagor's situation bring him within some of the savings of the statute; and if he do not within twenty years assert his title to redeem, his right will have been forfeited by his own *laches*. *Marquis of Cholmondeley v. Lord Clinton*, 2 Jac. and Walk. 180, *et seq.*; *Whiting v. White*, Coop. 4; S. C., 2 Cox, 300; *Barren v. Martin*, 19 Ves. 327. But to show that an estate has been treated as one affected by a subsisting mortgage, within twenty years immediately preceeding a bill brought for redemption, parol evidence is admissible. *Reeks v. Postlethwaite*, Coop. 170; *Perry v. Marston*, cited 2 Cox, 295; *Edsell v. Buchanan*, 2 Ves. Jun. 84.

In the case of *Montgomery v. The Marquis of Bath*, 3 Ves. 560, a decree was made for a foreclosure as to the share of one of several joint mortgagees; but, it is to be observed, no opposition was made by the mortgagor in that case; and it is very doubtful whether a decree for a partial foreclosure ought ever to be made. See *Cockburn v. Thompson*, 16 Ves. 324, n. It is, at all events, certain, there can be no foreclosure or redemption, unless the whole of the parties entitled to any share of the mortgage money are before the court: *Lowe v. Morgan*, 1 Br. 368; *Palmer v. The Earl of Carlisle*, 1 Sim. and Stu. 425; it being always the object of a court of equity to make a complete decree, embracing the whole subject, and determining (as far as possible) the rights of all the parties interested. *Palk v. Clinton*, 12 Ves. 58; *Cholmondeley v. Clinton*, 2 Jac. and Walk. 134. Upon analogous principles, not only the mortgagor but a subsequent mortgagee, who comes to redeem the mortgage of a prior mortgagee, must offer to redeem it entirely; although the second mortgage may affect only part of the estates comprised in the first, and the titles are different. *Palk v. Clinton*, 12 Ves. 59.]

(15) Besides the conveyance and defeasance, there is also in the mortgages commonly given in the United States a third part, called the power of sale, which is an authority given by the mortgagor to the mortgagee to sell the land for the satisfaction of his debt, rendering the surplus moneys, if any, to the mortgagor. Where the mortgage contains this power of sale, the following modes of foreclosure may exist:

1. The mortgagee may dispossess the mortgagor and any one who has come into possession under him since the giving of the mortgage, and apply the rents and profits of the premises to the satisfaction of his debt. But the right to possession before an actual foreclosure of the mortgage by legal proceedings is now taken away by statute in some of the states. See *Waring v. Smyth*, 2 Barb. Ch. 135; *Caruthers v. Humphrey*, 12 Mich. 270.

2. The mortgagee may sell under his power of sale. The proceedings on such sale are regulated by statute, and it is generally required to be at public auction after advertisement in some newspaper, and to be made by the mortgagee or by some public officer. The statute must be followed in all its substantial requisites, or the purchaser would only become assignee of the mortgage.

3. The mortgagee may file his bill in equity and obtain decree that the mortgagor redeem within some time fixed by the court, or be foreclosed. But generally the court, instead of making such decree—which is called a decree of *strict foreclosure*—will order the premises sold to satisfy the mortgage and costs.

4. The possession of the mortgagee in any case may ripen into an absolute title if continued for twenty years without any application of rents and profits upon the mortgage, or any recognition of the right of the mortgagor to redeem.

And the mortgagee, instead of resorting to a foreclosure, has a right to pursue any personal remedy against the mortgagor, if the latter is bound by bond or otherwise for the mortgage debt.

The foreclosure under the power of sale is now regulated in England by statute 23 and 24 Vic. c. 145, and six months' notice to the mortgagor is required.

the fraudulent mortgagor forfeits all equity of redemption whatsoever. (16) It is not however usual for mortgagees to take possession of the mortgaged estate, unless where the security is precarious, or small; or where the mortgagor neglects even the payment of interest: when the mortgagee is frequently obliged to bring an ejectment, (17) and take the land into his own hands in the nature of a pledge, or the *pignus* of the Roman law: whereas, while it remains in the hands of the mortgagor, it more resembles their *hypotheca*, which was, where the possession of the thing pledged remained with the debtor. (b) But by statute 7 Geo. II, c. 20, after payment or tender by the mortgagor of principal, interest, and costs, the mortgagee can maintain no ejectment; but may be compelled to re-assign his securities. In Glanvil's time, when the universal method [*160] of conveyance was by livery of seisin *or corporal tradition of the lands, the gage or pledge of lands was good unless possession was also delivered to creditor; "*si non sequatur ipsius vadui traditio, curia domini regis hujusmodi privatas conventiones tueri non solet*," for which the reason given is, to prevent subsequent and fraudulent pledges of the same land: "*cum in tali casu possit eadem res pluribus aliis creditoribus tum prius tum posterius invadiari*." (c) And the frauds which have arisen since the exchange of these public and notorious conveyances for more private and secret bargains, have well evinced the wisdom of our ancient law. (18)

(b) *Pignoris appellatione eam proprie rem contineri dicimus, quæ simul etiam traditur, creditoribus. At eam, quæ sine traditione nuda conventionione tenetur, proprie hypothecæ appellatione contineri dicimus. Inst. l. 4, §. 8, § 7.*

(c) l. 10, c. 8.

(16) [By the 4 and 5 W. and M. c. 16, if any person mortgages his estate, and does not previously inform the mortgagee in writing of a prior mortgage, or of any judgment or incumbrance, which he has voluntarily brought upon the estate, the mortgagee shall hold the estate as an absolute purchaser, free from the equity of redemption of the mortgagor.]

(17) [The mortgagee is not now obliged to bring an ejectment to recover the rents and profits of the estate, for it has been determined that where there is a tenant in possession, by a lease prior to the mortgage, the mortgagee may at any time give him notice to pay the rent to him; and he may distrain for all the rent which is due at the time of the notice, and also for all that accrues afterwards. *Moss v. Gallimore*, Doug. 279. The mortgagor has no interest in the premises, but by the mere indulgence of the mortgagee; he has not even the estate of a tenant at will, for it is held he may be prevented from carrying away the emblements, or the crops which he himself has sown. *Ib.* 2 Fonblanque on Equity, 258.]

If the mortgagor grants a lease after the mortgage, the mortgagee may recover the possession of the premises in an ejectment against the tenant in possession without a previous notice to quit. 3 East, 449; *Keech v. Hall*. 1 Doug. 21.]

(18) [If a mortgagee neglect to take possession of, or if he part with the title deeds of, the mortgaged property, with a view to enable the mortgagor to commit frauds upon third persons, he will be postponed to incumbrancers who have been deceived, and induced to advance money, by his collusion with the mortgagor; but the mere circumstance of not taking or keeping possession of the title deeds, is not, of itself, a sufficient ground for postponing the first mortgagee; unless there be fraud, concealment, or some such purpose, or concurrence in such purpose; or that gross negligence which amounts to evidence of a fraudulent intention: *Evans v. Bicknell*, 6 Ves. 190; *Martinez v. Cooper*, 2 Russ. 216; *Barnett v. Weston*, 12 Ves. 133; *Bailey v. Farmor*, 9 Pr. 267; *Peter v. Russell*, Gilb. Eq. Rep. 123; and, of course, a prior incumbrancer, to whose charge on the estate possession of the title deeds is not a necessary incident, cannot be postponed to subsequent incumbrancers, because he is not in possession of the title deeds. *Harper v. Faulder*, 4 Mad. 138; *Tourle v. Rand*, 2 Br. 652.]

Among mortgagees, where none of them have the legal estate, the rule in equity is, that, *qui prior est tempore potior est jure*; and the several incumbrances must be paid according to their priority in point of time. *Brace v. Duchess of Marlborough*, 2 P. Wms. 495; *Clarke v. Abbott*, Bernard, Ch. Rep. 460; *Earl of Pomfret v. Lord Windsor*, 2 Ves. Sen. 486; *Maundrell v. Maundrell*, 19 Ves. 260; *Mackreth v. Symmons*, 15 Ves. 354. But when, of several persons having equal equity in their favor, one has been fortunate or prudent enough to get in the legal estate, he may make all the advantage thereof which the law admits, and thus protect his title, though subsequent in point of time to that of other claimants; courts of equity will not interfere in such cases, but leave the law to prevail. In conformity to this settled doctrine, if an estate be encumbered with several mortgage debts, the last mortgagee, provided he lent his money *bona fide* and without notice, may, by taking in the first incumbrance, carrying with it the legal estate, protect himself against any intermediate mortgage; no *mesne* mortgagee can take the estate out of his hands, without redeeming the last incumbrance as well as the first. *Wortley v. Birkhead*, 2 Ves. Sen. 573; *Morret v. Paske*, 2 Atk. 53; *Frere v. Moore*, 8 Pr. 487; *Barnett v. Weston*, 12 Ves. 135. But, to support the doctrine of tacking, the fairness

IV. A fourth species of estates, defeasible on condition subsequent, are those held by *statute merchant*, and *statute staple*; which are very nearly related to the *vivum vadium* before mentioned, or estate held till the profits thereof shall discharge a debt liquidated or ascertained. For both the statute merchant and statute staple are securities for money; the one entered into before the chief magistrate of some trading town, pursuant to the statute 13 Edw. I, *de mercatoribus*, and thence called a statute merchant; the other pursuant to the statute 27 Edw. III, c. 9, before the mayor of the staple, that is to say, the grand mart for the principal commodities or manufactures of the kingdom, formerly held by act of parliament in certain trading towns, (*d*) from whence this security is called a statute staple. They are both, I say, securities for debts acknowledged to be due; and originally permitted only among traders, for the benefit of commerce; whereby not only the body of the debtor may be imprisoned, and his goods seized in satisfaction of the debt, but also his lands may be delivered to the creditor, till out of the rents and profits of them the debts may be satisfied; and, during such time as the creditor so holds the lands, he is tenant by statute merchant or statute staple. There is also a similar security, the recognizance in the nature of a statute staple, acknowledged before either of the chief justices, or (out of term) before their substitutes, the mayor of the staple at Westminster and the recorder of London; whereby the benefit of this mercantile transaction is extended to all the king's subjects in general, by virtue of the statute 23 Hen. VIII, c. 6, amended by 8 Geo. I, c. 25, which directs such recognizances to be enrolled and certified into chancery. But these by the Statute of Frauds, 29 Car. II, c. 3, are only binding upon the lands in the hands of *bona fide* purchasers, from the day of their enrolment, which is ordered to be marked on the record.

V. Another similar conditional estate, created by operation of law, for security and satisfaction of debts, is called, an *estate by *elegit*. What an *elegit* [*161] is, and why so called, will be explained in the third part of these Commentaries. At present I need only mention that it is the name of a writ, founded on the statute (*e*) of Westm. 2, by which, after a plaintiff has obtained judgment for his debt at law, the sheriff gives him possession of one-half of the defendant's lands and tenements, to be occupied and enjoyed until his debt and

(*d*) See Book I, c. 8.

(*e*) 13 Edw. I, c. 18.

of the circumstances under which the loan desired to be tacked was made, must be liable to no impeachment: *Maundrell v. Maundrell*, 10 Ves. 260; and, though the point has never called for decision, it has been said to be very doubtful, whether a third mortgagee, by taking in the first mortgage, can exclude the second, if the first mortgagee, when he conveyed to the third, knew of the second. *Mackreth v. Symmons*, 15 Ves. 335. Indisputably, a mortgagee purchasing the mortgagor's equity of redemption, or a *puisne* incumbrancer, cannot set up a prior mortgage of his own, (nor, consequently, a mortgage which he has got in) against *mesne* incumbrances of which he had notice. *Toulmin v. Steere*, 3 Meriv. 224; *Mocatta v. Murgatroyd*, 1 P. Wms. 393; *Morret v. Paske*, 2 Atk. 62. Upon analogous principles, if the first mortgagee stood by, without disclosing his own incumbrance on the estate, when the second mortgagee advanced his money, under the persuasion that the estate was liable for no prior debt; the first mortgagee, in just recompense of his fraudulent concealment, will be postponed to the second. And the rule, as well as the reason, of decision is the same, where the mortgagor has gained any other advantage, in subsequent dealings respecting the mortgaged estate, by the connivance of the mortgagee. *Becket v. Cordley*, 1 Br. 357; *Berrisford v. Milward*, 2 Atk. 49. Part of this note is extracted from 2 Hovenden on Frauds, 183, 196.] The doctrine of tacking mortgages does not prevail in the United States. 4 Kent, 176. Here a system of registry exists under which the records of a public office in the county or town in which the lands lie are supposed to give full information of the grants or liens affecting a title, and any one who has a deed or mortgage which he fails to put on record in this office, is liable to have his rights cut off by a subsequent deed or mortgage from the same grantor, provided the grantee therein receives the same in good faith and for valuable consideration paid, and gets it duly recorded. But such second grantee will not be protected if he actually knew of the existence of the first conveyance at the time of receiving his own, or if he was notified thereof. But a notice afterwards and before his conveyance is recorded will not defeat his priority if he succeeds in getting his conveyance upon record first. 1 Washb. Real Prop. 536, 537; 4 Kent, 173.

damages are fully paid: and during the time he so holds them, he is called tenant by *elegit*. It is easy to observe, that this is also a mere conditional estate, defeasible as soon as the debt is levied. But it is remarkable that the feudal restraints of alienating lands, and charging them with the debts of the owner, were softened much earlier and much more effectually for the benefit of trade and commerce, than for any other consideration. Before the statute of *quia emptores*, (*f*) it is generally thought that the proprietor of lands was enabled to alienate no more than a moiety of them: the statute therefore of Westm. 2, permits only so much of them to be affected by the process of law, as a man was capable of alienating by his own deed. But by the statute *de mercatoribus* (passed in the same year) (*g*) the whole of a man's lands was liable to be pledged in a statute merchant, for a debt contracted in trade; though only *half* of them was liable to be taken in execution for any other debt of the owner. (19)

I shall conclude what I had to remark of these estates, by statute merchant, statute staple, and *elegit*, with the observation of Sir Edward Coke. (*h*) "These tenants have uncertain interests in lands and tenements, and yet they have but chattels and no freeholds;" (which makes them an exception to the general rule) "because though they may hold an estate of inheritance, or for life, *ut liberum tenementum*, until their debt be paid; yet it shall go to their executors: for *ut* is similitudinary; and though to recover their estates, they shall have the same remedy (by assize) as a tenant of the freehold shall have, (*i*) yet it is but [*162] the "similitude of a freehold, and *nullum simile est idem*." This indeed only proves them to be chattel interests, because they go to the executors, which is inconsistent with the nature of a freehold; but it does not assign the reason why these estates, in contradistinction to other uncertain interests, shall vest in the executors of the tenant and not the heir; which is probably owing to this: that, being a security and remedy provided for personal debts due to the deceased, to which debts the executor is entitled, the law has therefore thus directed their succession; as judging it reasonable from a principle of natural equity, that the security and remedy should be vested in those to whom the debts if recovered would belong. For upon the same principle, if lands be devised to a man's executor, until out of their profits the debts due from the testator be discharged, this interest in the lands shall be a chattel interest, and on the death of such executor shall go to *his* executors: (*k*) because they, being liable to pay the original testator's debts, so far as his assets will extend, are in reason entitled to possess that fund out of which he has directed them to be paid.

CHAPTER XI.

OF ESTATES IN POSSESSION, REMAINDER, AND REVERSION.

HITHERTO we have considered estates solely with regard to their duration, or the *quantity of interest* which the owners have therein. We are now to consider them in another view; with regard to the *time of their enjoyment*, when the actual pernanacy of the profits (that is, the taking, perception, or receipt, of the rents and other advantages arising therefrom) begins. Estates therefore with respect to this consideration, may either be in *possession*, or in *expectancy*:

(*f*) 18 Edw. I. (*g*) 13 Edw. I. (*h*) 1 Inst. 42, 43.

(*i*) The words of the statute *de mercatoribus* are, "*puisse porter bref de novele disseisine, ausi sicum de franktenements*."

(*k*) Co. Litt. 42.

(19) The remedy by *elegit* has been greatly enlarged by recent statutes, which will be referred to hereafter.

and of expectancies there are two sorts; one created by the act of the parties, called a *remainder*; the other by act of law, and called a *reversion*. (1)

I. Of estates in *possession* (which are sometimes called estates *executed*, whereby a present interest passes to and resides in the tenant, not depending on any subsequent circumstance or contingency, as in the case of estates *executory*), there is little or nothing peculiar to be observed. All the estates we have hitherto spoken of are of this kind; for, in laying down general rules, we usually apply them to such estates as are then actually in the tenant's possession. But the doctrine of estates in expectancy contains some of the nicest and most abstruse learning in the English law. These will therefore require a minute discussion, and demand some degree of attention.

II. An estate then in *remainder*, may be defined to be an estate limited to take effect and be enjoyed after another estate is determined. (2) *As if a [*164] man seised in fee-simple granteth lands to A for twenty years, and, after the determination of the said term, then to B and his heirs forever: here A is tenant for years, remainder to B in fee. In the first place, an estate for years is created or carved out of the fee, and given to A; and the residue or remainder of it is given to B. But both these interests are in fact only one estate; the present term of years and the remainder afterwards, when added together, being equal only to one estate in fee. (a) They are indeed different *parts*, but they constitute only one *whole*; they are carved out of one and the same inheritance; they are both created, and may both subsist, together; the one in possession, the other in expectancy. So if land be granted to A for twenty years, and after the determination of the said term to B for life; and after the determination of B's estate for life, it be limited to C and his heirs forever; this makes A tenant for years, with remainder to B for life, remainder over to C in fee. Now here the estate of inheritance undergoes a division into three portions; there is first A's estate for years carved out of it; and after that B's estate for life; and then the whole that remains is limited to C and his heirs. And here also the first estate, and both the remainders, for life and in fee, are one estate only; being nothing but parts or portions of one entire inheritance; and if there were a hundred remainders, it would still be the same thing; upon a principle grounded in mathematical truth, that all the parts are equal, and no more than equal, to the whole. And hence also it is easy to collect, that no remainder can be limited after the grant of an estate in fee-simple: (b) because a fee-simple is the highest and largest estate that a subject is capable of enjoying; and he that is tenant in fee hath in him the *whole* of the estate; a remainder therefore, which is only a portion, or residuary *part*, of the estate, cannot be reserved after the whole is disposed of. A particular estate, with all *the remainders expectant [*165] thereon, is only one fee-simple: as 40l. is part of 100l. and 60l. is the remainder of it; wherefore, after a fee-simple once vested, there can no more be a remainder limited thereon, than, after the whole 100l. is appropriated, there can be any residue subsisting.

(a) Co. Litt. 143.

(b) Plowd. 29. Vaugh. 269.

(1) An estate in possession exists where the owner is entitled to immediate possession; an estate in expectancy is where the right to possession is postponed to a future period.

A remainder is a future estate, to take effect in possession on the determination of a precedent estate which is created by the same instrument. It is a vested remainder when there is a person in being who would have an immediate right to possession upon the ceasing of the precedent estate. It is a contingent remainder if the person to whom, or the event upon which it is limited, is uncertain.

A reversion is the residue of an estate left in the grantor, or in the heirs of a testator, and to which he or they will succeed in possession on the determination of a particular estate granted or devised by him.

(2) The law regarding remainders has been much changed by statutes in some of the American states, and without attempting to point out the changes specifically, the reader is referred to the 57th Lecture of Chancellor Kent, and to 2 Washb. on Real Property, 264. The author last named gives references to the statutes of the several states.

Thus much being premised, we shall be the better enabled to comprehend the rules that are laid down by law to be observed in the creation of remainders, and the reasons upon which those rules are founded.

1. And, first, there must necessarily be some particular estate precedent to the estate in remainder. (c) As, an estate for years to A, remainder to B for life; or, an estate for life to A, remainder to B in tail. This precedent estate is called the *particular* estate, as being only a small part, or *particula*, of the inheritance; the residue or remainder of which is granted over to another. The necessity of creating this preceding particular estate, in order to make a good remainder, arises from this plain reason: that *remainder* is a relative expression, and implies that some part of the thing is previously disposed of; for where the whole is conveyed at once, there cannot possibly exist a remainder; but the interest granted, whatever it be, will be an estate in possession.

An estate created to commence at a distant period of time, without any intervening estate, is therefore properly no remainder; it is the whole of the gift, and not a residuary part. And such future estates can only be made of chattel interests, which were considered in the light of mere contracts by the ancient law, (d) to be executed either now or hereafter, as the contracting parties should agree; but an estate of freehold must be created to commence immediately. For it is an ancient rule of the common law, that an estate of freehold cannot be created to commence *in futuro*; but it ought to take effect presently either [*166] in possession or remainder; (e) because at *common law no freehold in lands could pass without livery of seisin; which must operate either immediately, or not at all. It would therefore be contradictory, if an estate, which is not to commence till hereafter, could be granted by a conveyance which imports an immediate possession. Therefore, though a lease to A for seven years, to commence from next Michaelmas, is good; yet a conveyance to B of lands, to hold to him and his heirs forever from the end of three years next ensuing, is void.(3) So that when it is intended to grant an estate of freehold, whereof the enjoyment shall be deferred till a future time, it is necessary to create a previous particular estate, which may subsist till that period of time is completed; and for the grantor to deliver immediate possession of the land to the tenant of this particular estate, which is construed to be giving possession to him in remainder, since his estate and that of the particular tenant are one and the same estate in law. As, where one leases to A for three years, with remainder to B in fee, and makes livery of seisin to A; hereby the livery of the freehold is immediately created, and vested in B, during the continuance of A's term of years. The whole estate passes at once from the grantor to the grantees, and the remainder-man is seized of his remainder at the same time that the termor is possessed of his term. The enjoyment of it must indeed be deferred till hereafter; but it is to all intents and purposes an estate commencing *in præsent*i, though to be occupied and enjoyed *in futuro*.

As no remainder can be created without such a precedent particular estate, therefore the particular estate is said to *support* the remainder. But a lease at will is not held to be such a particular estate as will support a remainder over. (f) For an estate at will is of a nature so slender and precarious that it is not looked upon as a portion of the inheritance; and a portion must first be taken out of it, in order to constitute a remainder. Besides, if it be a freehold remainder, livery of seisin must be given at the time of its creation; and the [*167] entry of the grantor to do this determines the estate at will *in the very instant in which it is made: (g) or if the remainder be a chattel interest,

(c) Co. Litt. 49. Plowd. 25

(d) Raym. 151.

(e) 5 Rep. 94,

(f) 8 Rep. 75.

(g) Dyer, 18.

(3) This doctrine, however, does not apply to conveyances having operation under the statute of uses; such as bargain and sale, covenant to stand seized, &c., under which the use, until the time limited, will result to the bargainor and his heirs. And by statute in many of the American states the rule as stated in the text is abolished or essentially modified. See 2 Washb. Real Prop. 264.

though perhaps the deed of creation might operate as a *future contract*, if the tenant for years be a party to it, yet it is void by way of *remainder*: for it is a separate, independent contract, distinct from the precedent estate at will; and every remainder must be part of one and the same estate, out of which the preceding particular estate is taken. (*h*) And hence it is generally true, that if the particular estate is void in its creation, or by any means is defeated afterwards, the remainder supported thereby shall be defeated also: (*i*) (4) as where the particular estate is an estate for the life of a person not *in esse*; (*k*) or an estate for life upon condition, on breach of which condition the grantor enters and avoids the estate; (*l*) in either of these cases the remainder over is void.

2. A second rule to be observed is this; that the remainder must commence or pass out of the grantor at the time of the creation of the particular estate. (*m*) As, where there is an estate to A for life, with remainder to B in fee: here B's remainder in fee passes from the grantor at the same time that seisin is delivered to A of his life estate in possession. And it is this which induces the necessity at common law of livery of seisin being made on the particular estate, whenever a *freehold* remainder is created. For, if it be even limited on an estate for years, it is necessary that the lessee for years should have livery of seisin, in order to convey the freehold from and out of the grantor, otherwise the remainder is void. (*n*) Not that the livery is necessary to strengthen the estate for years; but, as livery of the land is requisite to convey the freehold, and yet cannot be given to him in remainder without infringing the possession of the lessee for years, therefore the law allows such livery, made to the tenant of the particular estate, to relate and inure to him in remainder, as both are but one estate in law. (*o*)

*3. A third rule respecting remainders is this: that the remainder [*168] must vest in the grantee during the continuance of the particular estate, or *eo instanti* that it determines. (*p*) (5) As, if A be tenant for life, remainder to B in tail: here B's remainder is vested in him, at the creation of the particular estate to A for life: or if A and B be tenants for their joint lives, remainder to the survivor in fee; here, though during their joint lives, the remainder is vested in neither, yet on the death of either of them, the remainder vests instantly in the survivor: wherefore both these are good remainders. But, if an estate be limited to A for life, remainder to the eldest son of B in tail, and A dies before B hath any son; here the remainder will be void, for it did not vest in any one during the continuance, nor at the determination, of the particular estate: and even supposing that B should afterwards have a son, he shall not take by this remainder; for as it did not vest at or before the end of the particular estate, it never can vest at all, but is gone forever. (*q*) And this depends upon the principle before laid down, that the precedent particular estate, and the remainder, are one estate in law; they must therefore subsist and be *in esse* at one and the same instant of time, either during the continuance of the first estate, or at the very instant when that determines, so that no other estate can possibly come between them. For there can be no intervening estate between the particular estate and the remainder supported thereby: (*r*) the thing supported must fall to the ground, if once its support be severed from it. (6)

(*h*) Raym. 151.

(*i*) Co. Litt. 298.

(*k*) 2 Roll. Abr. 415.

(*l*) 1 Jon. 58.

(*m*) Litt. § 671.

Plowd. 25.

(*n*) Litt. § 60.

(*o*) Co. Litt. 49.

(*p*) Plowd. 25. 1 Rep. 26.

(*q*) 1 Rep. 138.

(*r*) 3 Rep. 21.

(4) It is provided otherwise by statute in several of the United States. 2 Washb. Real Prop. 266.

(5) This rule is also changed by statute in some of the states. See 4 Kent, 246.

(6) [By the feudal law, the freehold could not be vacant, or, as it was termed, in abeyance. There must have been a tenant to fulfill the feudal duties or returns, and against whom the rights of others might be maintained. If the tenancy once became vacant, though but for one instant, the lord was warranted in entering on the lands; and the moment the particular estate ended, by the cession of the tenancy, all limitations of that estate were also at an end. From these principles are deduced the rules, that no *freehold* remainder can be well created, unless it is supported by an immediate estate of freehold, vested in some person actually in

It is upon these rules, but principally the last, that the doctrine of *contingent* remainders depends. For remainders are either *vested* or *contingent*. *Vested* remainders (or remainders *executed*, whereby a present interest passes to the party, though to be enjoyed *in futuro*) are where the estate is invariably fixed, [*169] to remain to a determinate person, after the *particular estate is spent. As if A be tenant for twenty years, remainder to B in fee; here B's is a vested remainder, which nothing can defeat or set aside.

Contingent or *executory* remainders (whereby no present interest passes) are where the estate in remainder is limited to take effect, either to a dubious and uncertain *person*, or upon a dubious and uncertain *event*; so that the particular estate may chance to be determined, and the remainder never take effect. (s) (7)

First, they may be limited to a dubious and uncertain *person*. As if A be tenant for life, with remainder to B's eldest son (then unborn) in tail; this is a contingent remainder, for it is uncertain whether B will have a son or no: but the instant that a son is born, the remainder is no longer contingent, but vested. Though, if A had died before the contingency happened, that is, before B's son was born, the remainder would have been absolutely gone; for the particular estate was determined before the remainder could vest. Nay, by the strict rule of law, if A were tenant for life, remainder to his own eldest son in tail, and A died without issue born, but leaving his wife *enseint*, or big with child, and after his death a posthumous son was born, this son could not take the land by virtue of this remainder; for the particular estate determined before there was any person *in esse*, in whom the remainder could vest. (t) But, to remedy this hardship, it is enacted by statute 10 and 11 Wm. III, c. 16, that posthumous children shall be capable of taking in remainder, in the same manner as if they had been born in their father's lifetime: that is, the remainder is allowed to vest in them, while yet in their mother's womb. (u) (8)

(s) *Ibid.* 20.

(t) Salk. 228. 4 Mod. 282.

(u) See Book I, p. 130.

existence, who may answer the *præcipe* of strangers; and also, that it is necessary the remainder should take effect during the existence of such particular estate, or *eo instanti* that it determines. Watk. on Conv. 94. But, as to a contingent remainder *for years*, there does not appear to be any necessity for a preceding freehold to support it. For, the remainder not being freehold, no such estate appears requisite to pass out of the grantor, in order to give effect to a remainder of that sort. And although every contingent *freehold* remainder must be supported by a preceding freehold, yet it is not necessary that such preceding estate continue in the actual *seisin* of its rightful tenant; it is sufficient if there subsists a *right* to such preceding estate, at the time the remainder should vest; provided such right shall be a present right of *entry*, and not a right of action only. A right of *entry* implies the undoubted subsistence of the estate; but when a right of action only remains, it then becomes a question of law whether the same estate continues or not: till that question be determined, upon the action brought, another estate is acknowledged and protected by the law. See Fearne, ch. 3. Where the legal estate is vested in trustees, that will be sufficient to support the limitations of contingent remainders: see *post*, pp. 171, 172; and there will be no necessity for any other particular estate of freehold; nor need the remainders vest at the time when the preceding trust limitations expire. *Habergham v. Vincent*, 2 Ves. Jun. 233; *Gale v. Gale*, 2 Cox, 153; *Hopkins v. Hopkins*, Ca. Temp. Talb. 151.]

(7) [See in general the celebrated work of Fearne on Contingent Remainders and Executory Devises, edited by Butler; 2 Cruise Dig. 270.]

A contingent remainder is a remainder limited so as to depend on an event or condition which may never happen or be performed, or which may not happen or be performed till after the determination of the preceding estate; for if the preceding estate (unless it be a term) determine before such event or condition happens, the remainder will never take effect. Fearne Cont. Rem. 3; Bridgm. index, title Remainder.]

It is not the uncertainty of *enjoyment* in future, but the uncertainty of the right to that enjoyment which marks the difference between a vested and contingent interest. 4 Kent, 206; 2 Washb. Real Prop. 242.

(8) [The case of *Reeve v. Long*, 1 Salk. 227, which gives occasion to the statute mentioned in the text, was to the following purport:

John Long devised lands to his nephew, Henry, for life, remainder to his first and other sons in tail, remainder to his nephew, Richard, for life, &c. Henry died without issue born, but leaving his wife pregnant. Richard entered as in his remainder, and afterwards a posthumous son of Henry was born. The guardian of the infant entered upon Richard: and it was held by the courts of common pleas and of king's bench, that nothing vested in the

This species of contingent remainders to a person not in being, must however be limited to some one, that may by common possibility, or *potentia propinqua*, be *in esse* at or before the particular estate determines. (*w*) As if an estate be *made to A for life, remainder to the heirs of B; now, if A dies before B, the remainder is at end; for during B's life he has no heir, *nemo est hæres viventis*: but if B dies first, the remainder then immediately vests in his heir, who will be entitled to the land on the death of A. This is a good contingent remainder, for the possibility of B's dying before A is *potentia propinqua*, and therefore allowed in law. (*x*) But a remainder to the right heirs of B (if there be no such person as B *in esse*), is void. (*y*) For here there must two contingencies happen; first, that such a person as B shall be born; and, secondly, that he shall also die during the continuance of the particular estate; which makes it *potentia remotissima*, a most improbable possibility. (9) A remainder to a man's eldest son, who hath none (we have seen) is good, for by common possibility he may have one; but if it be limited in particular to his son John, or Richard, it is bad, if he have no son of that name; for it is too remote a possibility that he should not only have a son, but a son of a particular name. (*z*) A limitation of a remainder to a bastard before it is born, is not good: (*a*) (10) for though the law allows the possibility of having bastards, it presumes it to be a very remote and improbable contingency. Thus may a remainder be contingent, on account of the uncertainty of the *person* who is to take it.

A remainder may also be contingent, where the person to whom it is limited is fixed and certain, but the *event* upon which it is to take effect is vague and uncertain. As, where land is given to A for life, and in case B survives him, then with the remainder to B in fee; here B is a certain person, but the remainder to him is a contingent remainder, depending upon a dubious event, the uncertainty of his surviving A. During the joint lives of A and B it is contingent; and if B dies first, it never can vest in his heirs, but is forever gone; but if A dies first, the remainder to B becomes vested.

(*w*) 2 Rep. 51.(*x*) Co. Litt. 378.(*y*) Hob. 83.(*z*) 5 Rep. 51.(*a*) Cro. Eliz. 509.

posthumous son, because a contingent remainder must vest during the particular estate, or at the moment of its determination.

On an appeal to the house of lords, this judgment was reversed, against the opinion of all the judges, who were much dissatisfied. 3 Lev. 408. To set the question at rest, the statute was passed. Mr. Cruise, 2 Dig. 330, however remarks, it is somewhat singular that this statute does not mention limitations or devises by will. But, he says, there is a tradition, that as the case of *Reeve v. Long*, arose upon a will, the lords considered the law to have been settled by their determination in that case, and were therefore unwilling to make any express mention of limitations made in wills, lest it should appear to call in question the authority or propriety of their determination. "Besides" he adds, "the words of the act may be construed, without much violence, to comprise settlements of estates made by wills, as well as by deeds."

A posthumous child, claiming under a remainder in a settlement, is entitled to the intermediate profits from the death of the father, as well as to the estate itself. *Basset v. Basset*, 3 Atk. 203; *Tellason v. Woodford*, 11 Ves. 139. But a posthumous son, who succeeds by descent, can claim the rents and profits only from the time of his birth. *Goodtitle v. Newman*, 3 Wils. 526; Co. Litt. 11, b, note 4.]

(9) [It is not merely there being two contingencies to happen, or what Lord Coke calls a possibility on a possibility, in order to the vesting of the estate, which will make the possibility too remote, but there must be some legal improbability in the contingencies. Mr. Butler mentions a case, *Routledge v. Dorril*, 2 Ves. Jun. 357, where limitations of a money fund were held valid, and yet to entitle one of the objects to take under it. 1st. The husband and wife must have had a child; 2d. That child must have had a child; 3d. The last-mentioned child must have been alive at the decease of the survivor of his grandfather and grandmother; 4th. If a boy he must have attained twenty-one, if a girl, that age or married. *Fearne Con. Rem.* 251, n. c. 7th ed.]

(10) [This rule with respect to illegitimate children is not founded on any notion of the improbability of the event of such children being born, but rather on the policy of the law, and the maxim that a bastard cannot with certainty be ascertained to be the issue of a particular man, and can only take, as such, under a gift made after he has become known by reputation as the child of that man. 17 Ves. 531; 1 Meriv. 153; 1 Sim. and Stu. 81; 1 Ves. and B. 446.]

[*171] *Contingent remainders of either kind, if they amount to a freehold, cannot be limited on an estate for *years*, or any other particular estate, *less* than a freehold. Thus if land be granted to A for ten years, with remainder in fee to the right heirs of B, this remainder is void; (b) but if granted to A *for life*, with like remainder, it is good. For, unless the freehold passes out of the grantor at the time when the remainder is created, such freehold remainder is void: it cannot pass out of him, without vesting somewhere; and in the case of a contingent remainder it must vest in the particular tenant, else it can vest nowhere; unless, therefore, the estate of such particular tenant be of a freehold nature, the freehold cannot vest in him, and consequently the remainder is void.

Contingent remainders may be *defeated* by destroying or determining the particular estate upon which they depend, before the contingency happens whereby they become vested. (c) Therefore when there is tenant for life, with divers remainders in contingency, he may, not only by his death, but by alienation, surrender, or other methods, destroy and determine his own life-estate before any of those remainders vest; the consequence of which is, that he utterly defeats them all. (11) As, if there be tenant for life, with remainder to his eldest son unborn in tail, and the tenant for life, before any son is born, surrenders his life estate, he by that means defeats the remainder in tail to his son: for his son not being *in esse*, when the particular estate determined, the remainder could not then vest: and, as it could not vest then, by the rules before laid down, it never can vest at all. In these cases, therefore, it is necessary to have trustees appointed to preserve the contingent remainders; in whom there is vested an estate in remainder for the life of the tenant for life, to commence when his estate determines. (12) If therefore his estate for life determines otherwise than by his death, the estate of the trustees, for the residue of his [*172] natural life, will then take effect, and become a *particular estate in possession, sufficient to support the remainders depending in contingency. This method is said to have been invented by Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir Geoffrey Palmer, and other eminent council, who betook themselves to conveying during the time of the civil wars; in order thereby to secure in family settlements a provision for the future children of an intended marriage, who before were usually left at the mercy of the particular tenant for life: (d) and when after the restoration, these gentlemen came to fill the first offices of the law, they supported this invention within reasonable and proper bounds, and introduced it into general use.

Thus the student will observe how much nicety is required in creating and securing a remainder; and I trust he will in some measure see the general reasons upon which this nicety is founded. It were endless to attempt to enter upon the particular subtleties and refinements, into which this doctrine, by the variety of cases which have occurred in the course of many centuries, has been spun out and subdivided: neither are they consonant to the design of these

(b) 1 Rep. 130.

(c) *Ibid.* 66, 135.

(d) See Moor. 496. 2 Roll. Abr. 797, pl. 12. 2 Sid. 159. 2 Chan. Rep. 170.

(11) [But a conveyance of a greater estate than he has by bargain and sale or by lease and release, is no forfeiture, and will not defeat a contingent remainder. 2 Leon. 60; 3 Mod. 151.]

But the tenant for life may bar the contingent remainders by a feoffment, a fine or a recovery. 1 Co. 66; Cro Eliz. 630; 1 Salk. 224.

Where there is a tenant for life, with all the subsequent remainders contingent, and he suffers a recovery to the use of himself in fee, he has a right to this tortious fee against all persons but the heirs of the grantor or deviser. 1 Salk. 224.]

This rule is abolished by statute in some of the United States. See 4 Kent, 246. And in England, also, as to any contingent remainder vesting after Dec. 31, 1844, or created after the taking effect of statutes 7 and 8 Vic. c. 106. See *Festing v. Allen*, 12 M. and W. 279; S. C., 5 Hare, 573.

(12) [Trustees to support contingent remainders are not essential in copyhold, the lord's estate sufficing. 10 Ves. 282; 16 East, 406.]

elementary disquisitions. I must not however, omit, that in devises by last will and testament (which being often drawn up when the party is *inops consilii*, are always more favoured in construction than formal deeds, which are presumed to be made with great caution, forethought, and advice), in these devises, I say, remainders may be created in some measure contrary to the rules before laid down: though our lawyers will not allow such dispositions to be strictly remainders; but call them by another name, that of *executory devises*, or devises hereafter to be executed.

An executory devise of lands is such a disposition of them by will, that thereby no estate vests at the death of the devisor, but only on some future contingency. (13) It differs from a remainder in three very material points; 1. That it needs not any *particular estate to support it. 2. That by it a fee-simple, or other less estate, may be limited after a fee-simple. 3. That [*173] by this means a remainder may be limited of a chattel interest, after a particular estate for life created in the same.

1. The first case happens when a man devises a future estate to arise upon a contingency; and, till that contingency happens, does not dispose of the fee-simple, but leaves it to descend to his heirs at law. As if one devises land to a feme-sole and her heirs, upon her day of marriage: here is in effect a contingent remainder, without any particular estate to support it; a freehold commencing *in futuro*. This limitation, though it would be void in a deed, yet is good in a will, by way of executory devise. (e) For, since by a devise a freehold may pass without corporal tradition or livery of seisin (as it must do, if it passes at all), therefore it may commence *in futuro*; because the principal reason why it cannot commence *in futuro* in other cases, is the necessity of actual seisin, which always operates *in presenti*. And, since it may thus commence *in futuro*, there is no need of a particular estate to support it; the only use of which is to make the remainder, by its unity with the particular estate, a present interest. And hence also it follows, that such an executory devise, not being a present interest, cannot be barred by a recovery, suffered before it commences. (f)

2. By executory devise, a fee, or other less estate, may be limited after a fee. And this happens where a devisor devises his whole estate in fee, but limits a remainder thereon to commence on a future contingency. As if a man devises land to A and his heirs; but if he dies before the age of twenty-one, then to B and his heirs; this remainder, though void in deed, is good by way of executory devise. (g) But, in both these species of executory devises, the contingencies ought to be such as may happen within a reasonable time; as within one or more life or lives in being, or within a *moderate term of years, for [*174] courts of justice will not indulge even wills, so as as to create a perpetuity, which the law abhors: (h) because by perpetuities (or the settlement of an interest, which shall go in the succession prescribed, without any power of alienation), (i) estates are made incapable of answering those ends of social commerce, and providing for the sudden contingencies of private life, for which property was at first established. The utmost length that has been hitherto

(e) 1 Sid. 153.

(f) Cro. Jac. 593.

(g) 2 Mod. 289.

(h) 12 Mod. 287. 1 Vern. 164.

(i) Salk. 229.

(13) [The student will now be prepared to understand the celebrated rule of law commonly called *The Rule in Shelly's Case*, on account of the following distinct announcement of it which occurred in that case. 1 Rep. 104, a. "It is a rule of law when the ancestor by any gift or conveyance takes an estate of freehold, and in the same gift or conveyance an estate is limited mediately or immediately to his heirs in fee or in tail, that always in such case 'the heirs' are words of limitation of the estate, and not words of purchase." And this is a strict rule of law which cannot be prevented by any expression of intention to the contrary. Thus, if a limitation is made to Jane Wood for life, remainder to B for life, remainder to C in tail, remainder to the heirs of Jane Wood; she takes an estate for life with the ultimate remainder to herself in fee; and such remainder descending to her heir, would be descendible from him to the heirs ex parte materna.]

Upon this rule, see Fearn, Con. Rem. 76; 1 Prest. Estates, 263; 2 Kent, 214. In some of the United States the rule is abolished by statute.

allowed for the contingency of an executory devise of either kind to happen in, is that of a life or lives in being, and one and twenty years afterwards. As when lands are devised to such unborn son of a feme-covert, as shall first attain the age of twenty-one, and his heirs; the utmost length of time that can happen before the estate can vest, is the life of the mother and the subsequent infancy of her son: and this has been decreed to be a good executory devise. (*k*)

3. By executory devise a term of years may be given to one man for his life and afterwards limited over in remainder to another, which could not be done by deed; for by law the first grant of it, to a man for life, was a total disposition of the whole term; a life estate being esteemed of a higher and larger nature than any term of years. (*l*) And, at first, the courts were tender, even in the case of a will, of restraining the devisee for life from aliening the term; but only held, that in case he died without exerting that act of ownership, the remainder over should then take place: (*m*) for the restraint of the power of alienation, especially in very long terms, was introducing a species of perpetuity. But, soon afterwards, it was held, (*n*) that the devisee for life hath no power of aliening the term, so as to bar the remainder-man: yet, in order to prevent the danger of perpetuities, it was settled, (*o*) that though such remainders may be limited to as many persons successively as the deviser thinks proper, yet they must [**175*] all be **in esse* during the life of the first devisee; for then all the candles are lighted and are consuming together, and the ultimate remainder is in reality only to that remainder-man who happens to survive the rest: and it was also settled, that such remainder may not be limited to take effect, unless upon such contingency as must happen (if at all) during the life of the first devisee. (*p*) (14)

(*k*) Fort. 232.

(*l*) Rep. 95.

(*m*) Bro. tit. *chattels*, 28. Dyer, 74.

(*n*) Dyer, 358. 8 Rep. 96.

(*o*) 1 Sid. 451.

(*p*) Skinn. 341. 3 P. Wms. 258.

(14) [Peter Thelusson, Esq., an eminent merchant, devised the bulk of an immense property to trustees for the purpose of accumulation during the lives of three sons, and of all their sons who should be living at the time of his death, or be born in due time afterwards, and during the life of the survivor of them. Upon the death of this last, the fund is directed to be divided into three shares, one to the eldest male lineal descendant of each of his three sons; upon the failure of such a descendant, the share to go to the descendants of the other sons; and upon the failure of all such descendants, the whole to go to the sinking fund. When he died he had three sons living, who had four sons living, and two twin sons were born soon after. Upon calculation it appeared that upon the death of the survivor of these nine, the fund would probably exceed nineteen millions; and upon the supposition of only one person to take, and a minority of ten years, that it would exceed thirty-two millions. It is evident that this extraordinary will was strictly within the limits laid down in the text; and it was accordingly sustained both in the court of chancery and in the house of lords. See 4 Ves. Jun. 227; 11 id. 112; 1 New Rep. 357.]

This will, however, occasioned the passing of the 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 98, by which are prohibited any settlements of property, real or personal, for entire or partial accumulation for any longer term than the life of the settler, the period of twenty one years from his death, the minority of any person or persons living, or *en ventre sa mere* at the time of his death, or the minority of any persons who would be beneficially entitled to the profits under the settlement, if of full age. Any direction to accumulate beyond this, except for the purpose of paying debts, raising portions for children, or in case of the produce of timber, is declared void, and the profits are directed to be paid to such person as would have been entitled if there were no such direction. In moving the judgment of the lords in Thelusson's case, Lord Eldon, Ch. said of this act, which had passed between the decisions of the original case and the appeal, "That act was rather a matter of surprise upon me, and perhaps it is not one of the wisest legislative measures. But it must be remembered that it expressly alters what it takes to have been the former law, and confines the power of accumulation to twenty-one years; but if your lordships were to exercise the power of accumulation in all the cases allowed by the act, the accumulation would be enormous." 1 N. R. 397.]

For remarks upon Thelusson's Case see 4 Kent, 284. In the United States there are statutes which preclude the absolute power of alienation being suspended except during the periods and for the purposes which they specify; and to these the reader is referred.

[It has long been fully settled that a term for years, or any chattel interest, may be given by an executory devise to an unborn child of a person in existence, when it attains the age of twenty-one; and that the limits of executory devises of real and personal property are precisely the same. Fearn, 320. It is very common to bequeath chattel interests to A and his issue, and if he dies without issue, to B. It seems now to be determined, that where the

Thus much for such estates in expectancy, as are created by the express words of the parties themselves; the most intricate title in the law. There is yet another species, which is created by the act and operation of the law itself, and this is called a reversion.

III. An estate in *reversion* is the residue of an estate left in the grantor, to commence in possession after the determination of some particular estate granted out by him. (*q*) Sir Edward Coke (*r*) describes a reversion to be the returning of land to the grantor or his heirs after the grant is over. As, if there be a gift in tail, the reversion of the fee is, without any special reservation, vested in the donor by act of law: and so also the reversion, after an estate for life, years, or at will, continues in the lessor. For the fee-simple of all lands must abide somewhere; and if he, who was before possessed of the whole, carves out of it any smaller estate, and grants it away, whatever is not so granted remains in him. A reversion is never therefore created by deed, or writing, but arises from construction of law; a remainder can never be limited, unless by either deed or devise. But both are equally transferable, when actually vested, being both estates *in præsenti*, though taking effect *in futuro*.

The doctrine of reversions is plainly derived from the feudal constitution. For when a feud was granted to a man for life, or to him and his issue male, rendering either rent or other services; then, on his death or the failure of issue male, the feud was determined, and resulted back to the *lord or pro- [*176] priator, to be again disposed of at his pleasure. And hence the usual *incidents* to reversions are said to be *fealty* and *rent*. When no rent is reserved on the particular estate, fealty, however, results of course, as an incident quite inseparable, and may be demanded as a badge of tenure, or acknowledgment of superiority; being frequently the only evidence that the lands are holden at all. Where rent is reserved, it is also incident, though not inseparably so, to the reversion. (*s*) The rent may be granted away, reserving the reversion; and the reversion may be granted away, reserving the rent; by *special* words; but by a *general* grant of the reversion, the rent will pass with it, as incident thereunto; though by the grant of the rent generally, the reversion will not pass. The incident passes by the grant of the principal, but not *e converso*: for the maxim of law is, "*accessorium non ducit, sed sequitur, suum principale*." (*t*)

These *incidental* rights of the reversioner, and the respective modes of descent, in which remainders very frequently differ from reversions, have occasioned the law to be careful in distinguishing the one from the other, however inaccurately the parties themselves may describe them. For if one seised of a paternal estate in fee makes a lease for life, with remainder to himself and his heirs, this is properly a mere reversion, (*u*) to which rent and fealty shall be incident; and which shall only descend to the heirs of his father's blood, and not to his heirs general, as a remainder limited to him by a third person would have done: (*w*) for it is the old estate, which was originally in him, and never yet was out of him. And so likewise, if a man grants a lease for life to A, reserving rent, with reversion to B, and his heirs, B hath a remainder descendible to his heirs general, and not a reversion to which the rent is incident; but the grantor shall be entitled to the rent, during the continuance of A's estate. (*x*)

*In order to assist such persons as have any estate in remainder, [*177] reversion, or expectancy, after the death of others, against fraudulent concealments of their death, it is enacted by the statute 6 Ann. c. 18, that all persons on whose lives any lands or tenements are holden, shall (upon applica-

(*q*) Co. Litt. 22.
(*) Cro. Eliz. 321.

(*r*) 1 Inst. 142.
(*) 3 Lev. 407.

(*s*) Co. Litt. 143.
(*) 1 And. 23.

(*t*) *Ibid.* 151, 152.

words are such as would have given A an estate-tail in real property, in personal property the subsequent limitations are void, and A has the absolute interest; but if it appears from any clause or circumstance in the will, that the testator intended to give it over only in case A had no issue living at the time of his death, upon that event the subsequent limitation will be good as an executory devise. See Fearn, 371, and cases referred to in 3 Cox's P. Wms. 262.]

tion to the court of chancery, and order made thereupon), once in every year, if required, be produced to the court, or its commissioners; or, upon neglect or refusal, they shall be taken to be actually dead, and the person entitled to such expectant estate may enter upon and hold the lands and tenements, till the party shall appear to be living. (15)

Before we conclude the doctrine of remainders and reversions, it may be proper to observe, that whenever a greater estate and a less coincide and meet in one and the same person, without any intermediate estate, (y) the less is immediately annihilated; or, in the law phrase, it is said to be *merged*, (16) that is, sunk or drowned in the greater. Thus, if there be tenant for years, and the reversion in fee-simple descends to or is purchased by him, the term of years is merged in the inheritance, and shall never exist any more. But they must come to one and the same person in one and the same right; else, if the freehold be in his own right, and he has a term in right of another (*en auter droit*), there is no merger. Therefore, if tenant for years dies, and makes him who hath the reversion in fee his executor, whereby the term of years vests also in him, the term shall not merge; for he hath the fee in his own right, and the term of years in the right of the testator, and subject to his debts and legacies. So also, if he who hath the reversion in fee marries the tenant for years, there is no merger; for he hath the inheritance in his own right, the lease in the right of his wife. (z) An estate-tail is an exception to this rule: for a man may have in his own right both an estate-tail and a reversion in fee: and the estate-tail, though a less estate, shall not merge in the fee. (a) For estates-tail are pro-

(y) 3 Lev. 437.

(z) Plowd. 418. Cro. Jac. 275. Co. Litt. 338.

(a) 2 Rep. 61. 8 Rep. 74.

(15) As to this order see *Ex-parte Grant*, 6 Ves. 512; *Ex-parte Whalley*, 4 Russ. 561; *Re Isaac*, 4 M. and Cr. 11.

In most cases a person is presumed dead who has not been heard of for seven years, and the bigamy acts allow parties to act on that presumption. See *Thorne v. Rolfe*, Dyer, 185; *Nepean v. Doe*, 2 M. and W. 910; 1 Phil. Ev. by Edwards, 640.

(16) [Even if there be an intermediate *contingent* estate, it will be destroyed by the union and coalition of the greater estate and the less, (unless the greater estate is subjoined to the less by the same conveyance), when such coalition takes place by the conveyance or act of the parties. *Purefoy v. Rogers*, 2 Saund. 387. But the reports of adjudged cases apparently differ with respect to the destruction of an intermediate contingent estate, in cases where the greater estate becomes united to the less by descent; these differences, however, may be reconciled, by distinguishing between those cases where the descent of the greater estate is immediate from the person by whose will the less estate, as well as the intermediate contingent estate, were limited; and the cases where the less estate and the contingent remainders were not created by the will of the ancestor from whom the greater estate immediately descends on the less estate. In the first set of cases, the descent of the greater estate does not merge and drown the intermediate contingent remainders: *Boothley v. Vernon*, 9 Mod. 147; *Plunkett v. Holmes*, 1 Lev. 12; *Archer's Case*, 1 Rep. 66; in the second class of cases, it does merge them. *Hartpole v. Kent*, T. Jones 77; S. C., 1 Ventr. 307; *Hooker v. Hooker*, Rep. temp. Hardw. 13; *Doe v. Scudamore*, 2 Bos. and Pull. 294; and see *Fearne*, p. 343, 6th ed., with *Serjt. Williams' note* to 2 Saund. 382, a.

A distinction (as already has been intimated), must be made between the cases where a particular estate is limited, with a contingent remainder over, and afterwards the inheritance is subjoined to the particular estate by the same conveyance; and those cases wherein the accession of the inheritance is by a conveyance, accident or circumstance, distinct from that conveyance which created the particular estate. In the latter cases, we have seen, the contingent remainder is generally destroyed; in the former it is otherwise. For, where by the same conveyance a particular estate is first limited to a person, with contingent remainder over to another, and with such a reversion or remainder to the first person as would, in its own nature, drown the particular estate first given him; this last limitation shall be considered as executed only *sub modo*; that is, upon such condition as to open and separate itself from the first estate, when the condition happens; and by no means to destroy the contingent estate. *Lewis Bowles' Case*, 11 Rep. 80; *Fearne*, 346, 6th ed.

A court of equity will in some cases relieve against the merger of a term, and make it answer the purposes for which it was created. Thus, in *Powell v. Morgan*, 2 Vern. 90, a portion was directed to be raised out of a term for years, for the testator's daughter. The fee afterwards descended on her, and she, being under age, devised the portion. The court of chancery relieved against the merger of the term; and decreed the portion to go according to the will of the daughter. See also, *Thomas v. Kemish*, 2 Freem. 208; S. C., 2 Vern. 352; *Saunders v. Bournford*, Finch, 424.]

tected and preserved from merger by the *operation and construction, though not by the express words, of the statute *de donis*: which operation and construction have probably arisen upon this consideration; that in the common cases of *merger* of estates for life or years by uniting with the inheritance, the particular tenant hath the sole interests in them, and hath full power at any time to defeat, destroy, or surrender them to him that hath the reversion: therefore, when such an estate unites with the reversion in fee, the law considers it in the light of a virtual surrender of the inferior estate. (*b*) But, in an estate-tail, the case is otherwise: the tenant for a long time had no power at all over it, so as to bar or destroy it, and now can only do it by certain special modes, by a fine, a recovery, and the like: (*c*) it would therefore have been strangely improvident to have permitted the tenant in tail, by purchasing the reversion in fee, to merge his particular estate, and defeat the inheritance of his issue; and hence it has become a maxim, that a tenancy in tail, which cannot be surrendered, cannot also be merged in the fee.

CHAPTER XII.

OF ESTATES IN SEVERALTY, JOINT-TENANCY, COPARCENARY, AND COMMON.

WE come now to treat of estates, with respect to the number and connexions of their owners, the tenants who occupy and hold them. And, considered in this view, estates of any quantity or length of duration, and whether they be in actual possession or expectancy, may be held in four different ways; in severalty, in joint-tenancy, in coparcenary, and in common.

1. He that hold lands or tenements in *severalty*, or is sole tenant thereof, is he that holds them in his own right only, without any other person being joined or connected with him in point of interest, during his estate therein. This is the most common and usual way of holding an estate; and therefore we may make the same observations here, that we did upon estates in possession, as contradistinguished from those in expectancy, in the preceding chapter: that there is little or nothing peculiar to be remarked concerning it, since all estates are supposed to be of this sort, unless where they are expressly declared to be otherwise; and that in laying down general rules and doctrines, we usually apply them to such estates as are held in severalty. I shall therefore proceed to consider the other three species of estates, in which there are always a *plurality* of tenants.

*II. An estate in *joint-tenancy* is where lands or tenements are granted to two or more persons, to hold in fee-simple, fee-tail, for life, for years or at will. In consequence of such grants an estate is called an estate in joint-tenancy, (*a*) and sometimes an estate in *jointure*, which word as well as the other signifies an union or conjunction of interest; though in common speech the term *jointure* is now usually confined to that joint-estate, which by virtue of the statute 27 Hen VIII, c. 10, is frequently vested in the husband and wife before marriage, as a full satisfaction and bar of the woman's dower. (*b*)

In unfolding this title, and the two remaining ones, in the present chapter, we will first inquire how these estates may be *created*; next, their *properties* and respective *incidents*; and lastly, how they may be *severed* or *destroyed*.

1. The *creation* of an estate in joint-tenancy depends on the wording of the deed or devise, by which the tenants claim title: for this estate can only arise by purchase or grant, that is, by the act of the parties, and never by the mere act

(b) Cro. Eliz. 302.

(c) See page 116.

(a) Litt. 277.

(b) See page 137.

of law. Now if an estate be given to a plurality of persons, without adding any restrictive, exclusive, or explanatory words, as if an estate be granted to A and B and their heirs, this makes them immediately joint-tenants in fee of the lands. For the law interprets the grant so as to make all parts of it take effect, which can only be done by creating an equal estate in them both. As therefore the grantor has thus united their names, the law gives them a thorough union in all other respects. (1) For,

2. The *properties* of a joint estate are derived from its unity, which is fourfold; the unity of *interest*, the unity of *title*, the unity of *time*, and the unity of *possession*; or, in other words, joint-tenants have one and the same interest, accruing by one and the same conveyance, commencing at one and the same time, and held by one and the same undivided possession. (2)

[*181] **First*, they must have one and the same *interest*. (3) One joint-tenant cannot be entitled to one period of duration or quantity of interest in lands, and the other to a different; one cannot be tenant for life, and the other for years; one cannot be tenant in fee, and the other in tail. (c) But if land be limited to A and B for their lives, this makes them joint-tenants of the freehold; if to A and B and their heirs, it makes them joint-tenants of the inheritance. (d) (4) If land be granted to A and B for their lives, and to the heirs of A; here A and B are joint tenants of the freehold during their respective lives, and A has the remainder of the fee in severalty: or if land be given to A and B, and the heirs of the body of A; here both have a joint estate for life, and A hath a several remainder in tail. (e) *Secondly*, joint-tenants

(c) Co. Litt. 188.

(d) Litt. § 277.

(e) *Ibid.* § 285.

(1) [Joint-tenancies are now regarded with so little favor, both in courts of law and equity, that whenever the expressions will import an intention in favour of a tenancy in common, it will be given effect to. *Fisher v. Wigg*, 1 P. Wms. 14 n., and *id.*, 1 Ld. Raym. 622; 1 Salk. 392, note 8. Lord Cowper says, that a joint tenancy is in equity an odious thing. 1 Salk. 152. See also 2 Ves. Sen. 258. In wills the expressions "*equally to be divided, share and share alike, respectively between and amongst them,*" have been held to create a tenancy in common. 2 Atk. 121; 4 Bro. 15. The words *equally to be divided* make a tenancy in common in surrenders of copyholds: 1 Salk. 391; 2 Salk. 620; and also in deeds which derive their operation from the statute of uses: 1 P. Wms. 14; 1 Wils. 341; Cowp. 660; 2 Ves. Sen. 257; and it is believed that the same words in a common law conveyance would now create a tenancy in common. When two or more purchase lands, and pay in equal proportions, a conveyance being made to them and their heirs, this is a joint-tenancy. But if they advance the money in unequal proportions, they are considered in equity in the nature of partners; and if one of them die, the others have not his share by survivorship, but are considered as trustees for the deceased's representatives. 1 Eq. Ca. Abr. 291.]

(2) The principal distinguishing characteristic of estates in joint-tenancy is, that on the death of one the right in the estate survives to the other to the exclusion of the heirs and representatives of the deceased joint-tenant. The law of joint tenancy is based upon a supposed intention of a grantor, in conveying an estate as a unity to two or more persons, that it should not be severed; and therefore if a conveyance be of separate undivided halves of the same land to two different persons, an estate in joint-tenancy will not be created, even though the two halves be conveyed by the same instrument.

The doctrine of survivorship is not regarded with favor in the United States, and statutes have been passed in many of the states, either abolishing it, or changing joint tenancies into tenancies in common, except in the case of conveyances in trust, or by way of mortgage, or to husband and wife, and in cases where the instruments creating them expressly declare that they shall be estates in joint-tenancy.

(3) [But two persons may have an estate in joint-tenancy for their lives, and yet have several inheritances. Litt. Sec. 283, 284; 1 Inst. 184, a; *Cook v. Cook*, 2 Vern. 545; *Cray v. Willis*, 2 P. Wms. 530. This is the case, where an estate is granted in joint-tenancy to persons and the heirs of their bodies, which persons cannot intermarry. See *post*, p. 192. But in this case, there is no division between the estate for lives and the several inheritances, and the joint tenants cannot convey away their *inheritances* after their decease; the *estate* for lives and the inheritance are divided only in supposition and consideration of law, and to some purposes the inheritance is executed. 1 Inst. 182, b.]

(4) [Lord Coke says, that if a rent charge of 10*l.* be granted to A and B, to have and to hold to them two, viz: to A till he be married, and to B till he be advanced to a benefice, they are joint-tenants in the mean time, notwithstanding the limitations; and if A die before marriage, the rent shall survive to B. But if A had married, the rent should have ceased for a moiety, *et sic e converso*, on the other side. Co. Litt. 180, b; 2 Cruise Digest, 498.]

must also have an unity of *title*; their estate must be created by one and the same act, whether legal or illegal: as by one and the same grant, or by one and the same disseisin. (*f*) Joint-tenancy cannot arise by descent or act of law; but merely by purchase or acquisition by the act of the party: and unless that act be one and the same, the two tenants would have different titles; and if they had different titles, one might prove good and the other bad, which would absolutely destroy the jointure. *Thirdly*, there must also be an unity of *time*; their estates must be vested at one and the same period, as well as by one and the same title. As in case of a present estate made to A and B; or a remainder in fee to A and B after a particular estate; in either case A and B are joint-tenants of this present estate, or this vested remainder. But if, after a lease for life, the remainder be limited to the heirs of A and B; and during the continuance of the particular estate A dies, which vests the remainder of one moiety in his heir; and then B dies, whereby the other moiety becomes vested in the heir of B: now A's heir and B's heir are not joint-tenants of this remainder, but tenants in common; for one moiety vested at one time, and the other moiety vested at another. (*g*) *Yet where a feoffment was made to the use of [*182] a man, and such wife as he should afterwards marry for term of their lives, and he afterwards married; in this case it seems to have been held that the husband and wife had a joint-estate, though vested at different times: (*h*) (5) because the *use* of the wife's estate was in abeyance and dormant till the intermarriage; and, being then awakened, had relation back, and took effect from the original time of creation. Lastly, in joint-tenancy there must be an unity of *possession*. Joint-tenants are said to be seised *per my et per tout* by the *half* or *moiety*, and by *all*: that is, they each of them have the entire possession, as well of every *parcel* as of the *whole*. (*i*) They have not, one of them a seisin of one-half or moiety, and the other of the other moiety; neither can one be exclusively seised of one acre, and his companion of another; but each has an undivided moiety of the whole, and not the whole of an undivided moiety. (*j*) And therefore, if an estate in fee be given to a man and his wife, they are neither properly joint-tenants, nor tenants in common: for husband and wife being considered as one person in law, they, cannot take the estate by moieties, but both are seised of the entirety, *per tout, et non per my*: the consequence of which is, that neither the husband nor the wife can dispose of any part without the assent of the other, but the whole must remain to the survivor. (*k*) (6)

(*f*) *Ibid.* § 278. (*g*) Co. Litt. 188. (*h*) Dyer 340. 1 Rep. 101. (*i*) Litt. § 288. 5 Rep. 10.
 (*j*) *Quilibet totum tenet et nihil tenet: scilicet, totum in communi, et nihil separatim per se.* Bract. l. 5, tr. 5 c. 28.
 (*k*) Litt. § 665. Co. Litt. 187. Bro. Abr. t. *cur in vita*, 8. 2 Vern. 120. 2 Lev. 39.

(5) [That it is a joint claim by the same conveyance which makes joint-tenants, not the time of vesting, has been held in various other cases. See *Blamforde v. Blamforde*, 3 Bulstr. 101; *Earl of Sussex v. Temple*, 1 Lord Raym. 312; *Aylor v. Chep*, Cro. Jac. 259; *S. C. Yelv.* 183; *Oates v. Jackson*, 2 Str. 1172; *Hales v. Risley*, Pollexf. 373.

So, although some of the persons to whom an estate is limited, are in by the common law, and others by the statute of uses, yet they will take in joint-tenancy: *Watts v. Lee*, Noy. 124, *Sammes' Case*, 13 Rep. 54; and Lord Thurlow held, that whether a settlement was to be considered as a conveyance of a legal estate, or a deed to uses, would make no difference, and that in either case, the vesting at different times would not necessarily prevent the settled estate from being taken in joint-tenancy. *Stratton v. Best*, 2 Br. 240.

(6) [5 Term Rep. 654. And if a grant is made of a joint-estate to husband and wife, and a third person, the husband and wife shall have one moiety, and the third person the other moiety, in the same manner as if it had been granted only to two persons. So if the grant is to husband and wife and two others, the husband and wife take one-third in joint-tenancy. Litt. § 291. But where an estate is conveyed to a man and a woman, who are not married together, and who afterwards intermarry, as they took originally by moieties, they will continue to hold by moieties after the marriage. 1 Inst. 187, b; *Moody v. Moody*, Amb. 649; 2 Cru. Dig. 511; 5 id. 448.]

This peculiar estate is recognized by the American decisions, and is generally left unaffected by statutes. See *Jackson v. Stevens*, 16 Johns, 110; *Ross v. Garrison*, 1 Dana, 35; *Taul v. Campbell*, 7 Yerg. 319; *Fairchild v. Chastelleaux*, 1 Penn. St. 176; *Den v. Whitmore*, 2 Dev. and Bat. 537; *Brownson v. Hull*, 16 Vt. 309; *Bomar v. Mullins*, 4 Rich. Eq. 80; *Gibson v. Zimmerman*, 12 Mo. 385; 1 Wash. Real Prop. 278.

Upon these principles, of a thorough and intimate union of interest and possession, depend many other consequences and incidents to the joint-tenant's estate. If two joint-tenants let a verbal lease of their land, reserving rent to be paid to one of them, it shall enure to both, in respect of the joint reversion. *(l)* (7) If their lessee surrenders his lease to one of them, it shall also enure to both, because of the privity, or relation of their estate. *(m)* On the same reason, livery of seisin, made to one joint-tenant, shall enure to both of them: *(n)* and the entry, or re-entry, of one joint-tenant is as effectual in law as if it were the act of both. *(o)* (8) In all actions also relating to their joint-estate, one joint-tenant cannot sue or be sued without joining the other. *(p)* (9) But if two or more joint-tenants be seised of an advowson, and they present different clerks, the bishop may refuse to admit either; because neither joint-tenant hath a [*183] several right of patronage, but each is seised of *the whole; and if they do not both agree within six months, the right of presentation shall lapse. But the ordinary may, if he pleases, admit a clerk presented by either, for the good of the church, that divine service may be regularly performed; which is no more than he otherwise would be entitled to do, in case their disagreement continued, so as to incur a lapse: and, if the clerk of one joint-tenant be so admitted, this shall keep up the title in both of them; in respect of the privity and union of their estate. *(q)* Upon the same ground it is held, that one joint-tenant cannot have an action against another for trespass, in respect of his land; *(r)* for each has an equal right to enter on any part of it. But one joint-tenant is not capable by himself to do any act which may tend to defeat or injure the estate of the other; (10) as to let leases, or to grant copyholds: *(s)* and if any waste be done, which tends to the destruction of the inheritance, one joint-tenant may have an action of waste against the other, by construction of the statute Westm. 2, c. 22. *(t)* So too, though at common law no action of account lay for one joint-tenant against another, unless he had constituted him his bailiff or receiver, *(u)* yet now by the statute 4 Ann. c. 16, joint-tenants may have actions of account against each other, for receiving more than their due share of the profits of the tenements held in joint-tenancy. (11)

From the same principle also arises the remaining grand incident of joint-estates; viz.: the doctrine of *survivorship*: by which when two or more per-

(l) Co. Litt. 214.
(q) *Ibid.* 185.

(m) *Ibid.* 192.
(r) 3 Leon. 263.

(n) *Ibid.* 49.
(s) 1 Leon. 234.

(o) *Ibid.* 319, 364.
(t) 2 Inst. 403.

(p) *Ibid.* 195.
(u) Co. Litt. 200.

(7) [Per Abbott, C. J.; 5 B. and A. 851. If there were originally a joint letting by parol, and afterwards one of the two give notice to the tenant to pay him separately, and his share be paid accordingly, this is evidence of a fresh, separate demise of his share, and he must sue separately. *Id.*]

(8) In ejectment the possession of one joint-tenant was formerly the possession of the other, so as to prevent the statute of limitations from running against him. *Ford v. Lord Grey*, 6 Mod. 44; S. C. 1 Salk. 285. But now by the 12th section of the statute 3 and 4 Geo. IV, c. 27, it is enacted that the possession of one coparcener, joint-tenant or tenant in common, shall not be deemed the possession of the others, unless their shares of the profits of the land were received for their benefit by the party in possession.]

(9) [See last note. If four joint-tenants jointly demise from year to year, such of them as give notice to quit, may recover their several shares in ejectment on their several demises. 3 Taunt. 120.]

(10) [In consequence of the right of survivorship among joint-tenants, all charges made by a joint-tenant on the estate determine by his death, and do not affect the survivor. For, it is a maxim of law, that *jus accrescendi præfertur oneribus*. 1 Inst. 185 a.; Litt. § 286. But, if the grantor of the charge survives, of course, it is good. Co. Litt. 184, b. So, if one joint-tenant suffers a judgment in an action of debt to be entered up against him, and dies before execution had, it will not be executed afterwards; but if execution be sued in the life of the cognizor, it will bind the survivor. Lord Abergavenny's Case, 6 Rep. 79; 1 Inst. 184 a.]

There is, however, one exception to the rule, that joint-tenants cannot charge the estate in any way, so as to affect the interests of the survivors: for instance, if there are two joint-tenants in fee, and one of them makes a lease for years to a stranger, it will be good against the survivor, even though such lease is not made to commence till after the death of the joint-tenant who executed it; because, the grant of a lease is a disposition of the land, made at the time of such grant, though possession is not then given. Co. Litt. 185, a.; Litt. § 289; *Whitlock v. Horton*, Cro. Jac. 91; *Clerk v. Turner*, 2 Vern. 323.]

(11) This action is now obsolete, and a bill in equity for an account is substituted.

sons are seised of a joint-estate, of inheritance, for their own lives, or *pur auter vie*, or are jointly possessed of any chattel-interest, the entire tenancy upon the decease of any of them remains to the survivors, and at length to the last survivor; and he shall be entitled to the whole estate, whatever it be, whether an inheritance or a common freehold only, or even a less estate. (*w*) (12) This is the natural and regular consequence of the union and entirety of their interest. The interest of two joint-tenants *is not only equal or similar, but also is one and the same. One has not originally a distinct moiety from the other; [*184] but, if by any subsequent act (as by alienation or forfeiture of either) the interest becomes separate and distinct, the joint-tenancy instantly ceases. But, while it continues, each of two joint-tenants has a concurrent interest in the whole; and, therefore, on the death of his companion, the sole interest in the whole remains to the survivor. For the interest which the survivor originally had is clearly not divested by the death of his companion; and no other person can now claim to have a *joint* estate with him, for no one can now have an interest in the whole, accruing by the same title, and taking effect at the same time with his own; neither can any one claim a *separate* interest in any part of the tenements; for that would be to deprive the survivor of the right which he has in all, and every part. As therefore the survivor's original interest in the whole still remains; and as no one can now be admitted, either jointly or severally, to any share with him therein; it follows, that his own interest must now be entire and several, and that he shall alone be entitled to the whole estate (whatever it be) that was created by the original grant.

This right of survivorship is called by our ancient authors (*x*) the *jus accrescendi*, because the right upon the death of one joint-tenant accumulates and increases to the survivors: or, as they themselves express it, "*pars illa communis accrescit superstitibus, de persona in personam, usque ad ultimam superstitem.*" And this *jus accrescendi* ought to be mutual; which I apprehend to be one reason why neither the king, (*y*) nor any corporation, (*z*) can be a joint-tenant with a private person. For here is no mutuality; the private person has not even the remotest chance of being seised of the entirety, by benefit of survivorship; for the king and the corporation can never die.

3. *We are, lastly, to inquire how an estate in joint-tenancy may be severed and destroyed. And this may be done by destroying any of its [*185] constituent unities. 1. That of *time*, which respects only the original commencement of the joint-estate, cannot indeed (being now past) be affected by any subsequent transactions. But, 2. The joint-tenants' estate may be destroyed, without any alienation, by merely disuniting their *possession*. For joint-tenants being seised *per my et per tout*, every thing that tends to narrow that interest, so that they shall not be seised throughout the whole, and throughout every part, is a severance or destruction of the jointure. And therefore, if two joint-tenants agree to part their lands, and hold them in severalty, they are no longer joint-tenants: for they have now no joint interest in the whole, but only a several interest respectively in the several parts. And for that reason, also, the right of survivorship is by such separation destroyed. (*a*) By common law all the joint-tenants might agree to make partition of the lands, but one of them could not compel the other so to do: (*b*) for this being an estate originally created by the act and agreement of the parties, the law would not permit any one or more of them to destroy the united possession without a similar universal consent. But now by the statutes 31 Hen. VIII, c. 1, and 32 Hen. VIII, c. 32, joint-tenants, either of inheritances or other less estates, are compellable by writ

(*w*) Litt. §§ 280, 281.

(*x*) Bracton. l. 4, §. 3, c. 9, § 3. Fleta, l. 3, c. 4.

(*y*) Co. Litt. 190. Finch. L. 83.

(*z*) 2 Lev. 12.

(*a*) Co. Litt. 188, 193.

(*b*) Litt. § 290.

(12) [And that free from any claim of dower or curtesy on account of the inheritance that was in the deceased joint-tenant. Co. Litt. 37.]

of partition to divide their lands. (c) (13) 3. The jointure may be destroyed by destroying the unity of *title*. As if one joint-tenant alienes and conveys his estate to a third person: here the joint tenancy is severed, and turned into tenancy in common; (d) for the grantee and the remaining joint-tenant hold by different titles (one derived from the original, the other from the subsequent grantor), though, till partition made, the unity of possession continues. (14) [*186] But a devise of one's share by will *is no severance of the jointure: (15) for no testament takes effect till after the death of the testator, and by such death the right of the survivor (which accrued at the original creation of the estate, and has therefore a priority to the other (e) is already vested. (f) (16) 4. It may also be destroyed by destroying the unity of *interest*. And therefore, if there be two joint-tenants for life, and the inheritance is purchased by or descends upon either, it is a severance of the jointure; (g) though, if an estate is originally limited to two for life, and after to the heirs of one of them, the freehold shall remain in jointure, without merging in the inheritance; because, being created by one and the same conveyance, they are not separate estates (which is requisite in order to a merger), but branches of one entire estate. (h) In like manner, if a joint-tenant in fee makes a lease for life of his share, this defeats the jointure: (i) for it destroys the unity both of title and of interest. And, whenever or by whatever means the jointure ceases or is severed, the right of survivorship, or *jus accrescendi*, the same instant ceases with it. (k) Yet, if one of three joint-tenants alienes his share, the two remaining tenants still hold their parts by joint-tenancy and survivorship: (l) and if one of three joint-tenants release his share to one of his companions, though the joint-tenancy is destroyed with regard to that part, yet the two remaining parts are still held in jointure; (m) for they still preserve their original constituent unities. But when, by any act or event, different interests are created in the several parts of the estate, or they are held by different titles, or if merely the possession is separated; so that the tenants have no longer these four indispensable properties, a sameness of interest, and undivided possession, a title vesting at one and the same time, and by one and the same act or grant; the jointure is instantly dissolved.

[*187] *In general it is advantageous for the joint-tenants to dissolve the jointure; since thereby the right of survivorship is taken away, and each may transmit his own part to his own heirs. Sometimes, however, it is disadvantageous to dissolve the joint estate: as if there be joint-tenants for life, and they make partition, this dissolves the jointure; and, though before they each of them had an estate in the whole for their own lives and the life of their

(c) Thus, by the civil law. *nemo invitatus compellitur ad communionem*. (Ff. 12. 6. 26, § 4. And again. *si non omnes qui rem communem habent, sed certi ex his, dividere desiderant; hoc judicium inter eos accipi potest*. (Ff. 10. 3. 8.)

(d) Litt. § 292.

(e) *Jus accrescendi præfertur ultimæ voluntati*. Co. Litt. 186.

(f) Litt. § 287.

(g) Cro. Ellz. 470.

(h) 2 Rep. 60. Co. Litt. 182.

(i) Litt. §§ 302, 303.

(k) *Nihil de re accrescit ei, qui nihil in re quando jus accresceret habet*. Co. Litt. 188.

(l) Litt. § 294.

(m) *Ibid.* § 304.

(13) This writ is abolished, and a bill in equity for partition is now the remedy in these cases. By statute 31 and 32 Vic. c. 40, the court may order a sale, instead of partition, where that course appears proper.

(14) [When an estate is devised to A and B, who are strangers to, and have no connexion with, each other, the conveyance by one of them severs the joint-tenancy, and passes a moiety; but per Kenyon, Ch. J., it has been settled for ages, that when the devise is to husband and wife, they take by entireties and not by moieties, and the husband alone cannot by his own conveyance, without joining his wife, divest the estate of the wife. 5 T. R. 654. If five trustees be joint-tenants, and if three execute a conveyance, it will sever the joint estate, and create a tenancy in common, and the person to whom the conveyance was made may recover three-fifths in ejectment. 11 East, 238.]

(15) [A covenant by a joint-tenant to sell, though it does not sever the joint-tenancy at law, will do so in equity; *Browne v. Raindle*, 3 Ves. 257; *Hinton v. Hinton*, 2 Ves. Sen. 639; provided the agreement for sale be one of which a specific performance could be enforced. *Pateriche v. Powllett*, 2 Atk. 54; *Hinton v. Hinton*, 2 Ves. Sen. 634.]

(16) A joint-tenant wishing to devise his estate must first cause partition thereof to be made, as otherwise the right of survivorship will exclude the devise.

companion, now they have an estate in a moiety only for their own lives merely; and, on the death of either, the reversioner shall enter on his moiety. (*n*) And therefore if there be two joint-tenants for life, and one grants away his part for the life of his companion, it is a forfeiture: (*o*) for, in the first place, by the severance of the jointure he has given himself in his own moiety only an estate for his own life; and then he grants the same land for the life of another; which grant, by a tenant for his own life merely, is a forfeiture of his estate: (*p*) for it is creating an estate which may by possibility last longer than that which he is legally entitled to.

III. An estate held in *coparcenary* (17) is where lands of inheritance descend from the ancestor to two or more persons. It *arises* either by common law or particular custom. By common law: as where a person seized in fee-simple or in fee-tail dies, and his next heirs are two or more females, his daughters, sisters, aunts, cousins, or their representatives; in this case they shall all inherit, as will be more fully shown when we treat of descents hereafter; and these co-heirs are then called *co-parceners*; or, for brevity, *parceners* only. (*q*) Parceners by particular custom are where lands descend, as in gavelkind, to all the males in equal degree, as sons, brothers, uncles, &c. (*r*) And, in either of these cases, all the parceners put together make but one heir, and have but one estate among them. (*s*)

*The *properties* of parceners are in some respects like those of joint-tenants; they having the same unities of *interest, title and possession*. [*188] They may sue and be sued jointly for matters relating to their own lands; (*t*) and the entry of one of them shall in some cases enure as the entry of them all. (*u*) They cannot have an action of trespass against each other; but herein they differ from joint-tenants, that they are also excluded from maintaining an action of waste; (*w*) for coparceners could at all times put a stop to any waste by writ of partition, but till the statute of Henry the Eighth, joint-tenants had no such power. Parceners also differ materially from joint-tenants in four other points. 1. They always claim by descent, whereas joint-tenants always claim by purchase. Therefore, if two sisters purchased lands, to hold to them and their heirs, they are not parceners, but joint-tenants; (*x*) and hence it likewise follows, that no lands can be held in coparcenary, but estates of inheritance, which are of a descendible nature: whereas not only estates in fee and in tail, but for life or years, may be held in joint-tenancy. 2. There is no unity of *time* necessary to an estate of coparcenary. For if a man had two daughters, to whom his estate descends in coparcenary, and one died before the other; the surviving daughter and the heir of the other, or when both are dead, their two heirs are still parceners; (*y*) the estates vesting in each of them at different times, though it be the same quantity of interest, and held by the same title. 3. Parceners, though they have an *unity*, have not an *entirety* of interest. They are properly entitled each to the whole of a distinct moiety; (*z*) and of course there is no *jus accrescendi*, or survivorship between them; for each part descends severally to their respective heirs, though the unity of possession continues. And as long as the lands continue in a course of descent, and united in possession, so long are the tenants therein, whether male or female, called parceners. But if *the possession be once severed by partition, they are [*189] no longer parceners, but tenants in severalty; or if one parcener alienes her share, though no partition be made, then are the lands no longer held in *coparcenary*, but in *common*. (*a*)

Parceners are so called, saith Littleton, (*b*) because they may be constrained to make *partition*. (18) And he mentions many methods of making it; (*c*) four

(*n*) 1 Jones. 55.
(*r*) *Ibid.* § 265.
(*w*) 8 Inst. 403.
(*a*) Litt. § 309.

(*o*) 4 Leon. 237.
(*s*) Co. Litt. 163
(*x*) Litt. § 254.
(*b*) § 241.

(*p*) Co. Litt. 252.
(*t*) *Ibid.* 164.
(*y*) Co. Litt. 164, 174.
(*c*) §§ 243 to 264.

(*q*) Litt. §§ 241, 242.
(*u*) *Ibid.* 183, 245.
(*z*) *Ibid.* 163, 164.

(17) The distinction between estates in common and estates in coparcenary can scarcely be said to exist in America. See 4 Kent, 367; 1 Washb. Real Prop. 415.

(18) *Coparceners* may convey to each other, both by feoffment and by release, because their seisin to some interests is joint, and to some several. Co. Litt. 200, b. Whereas *joint-tenants*

of which are by consent, and one by compulsion. The first is where they agree to divide the lands into equal parts in severalty, and that each shall have such a determinate part. The second is, when they agree to choose some friend to make partition for them, and then the sisters shall choose each of them her part according to seniority of age; or otherwise, as shall be agreed. The privilege of seniority is in this case personal; for if the eldest sister be dead, her issue shall not choose first, but the next sister. But, if an advowson descend in coparcenary, and the sisters cannot agree in the presentation, the eldest and her issue, nay her husband, or her assigns, shall present alone, before the younger.(d) (19) And the reason given is, that the former privilege of priority in choice upon a division, arises from an act of her own, the agreement to make partition; and therefore is merely personal: the latter, of presenting to the living, arises from the act of the law, and is annexed not only to her person, but to her estate also. A third method of partition is, where the eldest divides, and then she shall choose last; for the rule of law is, *cujus est divisio, alterius est electio*. The fourth method is, where the sisters agree to cast lots for their shares. And these are the methods by consent. That by compulsion is, where one or more sue out a writ of partition against the others; whereupon the sheriff shall go to the lands, and make partition thereof by the verdict of a jury there impaneled, and assign to each of the parceners her part in severalty.(e)

[*190] But there are some things *which are in their nature impartible. The mansion-house, common of estovers, common of piscary uncertain, or any other common without stint, shall not be divided; but the eldest sister, if she pleases, shall have them, and make the others a reasonable satisfaction in other parts of the inheritance: or, if that cannot be, then they shall have the profits of the thing by turns, in the same manner as they take the advowson.(f)

There is yet another consideration attending the estate in coparcenary: that if one of the daughters has had an estate given with her in *frankmarriage* by her ancestor (which we may remember was a species of estates-tail, freely given by a relation for advancement of his kinswoman in marriage),(g) in this case, if lands descend from the *same* ancestor to her and her sisters in fee-simple, she or her heirs shall have no share of them, unless they will agree to divide the lands so given in frankmarriage in equal proportion with the rest of the lands descending.(h) This mode of division was known in the law of the Lombards; (i) which directs the woman so preferred in marriage, and claiming her share of the inheritance, *mittere in confusum cum sororibus quantum pater aut frater ei dederit, quando ambulaverit ad maritum*. With us it is denominated bringing those lands into *hotch-pot*: (k) which term I shall explain in the very words of Littleton: (l) "it seemeth that this word *hotch-pot*, is in English a pudding: for in a pudding is not commonly put one thing alone, but one thing with other things together." By this housewifery metaphor our ancestors meant to inform us (m) that the lands, both those given in frankmarriage and those descending in fee-simple, should be mixed and blended together, and then divided in equal portions among all the daughters. But this was left to the choice of the donee in frankmarriage: and if she did not choose to put her

[*191] lands into hotch-pot, she was presumed to be sufficiently *provided for, and the rest of the inheritance was divided among her other sisters.

(d) Co. Litt. 166. 3 Rep. 22.

(e) By statute 8 and 9 Wm. III, c. 31, an easier method of carrying on the proceedings on a writ of partition, of lands held either in joint-tenancy, parcenary, or common, than was used at the common law, is chalked out and provided.

(f) Co. Litt. 164, 165.

(g) l. 2 §. 14, c. 15.

(h) See page 115.

(i) Britton, c. 72.

(k) Bracton, l. 2. c. 34. Litt. § 266 to 273.

(l) § 267.

(m) Litt. § 268.

can release to, but not enfeoff each other, because the freehold is joint. Ib. And one tenant in common may enfeoff his companion, but not release, because the freehold is several. Ib.

Such partitions are now usually made by means of a bill in chancery in the same manner as partition between joint tenants.]

(19) [See 1 Ves. Sen. 340; Burn. Eccl. Law, vol. 1, p. 15; 7 Sim. 257.]

The law of hotch-pot took place then only when the other lands descending from the ancestor were fee-simple; for, if they descended in tail, the donee in frankmarriage was entitled to her share, without bringing her lands so given into hotch-pot. (*n*) And the reason is, because lands descending in fee-simple are distributed, by the policy of law, for the maintenance of all the daughters; and if one has a sufficient provision out of the same inheritance, equal to the rest, it is not reasonable that she should have more: but lands descending in tail, are not distributed by the operation of the law, but by the designation of the giver, *per formam doni*; it matters not therefore how unequal this distribution may be. Also no lands, but such as are given in frankmarriage, shall be brought into hotch-pot; for no others are looked upon in law as given for the advancement of the women, or by way of marriage portion. (*o*) And, therefore, as gifts in frankmarriage are fallen into disuse, I should hardly have mentioned the law of hotch-pot, had not this method of division been revived and copied by the statute for distribution of personal estates, which we shall hereafter consider at large.

The estate in coparcenary may be *dissolved*, either by partition, which disunites the possession; by alienation of one parcener, which disunites the title, and may disunite the interest; or by the whole at last descending to and vesting in one single person, which brings it to an estate in severalty.

IV. Tenants in *common* are such as hold by several and distinct titles, but by unity of possession; because none knoweth his own severalty, and therefore they all occupy promiscuously. (*p*) This tenancy, therefore, happens where there is a unity of possession merely, but perhaps an entire disunion of interest, of titles and of time. For if there be two tenants in common of lands, one may hold his part in fee-simple, the other in tail, or for life; so that there is no *necessary unity of interest; one may hold by descent, the other by [*192] purchase; or the one by purchase from A, the other by purchase from B; so that there is no unity of title; one's estate may have been vested fifty years, the other's but yesterday; so there is no unity of time. The only unity there is, is that of possession: and for this Littleton gives the true reason, because no man can certainly tell which part is his own; otherwise even this would be soon destroyed.

Tenancy in common may be created, either by the destruction of the two other estates in joint-tenancy and coparcenary, or by special limitation in a deed. (20) By the destruction of the two other estates, I mean such destruction as does not sever the unity of possession, but only the unity of title or interest: As, if one of two joint-tenants in fee alienes his estate for the life of the alienee, the alienee and the other joint-tenant are tenants in common; for they have now several titles, the other joint-tenant by the original grant, the alienee by the new alienation; (*q*) and they also have several interests, the former joint-tenant in fee-simple, the alienee for his own life only. So, if one joint-tenant gives his part to A in tail, and the other gives his to B in tail, the donees are tenants in common, as holding by different titles and conveyances. (*r*) If one of two parceners alienes, the alienee and the remaining parcener are tenants in common; (*s*) because they hold by different titles, the parcener by descent, the alienee by purchase. So likewise, if there be a grant to two men, or two women, and the heirs of their bodies, here the grantees shall be joint-tenants of the life-estate, but they shall have several inheritances; (21) because they cannot possibly have one heir of their two bodies, as might have been the case had the limitation been to a man and woman, and the heirs of their bodies begotten: (*t*) and

(*n*) *Ibid.* § 274.

(*r*) *Ibid.* 296.

(*o*) *Ibid.* 275.

(*s*) *Ibid.* 309.

(*p*) *Ibid.* 292.

(*t*) *Ibid.* 283.

(*q*) *Ibid.* 293.

(20) So in the United States tenancies in common exist where real estate descends to two or more persons as heirs at law; and generally by statute, estates which, at the common law, would have been estates in joint tenancy, are made estates in common.

(21) [And the same is true of a limitation to two men or two women and their heirs generally. 4 Mee. and W. 229.]

in this, and the like cases, their issue shall be tenants in common; because they must claim by different titles, one as heir of A, and the other as heir of B; [*193] and those two not titles by *purchase, but descent. In short, whenever an estate in joint-tenancy or coparcenary is dissolved, so that there be no partition made, but the unity of possession continues, it is turned into a tenancy in common.

A tenancy in common may also be created by express limitation in a deed; but here care must be taken not to insert words which imply a joint estate; and then if lands be given to two or more, and it be not joint-tenancy, it must be a tenancy in common. But the law is apt in its constructions to favor joint-tenancy rather than tenancy in common; (*u*) because the divisible services issuing from land (as rent, &c.) are not divided, nor the entire services (as fealty) multiplied by joint-tenancy, as they must necessarily be upon a tenancy in common. Land given to two, to be holden the one moiety to one, and the other moiety to the other, is an estate in common; (*w*) and, if one grants to another *half* his land, the grantor and grantee are also tenants in common: (*x*) because, as has been before (*y*) observed, joint-tenants do not take by distinct halves or moieties; and by such grants the division and severalty of the estate is so plainly expressed, that it is impossible they should take a joint interest in the whole of the tenements. But a *devise* to two persons to hold *jointly and severally*, is said to be a joint-tenancy; (*z*) because that is necessarily implied in the word "jointly," the word "severally" perhaps only implying the power of partition; and an estate given to A and B, *equally to be divided* between them, though in *deeds* it hath been said to be a joint-tenancy (*a*) (for it implies no more than the law has annexed to that estate, *viz.*: divisibility), (*b*) yet in *wills* it is certainly a tenancy in common, (*c*) because the deviser may be presumed to have meant what is most beneficial to both the devisees, though his meaning is imperfectly expressed. And this nicety in the wording of grants makes it the most usual [*194] as well as the safest way, when a tenancy in common *is meant to be created, to add express words of exclusion as well as description, and limit the estate to A and B, to hold *as tenants in common, and not as joint-tenants*.

As to the *incidents* attending a tenancy in common: tenants in common (like joint-tenants) are compellable by the statutes of Henry VIII and William III, before mentioned, (*d*) to make partition of their lands; which they were not at common law. They properly take by distinct moieties, and have no entirety of interest; and therefore there is no survivorship between tenants in common. (22) Their other incidents are such as merely arise from the unity of possession; and are therefore the same as appertain to joint-tenants merely upon that account; such as being liable to reciprocal actions of waste, and of account, by the statutes of Westm. 2, c. 22, and 4 Ann. c. 16. For by the common law no tenant in common was liable to account with his companion for embezzling the profits of the estate; (*e*) though, if one actually turns the other out of possession, an action of ejectment will lie against him. (*f*) (23) But, as for other incidents of joint-tenants, which arise from the privity of title, or the union and entirety of interest (such as joining or being joined in actions, (*g*) unless in the case where some entire or indivisible thing is to be recovered), (*h*) these are not appli-

(*u*) Salk. 392.

(*w*) Litt. § 298.

(*x*) *Ibid.* 299.

(*y*) See p. 182.

(*z*) Poph. 53.

(*a*) 1 Eq. Cas. Abr. 291.

(*b*) 1 P. Wms. 17.

(*c*) 3 Rep. 39.

1 Vent. 32.

(*d*) Pages 185 and 189.

(*e*) Co. Litt. 199.

(*f*) *Ibid.* 200.

(*g*) Litt. § 311.

(*h*) Co. Litt. 197.

(22) [But a tenancy in common with benefit of survivorship may exist without being a joint-tenancy, because survivorship is not the only characteristic of a joint-tenancy. Per Bayley, J. 1 M. and S. 435.]

See *Hatton v. Finch*, 4 Beav. 186; In re *Drakeley's Estate*, 19 id. 395; *Turner v Whittaker*, 23 id. 196.

(23) See *Sandford v. Ballard*, 33 Beav. 401. As to what is an exclusion of a co-tenant from possession, see this case, and also *Tyson v. Fairclough*, 2 Sim. and S. 143.

cable to tenants in common, whose interests are distinct, and whose titles are not joint but several. (24)

Estates in common can only be dissolved two ways: 1. By uniting all the titles and interests in one tenant, by purchase or otherwise; which brings the whole to one severalty: 2. By making partition between the several tenants in common, which gives them all respective severalties. For indeed tenancies in common differ in nothing from sole estates but merely in the blending and unity of possession. And this finishes our inquiries with respect to the nature of *estates*.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE TITLE TO THINGS REAL, IN GENERAL.

THE foregoing chapters having been principally employed in defining the nature of things real, in describing the *tenures* by which they may be holden, and in distinguishing the several kinds of *estate* or interest that may be had therein; I now come to consider, lastly, the *title* to things real, with the manner of acquiring and losing it.

A title is thus defined by Sir Edward Coke (a)—*Titulus est justa causa possidendi id quod nostrum est*: or, it is the means whereby the owner of lands hath the just possession of his property.

(a) 1 Inst. 345.

(24) [The rule which determines whether tenants in common should sue jointly or severally, is founded upon the nature of their interest in the matter or thing which is the cause of action. For injuries to their common property, as trespass quare clausum fregit, or a nuisance, &c., or the recovery of any thing in which they have a common right, as for rent reserved by them, or waste upon a lease for years, they should all be a party to the action; but they must sue severally in a real action generally, for they have several titles. Com. Dig. Abatement, E. 10; Co. Litt. 197. But if waste be committed where there is no lease by them all, the action by one alone is good. 2 Mod. 62. But one tenant in common cannot avow alone for taking cattle damage feasant, but he ought also to make cognizance as bailiff of his companion. 3 Hen. Bla. 396; Sir Wm. Jones, Rep. 253.]

A tenant in common may convey his interest in the whole estate so held without his co-tenant joining, but he cannot convey his share in any particular part of the estate so held, by metes and bounds, so as thereby to bind his co-tenant without his assent. And the reason is that such conveyance might injuriously affect the right of the co-tenant to partition by compelling him to take his share out of several distinct parcels, instead of having it all assigned together as one parcel, as might otherwise have been done. But any such conveyance of a part is binding upon the grantor himself, and, it seems, can be questioned only by the co-tenant whose interests are injuriously affected by it. See 1 Washb. Real Prop. 417; and cases there cited; *Campau v. Godfrey*, 18 Mich. 27. And for the same reason it would seem that the share of one co-tenant in less than the whole, cannot be sold on execution against him, and thereby the co-tenants be bound. *Great Falls Co. v. Worster*, 15 N. H. 412; *Soutter v. Porter*, 27 Me. 405; *Campau v. Godfrey*, 18 Mich. 27.

Tenants in common and other joint owners are held to the utmost good faith toward each other in respect to their joint interests, and neither will be allowed to take advantage of the relation to make a profit at the expense of the other. One of them cannot acquire a tax title of the other's interest. *Brown v. Hogle*, 30 Ill. 119; *Page v. Webster*, 8 Mich. 263; *Butler v. Porter*, 13 id. 292; *Lloyd v. Lynch*, 28 Penn. St. 419. Nor can he buy in an outstanding title and use it to the prejudice of his co-tenant if the latter is willing to contribute *pro rata* to the purchase. *Van Horne v. Fonda*, 5 Johns. Ch. 407; *Venable v. Beauchamp*, 3 Dana, 321; *Owings v. McClain*, 1 A. K. Marsh. 230; *Brittin v. Handy*, 20 Ark. 381; *Rothwell v. Dewees*, 2 Black, 613.

One tenant in common may compel the other to share the expense of such repairs as are absolutely necessary to save the buildings on the common property going to decay. As to this see 1 Washb. Real Prop. 421. But he cannot compel the co-tenant to make improvements, or to contribute *pro rata* to those he may make himself; but in the event of partition, improvements one has made at his own expense may be taken into account, and the party making them may have them set off to him, if it can be done without affecting injuriously the rights of the other.

Partition between tenants in common it has been held may be made by their voluntary action, followed by exclusive possession by each in accordance with the partition, without any deed. *Jackson v. Harder*, 4 Johns. 202; *Wood v. Fleet*, 36 N. Y. 499. But see 1 Washb. on Real Prop. 450, and cases cited. Whether such partition would affect the title or not, it would so far bind the possession as to give to each co-tenant the rights and incidents of an exclusive possession of the part set off to him. Washb. *ubi supra*.

There are several stages or degrees requisite to form a complete title to lands and tenements. We will consider them in a progressive order.

I. The lowest and most imperfect degree of title consists in the mere *naked possession*, or actual occupation of the estate; without any apparent right, or any shadow or pretence of right, to hold and continue such possession. This may happen when one man invades the possession of another, and by force or surprise turns him out of the occupation of his lands; which is termed a *disseisin*, being a deprivation of that actual seisin, or corporal freehold of the lands, which the tenant before enjoyed. Or it may happen, that after the death of the ancestor and before the entry of *the heir, or after the death of a particular [*196] tenant and before the entry of him in remainder or reversion, a stranger may contrive to get possession of the vacant land, and hold out him that had a right to enter. In all which cases, and many others that might be here suggested, the wrong-doer has only a mere naked possession, which the rightful owner may put an end to by a variety of legal remedies, as will more fully appear in the third book of these Commentaries. But in the mean time, till some act be done by the *rightful* owner to divest this possession and assert his title, such actual possession is, *prima facie*, evidence of a legal title in the possessor; and it may, by *length of time*, and negligence of him who hath the right, by degrees ripen into a perfect and indefeasible title. (1) And, at all events, without such actual possession no title can be completely good.

II. The next step to a good and perfect title is the *right of possession*, which may reside in one man, while the actual possession is not in himself, but in another. For if a man be disseised, or otherwise kept out of possession, by any of the means before mentioned, though the *actual* possession be lost, yet he has still remaining in him the *right* of possession; and may exert it whenever he thinks proper, by entering upon the disseisor, and turning him out of that occupancy which he has so illegally gained. But this right of possession is of two sorts: an *apparent* right of possession, which may be defeated by proving a better; and an *actual* right of possession, which will stand the test against all opponents. Thus if the disseisor, or other wrong-doer, dies possessed of the land whereof he so became seised by his own unlawful act, and the same descends to his heir; now by the common law the heir hath obtained an *apparent* right, though the *actual* right of possession resides in the person disseised; and it shall not be lawful for the person disseised to divest this apparent right by mere entry or other act of his own, but only by an action at law: (b) (2) for, until the contrary be proved by legal demonstration, the law will rather presume [*197] the right to *reside in the heir, whose ancestor died seised, than in one who has no such presumptive evidence to urge in his own behalf. Which doctrine in some measure arose from the principles of the feudal law, which, after feuds became hereditary, much favoured the right of descent; in order that there might be a person always upon the spot to perform the feudal duties and services; (c) and therefore when a feudatory died in battle, or otherwise, it presumed always that his children were entitled to the feud, till the right was otherwise determined by his fellow-soldiers and fellow-tenants, the peers of the feudal court. But if he, who has the actual right of possession, puts in

(b) Litt. § 385.

(c) Gilb. Ten. 18.

(1) [In general a person in *actual possession* of real property cannot be ousted unless the party claiming can establish some well-founded title, for it is a general rule, governing in all actions of ejectment (the proper proceeding to recover possession of an estate), that the plaintiff must recover on the strength of his own title, and of course he cannot in general found his claim upon the insufficiency of the defendant's: 5 T. R. 110, n. 1; 1 East, 246; 11 id., 488; 3 M. and S. 516; for possession gives the defendant a right against every person who cannot show a sufficient title, and the party who would change the possession must therefore first establish a legal title. Id. ibid.; 4 Burr. 2487; 2 T. R. 634; 7 id. 47.]

(2) [That is to say, a *real* action. Real actions (with some few exceptions) having been abolished by the statute 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 27, this effect of a descent from a disseisor, called a descent cast, was also taken away by the same statute, sec. 39.]

his claim, and brings his action within a reasonable time, and can prove by what unlawful means the ancestor became seised, he will then by sentence of law recover that possession, to which he hath such actual right. Yet, if he omits to bring this his possessory action within a competent time, his adversary may imperceptibly gain an actual right of possession, in consequence of the other's negligence. And by this, and certain other means, the party kept out of possession may have nothing left in him, but what we are next to speak of, viz.:

III. The mere *right of property*, the *jus proprietatis*, without either possession or even the right of possession. This is frequently spoken of in our books under the name of the *mere right*, *jus merum*; and the estate of the owner is in such cases said to be totally divested, and *put to a right*. (d) A person in this situation may have the true ultimate property of the lands in himself: but by the intervention of certain circumstances, either by his own negligence, the solemn act of his ancestor, or the determination of a court of justice, the presumptive evidence of that right is strongly in favour of his antagonist; who has thereby obtained the absolute right of possession. As, in the first place, if a person disseised, or turned out of possession of his estate, neglects to pursue his remedy within the time limited by law: by this means the disseisor or his heirs gain the actual right of possession: *for the law presumes that either [*198] he had a good right originally, in virtue of which he entered on the lands in question, or that since such his entry he has procured a sufficient title; and, therefore, after so long an acquiescence, the law will not suffer his possession to be disturbed without inquiring into the absolute right of property. Yet, still, if the person disseised or his heir hath the true right of property remaining in himself, his estate is indeed said to be turned into a mere right; but, by proving such his better right, he may at length recover the lands. Again, if a tenant in tail discontinues his estate-tail, by alienating the lands to a stranger in fee, and dies; here the issue in tail hath no right of *possession*, independent of the right of *property*: for the law presumes *prima facie* that the ancestor would not disinherit, or attempt to disinherit, his heirs, unless he had power to do so; and therefore, as the ancestor had in himself the right of possession, and has transferred the same to a stranger, the law will not permit that possession now to be disturbed, unless by showing the absolute right of property to reside in another person. The heir, therefore, in this case has only a *mere right*, and must be strictly held to the proof of it, in order to recover the lands. Lastly, if by accident, neglect, or otherwise, judgment is given for either party in any *possessory* action (that is, such wherein the right of possession only, and not that of property, is contested,) and the other party hath indeed in himself the right of property, this is now turned to a *mere right*; and upon proof thereof in a subsequent action denominated a writ of right, he shall recover his seisin of the lands. (3)

Thus, if a disseisor turns me out of possession of my lands, he thereby gains a *mere naked possession*, and I still retain the *right of possession*, and *right of property*. If the disseisor dies, and the land descend to his son, the son gains an *apparent* right of *possession*; but I still retain the *actual* right both of *possession* and *property*. If I acquiesce for thirty years, (4) without bringing any action to recover possession of the lands, the son gains the *actual right of possession*, and I retain *nothing but the *mere right of property*. And even [*199] this right of property will fail, or at least it will be without a remedy,

(d) Co. Litt. 345.

(3) [This right of property, as distinguished from the right of possession, has been abolished in almost every case by the abolition of those real actions in which alone it could have been vindicated. Stat. 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 27.]

(4) The term is now twenty years; see the statute of 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 27, s. 2. And by that statute it is provided that the right and title of the person who might, within the time limited, have had the proper remedy, but who has failed to resort to it, shall be *extinguished*.

In general twenty years, after the right accrues, will be found to be the period limited by statute in the American states, within which the owner must bring action for recovery of real estate. Exceptions are generally made in these statutes in favor of infants, married women, insane persons, persons beyond the seas, and sometimes other classes.

unless I pursue it within the space of *sixty* years. So also if the father be tenant in tail, and alienes the estate-tail to a stranger in fee, the alienee thereby gains the *right of possession*, and the son hath only the *mere right* or *right of property*. And hence it will follow, that one man may have the *possession*, another the *right of possession*, and a third the *right of property*. For if a tenant in tail enfeoffs A in fee simple, and dies, and B disseises A; now B will have the *possession*, A the *right of possession*, and the issue in tail the *right of property*: A may recover the possession against B; and afterwards the issue in tail may evict A, and unite in himself the possession, the right of possession, and also the right of property. In which union consists,

IV. A complete title to lands, tenements and hereditaments. For it is an ancient maxim of the law, (e) that no title is completely good, unless the right of possession be joined with the right of property; which right is then denominated a double right, *jus duplicatum*, or *droit droit*. (f) And when to this double right the actual possession is also united, when there is, according to the expression of Fleta, (g) *juris et seisinæ conjunctio*, then, and then only, is the title completely legal.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF TITLE BY DESCENT.

THE several *gradations* and *stages*, requisite to form a *complete title* to lands, tenements, and hereditaments, having been briefly stated in the preceding chapter, we are next to consider the several *manners*, in which this complete title (and therein principally the right of *property*) may be reciprocally lost and acquired: whereby the dominion of things real is either continued or transferred from one man to another. And here we must first of all observe, that (as gain and loss are terms of relation, and of a reciprocal nature) by whatever method one man gains an estate, by that same method, or its correlative, some other man has lost it. As where the heir acquires by descent, the ancestor has first lost or abandoned his estate by his death: where the lord gains land by escheat, the estate of the tenant is first of all lost by the natural or legal extinction of all his hereditary blood: where a man gains an interest by occupancy, the former owner has previously relinquished his right of possession: where one man claims by prescription or immemorial usage, another man has either parted with his right by an ancient and now forgotten grant, or has forfeited it by the supineness or neglect of himself and his ancestors for ages: and so, in case of forfeiture, the tenant by his own misbehaviour or neglect has renounced his interest in the estate; whereupon it devolves to that person who by law may take advantage [*201] of such default: and, in alienation by common assurances, *the two considerations of loss and acquisition are so interwoven, and so constantly

(e) *Mirr.* l. 2. c. 37.

(f) *Co. Litt.* 266. *Bract.* l. 5, tr. 3, c. 5.

(g) l. 3, c. 15, § 5.

To bar the owner's right under these statutes, it is necessary: 1. That the land should have been in the actual possession of another: *Jackson v. Schoonmaker*, 2 Johns. 234; *Coburn v. Hollis*, 3 Met. 129; *Doswell v. De La Lanza*, 20 How. 32; *Trapna v. Burton*, 24 Ark. 271. 2. That the possession should have been continuous for the full statutory period: *Sorber v. Willing*, 10 Watts, 141; *Holdfast v. Shepard*, 6 Ired. 361; *School District v. Lynch*, 33 Conn. 333. 3. That it should have been under a claim of right adverse to that of the owner, and not in recognition of his title; or as a mere "squatter": *Gay v. Mitchell*, 35 Ga. 139; and 4. That the possession must have been of that public and notorious character that the owner, if guilty of no negligence, would have been made aware of it and of the claim of right accompanying it. *Proprietors, &c., v. Springer*, 4 Mass. 418; *Morrison v. Kelly*, 22 Ill. 610; *Scruggs v. Scruggs*, 43 Mo. 142. Mere acts of trespass on land do not constitute adverse possession. *Hale v. Glidden*, 10 N. H. 399; *Loftin v. Cobb*, 1 Jones N. C. 406; *Denham v. Holeman*, 26 Geo. 182; *Braxdale v. Speed*, 1 A. K. Marsh. 106; *Truesdale v. Ford*, 37 Ill. 210; *Parker v. Parker*, 1 Allen, 245. As to what may be sufficient to establish adverse possession. see *Stanley v. White*, 14 East. 332; *Ewing v. Burnet*, 11 Pet. 41; *Johnston v. Irwin*, 3 S. and R. 291; *Barr v. Gratz*, 4 Wheat. 213; *Brown v. Porter*, 10 Mass. 93; *Morrison v. Chapin*, 97 Mass. 72; *Davidson v. Beatty*, 3 H. and McH. 595; *Farley v. Lenox*, 8 S. and R. 392; *Booth v. Small*, 25 Iowa, 177; *Cass v. Richardson*, 2 Cold. 28; *Sheaffer v. Eakman*, 56 Penn. St. 144; *Whitehead v. Foley*, 28 Texas, 268. It is not necessary that the same person should continuously have occupied adversely; for

contemplated together, that we never hear of any conveyance, without at once receiving the ideas as well of the grantor as the grantee.

The methods therefore of acquiring on the one hand, and of losing on the other, a title to estates in things real, are reduced by our law to two; *descent*, where the title is vested in a man by the single operation of law: and *purchase*, where the title is vested in him by his own act or agreement. (a) (1)

Descent, or hereditary succession, is the title whereby a man on the death of his ancestor acquires his estate by right of representation, as his heir at law. An heir, therefore, is he upon whom the law casts the estate immediately on the death of the ancestor: and an estate, so descending to the heir, is in law called the inheritance. (2)

The doctrine of descents, or law of inheritances in fee-simple, is a point of the highest importance; and is indeed the principal object of the laws of real property in England. All the rules relating to purchases, whereby the legal course of descents is broken and altered, perpetually refer to this settled law of inheritance, as a *datum* or first principle universally known, and upon which their subsequent limitations are to work. Thus a gift in tail, or to a man and the heirs of his body, is a limitation that cannot be perfectly understood without a previous knowledge of the law of descents in fee-simple. One may well perceive that this is an estate confined in its descent to such heirs only of the donee, as have sprung or shall spring from his body; but who those heirs are

(a) Co. Litt. 1.

two or more persons may occupy successively, and if they are in privity with each other—as in the case of grantor and grantee, or ancestor and heir—the latter is entitled to have the benefit of the possession of the one to whose right he has succeeded.

(1) [Purchase in law is used in contradistinction to descent, and is any other mode of acquiring real property, viz.: by a man's own act and agreement, by devise, and by every species of gift, or grant; and as the land taken by purchase has very different inheritable qualities from land taken by descent, the distinction is important. See *post*, pages 241, 243.]

Mr. Hargrave in his note to Co. Litt. 18, b, distinguishes, perhaps too astutely, a title by *escheat* both from a purchase and from a descent. Upon similar reasoning a further division might be made in favor of title by prerogative, as where the crown takes land conveyed to an alien, &c.; but *purchase* is generally understood to be any acquisition otherwise than by descent.]

The statute 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 106, enacts that the word "purchaser" in that act shall mean the person who last acquired land otherwise than by descent, or than by *escheat*, partition or inclosure, by the effect of which the land shall become part of, or descendible with, other land acquired by descent.

(2) [The statute of 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 106, for the amendment of the law of inheritance, enacts, that in every case descent shall be traced from the purchaser, but the last owner shall be considered to be the purchaser, unless it shall be proved that he inherited the land. It is also enacted, that an heir who is entitled under a will shall take as devisee, and not by descent: and a limitation in any assurance to the grantor and his heirs shall create an estate by purchase: but if any person acquires lands by purchase, under a limitation to the heirs, or the heirs of the body, of any of his ancestors, such land shall descend, and the descent shall be traced as if the ancestor named in such limitation had been the purchaser of the land. It is further enacted, that no brother or sister shall be considered to inherit immediately from his or her brother or sister, but shall trace descent through their common parent; and every lineal ancestor may be heir to any of his issue, in preference to collateral persons claiming through him; the male line to be preferred throughout in tracing descents; but, in case of the failure of male paternal ancestors of the person from whom the descent is to be traced upwards, and of their descendants, the mother of his more remote male paternal ancestor, or her descendants, shall be the heir or heirs of such person, in preference to a less remote paternal ancestor; and the mother of his more remote male maternal ancestor, and her descendants, shall be heir or heirs, in preference to the mother of a less remote male maternal ancestor. And it is further enacted, that any person related to the person from whom the descent is to be traced by the half blood shall be capable of being his heir, and shall stand next in order of inheritance after any relation of the same degree of the whole blood, and his issue, where the common ancestor shall be a male, and next after the common ancestor where such common ancestor shall be a female: and after the death of a person attainted his descendants may inherit. The act does not extend to any descent which took place before the 1st of January, 1834, nor to any assurance executed before the said date, or the will of any person who died before the said date, which assurance or will contains any limitation or gift to the heir or heirs of any person under which the person or persons answering the description of heir would have been entitled to an estate by purchase if this act had not been made; but such limitation or gift shall take effect, whether the person named as ancestor was or was not living on the said 1st day of January, 1834.]

whether all his children both male and female, or the male only, and (among the males) whether the eldest, youngest, or other son alone, or all the sons together, shall be his heirs; this is a point that we must result back to the standing law of descents in fee-simple to be informed of.

[*202] *In order therefore to treat a matter of this universal consequence the more clearly, I shall endeavour to lay aside such matters as will only tend to breed embarrassment and confusion in our inquiries, and shall confine myself entirely to this one object. I shall therefore decline considering at present who are, and who are not, capable of being heirs; reserving that for the chapter of *escheats*. I shall also pass over the frequent division of descents into those by *custom*, *statute*, and *common law*: for descents by *particular custom*, as to all the sons in gavelkind, and to the youngest in borough-English, have already been often (*b*) hinted at, and may also be incidentally touched upon again; but will not make a separate consideration by themselves, in a system so general as the present: and descents by *statute*, or fees-tail *per formam doni*, in pursuance of the statute of Westminster the second, have also been already (*c*) copiously handled; and it has been seen that the descent in tail is restrained and regulated according to the words of the original donation, and does not entirely pursue the *common law doctrine of inheritance*; which, and which only, it will now be our business to explain. (3)

And, as this depends not a little on the nature of kindred, and the several degrees of consanguinity, it will be previously necessary to state, as briefly as possible, the true notion of this kindred or alliance in blood. (*d*)

Consanguinity, or kindred, is defined by the writers on these subjects to be "*vinculum personarum ab eodem stipite descenditum*:" the connexion or relation of persons descended from the same stock or common ancestor. This consanguinity is either lineal, or collateral.

[*203] *Lineal consanguinity is that which subsists between persons, of whom one is descended in a direct line from the other, as between John Stiles (the *propositus* in the table of consanguinity) and his father, grandfather, great-grandfather, and so upwards in the direct ascending line; or between John Stiles and his son, grandson, great-grandson, and so downwards in the direct descending line. Every generation, in this lineal direct consanguinity, constitutes a different degree, reckoning either upwards or downwards: the father of John Stiles is related to him in the first degree, and so likewise is his son; his grandsire and grandson in the second; his great-grandsire and great-grandson in the third. This is the only natural way of reckoning the degrees in the direct line, and therefore universally obtains, as well in the civil, (*e*) and canon, (*f*) as in the common law. (*g*)

The doctrine of lineal consanguinity is sufficiently plain and obvious; but it is at the first view astonishing to consider the number of lineal ancestors which every man has, within no very great number of degrees; and so many different bloods (*h*) is a man said to contain in his veins, as he hath lineal ancestors. Of these he hath two in the first ascending degree, his own parents; he hath four in the second, the parents of his father and the parents of his mother; he hath eight in the third, the parents of his two grandfathers and two grandmothers; and by the same rule of progression, he hath an hundred and twenty-eight in

(*b*) See Book I, pages 74, 75. Book II, pages 83, 85. (*c*) See page 112, &c.

(*d*) For a fuller explanation of the doctrine of consanguinity, and the consequences resulting from a right apprehension of its nature, see an *essay on collateral consanguinity*. (Law tracts, Oxon. 1762. 8vo., or 1771, 4to.)

(*e*) *Ff.* 38, 10, 10.

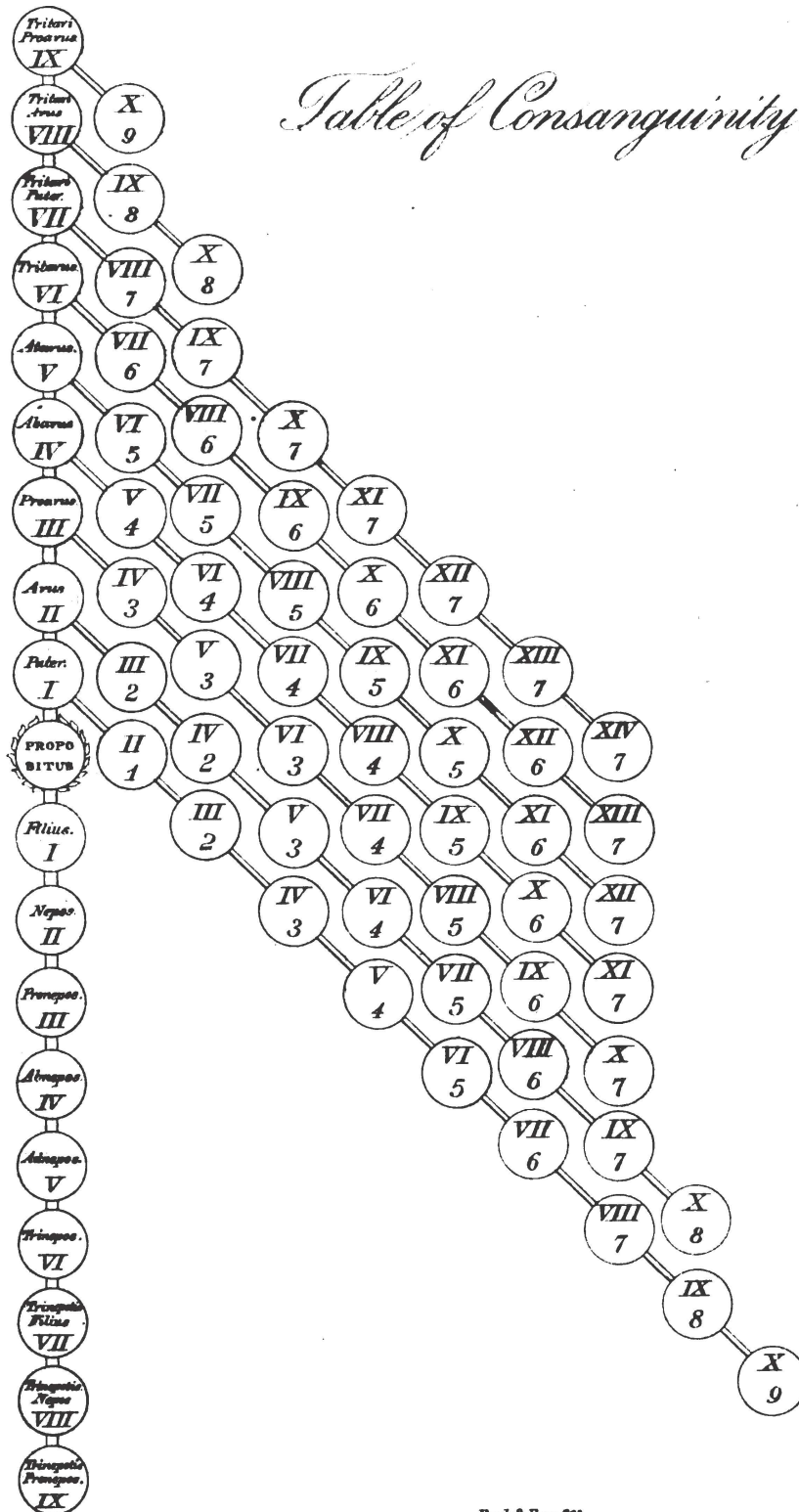
(*f*) *Decretal.* l. 4, tit. 14.

(*g*) *Co. Litt.* 23.

(*h*) *Ibid.* 12.

(3) [The devolution of an estate tail is of a very different nature from a descent in fee-simple at common law; in the former the heir of the original purchaser or donee in tail succeeds; in the latter the succession devolved upon the heir of the person last seized; and consequently the rule excluding the half blood, and the effect of a *possessio fratris* had no application to a descent in tail: 8 T. R. 211; and, until 8 Hen. VIII, c. 28, each taker was so far considered to take as a purchaser under the original gift, *per formam doni*, that his claim was not hindered by the attainder and corruption of the blood of his ancestor. 3 Rep. 10; 8 id. 165, a; Cro. Eliz. 28.]

Table of Consanguinity.



the seventh; a thousand and twenty-four in the tenth: and at the twentieth degree, or the distance of twenty generations, every man hath above a million of ancestors, as common arithmetic will demonstrate. (i) This lineal consanguinity, we may observe, falls strictly within the definition of *vinculum personarum ab eodem stipite descenditum*; since lineal relations are [*204] such as descend one from the other, and both of course from the same common ancestor.

Collateral kindred answers to the same description: collateral relations agreeing with the lineal in this, that they descend from the same stock or ancestor; but differing in this, that they do not descend one from the other. Collateral kinsmen are such, then, as lineally spring from one and the same ancestor, who is the *stirps*, or root, the *stipes*, trunk, or common stock, from whence these relations are branched out. As if John Stiles hath two sons, who have *each [*205] a numerous issue; both these issues are lineally descended from John Stiles as their common ancestor; and they are collateral kinsmen to each other, because they are all descended from this common ancestor, and all have a portion of his blood in their veins, which denominates them *consanguineos*.

We must be careful to remember, that the very being of collateral consanguinity consists in this descent from one and the same common ancestor. Thus *Titius* and his brother are related; why? because both are derived from one father: *Titius* and his first cousin are related; why? because both descend from the same grandfather; and his second cousin's claim to consanguinity is this, that they are both derived from one and the same great grand-father. In short, as many ancestors as a man has, so many common stocks he has, from which collateral kinsmen may be derived. And as we are taught by holy writ, that there is one couple of ancestors belonging to us all, from whom the whole race of mankind is descended, the obvious and undeniable consequence is, that all men are in some degree related to each other. For indeed, if we only suppose each couple of our ancestors to have left, one with another, two children; and each of those children on an average to have left two more (and, without such a supposition, the human species must be daily diminishing); we shall find that all of us have now subsisting near two hundred and seventy millions of kindred in the fifteenth degree, at the same distance from the several common ancestors as ourselves are; besides those that are one or two descents nearer to or farther from the common stock, who may amount to as many more. (k) And if

(i) This will seem surprising to those who are unacquainted with the increasing power of progressive numbers; but is palpably evident from the following table of a geometrical progression, in which the first term is 2, and the denominator also 2; or, to speak more intelligibly, it is evident, for that each of us has two ancestors in the first degree; the number of whom is doubled at every remove, because each of our ancestors has also two immediate ancestors of his own.

Lineal Degrees.	Number of Ancestors.	Lineal Degrees.	Number of Ancestors.
1	2	11	2048
2	4	12	4096
3	8	13	8192
4	16	14	16384
5	32	15	32768
6	64	16	65536
7	128	17	131072
8	256	18	262144
9	512	19	524288
10	1024	20	1048576

A shorter method of finding the number of ancestors at any even degree is by squaring the number of ancestors at half that number of degrees. Thus 16 (the number of ancestors at four degrees) is the square of 4, the number of ancestors at two; 256 is the square of 16; 65536 of 256; and the number of ancestors at 40 degrees would be the square of 1048576, or upwards of a million millions. (4)

(k) This will swell more considerably than the former calculation; for here, though the first term is but 1, the denominator is 4; that is, there is one kinsman (a brother) in the first degree, who makes, together with the *propositus*, the two descendants from the first couple of ancestors; and in every other degree the number of kindred must be the *quadruple* of those in the degree which immediately precedes it. For, since

(4) [This calculation is right in numbers, but is founded on a false supposition, as is evident from the results; one of which is to give a man a greater number of ancestors all living at one time than the whole population of the earth: another would be, that each man now living, instead of being descended from Noah and his wife alone, might claim to have had at that time an almost indefinite number of relatives. Intermarriages among relatives are one check on this incredible increase of relatives. This is noticed afterwards by Blackstone, as to collateral relatives.]

this calculation should appear incompatible with the number of inhabitants on the earth, it is because, by intermarriages among the several descendants from the same ancestor, a hundred or a thousand modes of consanguinity may be consolidated in one person, or he may be related to us a hundred or a thousand different ways.

[*206] *The method of computing these degrees in the canon law, (*l*) which our law has adopted, (*m*) is as follows: we begin at the common ancestor, and reckon downwards: and in whatsoever degree the two persons, or the most remote of them, is distant from the common ancestor, that is the degree in which they are related to each other. Thus *Titius* and his brother are related in the first *degree; for from the father to each of them is counted only one; *Titius* and his nephew are related in the second degree; for the nephew is two degrees removed from the common ancestor; viz.: his own grandfather, the father of *Titius*. Or (to give a more illustrious instance from our English annals), King Henry the Seventh, who slew Richard the Third in the battle of Bosworth, was related to that prince in the fifth degree. Let the *propositus* therefore in the table of consanguinity represent King Richard the Third, and the class marked (*c*) King Henry the Seventh. Now their common stock or ancestor was King Edward the Third, the *abavus* in the same table: from him to Edmond, duke of York, the *proavus*, is one degree; to Richard, earl of Cambridge, the *avus*, two; to Richard, duke of York, the *pater*, three; to King Richard the Third, the *propositus*, four; and from King Edward the Third to John of Gant (*a*) is one degree; to John, earl of Somerset, (*b*) two; to John, duke of Somerset, (*c*) three; to Margaret, countess of Richmond, (*d*) four;

each couple of ancestors has two descendants, who increase in a duplicate *ratio*, it will follow that the *ratio*, in which all the descendants increase downwards, must be double to that in which the ancestors increase upwards; but we have seen that the ancestors increase upwards in a duplicate *ratio*; therefore the descendants must increase downwards in a double duplicate, that is, in a quadruple *ratio*. (5)

Collateral Degrees.	Number of Kindred.	Collateral Degrees.	Number of Kindred.
1	1	11	1048576
2	4	12	4194304
3	16	13	16777216
4	64	14	67108864
5	256	15	268435456
6	1024	16	1073741824
7	4096	17	4294967296
8	16384	18	17179669184
9	65536	19	68719476736
10	262144	20	27487906944

This calculation may also be formed by a more compendious process, viz.: by squaring the couples, or half the number of ancestors, at any given degree; which will furnish us with the number of kindred we have in the same degree, at equal distance with ourselves from the common stock, besides those at unequal distances. Thus, in the tenth lineal degree, the number of ancestors is 1024; its half, or the couples, amount to 512; the number of kindred in the tenth collateral degree amounts therefore to 262144, or the square of 512. And if we will be at the trouble to recollect the state of the several families within our own knowledge, and observe how far they agree with this account: that is, whether on an average every man has not one brother or sister, four first cousins, sixteen second cousins, and so on; we shall find that the present calculation is very far from being overcharged.

(*l*) *Decretal.* 4, 14, 3 and 9.

(*m*) *Co. Litt.* 23.

(5) [The learned judge's reasoning is just and correct; and that the collateral relations are quadrupled in each generation may be thus demonstrated:—As we are supposed, upon an average, to have one brother or sister, the two children by the father's brother or sister will make two cousins, and the mother's brother or sister will produce two more, in all, four. For the same reason, my father and mother must each have had four cousins, and their children are my second cousins; so I have eight second cousins by my father, and eight by my mother; together sixteen. And thus again, I shall have thirty-two third cousins on my father's side, and thirty-two on my mother's, in all, sixty-four. Hence it follows that each preceding number in the series must be multiplied by twice two or four.]

This immense increase of the numbers depends upon the supposition that no one marries a relation; but to avoid such a connexion it will very soon be necessary to leave the kingdom. How these two tables of consanguinity may be reduced by the intermarriage of relations, will appear from the following simple case: If two men and two women were put upon an uninhabited island, and became two married couples, if they had only two children each, a male and female, who respectively intermarried, and in like manner produced two children, who are thus continued *ad infinitum*; it is clear, that there would never be more than four persons in each generation; and if the parents lived to see their great-grandchildren, the whole number would never be more than sixteen; and thus the families might be perpetuated without any incestuous connection.]

to King Henry the Seventh, (c) five. Which last mentioned prince, being the farthest removed from the common stock, gives the denomination to the degree of kindred in the canon and municipal law. Though, according to the computation of the civilians (who count upwards, from either of the persons related, to the common stock, and then downwards again to the other: reckoning a degree for each person both ascending and descending), these two princes were related in the ninth degree, for from King Richard the Third to Richard, duke of York, is one degree; to Richard, earl of Cambridge, two; to Edmond, duke of York, three; to King Edward the Third, the common ancestor, four; to John of Gant, five; to John, earl of Somerset, six; John, duke of Somerset, seven; to Margaret, countess of Richmond, eight; to King Henry the Seventh, nine. (n) (6)

*The nature and degrees of kindred being thus in some measure explained, I shall next proceed to lay down a series of rules or canons of [*208] inheritance, according to which, estates are transmitted from the ancestor to the heir; together with an explanatory comment, remarking their original and progress, the reasons upon which they are founded, and in some cases their agreement with the laws of other nations.

1. The first rule is, that inheritances shall lineally descend to the issue of the person who last died actually seised *in infinitum*; but shall never lineally ascend. (?)

To explain the more clearly both this and the subsequent rules, it must first be observed, that by law no inheritance can vest, nor can any person be the actual complete heir of another, till the ancestor is previously dead. *Nemo est hæres viventis*. (8) Before that time the person who is next in the line of succession is called an *heir apparent*, or *heir presumptive*. Heirs *apparent* are such, whose right of inheritance is indefeasible, provided they outlive the ancestor; as the eldest son or his issue, who must by the course of the common law be heir to the father whenever he happens to die. Heirs *presumptive* are such who, if the ancestor should die immediately, would in the present circumstances of things be his heirs; but whose right of inheritance may be defeated by the contingency of some nearer heir being born: as a brother, or nephew, whose presumptive succession may be destroyed by the birth of a child or a daughter, whose present hopes may be hereafter cut off by the birth of a son. Nay, even if the estate hath descended, by the death of the owner, to such brother, or nephew, or daughter, in the former cases, the estate shall be divested and taken

(n) See the table of consanguinity annexed; wherein all the degrees of collateral kindred to the *propositus* are computed so far as the tenth of the civilians and the seventh of the canonists inclusive; the former being distinguished by the numeral letters, the latter by the common cyphers.

(6) [The difference of the computation by the civil and canon laws may be expressed shortly thus: the civilians take the sum of the degrees in both lines to the common ancestor; the canonists take only the number of degrees in the longest line. Hence, when the canon law prohibits all marriages between persons related to each other within the seventh degree, this would restrain all marriages within the 14th degree of the civil law. In the 1st book, 425, n., it is observed that all marriages are prohibited between persons who are related to each other within the third degree, according to the computation of the civil law. This affords a solution to the vulgar paradox, that first cousins may marry and second cousins cannot. For first cousins and all cousins may marry by the civil law; and neither first nor second cousins can marry by the canon law. But all the prohibitions of the canon law might have been dispensed with. It is said, that the canon law computation has been adopted by the law of England; yet I do not know a single instance in which we have occasion to refer to it. But the civil law computation is of great importance in ascertaining who are entitled to the administration, and to the distributive shares, of intestate personal property. See *post*, 504, 515.]

(7) This canon of descent is very generally changed in the United States, so as to admit at least the father and mother as heirs in the event of the failure of lineal descendants. It is also altered in England by statute 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 106. See *infra*, p. 240, note.

(8) [In a devise, however, if lands be left to the heir of M it may be good as *designatio personæ*, and he may take in the lifetime of M. *Goodright d. Brooking v. White*, 2 Bla. 1010. There is also an exception to this rule in the case of the duchy of Cornwall, which vests in the king's first-born son by hereditary right in the lifetime of his father. 3 Bac. Ab. 4, 449; 8 Rep. 1; Seld. tit. Hon. 2, 5.]

away by the birth of a posthumous child; and, in the latter, it shall also be totally devested by the birth of a posthumous son. (*o*) (9)

[*209] *We must also remember, that no person can be properly such an ancestor, as that an inheritance of lands or tenements can be derived from him, unless he hath had *actual seisin* of such lands, either by his own entry, or by the possession of his own or his ancestor's lessee for years, or by receiving rent from a lessee of the freehold: (*p*) (10) or unless he hath had what is equivalent to corporal seisin in hereditaments that are incorporeal; such as the receipt of rent, a presentation to the church in case of an advowson, (*q*) and the like. But he shall not be accounted an ancestor, who hath had only a bare right or title to enter or be otherwise seised. And therefore all the cases which will be mentioned in the present chapter, are upon the supposition that the *deceased* (whose inheritance is now claimed) *was* the *last* person *actually seised* thereof. For the law requires this notoriety of *possession*, as evidence that the ancestor had that property in himself, which is now to be transmitted to his heir. (11) Which notoriety had succeeded in the place of the ancient feudal investiture, whereby, while feuds were precarious, the vassal on the descent of lands was formerly admitted in the lord's court (as is still the practice in Scotland), and there received his seisin, in the nature of a renewal of his ancestor's grant, in the presence of the feudal peers; till at length, when the right of succession became indefeasible, an entry on any part of the lands within the county (which if disputed was afterwards to be tried by those peers), or other notorious possession, was admitted as equivalent to the formal grant of seisin, and made the tenant capable of transmitting his estate by descent. The seisin therefore of any person, thus understood, makes him the root or stock, from which all future inheritance by right of blood must be derived: which is very briefly expressed in this maxim, *seisina facit stipitem*. (*r*)

[*210] *When therefore a person dies so seised, the inheritance first goes to his issue: as if there be Geoffrey, John, and Matthew, grandfather, father, and son; and John purchases lands, and dies; his son Matthew shall succeed

(*o*) Bro. tit. *descent*, 88.

(*p*) Co. Litt. 15.

(*q*) *Ibid.* 11.

(*r*) Flet. l. 6, c. 2, § 2.

(9) [But besides the case of a posthumous child, if lands are given to a son, who, dies, leaving a sister his heir; if the parents have at any distance of time afterwards another son, this son shall devest the descent upon the sister, and take the estate as heir to his brother. Co. Litt. 11; Doct. and Stud. 1 dial. c. 7. So the same estate may be frequently devested by the subsequent birth of a nearer presumptive heir. As if an estate is given to an only child, who dies, it may descend to an aunt, who may be stripped of it by an after-born uncle, on whom a subsequent sister of the deceased may enter, and who will again be deprived of the estate by the birth of a brother. It seems to be determined that every one has a right to retain the rents and profits which accrued while he was thus legally possessed of the inheritance. Harg. Co. Litt. 11; 3 Wils. 526. This is in the case of descent, see H. Chit. Desc. 294; but where a posthumous child takes by purchase, he is entitled not only to the estate itself, but to the intermediate profits of the estate also. *Id.* 296, 297, 298.]

(10) [It seems doubtful whether receiving rent reserved on a freehold lease, is equivalent to corporal seisin of the lands; upon comparing the passage cited in Lord Coke as an authority, with Co. Litt. 32, a, and 3 Rep. 42, a, it would seem that his opinion was in the negative. The same point was ruled in cases cited from Hale's MSS., and Mr. J. Glyn's MS., Rep. by Mr. Hargrave: Co. Litt. 15, a. n. 83; and in *Doe v. Kean*, 7 T. R., 390, Lord Kenyon certainly understands him so to have thought, and adopts it as a rule, that to give such seisin, rent must have been received *after the expiration* of the freehold lease. See also *Doe v. Whichelo*, 8 T. R. 213.]

(11) [This requisition of seisin does not, however, apply where the proposed ancestor was a purchaser; for from him the estate or right to be inherited shall descend, whether he was seized or not. Pollex. 54; 2 Wils. 29; 4 Scott, N. R. 449. A condition may descend upon the heir, although no estate actually descends from the ancestor; and when the condition is performed, the heir shall be in by descent, because of the condition descending. Cas. Temp. Talbot, 123. Thus, the estate of a devisee or surrenderee of a copyhold is transmissible before he is admitted. 5 Burr. 2786. It is said of remainders contingent as to the person, that they are not descendible until that contingency is determined: *Fearne*, Con. Rem. 371; *Watk. Desc.* 4; but this is only to say that you cannot trace the descent until you know from whom it is to be traced.]

him as heir, and not the grandfather, Goeffrey; to whom the land shall *never ascend*, but shall rather escheat to the lord. (s) (12)

This rule, so far as it is affirmative and relates to lineal descents, is almost universally adopted by all nations; and it seems founded on a principle of natural reason, that (whenever a right of property transmissible to representatives is admitted) the possessions of the parents should go, upon their decease, in the first place to their children, as those to whom they have given being, and for whom they are therefore bound to provide. But the negative branch, or total exclusion of parents and all lineal ancestors from succeeding to the inheritance of their offspring, is peculiar to our own laws, and such as have been deduced from the same original. For, by the Jewish Law, on failure of issue, the father succeeded to the son, in exclusion of brethern, unless one of them married the widow, and raised up seed to his brother. (t) And by the laws of Rome, in the first place, the children or lineal descendants were preferred; and on failure of these, the father and mother or lineal ascendants succeeded, together with the brethren and sisters; (u) though by the law of the twelve tables the mother was originally, on account of her sex, excluded. (v) Hence this rule of our laws has been censured and declaimed against as absurd, and derogating from the maxims of equity and natural justice. (w) Yet that there is nothing unjust or absurd in it, but that on the contrary it is founded upon very good legal reason, may appear from considering as well the nature of the rule itself, as the occasion of introducing it into our laws.

*We are to reflect, in the first place, that all rules of succession to estates are creatures of the civil polity, and *juris positivi* merely. The [*211] right of property, which is gained by occupancy, extends naturally no farther than the life of the present possessor: after which the land by the law of nature would again become common, and liable to be seized by the next occupant; but society, to prevent the mischiefs that might ensue from a doctrine so productive of contention, has established conveyances, wills, and successions; whereby the property originally gained by possession is continued and transmitted from one man to another, according to the rules which each state has respectively thought proper to prescribe. There is certainly, therefore, no injustice done to individuals, whatever be the path of descent marked out by the municipal law.

If we next consider the time and occasion of introducing this rule into our law, we shall find it to have been grounded upon very substantial reasons. I think there is no doubt to be made, but that it was introduced at the same time with, and in consequence of, the feudal tenures. For it was an express rule of the feudal law, (x) that *successionis feudi talis est natura, quod ascendentes non succedunt*; and therefore the same maxim obtains also in the French law to this day. (y) (13) Our Henry the First, indeed, among other restorations of the old Saxon laws, restored the right of succession in the ascending line: (z) but this soon fell again into disuse; for so early as Glanvil's time, who wrote under

(s) Litt. § 3.

(t) Seld. *de success. Ebraor.* c. 12.

(u) *Ff.* 38, 15, 1. Nov. 118, 127.

(v) Inst. 3, 3, 1.

(w) Craig. *de jur. feud.* l. 2, t. 13, § 15. Locke on Gov. part 1, § 90.

(x) 2 *Feud.* 50.

(y) Domat, p. 2, l. 2, t. 2. Montesq. *Sp. L.* l. 31, c. 33.

(z) *LL. Hen. I.* c. 70.

(12) [That is, the father shall not take the estate as heir to his son in that capacity; yet as a father or mother may be cousin to his or her child, he or she may inherit to him as such, notwithstanding the relation of parent. *Eastwood v. Vinke*, 2 P. Wms. 613. So if a son purchases lands and dies without issue, his uncle shall have the land as heir, and not the father, though the father is nearer of blood: Litt. s. 3; but if in this case the uncle acquires actual seisin and dies without issue, while the father is alive, the latter may then, by this circuitry, have the lands as heir to the uncle, though not as heir to the son, for that he cometh to the land by collateral descent, and not by lineal ascent. Craig. *de Jur. Feud.* 234; Wright's Ten. 182, n. (Z). So under a limitation to "the next of blood of A," the father would on the death of the son without issue, take, in exclusion both of the brothers and uncle of A, who would have first succeeded under the usual course of descent, as heirs of A: for a father is nearer in proximity of blood than a brother or an uncle: Litt. s. 3; Co. L. 10, b. 11, a.; 3 Rep. 40 b.; 1 Vent. 414; Hale C. L. 323; and this is the reason why the father is preferred, in the administration of the goods of the son, before any other relation, except his wife and children.]

(13) But this is since altered. Code Civil, L. 3, tit. 1, 746.

Henry the Second, we find it laid down as established law, (a) that *hæreditas numquam ascendit*; which has remained an invariable maxim ever since. These circumstances evidently show this rule to be of feudal original; and taken in that light, there are some arguments in its favour, besides those which are drawn [*212] *merely from the reason of the thing. For if the feud of which the son died seised, was really *feudum antiquum*, or one descended to him from his ancestors, the father could not possibly succeed to it, because it must have passed him in the course of descent, before it could come to the son; unless it were *feudum maternum*, or one descended from his mother, and then for other reasons (which will appear hereafter) the father could in no wise inherit it. And if it were *feudum novum*, or one newly acquired by the son, then only the descendants from the body of the feudatory himself could succeed, by the known maxim of the early feudal constitutions; (b) which was founded as well upon the personal merit of the vassal, which might be transmitted to his children, but could not ascend to his progenitors, as also upon this consideration of military policy, that the decrepit grandsire of a vigorous vassal would be but indifferently qualified to succeed him in his feudal services. Nay, even if this *feudum novum* were held by the son *ut feudum antiquum*, or with all the qualities annexed to the feud descended from his ancestors, such feud must in all respects have descended as if it had been really an ancient feud; and therefore could not go to the father, because if it had been an ancient feud, the father must have been dead before it could have come to the son. Thus, whether the feud was strictly *novum*, or strictly *antiquum*, or whether it was *novum* held *ut antiquum*, in none of these cases the father could possibly succeed. These reasons, drawn from the history of the rule itself, seem to be more satisfactory than that quaint one of Bracton, (c) adopted by Sir Edward Coke, (d) which regulates the descent of lands according to the laws of gravitation. (14)

II. A second general rule or canon is, that the male issue shall be admitted before the female. (15)

[*213] *Thus, sons shall be admitted before daughters; or, as our male law-givers have somewhat uncomplaisantly expressed it, the worthiest of blood shall be preferred. (e) As if John Stiles hath two sons, Matthew and Gilbert, and two daughters, Margaret and Charlotte, and dies; first Matthew, and (in case of his death without issue) then Gilbert, shall be admitted to the succession in preference to both the daughters.

This preference of males to females is entirely agreeable to the law of succession among the Jews, (f) and also among the states of Greece, or at least among the Athenians; (g) but was totally unknown to the laws of Rome (h) (such of them I mean as are at present extant), wherein brethren and sisters were allowed to succeed to equal portions of the inheritance. I shall not here enter into the comparative merit of the Roman and the other constitutions in this particular, nor examine into the greater dignity of blood in the male or female sex: but shall only observe, that our present preference of males to females seems to have arisen entirely from the feudal law. For though our British ancestors, the Welsh, appear to have given a preference to males, (i) yet our Danish predecessors (who succeeded them) seem to have made no distinc-

(a) l. 7, c. 1.

(b) l. Feud. 20.

(c) *Descendit itaque jus, quasi ponderosum quid cadens deorsum recta linea, et nunquam reascendit.* l. 2, c. 29.

(d) l. Inst. 11.

(e) Hal. H. C. L. 235.

(f) Numb. c. 27.

(g) Petit. LL. Attic. l. 6, t. 6.

(h) Inst. 3, l. 6.

(i) Stat. Wall. 12 Edw. I.

(14) [However ingenious and satisfactory these reasons may appear, there is little consistency in the application of them; for if the father does not succeed to the estate, because it must be presumed that it has passed him in the course of descent, the same reason would prevent an elder brother from taking an estate by descent from the younger. And if it does not pass to the father, lest the lord should have been attended by an aged, decrepit feudatory, the same principle would be still stronger to exclude the father's eldest brother from the inheritance, who is now permitted to succeed to his nephew.]

(15) [This canon of descent does not obtain in the United States.]

tion of sexes, but to have admitted all the children at once to the inheritance. (*k*) But the feudal law of the Saxons on the continent (which was probably brought over hither, and first altered by the law of King Canute) gives an evident preference of the male to the female sex. "*Pater aut mater defuncti, filio non filias hæreditatum relinquunt. . . . Qui defunctus non filios sed filias relinquit, ad eas omnis hæreditas pertineat.*" (*l*) It is possible, therefore, that this preference might be a branch of that imperfect system of feuds, which obtained here before the conquest; especially as it subsists among the customs of gavelkind, and as, in the *charter or laws of King Henry the First, it is not [**214*] (like many Norman innovations, given up, but rather enforced. (*m*) The true reason of preferring the males must be deduced from feudal principles; for, by the genuine and original policy of that constitution, no female could ever succeed to a proper feud, (*n*) inasmuch as they were incapable of performing those military services, for the sake of which that system was established. But our law does not extend to a total exclusion of females, as the Salic law, and others, where feuds were most strictly retained: it only postpones them to males; for though daughters are excluded by sons, yet they succeed before any collateral relations; our law, like that of the Saxon feudists before mentioned, thus steering a middle course, between the absolute rejection of females, and the putting them on a footing with males.

III. A third rule or canon of descent is this: that where there are two or more males, in equal degree, the eldest only shall inherit; but the females all together. (*16*)

As if a man hath two sons, Matthew and Gilbert, and two daughters, Margaret and Charlotte, and dies; Matthew, his eldest son, shall alone succeed to his estate, in exclusion of Gilbert, the second son, and both the daughters; but, if both the sons die without issue before the father, the daughters Margaret and Charlotte shall both inherit the estate as coparceners. (*o*)

This right of primogeniture in males seems anciently to have only obtained among the Jews, in whose constitution the eldest son had a double portion of the inheritance; (*p*) in the same manner as with us, by the laws of King Henry the First, (*q*) the eldest son had the capital fee or principal feud of his father's possessions, and no other pre-eminence; and *as the eldest daughter [**215*] had afterwards the principal mansion, when the estate descended in [**215*] coparcenary. (*r*) The Greeks, the Romans, the Britons, the Saxons, and even originally the feudists, divided the lands equally; some among all the children at large, some among the males only. This is certainly the most obvious and natural way; and has the appearance, at least in the opinion of younger brothers, of the greatest impartiality and justice. But when the Emperors began to create honorary feuds, or titles of nobility, it was found necessary (in order to preserve their dignity) to make them impartible, (*s*) or (as they styled them) *feuda individua*, and in consequence descendible to the eldest son alone. This example was further enforced by the inconveniences that attended the splitting of estates; namely, the division of military services, the multitude of infant tenants incapable of performing any duty, the consequential weakening of the strength of the kingdom and the inducing younger sons to take up with the business and idleness of a country life, instead of being serviceable to themselves and the public by engaging in mercantile, in military, in civil, or in ecclesiastical employments. (*t*) These reasons occasioned an almost total change in the method of feudal inheritances abroad; so that the eldest male began

(*k*) LL. Canut. c. 68.

(*o*) Litt. § 5. Hale. H. C. L. 238.

(*r*) Glanvil, l. 7, c. 3.

(*l*) Tit. 7, §§ 1 and 4.

(*p*) Selden, de succ. Ebr. c. 5.

(*s*) 2 Feud. 55.

(*m*) c. 70.

(*t*) Hale, H. C. L. 221.

(*n*) 1 Feud. 8.

(*q*) c. 70.

(16) [Daughters by different venters may inherit together as one heir to their common parent, though half blood is an impediment to the succession by descent from one to the other. Thus Lord Hale says, Com. L. c. 11: "all the daughters, whether by the same or divers venters, do inherit together to the father."

In the United States the right of primogeniture is not recognized in the law of descents.

universally to succeed to the whole of the lands in all military tenures; and in this condition the feudal constitution was established in England by William the Conqueror.

Yet we find that socage estates frequently descended to all the sons equally, so lately as when Glanvil (*u*) wrote, in the reign of Henry the Second; and it is mentioned in the Mirror (*w*) as a part of our ancient constitution, that knights' fees should descend to the eldest son, and socage fees should be partible among the male children. However, in Henry the Third's time we find by Bracton (*x*) that socage lands, in imitation of lands in chivalry, had almost entirely fallen into the right of succession by primogeniture, as the law now stands, [*216] *except in Kent, where they gloried in the preservation of their ancient gavelkind tenure, of which a principal branch was a joint inheritance of all the sons; (*y*) and except in some particular manors and townships, where their local customs continued the descent, sometimes to all, sometimes to the youngest son only, or in other more singular methods of succession.

As to the females, they are still left as they were by the ancient law; for they were all equally incapable of performing any personal service; and therefore one main reason of preferring the eldest ceasing, such preference would have been injurious to the rest; and the other principal purpose, the prevention of the too minute subdivision of estates, was left to be considered and provided for by the lords, who had the disposal of these female heiresses in marriage. However, the succession by primogeniture, even among females, took place as to the inheritance of the crown; (*z*) wherein the necessity of a sole and determinate succession is as great in the one sex as the other. And the right of sole succession, though not of primogeniture, was also established with respect to female dignities and titles of honour. For if a man holds an earldom to him and the heirs of his body, and dies, leaving only daughters; the eldest shall not of course be countess, but the dignity is in suspense or abeyance till the king shall declare his pleasure: for he, being the fountain of honour, may confer it on which of them he pleases. (*a*) (17) In which disposition is preserved a strong trace of the ancient law of feuds, before their descent by primogeniture even among the males was established; namely, that the lord might bestow them on which of the sons he thought proper—"progressum est ut ad filios deveniret, in quem scilicet dominus hoc vellet beneficium confirmare." (*b*)

IV. A fourth rule, or canon of descents is this; that the lineal descendants [*217] *in infinitum*, of any person deceased, *shall represent their ancestor; that is, shall stand in the same place as the person himself would have done, had he been living. (18)

Thus the child, grandchild, or great grandchild (either male or female) of the eldest son succeeds before the younger son, and so *in infinitum*. (*c*) And these representatives shall take neither more nor less, but just so much as their principals would have done. As if there be two sisters, Margaret and Charlotte; and Margaret dies, leaving six daughters; and then John Stiles, the father of the two sisters, dies without other issue; these six daughters shall take among them exactly the same as their mother Margaret would have done, had she been living; that is, a moiety of the lands of John Stiles in coparcenary: so that, upon partition made, if the land be divided into twelve parts, thereof Charlotte the surviving sister shall have six, and her six nieces, the daughters of Margaret, one apiece.

(*u*) l. 7, c. 3.
(*z*) Co. Litt. 165.

(*w*) c. 1, § 3.
(*a*) *Ibid.*

(*x*) l. 2, c. 30, 31.
(*b*) 1 Feud. 1.

(*y*) Somner. Gavelk. 7.
(*c*) Hale, H. C. L. 236, 237.

(17) The king, in the case of coparceners of a title of honor, may direct which one of them and her issue shall bear it. Co. Litt. 165, Harg. n.; In re Braye Peerage, 8 Scott, 108. See 10 Cl. and Fin. 957.

(18) This rule is not universally adopted in the statutes of the United States, but in many of them descendants take *per stirpes* only, when they stand in different degrees of relationship to the common ancestor.

This taking by representation is called succession *in stirpes*, according to the roots; since all the branches inherit the same share that their root, whom they represent, would have done. And in this manner also was the Jewish succession directed; (d) but the Roman somewhat differed from it. In the descending line the right of representation continued *in infinitum*, and the inheritance still descended *in stirpes*: as if one of three daughters died, leaving ten children, and then the father died; the two surviving daughters had each one-third of his effects, and the ten grand-children had the remaining third divided between them. And so among collaterals, if any person of equal degree with the persons represented were still subsisting (as if the deceased left one brother, and two nephews the sons of another brother), the succession was still guided by the roots: but, if both of the brethren were dead, leaving issue, then (I apprehend) their representatives in equal degree became themselves principals, *and shared the inheritance *per capita*, that is, share and share alike; [*218] they being themselves now the next in degree to the ancestor, in their own right, and not by right of representation. (e) So, if the next heirs of *Titius* be six nieces, three by one sister, two by another, and one by a third; his inheritance by the Roman law was divided into six parts, and one given to each of the nieces: whereas the law of England in this case would still divide it only into three parts, and distribute it *per stirpes*, thus; one-third to the three children who represent one sister, another third to the two who represent the second, and the remaining third to the one child who is the sole representative of her mother.

This mode of representation is a necessary consequence of the double preference given by our law, first to the male issue, and next to the first-born among the males, to both which the Roman law is a stranger. For if all the children of three sisters were in England to claim *per capita*, in their own right as next of kin to the ancestor, without any respect to the stocks from whence they sprung, and those children were partly male and partly female; then the eldest male among them would exclude not only his own brethren and sisters, but all the issue of the other two daughters; or else the law in this instance must be inconsistent with itself, and depart from the preference which it constantly gives to the males and the first-born, among persons in equal degree. Whereas, by dividing the inheritance according to the roots, or *stirpes*, the rule of descent is kept uniform and steady: the issue of the eldest son excludes all other pretenders, as the son himself (if living) would have done; but the issue of two daughters divide the inheritance between them, provided their mothers (if living) would have done the same: and among these several issues, or representatives of the respective roots, the same preference to males and the same right of primogeniture obtain as would have obtained at the first among the roots themselves, the sons or daughters of the deceased. As if a man hath two sons, A and B, and A dies leaving two *sons, and then the grandfather dies; now the eldest son of A shall succeed to the whole of his [*219] grandfather's estate: and if A had left only two daughters, they should have succeeded also to equal moieties of the whole, in exclusion of B and his issue. But if a man hath only three daughters, C, D, and E; and C dies leaving two sons, D leaving two daughters, and E leaving a daughter and a son who is younger than his sister: here, when the grandfather dies, the eldest son of C shall succeed to one-third, in exclusion of the younger; the two daughters of D to another third in partnership; and the son of E to the remaining third, in exclusion of his eldest sister. And the same right of representation, guided and retrained by the same rules of descent, prevails downwards *in infinitum*. (19)

(d) Selden, *de succ. Ebr.* c. 1.

(e) Nov. 110, c. 3. Inst. 3, 1, 6.

(19) [This right, transferred by representation, is infinite and unlimited in the degrees of those that descend from the represented: for the son, the grandson, the great-grandson, and so all downwards *in infinitum*, enjoy the same privilege of representation as those from whom they derive their pedigree had. Hale, C. L. c. 11. And from hence it follows, that the

Yet this right does not appear to have been thoroughly established in the time of Henry the Second, when Glanvil wrote: and therefore, in the title to the crown, especially, we find frequent contests between the younger (but surviving) brother and his nephew (being the son and representative of the elder deceased) in regard to the inheritance of their common ancestor: for the uncle is certainly nearer of kin to the common stock, by one degree, than the nephew; though the nephew, by representing his father, has in him the right of primogeniture. The uncle also was usually better able to perform the services of the fief; and besides had frequently superior interest and strength to back his pretensions, and crush the right of his nephew. And even to this day, in the lower Saxony, proximity of blood takes place of representative primogeniture; that is, the younger surviving brother is admitted to the inheritance before the son of an elder deceased: which occasioned the disputes between the two houses of Mecklenburg, Schwerin and Strelitz, in 1692. (*f*) Yet Glanvil, with us, even in the twelfth century, seems (*g*) to declare for the right of the nephew by representation: provided the eldest son had not received a provision in lands [*220] from his father, or, (as the civil law would call it) had not been *foris-familiated, in his lifetime. King John, however, who kept his nephew Arthur from the throne, by disputing this right of representation, did all in his power to abolish it throughout the realm: (*h*) but in time of his son King Henry the Third, we find the rule indisputably settled in the manner we have here laid it down, (*i*) and so it has continued ever since. And thus much for lineal descents.

V. A fifth rule is, that on failure of lineal descendants, or issue, of the person last seised, the inheritance shall descend to his collateral relations, being of the blood of the first purchaser; subject to the three preceding rules. (20)

Thus if Geoffrey Stiles purchases land, and it descends to John Stiles, his son, and John dies seised thereof, without issue; whoever succeeds to this inheritance must be of the blood of Geoffrey, the first purchaser of this family. (*k*) (21) The first purchaser, *perquisitor*, is he who first acquired the estate to his family, whether the same was transferred to him by sale or by gift, or by any other method, except only that of descent.

(*f*) Mod. Un. Hist. xlii, 334.
(*i*) Bracton, l. 2, c. 30, § 2.

(*g*) l. 7, c. 3.
(*k*) Co. Litt. 12.

(*h*) Hale, H. C. L. 217, 229.

nearest relation is not always the heir at law; as the next cousin, *jure representationis*, is preferred to the next cousin, *jure propinquitatis*. Co. Litt. 10, b. Proximity of blood, therefore, is twofold, either positive or representative. It is positive when the parties claim in their own individual right, as between the second and third son, or between the uncle and grand uncle. It is representative when either of the parties claim as being lineally descended from another, in which case he is entitled to the degree of proximity to his ancestors. Thus, the grandson of the elder son of any person proposed is entitled, before the second son of such person, though in common acceptance nearer by two degrees; and this principle of representative proximity is by the law of England so peremptory that a female may avail herself thereof to the total exclusion of a male claiming in his own right; for in descents in fee-simple, the daughter of the eldest son shall, as claiming by representation of her father, succeed in preference to the second or youngest son. See 3 Cru. Dig. 378, 379.]

(20) [The purchaser here spoken of is frequently an imaginary person, as may be gathered from what follows in the text. Under the new law the person to succeed must be not only of the blood of the purchaser, but also his heir. *Infra*, p. 240, note.]

(21) [To be of the blood of Geoffrey, is either to be immediately descended from him, or to be descended from the *same couple*, of common ancestors. Two persons are *consanguinei*, or are of the blood (that is, whole blood) of each other, who are descended from the same two ancestors.

The heir and ancestor must not only have two common ancestors with the original purchaser of the estate, but must have two common ancestors with each other; and therefore if the son purchases lands and dies without issue, and it descends to any heir on the part of the father, if the line of the father should afterwards become extinct, it cannot pass to the line of the mother. Hale's Hist. C. L. 246; 49 E. III, 12. And for the same reason, if it should descend to the line of any female, it can never afterwards, upon failure of that line, be transmitted to the line of any other female, for according to the next rule, viz.: the sixth, the heir of the person last seised, must be a collateral kinsman of the whole blood.]

This is a rule almost peculiar to our own laws, and those of a similar original. For it was entirely unknown among the Jews, Greeks, and Romans: none of whose laws looked any farther than the person himself who died seized of the estate; but assigned him an heir, without considering by what title he gained it, or from what ancestor he derived it. But the law of Normandy (l) agrees with our law in this respect: nor indeed is that agreement to be wondered at, since the law of descents in both is of feudal original; and this rule or canon cannot otherwise be accounted for than by recurring to feudal principles.

When feuds first began to be hereditary, it was made a necessary qualification of the heir, who would succeed to a feud, that he should be of the blood of, that is, lineally *descended from, the first feudatory or purchaser. In consequence whereof, if a vassal died seized of a feud of his own acquiring, or *feudum novum*, it could not descend to any but his own offspring: no, not even to his brother, because he was not descended, nor derived his blood, from the first acquirer. But if it was *feudum antiquum*, that is, one descended to the vassal from his ancestors, then his brother, or such other collateral relation as was descended and derived his blood from the first feudatory, might succeed to such inheritance. To this purpose speaks the following rule: "*frater fratri, sine legitimo hærede defuncto, in beneficio quod eorum patris fuit succedat: sin autem unus fratribus a domino feudum acceperit, eo defuncto sine legitimo hærede, frater ejus in feudum non succedit.*" (m) The true feudal reason for which rule was this; that what was given to a man, for his personal service and personal merit, ought not to descend to any but the heirs of his person. And therefore, as in estates-tail (which a proper feud very much resembled), so in the feudal donation, "*nomen hæredis, in prima investitura expressum, tantum ad descendentes ex corpore primi vasalli extenditur; et non ad collaterales, nisi ex corpore primi vasalli sive stipitis descendant;*" (n) the will of the donor, or original lord (when feuds were turned from life-estates into inheritances), not being to make them absolutely hereditary, like the Roman *allodium*, but hereditary only *sub modo*: not hereditary to the collateral relations, or lineal ancestors, or husband, or wife of the feudatory, but to the issue descended from his body only.

However, in process of time, when the feudal rigour was in part abated, a method was invented to let in the collateral relations of the grantee to the inheritance, by granting him a *feudum novum* to hold *ut feudum antiquum*; that is, with all the qualities annexed of a feud derived from his ancestors, and then the collateral relations were admitted to succeed even *in infinitum*, because they might have been of the blood of, that is, descended from, the first imaginary purchaser. For *since it is not ascertained in such general grants, [*222] whether this feud shall be held *ut feudum paternum* or *feudum avitum*, but *ut feudum antiquum* merely; as a feud of indefinite antiquity; that is, since it is not ascertained from which of the ancestors of the grantee this feud shall be supposed to have descended; the law will not ascertain it, but will suppose *any* of his ancestors, *pro re nata*, to have been the first purchaser: and therefore it admits *any* of his collateral kindred (who have the other necessary requisites) to the inheritance, because every collateral kinsman must be descended from some one of his lineal ancestors.

Of this nature are all the grants of fee-simple estates of this kingdom, for there is now in the law of England no such thing as a grant of a *feudum novum*, to be held *ut novum*: unless in the case of a fee-tail, and there we see that this rule is strictly observed, and none but the lineal descendants of the first donee (or purchaser) are admitted; but *every grant of land in fee-simple is with us a feudum novum to be held ut antiquum, as a feud whose antiquity is indefinite*: (22)

(l) Gr. Coustum. c. 25.

(m) 1 Feud. 1, § 2.

(n) Craig. l. 1, t. 9, § 36.

(22) [Where a man takes by purchase he must take the estate as a *feudum antiquum*, and though it be limited to his heirs on the part of his mother, yet the heirs on the paternal side shall be preferred in the descent, for no one is at liberty to create a new kind of inheritance. H. Chit. Desc. 3, 123; 3 Cru. Dig. 359; Watk. D. 222, 223.]

and therefore the collateral kindred of the grantee, or descendants from any of his lineal ancestors, by whom the lands might possibly have been purchased, are capable of being called to the inheritance.

Yet, when an estate hath *really descended* in a course of inheritance to the person last seized, the strict rule of the feudal law is still observed: and none are admitted but the heirs of those through whom the inheritance hath passed: for all others have demonstrably none of the blood of the first purchaser in them, and therefore shall never succeed. (23) As if lands come to John Stiles by descent from his mother Lucy Baker, no relation of his father (as such) shall ever be his heir of these lands; and *vice versa*, if they descended from his father Geoffrey Stiles, no relation of his mother (as such) shall ever be admitted thereto, for his father's kindred have none of his mother's blood, nor have his mother's relations any share of his father's blood. And so, if the estate descended from his father's father, George Stiles; the relations of *his [*223] father's mother, Cecilia Kemps, shall for the same reason never be admitted, but only those of his father's father. (24) This is also the rule of the French law, (o) which is derived from the same feudal fountain.

Here we may observe, that so far as the feud is really *antiquum*, the law traces it back, and will not suffer any to inherit but the blood of those ancestors, from whom the feud was conveyed to the late proprietor. But when, through length of time, it can trace it no farther; as if it be not known whether his grandfather, George Stiles, inherited it from his father Walter Stiles, or his mother Christian Smith, or if it appear that his grandfather was the first grantee, and so took it (by the general law) as a feud of indefinite antiquity; in either of these cases the law admits the descendants of any ancestor of George Stiles, either paternal or maternal to be in their due order the heirs to John Stiles of this estate; because in the first case it is really uncertain, and in the second case it is supposed to be uncertain, whether the grandfather derived his title from the part of his father or his mother.

This, then, is the great and general principle, upon which the law of collateral inheritances depends; that, upon failure of issue in the last proprietor, the estate shall descend to the blood of the first purchaser; or, that it shall result back to the heirs of the body of that ancestor, from whom it either really has, or is supposed by fiction of law to have, originally descended; according to the rule laid down in the year books, (p) Fitzherbert, (q) Brook, (r) and Hale, (s) "that he who would have been heir to the father of the deceased" (and, of course to the mother, or any other real or supposed purchasing ancestor) "shall also be heir to the son;" a maxim that will hold universally, except in the case of a brother or sister of the half blood, which exception (as we shall see hereafter) depends upon very special grounds.

(o) Domat. *part 2, pr.*

(p) *M. 12 Edw. IV, 14.*

(q) *Abr. t. descent. 2.*

(r) *Ibid. 38.*

(s) *H. C. L. 243.*

(23) [It will sometimes happen that two estates or titles, the one legal and the other equitable, will descend upon the same person, in which case they will become united, and the equitable, shall follow the line of descent through which the legal estate descended. See *Goodright d. Alston v. Wells*, Dougl. 771. And in the late case of *Langley v. Sneyd*, 1 Simons and Stu. Rep. 45, where an infant died seized of an equitable estate, descending *ex parte materna*, the legal estate being vested in trustees, his incapacity to call for a conveyance of the legal estate (by which the course of descent might have been broken), was held not to be a sufficient reason to induce a court of equity to consider the case, as if such a conveyance had actually been made, it not being, according to the terms of the trust, any part of the express duty of the trustees to execute such conveyance.]

(24) [Hence the expression *heir at law* must always be used with a reference to a specific estate; for if an only child has taken by descent an estate from his father, and another from his mother, upon his death without issue these estates will descend to two different persons: so also, if his two grandfathers and two grandmothers had each an estate, which descended to his father and mother, whom I suppose also to be only children, then, as before, these four estates will of the kind to four different heirs.]

The rules of inheritance that remain are only rules of evidence, calculated to investigate who the purchasing ancestor was; which **in feudus vere antiquis* has in process of time been forgotten, and is supposed so to be [**224*] in feuds that are held *ut antiquis*.

VI. A sixth rule or canon therefore is, that the collateral heir of the person last seised must be his next collateral kinsman of the *whole blood*. (25)

First, he must be his next collateral kinsman, either personally or *jure representationis*; (26) which proximity is reckoned according to the canonical degrees of consanguinity before mentioned. Therefore, the brother being in the first degree, he and his descendants shall exclude the uncle and his issue, who is only in the second. And herein consists the true reason of the different methods of computing the degrees of consanguinity, in the civil law on the one hand, and in the canon and common laws on the other. The civil law regards consanguinity, principally with respect to successions, and therein very naturally considers only the person deceased, to whom the relation is claimed: it therefore counts the degrees of kindred according to the number of persons through whom the claim must be derived from him; and makes not only his great-nephew but also his first-cousin to be both related to him in the fourth degree; because there are three persons between him and each of them. The canon law regards consanguinity principally with a view to prevent incestuous marriages, between those who have a large portion of the same blood running in their respective veins; and therefore looks up to the author of that blood, or the common ancestor, reckoning the degrees from him: so that the great-nephew is related in the third canonical degree to the person proposed, and the first-cousin in the second; the former being distant three degrees from the common ancestor (the father of the *propositus*), and therefore deriving only one-fourth of his blood from the same fountain: the latter, and also the *propositus* himself, being each of them distant only two degrees from the common ancestor, (the grandfather of each), and therefore having one-half of each of their bloods the same. The common law regards consanguinity principally with respect to descents; and having therein the same object in view as the civil, it may seem as if it ought **to proceed according to the civil computation*. But as it [**225*] also respects the purchasing ancestor, from whom the estate was derived, it therein resembles the canon law, and therefore counts its degrees in the same manner. Indeed the designation of person, in seeking for the next of kin, will come to exactly the same end (though the degrees will be differently numbered), whichever method of computation we suppose the law of England to use; since the right of representation of the parent by the issue is allowed to prevail *in infinitum*. This allowance was absolutely necessary, else there would have frequently been many claimants in exactly the same degree of

(25) [In order to constitute a good title, the party must be the nearest collateral heir of the whole blood of the person last seised on the part of the ancestor through whom the estate descended. When Lord Hale speaks of the nearest collateral relation of the whole blood of the person last seised, and of the blood of the first purchaser, he means the latter branch of the expression, as a qualification, and not an addition to the first branch, that the collateral heir of the whole blood must claim through the ancestor from whom the estate descended, and thus be of the blood of the first purchaser. Per Leach, vice-chancellor, *Hawkins v. Shewen*, 1 Sim. and Stu. Rep. 257.]

By statute 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 106, the rule here stated is modified. The half blood are to succeed to the inheritance next after any relation of the whole blood in the same degree, and his issue, where the common ancestor is a male; and next after the common ancestor, where such ancestor is a female. And no brother or sister, shall be considered to inherit immediately from his or her brother or sister, but every descent from a brother or sister shall be traced through the parent.

In many of the United States no distinction is made between the whole and the half blood in the statutes of descent; in others the half blood is postponed or its share diminished; but it is excluded in none. 4 Kent, 404.

(26) [This is only true in the paternal line; for when the paternal and maternal lines are both admitted to the inheritance, the most remote collateral kinsman *ex parte paterna* will inherit before the nearest *ex parte materna*. See p. 236, *post*.]

kindred, as (for instance) uncles and nephews of the deceased; which multiplicity, though no material inconvenience in the Roman law or partible inheritances, yet would have been productive of endless confusion where the right of sole succession, as with us, is established. The issue or descendants therefore of John Stiles's brother are all of them in the first degree of kindred with respect to inheritances, those of his uncle in the second, and those of his great-uncle in the third; as their respective ancestors, if living, would have been; and are severally called to the succession in right of such their representative proximity.

The right of representation being thus established, the former part of the present rule amounts to this; that on the failure of issue of the person last seised, the inheritance shall descend to the other subsisting issue of his next immediate ancestor. Thus, if John Stiles dies without issue, his estate shall descend to Francis, his brother, or his representatives; he being lineally descended from Geoffrey Stiles, John's next immediate ancestor, or father. On failure of brethren, or sisters, and their issue, it shall descend to the uncle of John Stiles, the lineal descendant of his grandfather George, and so on *in infinitum*. Very similar to which was the law of inheritance among the ancient Germans, our progenitors: "*hæredes successorisque, sui cuique liberi, et nullum testamentum: si liberi, non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione, fratres, patruī, avunculi.*" (t)

[*226] *Now here it must be observed, that the lineal ancestors, though (according to the first rule) incapable themselves of succeeding to the estate, because it is supposed to have already passed them, are yet the common stocks from which the next successor must spring. And therefore in the Jewish law, which in this respect entirely corresponds with ours, (u) the father or other lineal ancestor is himself said to be the heir, though long since dead, as being represented by the persons of his issue; who are held to succeed, not in their own rights, as brethren, uncles, &c., but in right of representation, as the offspring of the father, grandfather, &c., of the deceased. (w) But, though the common ancestor be thus the root of the inheritance, yet with us it is not necessary to name him in making out the pedigree of descent. For the descent between two brothers is held to be an *immediate* descent; and therefore title may be made by one brother or his representatives *to* or *through* another, without mentioning their common father. (x) (27) If Geoffrey Stiles hath two sons, John and Francis, Francis may claim as heir to John, without naming their father Geoffrey; and so the son of Francis may claim as cousin and heir to Matthew, the son of John, without naming the grandfather; viz: as son of Francis, who was the brother of John, who was the father of Matthew. But though the common ancestors are not named in deducing the pedigree, yet the law still respects them as the fountains of inheritable blood; and therefore in order to ascertain the collateral heir of John Stiles, it is first necessary to recur to his ancestors in the first degree; and if they have left any other issue besides John,

(t) Tacitus *de mor. Germ.* 21.

(u) Numb. c. 27.

(w) Selden, *de succ. Ebr.* c. 12.

(x) Sid. 196. 1 Vent. 423. 1 Lev. 60. 12 Mod. 619.

(27) [The law is now different, the statute 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 106, s. 5, enacting that no brother or sister shall be considered to inherit immediately from his or her brother or sister, but every descent from a brother or sister shall be traced through the parent.]

The doctrine of immediate descent between brothers and sisters was formerly important, on account of the rule, that as an alien had no inheritable blood in him, descent could not be traced through him; it being held in *Collingwood v. Pace*, Orl. Bridgm. 410; 1 Vent. 413, that brothers, natural born subjects, born of alien parents, might inherit from each other as not needing to trace their descent through their parents. See Co. Litt. 8, a. This difficulty was removed in other cases by the statutes 11 and 12 Wm. III, c. 6, and 25 Geo. III, c. 39, allowing descents to be traced through alien parents, provided the person claiming through them was in existence and capable of taking at the death of the person last seised; which proviso does not prevent the divesting of an estate out of the daughter of an alien on the birth of a brother or sister. The rule that a descent cannot be traced through a person attainted has also been abolished. Stat. 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 106, s. 10.]

that issue will be his heir. On default of such, we must ascend one step higher, to the ancestors in the second degree, and then to those in the third and fourth, and so upwards *in infinitum*, till some couple of ancestors be found, who have other issue descending from them besides the deceased, in a parallel or collateral line. From these ancestors the heir of John Stiles must derive his descent; and in such derivation the same rules must be observed, with regard to the sex, *primogeniture, and representation, that have before been laid down [*227] with regard to lineal descents from the person of the last proprietor.

But, secondly, the heir need not be the nearest kinsman absolutely, but only *sub modo*; that is, he must be the nearest kinsman of the *whole* blood; for if there be a much nearer kinsman of the *half* blood, a distant kinsman of the whole blood shall be admitted, and the other entirely excluded; nay, the estate shall escheat to the lord, sooner than the half blood shall inherit. (28)

A kinsman of the whole blood is he that is derived, not only from the same ancestor, but from the same couple of ancestors. For, as every man's own blood is compounded of the bloods of his respective ancestors, he only is properly of the whole or entire blood with another, who hath (so far as the distance of degrees will permit) all the same ingredients in the composition of his blood that the other had. Thus, the blood of John Stiles being composed of those of Geoffrey Stiles his father, and Lucy Baker his mother, therefore his brother Francis, being descended from both the same parents, hath entirely the same blood with John Stiles; or he is his brother of the whole blood. But if, after the death of Geoffrey, Lucy Baker the mother marries a second husband, Lewis Gay, and hath issue by him; the blood of this issue, being compounded of the blood of Lucy Baker (it is true) on the one part, but that of Lewis Gay (instead of Geoffrey Stiles), on the other part, it hath therefore only half the same ingredients with that of John Stiles; so that he is only his brother of the half blood, and for that reason they shall never inherit to each other. So also, if the father has two sons, A and B, by different venters or wives; now these two brethren are not brethren of the whole blood, and therefore shall never inherit to each other, but the estate shall rather escheat to the lord. Nay, even if the father dies, and his lands descend to his eldest son A, who enters thereon, and dies seized without issue; still B shall not be heir to this estate, because he is only of the half blood to A, the person last seized: but it shall descend to a sister (if any) of the whole blood to A: for in such cases the maxim is, that the *seisin* or *possessio fratris facit sororem esse hæredum*. Yet, had A died without entry, then B might have inherited; not as *heir to A, his half-brother, [*228] but as heir to their common father, who was the person last actually seized. (y) (29)

This total exclusion of the half blood from the inheritance, being almost peculiar to our own law, is looked upon as a strange hardship by such as are unacquainted with the reasons on which it is grounded. But these censures arise from a misapprehension of the rule, which is not so much to be considered

(y) Hale, H. C. L. 238.

(28) [It may be observed, that it is always intended, or presumed, that a person is of the whole blood, until the contrary is shown. Kitch. 225, a; Plowd. 77, a; Trin. 10 H. 8, pl. 6, p. 11, b; Watk. Desc. 75, n. (u).]

(29) [The meaning of the maxim is, that the possession of a brother will make his sister of the whole blood his heir in preference to a brother of the half blood. Litt. 58.]

Of some inheritances there cannot be a *seisin*, or a *possessio fratris*; as if the eldest brother dies before a presentation to an advowson, it will descend to the half-brother as heir to the person last seized, and not to the sister of the whole blood. 1 Burn Ec. 11. So of reversions, remainders, and executory devises, there can be no *seisin* or *possessio fratris*; and if they are reserved or granted to A and his heirs, he who is heir to A when they come into possession, is entitled to them by descent; that is, that person who would have been heir to A if A had lived so long, and had then died actually seized. 2 Wood. 256; Fearne, 448; 2 Wils. 29. It may also be observed, that if the father die without heirs male, his daughters by different venters may inherit together to the father, although they cannot inherit to each other. Bro. Abr. Descent, pl. 20; 1 Roll. Abr. 627.]

in the light of a rule of descent, as of a rule of evidence: an auxiliary rule, to carry a former into execution. And here we must again remember, that the great and most universal principle of collateral inheritances being this, that the heir to a *feudum antiquum* must be of the blood of the first feudatory or purchaser, that is, derived in a lineal descent from him; it was originally requisite, as upon gifts in tail it still is, to make out the pedigree of the heir from the first donee or purchaser, and to show that such heir was his lineal representative. But when, by length of time and a long course of descents, it came (in those rude and unlettered ages) to be forgotten who was really the first feudatory or purchaser, and thereby the proof of an actual descent from him became impossible; then the law substituted what Sir Martin Wright (z) calls a *reasonable*, in the stead of an *impossible*, proof: for it remits the proof of an actual descent from the first purchaser; and only requires in lieu of it, that the claimant be next of the whole blood to the person last in possession, (or derived from the same couple of ancestors;) which will probably answer the same end as if he could trace his pedigree in a direct line from the first purchaser. For he who is my kinsman of the whole blood, can have no ancestors beyond or higher than the common stock, but what are equally my ancestors also: and mine are *vice versa* his: he therefore is very likely to be derived from that unknown ancestor of mine, from whom the inheritance descended. But a kinsman of the half blood has but one-half of his ancestors above the common stock the same as mine; and therefore there is not the same probability of that standing requisite in law, that he be derived from the blood of the first purchaser.

[*229] *To illustrate this by example. Let there be John Stiles, and Francis, brothers, by the same father and mother, and another son of the same mother by Lewis Gay, a second husband. Now, if John dies seised of lands, but it is uncertain whether they descended to him from his father or mother; in this case his brother Francis, of the whole blood, is qualified to be his heir; for he is sure to be in the line of descent from the first purchaser, whether it were the line of the father or the mother. But if Francis should die before John, without issue, the mother's son by Lewis Gay (or brother of the half blood) is utterly incapable of being heir; for he cannot prove his descent from the first purchaser, who is unknown, nor has he that fair probability which the law admits as presumptive evidence, since he is to the full as likely *not to be* descended from the line of the first purchaser, as *to be* descended; and therefore the inheritance shall go to the nearest relation possessed of his presumptive proof, the whole blood.

And, as this is the case in *feudis antiquis*, where there really did once exist a purchasing ancestor, who is forgotten: it is also the case in *feudis novis* held *ut antiquis*, where the purchasing ancestor is merely ideal, and never existed but only in fiction of law. Of this nature are all grants of lands in fee-simple at this day, which are inheritable as if they descended from some uncertain indefinite ancestor, and therefore any of the collateral kindred of the real modern purchaser (and not his own offspring only) may inherit them, provided they be of the whole blood; for all such are, in judgment of law, likely enough to be derived from this indefinite ancestor: but those of the half blood are excluded, for want of the same probability. Nor should this be thought hard, that a brother of the purchaser, though only of the half blood, must thus be disinherited, and a more remote relation of the whole blood admitted, merely upon a supposition and fiction of law; since it is only upon a like supposition and fiction, that brethren of purchasers (whether of the whole or half blood) are entitled to inherit at all; for we have seen that in *feudis strictè novis* neither

[*230] brethren nor any other collaterals were admitted. As *therefore in *feudis antiquis* we have seen the reasonableness of excluding the half blood, if by fiction of law a *feudum novum* be made descendible to collaterals as if it was *feudum antiquum*, is just and equitable that it should be subject to the same restrictions as well as the same latitude of descent.

Perhaps by this time the exclusion of the half blood does not appear altogether so unreasonable as at first sight it is apt to do. It is certainly a very fine-spun and subtle nicety; but considering the principles upon which our law is founded, it is not an injustice, nor always a hardship; since even the succession of the whole blood was originally a beneficial indulgence, rather than the strict right of collaterals; and though that indulgence is not extended to the demi-kindred, yet they are rarely abridged of any right which they could possibly have enjoyed before. The doctrine of the whole blood was calculated to supply the frequent impossibility of proving a descent from the first purchaser, without some proof of which (according to our fundamental maxim) there can be no inheritance allowed of. And this purpose it answers, for the most part, effectually enough. I speak with these restrictions, because it does not, neither can any other method, answer this purpose entirely. For though all the ancestors of John Stiles, above the common stock, are also the ancestors of his collateral kinsmen of the whole blood; yet, unless that common stock be in the first degree (that is, unless they have the same father and mother), there will be intermediate ancestors, below the common stock, that belong to either of them respectively, from which the other is not descended, and therefore can have none of their blood. Thus, though John Stiles and his brother of the whole blood can each have no other ancestors than what are in common to them both; yet with regard to his uncle, where the common stock is removed one degree higher (that is, the grandfather and grandmother), one-half of John's ancestors will not be the ancestors of his uncle: his *patruus*, or father's brother, derives not his descent from John's maternal ancestors; nor his *avunculus*, or mother's brother, *from those in the paternal line. Here then the supply of proof [*231] is deficient, and by no means amounts to a certainty; and the higher [the common stock is removed, the more will even the probability decrease. But it must be observed, that (upon the same principles of calculation) the half blood have always a much less chance to be descended from an unknown indefinite ancestor of the deceased, than the whole blood in the same degree. As, in the first degree, the whole brother of John Stiles is sure to be descended from that unknown ancestor; his half brother has only an even chance, for half John's ancestors are not his. So, in the second degree, John's uncle of the whole blood has an even chance; but the chances are three to one against his uncle of the half blood, for three-fourths of John's ancestors are not his. In like manner, in the third degree, the chances are only three to one against John's great-uncle of the whole blood, but they are seven to one against his great-uncle of the half blood, for seven-eighths of John's ancestors have no connexion in blood with him. Therefore the much less probability of the half blood's descent from the first purchaser, compared with that of the whole blood, in the several degrees, has occasioned a general exclusion of the half blood in all.

But, while I thus illustrate the reason of excluding the half blood in general, I must be impartial enough to own, that, in some instances, the practice is carried farther than the principle upon which it goes will warrant. Particularly when a kinsman of the whole blood in a remoter degree, as the uncle or great-uncle, is preferred to one of the half blood in a nearer degree, as the brother; for the half brother hath the same chance of being descended from the purchasing ancestor as the uncle; and a thrice (30) better chance than the great-uncle or kinsman in the third degree. It is also more especially overstrained, when a man has two sons by different venters, and the estate on his death descends from him to the eldest, who enters and dies without issue; in which case the younger son cannot inherit this estate, because he is not of the whole blood

(30) [This ought to be *twice*; for the half brother has one chance in two, the great-uncle one in four; the chance of the half brother is therefore twice better than that of the great-uncle.]

[*232] to the last proprietor. (a) This, it must be *owned, carries a hardship with it, even upon feudal principles; for the rule was introduced only to supply the proof of a descent from the first purchaser; but here, as this estate notoriously descended from the father, and as both the brothers confessedly sprung from him, it is demonstrable that the half brother must be of the blood of the first purchaser, who was either the father or some of the father's ancestors. When, therefore, there is actual demonstration of the thing to be proved, it is hard to exclude a man by a rule substituted to supply that proof when deficient. So far as the inheritance can be evidently traced back, there seems no need of calling in this presumptive proof, this rule of probability, to investigate what is already certain. Had the elder brother, indeed, been a purchaser, there would have been no hardship at all, for the reasons already given; or had the *frater uterinus* only, or brother by the mother's side, been excluded from an inheritance which descended from the father, it had been highly reasonable.

Indeed it is this very instance, of excluding a *frater consanguineus* or brother by the father's side, from an inheritance which descended *a patre*, that Craig (b) has singled out on which to ground his strictures on the English law of half blood. And, really, it should seem as if originally the custom of excluding the half blood in Normandy, (c) extended only to exclude a *frater uterinus*, when the inheritance descended *a patre*, and *vice versa*, and possibly in England also; as even with us it remained a doubt, in the time of Bracton, (d) and of Fleta, (e) whether the half blood on the father's side was excluded from the inheritance which originally descended from the common father, or only from such as descended from the respective mothers, and from newly purchased lands. So also [*233] the rule of law, as laid *down by our Fortescue, (f) extends no farther than this: *frater fratri uterino non succedit in hæreditate paterna*. It is moreover worthy of observation, that by our law, as it now stands, the crown (which is the highest inheritance in the nation) may descend to the half blood of the preceding sovereign, (g) so that it be the blood of the first monarch purchaser, or (in the feudal language) conqueror of the reigning family. Thus it actually did descend from King Edward the Sixth to Queen Mary, and from her to Queen Elizabeth, who were respectively of the half blood to each other. For the royal pedigree being always a matter of sufficient notoriety, there is no occasion to call in the aid of this presumptive rule of evidence, to render probable the descent from the royal stock, which was formerly King William the Norman, and is now (by act of Parliament) (h) the Princess Sophia of Hanover. Hence also it is that in estates-tail, where the pedigree from the first donee must be strictly proved, half blood is no impediment to the descent; (i) because when the lineage is clearly made out, there is no need of this auxiliary proof. (31) How far it might be desirable for the legislature to give relief, by amending the law of descents in one or two instances, and ordaining that the half blood might always inherit, where the estate notoriously descended from its own proper ancestor, and in cases of new-purchased lands, or uncertain descents, should never be excluded by the whole blood in a remoter degree; or how far a private inconvenience should be still submitted to, rather than a long established rule should be shaken, it is not for me to determine.

The rule then, together with its illustration, amounts to this: that, in order to keep the estate of John Stiles as nearly as possible in the line of his purchas-

(a) A still harder case than this happened, *M. 10 Edw. III.* On the death of a man, who had three daughters by a first wife, and a fourth by another, his lands descended equally to all four as coparceners. Afterwards the eldest two died without issue: and it was held, that the third daughter alone should inherit their shares, as being their heir of the whole blood; and that the youngest daughter should retain only her original fourth part of their common father's lands. (10 *Ass. 27.*) And yet it was clear law in *M. 19 Edw. II.* that where lands had descended to two sisters of the half blood, as coparceners, each might be heir of those lands to the other. *Mayn. Edw. II. 628.* *Fitzh. Abr. tit. quare impedit. 177.*

(b) *l. 2, t. 15, § 14.*

(c) *Gr. Constum. c. 25.*

(d) *l. 2, c. 30, § 3.*

(e) *l. 6, c. 1, § 14.*

(f) *de laud. LL. Angl. 5.*

(g) *Plowd. 243. Co. Litt. 15.*

(h) *12 Wm. III. c. 2.*

(i) *Litt. §§ 14, 15.*

(31) [In titles of honor also, half blood is no impediment to the descent; but a title can only be transmitted to those who are descended from the first person ennobled. *Co. Litt. 15.* Half blood is no obstruction in the succession to personal property. *Page 505, post.*]

ing ancestor, it must descend to the issue of the nearest couple of ancestors that have left descendants behind them; because the descendants of one ancestor only are not so likely to be in the line of that purchasing ancestor, as those who are descended from both.

*But here another difficulty arises. In the second, third, fourth, and [*234] every superior degree, every man has many couples of ancestors, increasing according to the distances in a geometrical progression upwards, (*k*) the descendants of all which respective couples are (representatively) related to him in the same degree. Thus in the second degree, the issue of George and Cecilia Stiles and of Andrew and Esther Baker, the two grandsires and grandmothers of John Stiles, are each in the same degree of propinquity; in the third degree, the respective issues of Walter and Christian Stiles, of Luke and Francis Kempe, of Herbert and Hannah Baker, and of James and Emma Thorpe, are (upon the extinction of the two inferior degrees) all equally entitled to call themselves the next kindred to the whole blood of John Stiles. To which therefore of these ancestors must we first resort, in order to find out descendants to be preferably called to the inheritance? In answer to this, and likewise to avoid all other confusion and uncertainty that might arise between the several stocks wherein the purchasing ancestor may be sought for, another qualification is requisite, besides the *proximity* and *entirety*, which is that of *dignity* or *worthiness* of blood. For,

VII. The seventh and last rule or canon is, that in collateral inheritances the male stocks shall be preferred to the female (that is, kindred derived from the blood of the male ancestors, however remote, shall be admitted before those from the blood of the female, however near),—unless where the lands have, in fact, descended from a female. (32)

Thus the relations on the father's side are admitted *in infinitum*, before those on the mother's side are admitted at all; (*l*) and the relations of the father's father, before those of the father's mother; and so on. (33) And in this the English law is not singular, but warranted by the examples of the Hebrew and Athenian laws, as stated by Selden, (*m*) and Petit: (*n*) though among the Greeks

(*k*) See page 204.

(*l*) Litt. § 4.

(*m*) *de succ. Ebraeor.* c. 12.

(*n*) *LL. Attic.* l. 1, §. 6.

(32) This rule does not obtain in the United States.

(33) [So Lord Hale says, "If a son purchases land in fee-simple, and dies without issue, those of the male line shall be preferred in the descent: Hale Hist. Com. L. 326, rule 7, div. 1; and the line of the part of the mother shall never inherit as long as there are any, though never so remote, of the line of the part of the father; and, consequently, though the mother had a brother, yet if the great great great grandfather or grandmother has a brother or sister, or any descended from them, they shall be preferred to and exclude the mother's brother, though he is much nearer. Id. ib. div. 2; *Clere v. Brooke*, Plowd. 442. And so great is the preference shown to the male line, that if a son dies, having purchased lands which descend to his heir on the part of his father (not being his own brother or sister, see H. Chit. Desc. 123; and the line of the father should afterwards fail, yet the descent shall never return to the line of the mother, though in the first instance, or first descent from the son, it might have descended to the heir of the part of the mother; for by this descent and seisin it is lodged in the father's line, to whom the heir of the part of the mother can never derive a title as heir, but it shall rather escheat. See Hargr. note 5, Co. Litt. 13, a.

"This preference of male stocks is continued throughout all manner of successions; for if, on default of heirs of the part of the father, the lands descend to the line of the mother, the heirs of the mother of the part of her father's side shall be preferred in the succession before her heirs of the part of her mother's side, because they are the more worthy." Hale, C. L. 330.

The several classes which can comprehend every description of kindred are thus enumerated by Mr. Cruise, Dig. vol. 3, p. 377:

1. The male stock of the paternal line.
2. The female stock of the paternal line.
3. The male branches of the female stock of the paternal line.
4. The female branches of the female stock of the paternal line.
5. The male stock of the maternal line.
6. The female branches of the male stock of the maternal line.
7. The male branches of the female stock of the maternal line.
8. The female branches of the female stock of the maternal line.]

in the time of Hesiod, (o) when a man died without wife or children, all his kindred (without any *distinction) divided his estate among them. It is [*235] likewise warranted by the example of the Roman laws; wherein the *agnati*, or relations by the father, were preferred to the *cognati*, or relations by the mother, till the edict of the Emperor Justinian (p) abolished all distinction between them. It is also conformable to the customary law of Normandy, (q) which indeed in most respects agrees with our English law of inheritance.

However, I am inclined to think, that this rule of our law does not owe its immediate original to any view of conformity to those which I have just now mentioned; but was established in order to effectuate and carry into execution the fifth rule, or principal canon of collateral inheritance, before laid down; that every heir must be of the blood of the first purchaser. For, when such first purchaser was not easily to be discovered after a long course of descents, the lawyers not only endeavoured to investigate him by taking the next relation of the whole blood to the person last in possession, but also, considering that a preference had been given to males by virtue of the second canon) through the whole course of lineal descent from the first purchaser to the present time, they judged it more likely that the lands should have descended to the last tenant from his male than from his female ancestors; from the father (for instance) rather than from the mother; from the father's father rather than from the father's mother: and therefore they hunted back the inheritance (if I may be allowed the expression) through the male line; and gave it to the next relations on the side of the father, the father's father, and so upwards, imagining with reason that this was the most probable way of continuing it in the line of the first purchaser. A conduct much more rational than the preference of the *agnati*, by the Roman laws: which, as they gave no advantage to the males in the first instance or direct lineal succession, had no reason for preferring them in the transverse collateral one: upon which account this preference was very wisely abolished by Justinian.

[*236] *That this was the true foundation of the preference of the *agnati* or male stocks, in our law, will farther appear, if we consider, that whenever the lands have notoriously descended to a man from his mother's side, this rule is totally reversed; and no relation of his by the father's side, as such, can ever be admitted to them; because he cannot possibly be of the blood of the first purchaser. And so, *e converso*, if the lands descended from the father's side, no relation of the mother, as such, shall ever inherit. So also, if they in fact descended to John Stiles from his father's mother, Cecilia Kempe; here not only the blood of Lucy Baker, his mother, but also of George Stiles, his father's father, is perpetually excluded. And in like manner, if they be known to have descended from Frances Holland, the mother of Cecilia Kempe, the line not only of Lucy Baker, and of George Stiles, but also of Luke Kempe, the father of Cecilia, is excluded. Whereas, when the side from which they descended is forgotten or never known (as in the case of an estate newly purchased to be holden *ut feudum antiquum*), here the right of inheritance first runs up all the father's side, with a preference to the male stocks in every instance; and, if it finds no heirs there, it then, and then only, resorts to the mother's side; leaving no place untried, in order to find heirs that may by possibility be derived from the original purchaser. The greatest probability of finding such was among those descended from the male ancestors; but, upon failure of issue there, they may possibly be found among those derived from the females. (34)

(o) Hesiod, 606.

(p) Nov. 118.

(q) Gr. Coustum. c. 25

(34) [If a man seised in fee *ex parte materna*, levy a fine *sur grant it render*, granting to A and his heirs; the estate taken by the consor under the render will now be descendible to his heirs *ex parte paterna*. 1 Prest. Conv. 210, 318; Co. Litt. 316; Dyer, 237, b; Price v. Langford, 1 Salk. 92. And the same in the case of feoffment and re-infeoffment, or even if a man seised *ex parte materna*, make feoffment in fee reserving rent, the rent shall descend to the heirs *ex parte paterna*. Co. Litt. 12, b.]

This I take to be the true reason of the constant preference of the agnatic succession, or issue derived from the male ancestors, through all the stages of collateral inheritance; as the ability for personal service was the reason for preferring the males at first in the direct lineal succession. We see clearly, that if males had been perpetually admitted, in utter exclusion of females, the tracing the inheritance back through the male line of ancestors must at last have inevitably brought us up to the first purchaser; but as males have not been **perpetually admitted* but only *generally preferred*; as females have [*237] not been *utterly excluded*, but only *generally postponed* to males; the tracing the inheritance up through the male stocks will not give us absolute demonstration, but only a strong probability, of arriving at the first purchaser; which joined with the other probability, of the wholeness of entirety of blood, will fall little short of a certainty.

Before we conclude this branch of our inquiries, it may not be amiss to exemplify these rules by a short sketch of the manner in which we must search for the heir of a person, as *John Stiles*, who dies seised of land which he acquired, and which therefore he held as a feud of indefinite antiquity. (r)

In the first place succeeds the eldest son, Matthew Stiles, or his issue: (n° 1.)—if his line be extinct, then Gilbert Stiles and the other sons, respectively, in order of birth, or their issue: (n° 2.)—in default of these, all the daughters together, Margaret and Charlotte Stiles, or their issue. (n° 3.)—On failure of the descendants of *John Stiles*, himself, the issue of Geoffrey and Lucy Stiles, his parents, is called in, viz.: first, Francis Stiles, the eldest brother of the whole blood, or his issue: (n° 4.)—then Oliver Stiles, and the other whole brothers, respectively, in order of birth, or their issue: (n° 5.)—then the sisters of the whole blood all together, Bridget and Alice Stiles, or their issue. (n° 6.)—In defect of these, the issue of George and Cecelia Stiles, his father's parents; respect being still had to their age and sex: (n° 7.)—then the issue of Walter and Christian Stiles, the parents of his paternal grandfather: (n° 8.)—then the issue of Richard and Anne Stiles, the parents of his paternal grandfather's father, (n° 9.)—and so on in the paternal grandfather's paternal line, or blood of Walter Stiles, *in infinitum*. In defect of these, the issue of William and Jane Smith, the parents of his paternal grandfather's mother: (n° 10.)—and so on in the paternal grandfather's maternal line, or blood of Christian Smith, *in infinitum*: till both the **immediate* bloods of George Stiles, the paternal grandfather, are spent.—Then we must resort to the issue of Luke and [*238] Frances Kempe, the parents of *John Stiles's* paternal grandmother: (n° 11.)—then to the issue of Thomas and Sarah Kempe, the parents of his paternal grandmother's father: (n° 12.)—and so on in the paternal grandmother's paternal line, or blood of Luke Kempe, *in infinitum*.—In default of which we must call in the issue of Charles and Mary Holland, the parents of his paternal grandmother's mother: (n° 13.)—and so on in the paternal grandmother's maternal line, or blood of Frances Holland, *in infinitum*; till both the immediate bloods of Cecelia Kempe, the paternal grandmother are also spent.—Whereby the paternal blood of *John Stiles* entirely failing, recourse must then, and not before, be had to his maternal relations; or the blood of the Bakers, (n° 14, 15, 16.)—Willis's, (n° 17.)—Thorpe's (n° 18, 19.)—and White's, (n° 20.)—in the same regular successive order as in the paternal line.

The student should however be informed, that class, n° 10, would be postponed to n° 11, in consequence of the doctrine laid down, *arguendo*, by Justice Manwoode, in the case of Clere and Brooke; (s) from whence it is adopted by Lord Bacon, (t) and Sir Matthew Hale: (u) because, it is said, that all the female ancestors on the part of the father are equally worthy of blood; and in that case proximity shall prevail. And yet, notwithstanding these respectable authorities, the compiler of this table hath ventured (in point of theory, for the

(r) See the table of descents annexed.

(s) Plowd. 450.

(t) Elcin. c. 1.

(u) H. C. L. 240, 244.

case never yet occurred in practice) (35) to give the preference to n° 10 before n° 11; for the following reasons; 1. Because this point was not the principal question in the case of Clere and Brooke: but the law concerning it is delivered *obiter* only, and in the course of argument by justice Manwoode; though afterwards said to be confirmed by the three other justices in separate, extrajudicial conferences with the reporter. 2. Because the chief justice, Sir James Dyer, in reporting the resolution of the court in what seems to be the same case, (*w*) takes no notice of this doctrine. 3. Because it appears from Plowden's report that [*239] very many gentlemen of the law were dissatisfied *with this position of Justice Manwoode; since the blood of n° 10 was derived to the purchaser through a greater number of males than the blood of n° 11, and was therefore in their opinion the more worthy of the two. 4. Because the position itself destroys the otherwise entire and regular symmetry of our legal course of descents, as is manifest by inspecting the table: wherein n° 16, which is analogous in the maternal line to n° 10 in the paternal, is preferred to n° 18, which is analogous to n° 11, upon the authority of the eighth rule laid down by Hale himself: and it destroys also that constant preference of the male stocks in the law of inheritance, for which an additional reason is before (*x*) given, besides the mere dignity of blood. 5. Because it introduces all that uncertainty and contradiction, which is pointed out by that ingenious author; (*y*) and establishes a collateral doctrine (viz.: the preference of n° 11 to n° 10) seemingly, though perhaps not strictly, incompatible with the principal point resolved in the case of Clere and Brooke, viz.: the preference of n° 11 to n° 14. And, though that learned writer proposes to rescind the principal point then resolved, in order to clear this difficulty; it is apprehended, that the difficulty may be better cleared, by rejecting the collateral doctrine, which was never yet resolved at all. 6. Because the reason that is given for this doctrine by Lord Bacon (viz.: that in any degree, paramount the first, the law respecteth proximity, and not dignity of blood) is directly contrary to many instances given by Plowden and Hale, and every other writer on the law of descents. 7. Because this position seems to contradict the allowed doctrine of Sir Edward Coke; (*z*) who lays it down (under different names) that the blood of the Kempes (*alias* Sandies) shall not inherit till the blood of the Stiles's (*alias* Fairfields) fail. Now the blood of the Stiles's does certainly not fail, till both n° 9 and n° 10 are extinct. Wherefore n° 11 (being the blood of the Kempes) ought not to inherit till then. 8. Because in the case, Mich. 12 Edw. IV, 14, (*a*) (much relied on in that of Clere and Brooke) it is laid down as a rule, that "*cestuy, que doit inheriter al pere, doit inheritor al fils.*" (*b*) And so Sir Matthew Hale (*c*) says, "that though the law excludes the father from inheriting, yet it substitutes and directs the descent as it should have been had the father inherited." (36) Now it is settled, by the resolution of Clere *and Brooke, that n° 10 should have inherited before [*240] n° 11 to Geoffrey Stiles, the father, had he been the person last seized; and therefore n° 10 ought also to be preferred in inheriting to *John Stiles*, the son.

In case *John Stiles* was not himself the purchaser, but the estate in fact came to him by descent from his father, mother or any higher ancestor, there is this difference; that the blood of that line of ancestors, from which it did not descend, can never inherit: as was formerly fully explained. (*d*) And the like rule, as there exemplified, will hold upon descents from any other ancestors.

The student should also bear in mind, that during this whole process, *John Stiles* is the person supposed to have been last actually seized of the estate. For

(w) Dyer, 314.

(z) Pages 235, 6, 7.

(y) Law of Inheritance, 2d edit. pages 30, 31, 61, 62, 66.

(a) Co. Litt. 12. Hawk. ab. in loc.

(c) Fitzh. Ab. tit. descent. 2. Bro. Abr. tit. descent. 3.

(b) See page 223.

(d) Hist. C. L. 243.

(d) See page 236.

(35) [The point has since arisen, and been decided in favor of the learned commentator's opinion. *Davies v. Lowndes*, 7 Scott, 22, 56. And the legislature has adopted the same rule. *Infra*, p. 240, note.]

(36) [This rule, however, does not apply in all cases; for a brother of the half blood would succeed to the father, though he could not to the son.]

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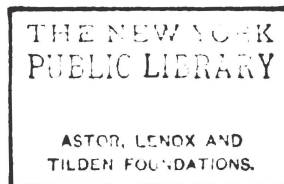
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if ever it comes to vest in any other person, as heir to *John Stiles*, a new order of succession must be observed upon the death of such heir; since he, by his own seisin, now becomes himself an ancestor or *stipes*, and must be put in the place of *John Stiles*. The figures therefore denote the order in which the several classes would succeed to *John Stiles*, and not to each other: and before we search for an heir in any of the higher figures (as n° 8), we must be first assured that all the lower classes (from n° 1 to n° 7) were extinct, at *John Stiles's* decease. (37)

CHAPTER XV. OF TITLE BY PURCHASE.

AND

I, BY ESCHEAT.

PURCHASE, *perquisitio*, taken in its largest and most extensive sense, is thus defined by Littleton; (a) the possession of lands and tenements, which a man hath by his own act or agreement, and not by descent from any of his ancestors or kindred. In this sense it is contradistinguished from acquisition by right of blood, and includes every other method of coming to an estate, but merely that by inheritance, (1) wherein the title is vested in a person, not by his own act or agreement, but by the single operation of law. (b)

Purchase, indeed, in its vulgar and confined acceptation, is applied only to such acquisitions of land, as are obtained by way of bargain and sale for money, or some other valuable consideration. But this falls far short of the legal idea of purchase: for, if I *give* land freely to another, he is in the eye of the law a purchaser, (c) and falls within Littleton's definition, for he comes to the estate

(a) § 12.

(b) Co. Litt. 18.

(c) *Ibid.*

(37) Some of the important changes made in the English law of descents by the statute 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 106. have been referred to in the preceding notes. Mr. Sweet gives the following as the existing canons of descent under that statute:

1. The descent shall be traced from the last purchaser, or the last person entitled to the land who cannot be proved to have inherited it.

2. That inheritances shall lineally descend to the issue of the last purchaser.

3. That on failure of issue of the last purchaser, the inheritance shall go to his nearest lineal ancestor, or his issue; the ancestor taking in preference to his issue, but so that a nearer lineal ancestor and his issue are to be preferred to a more remote lineal ancestor and his issue, other than such nearer lineal ancestor or his issue.

4. That a relation of the whole blood, and his or her issue, shall be preferred to a relation of the same degree of the half blood, and his or her issue. Collateral relatives of the half blood may therefore inherit, but after the common ancestor, and after collateral relations of the whole blood.

5. Each male ancestor and his ancestors, whether male or female, and his and their issue, shall be preferred to all other female ancestors and their ancestors, whether male or female, and their issue.

6. That the male issue shall be admitted before the female.

7. That when there are two or more males in equal degree, the eldest only shall inherit; but the females altogether.

8. That (subject to the third rule) a parent shall be preferred to his issue; but the issue *in infinitum* of any person deceased shall represent their ancestor; that is shall stand in the same place as he would have done had he been living.

For the rules of descent prevailing in the United States, the reader is referred to 4 Kent Com. Lec. 75. The differences between them and the English rules are alluded to in the preceding notes, but there is not such uniformity in the American statutes as to make any attempt at an analysis of them in this place desirable.

(1) See reference to statute 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 106, in note to p. 201.

by his own agreement; that is, he consents to the gift. A man who has his father's estate settled upon him in tail, before he was born, is also a purchaser; for he takes quite another estate than the law of descents would have given him. Nay, even if the ancestor devises his estate to his heir at law by will, *with other limitations, or* in any other shape than the course of descents would direct, such heir shall take by purchase. (*d*) But if a man seised in fee, devises his whole estate to his heir at law, so that the heir takes neither a greater nor a less estate by the devise than he would have done without it, he shall [*242] be adjudged to take by descent, (*e*) (2) even though it be charged with incumbrances; (*f*) this being for the benefit of creditors, and others, who have demands on the estate of the ancestor. If a remainder be limited to the heirs of Sempronius, here Sempronius himself takes nothing; but if he dies during the continuance of the particular estate, his heirs shall take as purchasers. (*g*) But if an estate be made to A for life, remainder to his right heirs in fee, his heirs shall take by descent: for it is an ancient rule of law, that whenever the ancestor takes an estate for life, the heir cannot by the same conveyance take an estate in fee by *purchase*, but only by *descent*. (*h*) (3) And if A dies, before entry, still his heirs shall take by descent, and not by purchase: for where the heir takes any thing that might have vested in the ancestor, he takes by way of descent. (*i*) The ancestor, during his life, beareth in himself all his heirs; (*k*) and therefore, when once he is or might have been seised of the lands, the inheritance so limited to his heirs vests in the ancestor himself: and the word "heirs" in this case is not esteemed a word of *purchase*, but a word of *limitation*, enuring so as to increase the estate of the ancestor from a tenancy for life to a fee-simple. (4) And, had it been otherwise, had the heir (who is uncertain till the death of the ancestor) been allowed to take as a purchaser originally nominated in the deed, as must have been the case if the remainder had been expressly limited to Matthew or Thomas by name; then, in the times of strict feudal tenure, the lord would have been defrauded by such a limitation of the fruits of his signiory arising from a descent to the heir.

What we call *purchase, perquisitio*, the feudists called *conquests, conquæstus*, or *conquisitio*: (*l*) both denoting any means of acquiring an estate out of the common course of inheritance. And this is still the proper phrase in the law [*243] of Scotland: (*m*) as it was among the Norman jurists, who styled *the first purchaser (that is, he who brought the estate into the family which at present owns it) the conqueror or *conquereur*. (*n*) Which seems to be all that was meant by the appellation which was given to William the Norman, when his manner of ascending the throne of England was, in his own and his successor's charters, and by the historians of the times, entitled *conquæstus*, and himself *conquæstor* or *conquisitor*; (*o*) signifying that he was the first of his family who acquired the crown of England, and from whom therefore all future

(*d*) Lord Raym. 728.

(*e*) 1 Roll. Abr. 626.

(*f*) Salk. 241. Lord Raym. 728.

(*g*) 1 Roll. Abr. 627.

(*h*) 1 Rep. 104. 2 Lev. 60.

Raym. 334.

(*i*) Shelley's Case, 1 Rep. 98.

(*k*) Co. Litt. 22.

(*l*) Craig. l. 1, t. 10, § 18.

(*m*) Dalrymple of Feuds, 210.

(*n*) Gr. Coustum. Gloss. c. 25, page 40.

(*o*) Spelm. Gloss. 145.

(2) [This rule was abrogated by the Inheritance Act, 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 106, § 3. Even before that statute, if the devise to the heir gave him a different estate to that which he would have taken by descent, he took under the devise. Lord Raym. 728. The origin of the old rule of law seems to have been similar to that stated in the text as the ground of the rule in Shelley's Case, viz.: the advantage of the lord. An heir who is made devisee may now disclaim the devise and take as heir, though such a course is never adopted, since no advantage can arise from it.]

(3) That is, *as heir* he cannot take under the conveyance otherwise than by descent; but if an estate is given to A for life, there is nothing in the rules of law to preclude the remainder in fee being given by the same conveyance to the person who will be heir to A, provided some other word than the technical one of "heir" is employed to designate him.

(4) [This is the rule or maxim known among lawyers, as "the rule in Shelley's Case." 1 Co. 88; see Harg. and Butl. Co. Litt. 376, B. N. 1; Fearn's Cont. Rem. 23; Preston on Estates, 1 vol. 263 to 419.]

And see 2 Washb. Real Prop. 268 to 276.

claims by descent must be derived: though now, from our disuse of the feudal sense of the word, together with the reflection on his forcible method of acquisition, we are apt to annex the idea of *victory* to this name of *conquest* or *conquisition*: a title which, however just with regard to the *crown*, the conqueror never pretended with regard to the *realm* of England; nor in fact, ever had. (*p*)

The difference, in effect, between the acquisition of an estate by descent and by purchase, consists principally in these two points: 1. That by purchase the estate acquires a new inheritable quality, and is descendible to the owner's blood in general, and not the blood only of some particular ancestor. For, when a man takes an estate by purchase, he takes it not *ut feudum paternum* or *maternum*, which would descend only to the heirs by the father's or the mother's side: but he takes it *ut feudum antiquum*, as a feud of indefinite antiquity, whereby it becomes inheritable to his heirs general, first of the paternal, and then of the maternal line. 2. An estate taken by purchase will not make the heir answerable for the acts of the ancestor, as an estate by descent will. For if the ancestor, by any deed, obligation, covenant, or the like, bindeth himself and his heirs, and dieth; this deed, obligation, or covenant, shall be binding upon the heir, so far forth only as he (or any other in trust for him) (*q*) had any estate of inheritance vested in him by descent *from, (or any [*244] estate *per auter vie* coming to him by special occupancy, as heir to) (*r*) that ancestor, sufficient to answer the charge; (*s*) whether he remains in possession, or hath alienated it before action brought; (*t*) which sufficient estate is in the law called *assets*: from the French word, *assez*, enough. (*u*) Therefore, if a man covenants, for himself and his heirs, to keep my house in repair, I can then (and then only) compel his heir to perform this covenant, when he has an estate sufficient for this purpose, or *assets*, by descent from the covenantor: for though the covenant descends to the heir, whether he inherits any estate or no, it lies dormant, and is not compulsory, until he has assets by descent. (*v*)

This is the legal signification of the word *perquisitio*, or purchase; and in this sense it includes the five following methods of acquiring a title to estates: 1. Escheat. 2. Occupancy. 3. Prescription. 4. Forfeiture. 5. Alienation. Of all these in their order.

I. Escheat, we may remember, (*w*) was one of the fruits and consequences of feudal tenure. The word itself is originally French or Norman, (*x*) in which language it signifies chance or accident; and with us it denotes an obstruction of the course of descent, and a consequent determination of the tenure, by some unforeseen contingency: in which case the land naturally results back, by a kind of reversion, to the original grantor or lord of the fee. (*y*)

Escheat therefore being a title frequently vested in the lord by inheritance, as being the fruit of a signiory to which he was entitled by descent (for which reason the lands escheated shall attend the signiory, and be inheritable by such only of his heirs as are capable of inheriting the other), (*z*) it may seem in such cases to fall more properly under the former general head of acquiring title to estates, viz.: by descent (being vested in him by act of law, and not by his own act *or agreement), than under the present, by purchase. But it must [*245] be remembered that, in order to complete this title by escheat, it is necessary that the lord perform an act of his own, by *entering* on the lands and tenements so escheated, or suing out a *writ of escheat*: (*a*) (5) on failure of which, or by doing any act that amounts to an implied waiver of his right, as by accepting homage or rent of a stranger who usurps the possession, his title by escheat is barred. (*b*) It is therefore in some respect a title acquired by his

(*p*) See Book I. ch. 3.

(*q*) Stat. 20 Car. II. c. 3, § 10.

(*r*) *Ibid.* § 12.

(*s*) 1 P. Wms. 777.

(*t*) Stat. 3 and 4 W. & M. c. 14.

(*u*) Finch. Law, 119.

(*v*) Finch. Rep. 86.

(*w*) See page 72.

(*x*) *Eschet*, or *echet*, formed from the verb *eschoir* or *echoir*, to happen.

(*y*) 1 Feud. 86. Co. Litt. 13.

(*z*) Co. Litt. 13.

(*a*) Bro. Abr. tit. *escheat*. 26.

(*b*) Bro. Abr. tit. *acceptance*. 25. Co. Litt. 268.

(5) [The writ of escheat is abolished, statute 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 27, s. 36, and the lord's remedy is by entry or ejectment, or, in the case of the crown, by a commission of escheat. 12 East, 96.]

own act, as well as by act of law. Indeed, this may also be said of descents themselves, in which an entry or other seisin is required, in order to make a complete title: and therefore this distribution of titles by our legal writers, into those by descent and by purchase, seems in this respect rather inaccurate, and not marked with sufficient precision: for, as escheats must follow the nature of the signiory to which they belong, they may vest by either purchase or descent, according as the signiory is vested. And, though Sir Edward Coke considers the lord by escheat as in some respects the assignee of the last tenant, (c) and therefore taking by purchase; yet, on the other hand, the lord is more frequently considered as being *ultimus hæres*, and therefore taking by descent in a kind of caducary succession.

The law of escheats is founded upon this single principle, that the blood of the person last seised in fee-simple is, by some means or other, utterly extinct and gone; and since none can inherit his estate but such as are of his blood and consanguinity, it follows, as a regular consequence, that when such blood is extinct, the inheritance itself must fail: the land must become what the feudal writers denominate *feudum apertum*; and must result back again to the lord of the fee, by whom, or by those whose estate he hath, it was given.

Escheats are frequently divided into those *propter defectum sanguinis*, and those *propter delictum tenentis*: the one sort, if the tenant dies without heirs; the other, if his blood be attainted. (d) But both these species may well be [*246] comprehended under the first denomination only; for he that is attainted suffers an extinction of his blood, as well as he that dies without relations. The inheritable quality is expunged in one instance, and expires in the other; or, as the doctrine of escheats is very fully expressed in Fleta, (e) "*dominus capitalis feodi loco hæredis habetur, quoties per defectum vel delictum extinguitur sanguis tenentis.*"

Escheats, therefore, arising merely upon the deficiency of the blood, whereby the descent is impeded, their doctrine will be better illustrated by considering the several cases wherein hereditary blood may be deficient, than by any other method whatsoever.

1, 2, 3. The first three cases, wherein inheritable blood is wanting, may be collected from the rules of descent laid down and explained in the preceding chapter, and therefore will need very little illustration or comment. First, when the tenant dies without any relations on the part of any of his ancestors: secondly, when he dies without any relations on the part of those ancestors from whom his estate descended: thirdly, when he dies without any relations of the whole blood. In two of these cases the blood of the first purchaser is certainly, in the other it is probably, at an end; and therefore, in all of them the law directs, that the land shall escheat to the lord of the fee; for the lord would be manifestly prejudiced, if, contrary to the inherent condition tacitly annexed to all feuds, any person should be suffered to succeed to the lands, who is not of the blood of the first feudatory, to whom for his personal merit the estate is supposed to have been granted. (6)

(c) 1 Inst. 215.

(d) Co. Litt. 13, 92.

(e) l. 6, c. 1.

(6) [The important case of *Burgess v. Wheate*, 1 Eden, 177-261, was to the following purport. A, being seized in fee *ex parte paterna*, conveyed to the trustees, in trust for herself, her heirs and assigns, to the intent that she might dispose thereof as she should by her will or other writing appoint. A died without making any appointment, and without heirs *ex parte paterna*. It was held by Lord Keeper Henley, (afterwards Northington), as well as by Sir Thomas Clarke, M. R., and by Lord Mansfield, C. J. (whose assistance the lord keeper had requested), that the heir *ex parte materna* was clearly not entitled. But Lord Mansfield thought the crown was entitled by escheat; or, if that were not so under the circumstances, then, that, as between the maternal heir and the trustee, the former was entitled. This opinion, however, was contrary to that of the lord keeper and of the master of the rolls; and it was decided, that there being a *terre tenant*, *Barclay v. Russel*, 3 Ves. 430; the crown, claiming by escheat, had not a title by *supra* to compel a conveyance from the trustee, the trust being absolutely determined. Upon the right of the trustee it was not necessary for the determination of the question before the court, to pronounce any positive judgment. It

4. A monster, which hath not the shape of mankind, but in part evidently bears the resemblance of the brute creation, hath no inheritable blood, and can not be heir to any land, albeit it be brought forth in marriage; but, although it hath deformity in any part of its body, yet if it *hath human shape, it may be heir. (*f*) This is a very ancient rule in the law of England; (*g*) [*247] and its reason is too obvious and too shocking to bear a minute discussion. The Roman law agrees with our own in excluding such births from successions: (*h*) yet accounts them, however, children in some respects, where the parents, or at least the father, could reap any advantage thereby: (*i*) (as the *jus trium liberorum*, and the like) esteeming them the misfortune, rather than the fault, of that parent. But our law will not admit a birth of this kind to be such an issue as shall entitle the husband to be tenant by the curtesy; (*k*) because it is not capable of inheriting. And therefore, if there appears no other heir than such a prodigious birth, the land shall escheat to the lord.

5. Bastards are incapable of being heirs. Bastards, by our law, are such children as are not born either in lawful wedlock, or within a competent time after its determination. (*l*) Such are held to be *nullius filii*, the sons of nobody; for the maxim of law is, *qui ex damnato coitu nascuntur, inter liberos non computantur*. (*m*) Being thus the sons of nobody, they have no blood in them, at least no inheritable blood: consequently, none of the blood of the first purchaser: and therefore, if there be no other claimant than such illegitimate children, the land shall escheat to the lord. (*n*) The civil law differs from ours in this point, and allows a bastard to succeed to an inheritance, if after its birth the mother was married to the father: (*o*) and also if the father had no lawful wife or child, then, even if the concubine was never married to the father, yet she and her bastard son were admitted each to one-twelfth of the inheritance; (*p*) and a bastard was likewise *capable of succeeding to the whole of his [*248] mother's estate, although she was never married; the mother being sufficiently certain, though the father is not. (*q*) But our law, in favour of marriage, is much less indulgent to bastards.

There is indeed, one instance in which our law has shown them some little regard; and that is usually termed the case of *bastard eignè*, and *mulier puisnè*. This happens when a man has a bastard son, and afterwards marries the mother, and by her has a legitimate son, who, in the language of the law, is called a *mulier*, or as Glanvil (*r*) expresses it in his Latin, *filius mulieratus*; the woman before marriage being *concubina*, and afterwards *mulier*. Now here the eldest son is bas-

(*f*) Co. Litt. 7. 8.

(*g*) *Qui contra formam humani generis converso more procreantur, ut si mulier monstrosam vel prodigiosam intra sit. inter liberos non computantur. Partus tamen, cui natura aliquantulum addiderit vel diminuerit, ut si sex vel tantum quatuor digitos habuerit, bene debet inter liberos connumerari; et, si membra sint inutilia aut tortuosa, non tamen est partus monstrosus.* Bract. l. 1, c. 8, and l. 5, tr. 5, c. 30.

(*h*) Ff. 1, 5, 14.

(*i*) Ff. 58. 16, 135. Paul. 4, sent. 9 § 63.

(*k*) Co. Litt. 29.

(*l*) See Book I, ch. 18.

(*m*) Co. Litt. 8.

(*n*) Finch, Law. 117.

(*o*) Nov. 89, c. 8.

(*p*) Ibid. c. 12.

(*q*) Cod. 6, 57, 5.

(*r*) l. 7, c. 1.

should seem, however, that he would have received no assistance from equity in support of his claims. *Williams v. Lord Lonsdale*, 3 Ves. 757. And, clearly, a trustee not having the legal estate in lands purchased with the trust moneys, cannot hold against the crown claiming by escheat. *Walker v. Denne*, 2 Ves. Jun. 170.

In the case last cited, the court is reported to have said, that "copyhold cannot escheat to the crown;" but this *dictum*, in all probability, however applicable to the instance then under consideration, was not intended to be understood as a general proposition. Copyholds holden of a manor, whereof a subject is lord, will escheat to him certainly, and not to the crown; but the 12th section of the statute of 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 88, after reciting that "divers lands, tenements and hereditaments, as well freehold as copyhold, have escheated and may escheat" to the crown, enacts that, "it shall be lawful to direct by warrant under the sign manual the execution of any trusts to which the lands so escheated were liable at the time of the escheat, or to which they would have been liable in the hands of a subject, and to make such grants of the lands so escheated as to the sovereign shall seem meet."

Now by statute 13 and 14 Vic. c. 60, when any person seized of lands in trust shall die without an heir, the court of chancery may make an order vesting the land in a trustee of its own appointment, and the order shall have the effect of a conveyance.

tard, or *bastard eigné*; and the younger is legitimate, or *mulier puisné*. If, then, the father dies, and the *bastard eigné* enters upon his land, and enjoys it to his death, and dies seised thereof, (7) whereby the inheritance descends to his issue; in this case the *mulier puisné*, and all other heirs (though minors, feme-coverts, or under any incapacity whatsoever), are totally barred of their rights. (8) And this, 1. As a punishment on the *mulier* for his negligence in not entering during the *bastard's* life, and evicting him. 2. Because the law will not suffer a man to be bastardized after his death who entered as heir and died seised, and so passed for legitimate in his lifetime. (8) 3. Because the canon law (following the civil) did allow such *bastard eigné* to be legitimate on the subsequent marriage of his mother; and therefore the laws of England (though they would not admit either the civil or canon law to rule the inheritances of this kingdom, yet) paid such a regard to a person thus peculiarly circumstanced, that, after the land had descended to his issue, they would not unravel the matter again, and suffer his estate to be shaken. But this indulgence was shown to no other kind of bastard; for, if the mother was never married to the father, such bastard could have no colourable title at all. (t) (9)

[*249] *As bastards cannot be heirs themselves, so neither can they have any heirs but those of their own bodies. For, as all collateral kindred consists in being derived from the same common ancestor, and as a bastard has no legal ancestors, he can have no collateral kindred; and, consequently, can have no legal heirs, but such as claim by a lineal descent from himself. And therefore if a bastard purchases land and dies seised thereof without issue, and intestate, the land shall escheat to the lord of the fee. (u)

6. Aliens, (v) also, are incapable of taking by descent, or inheriting: (w) for they are not allowed to have any inheritable blood in them; rather indeed upon a principal of national or civil policy, than upon reasons strictly feudal. Though, if lands had been suffered to fall into their hands who owe no allegiance to the crown of England, the design of introducing our feuds, the defence of the kingdom, would have been defeated. Wherefore, if a man leaves no other relations but aliens, his land shall escheat to the lord.

As aliens cannot inherit, so far they are on a level with bastards; but as they are also disabled to hold by purchase, (x) (10) they are under still greater dis-

(s) Litt. § 399. Co. Litt. 244. (t) Litt. § 400. (u) Bract. l. 2, c. 7. Co. Litt. 244. (v) See Book I, ch. 10. (w) Co. Litt. 8. (x) *Ibid.* 2.

(7) [There must not only be a dying seized, but a descent to his issue. Co. Litt. 244, a. And if the bastard dieth seized, his wife enseint with a son, the mulier enter, the son is born, and the issue of the bastard is barred. Id. Broke, tit. Descent, 41; Plow. 57, a. 272, a.]

(8) [The second reason is not true generally, for, in all other cases but this, a man may be bastardized after his death; not indeed in the spiritual courts, which proceed only *salutem anime*, but in the temporal, where the rights of third persons depend upon his legitimacy. See *Pride v. Earls of Bath and Montague*, 1 Salk. 120.

The rule itself prevails equally as to daughters; "if a man hath issue two daughters (by the same woman) the eldest being a bastard, and they enter and occupy peaceably as heirs; now the law in favor of legitimation shall not adjudge the whole possession in the mulier, who then had the only right, but in both, so as if the bastard hath issue and dieth, her issue shall inherit." Co. Litt. 244.]

(9) Mr. Kerr says it would seem that this privilege of the *bastard eigne* no longer exists, in consequence of statute 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 27, having enacted that no descent cast shall defeat any right of entry.

(10) [If the purchase be made with the king's license, it seems that it may hold. See 14 Hen. IV. 20; Harg. Co. Litt. 2 b. n. 2.

The law as to purchases by aliens without license is shortly this, that the purchase vests the land in the alien, but subject to be divested out of him for the benefit of the crown by the finding of an inquisition in the exchequer. Letters of denization, so far as they relate to the alien's land, are a mere remission of this forfeiture.]

Whether in the case of escheat the title to the land vests in the state without inquest of office, is a question upon which the American cases are not harmonious. The following among others hold that it is: *Fairfax v. Hunter's Lessee*, 7 Cranch, 603; *Jackson v. Adams*, 7 Wend. 367; *Wilbur v. Tobey*, 16 Pick. 177; *Commonwealth v. Hite*, 6 Leigh, 588; *Taylor v. Benham*, 5 How. 233; *People v. Fulson*, 5 Cal. 373; *Puckett v. State*, 1 Sneed. 355; *Bradstreet v. Supervisors, &c.*, 13 Wend. 546; *Barbour v. Nelson*, 1 Litt. 60. Other cases hold that it is not. *Rubeck v. Gardner*, 7 Watts, 455; *White v. White*, 2 Met. Ky. 185; *Den v. O'Hanlon*, 20 N. J. 31; *Colgan v. McKeon*, 24 N. J. 567; *Farrar v. Dean*, 24 Mis. 16; *Crane v. Reeder*, 21 Mich. 24; *Holliman v. Peebles*, 1 Texas, 673.

abilities. And, as they can neither hold by purchase, nor by inheritance, it is almost superfluous to say that they can have no heirs, since they can have nothing for an heir to inherit; but so it is expressly holden, (*y*) because they have not in them any inheritable blood.

And farther, if an alien be made a denizen by the king's letters patent, and then purchases lands (which the law allows such a one to do), his son, born before his denization, shall not (by the common law) inherit those lands; but a son born afterwards may, even though his elder brother be living; for the father before denization, had no inheritable blood to communicate to his eldest son; but by denization it acquires *an hereditary quality, which will be [*250] transmitted to his subsequent posterity. Yet if he had been naturalized by act of parliament, such *eldest son* might then have inherited; for that cancels all defects, and is allowed to have a *retrospective* energy, which simple *denization* has not. (*z*) (11)

Sir Edward Coke (*a*) also holds, that if an alien cometh into England, and there hath issue two sons, who are thereby natural-born subjects; and one of them purchases land, and dies; yet neither of these brethren can be heir to the other. For the *commune vinculum*, or common stock of their consanguinity, is the father; and as he had no inheritable blood in him, he could communicate none to his sons; and, when the sons can by no possibility be heirs to the father, the one of them shall not be heir to the other. And this opinion of his seems founded upon solid principles of the ancient law; not only from the rule before cited, (*b*) that *cestuy, que doit inheriter al pere, doit inheriter al fils*: but also because we have seen that the only feudal foundation, upon which newly purchased land can possibly descend to a brother, is the supposition and fiction of law that it descended from some one of his ancestors; but in this case, as the intermediate ancestor was an alien, from whom it could by no possibility descend, this should destroy the supposition, and impede the descent, and the land should be inherited *ut feudum stricte novum*; that is, by none but the lineal descendants of the purchasing brother; and on failure of them should escheat to the lord of the fee. But this opinion hath since been overruled (*c*) and it is now held for law, that the sons of an alien born here may inherit to each other; the descent from one brother to another being an *immediate* descent. (*d*) And reasonably enough upon the whole; for, as (in common purchases) the whole of the supposed descent from indefinite ancestors is but fictitious, the law may as well suppose the requisite ancestor as suppose the requisite descent. (12)

*It is also enacted, by the statute 11 and 12 Wm. III. c. 6, that all [*251] persons, being natural-born subjects of the king, may inherit and make their titles by descent from any of their ancestors lineal or collateral; although their father or mother, or other ancestor, by, from, through, or under whom they derive their pedigrees, were born out of the king's allegiance. But inconveniences were afterwards apprehended, in case persons should thereby gain a future capacity to inherit, who did not exist at the death of the person last seised. As, if Francis, the elder brother of John Stiles, be an alien, and Oliver, the younger, be a natural-born subject, upon John's death without issue his lands will descend to Oliver, the younger brother: now, if afterwards Francis has a child born in England, it was feared that, under the statute of King William, this new born child might defeat the estate of his uncle Oliver. Where-

(*y*) Co. Litt. 2. 1 Lev. 59.

(*c*) 1 Vent. 413. 1 Lev. 59. 1 Sid. 193.

(*z*) Co. Litt. 129.

(*d*) See page 226.

(*a*) 1 Inst. 8.

(*b*) See pages 223 and 239.

(11) A very simple mode of naturalization is now provided by stat. 7 and 8 Vic. c. 66, by which the person naturalized acquires the rights and privileges of a British subject, except the capacity of being a member of the privy council, or a member of the houses of parliament, and except also such rights and capacities (if any) as shall be specially excepted in the certificate issued to him by the secretary of state. And since this statute letters of denization are seldom if ever obtained.

(12) And now by stat. 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 106, the person last entitled to the land is considered the purchaser unless the contrary is proved.

fore it is provided, by the statute 25 Geo. II, c. 39, that no right of inheritance shall accrue by virtue of the former statute to any persons whatsoever, unless they are in being and capable to take as heirs at the death of the person last seised:—with an exception, however, to the case, where lands shall descend to the daughter of an alien; which descent shall be divested in favour of an after-born brother, or the inheritance shall be divided with an after-born sister or sisters, according to the usual rule (*e*) of descents by the common law.

7. By attainder, also, for treason or other felony, the blood of the person attainted is so corrupted as to be rendered no longer inheritable. (13)

Great care must be taken to distinguish between forfeiture of lands, to the king, and this species of escheat to the lord; which, by reason of their similitude in some circumstances, and because the crown is very frequently the immediate lord of the fee, and therefore entitled to both, have been often confounded together. Forfeiture of lands, and of whatever else the offender possessed, was the doctrine of the old Saxon law, (*f*) as a part of punishment for the offence; *and does not at all relate to the feudal system, nor is [*252] the consequence of any signiory or lordship paramount: (*g*) but, being a prerogative vested in the crown, was neither superseded nor diminished by the introduction of the Norman tenures; a fruit and consequence of which, escheat must undoubtedly be reckoned. Escheat, therefore, operates in subordination to this more ancient and superior law of forfeiture.

The doctrine of escheat upon attainder, taken singly, is this: that the blood of the tenant, by the commission of any felony (under which denomination all treasons were formerly comprised), (*h*) is corrupted and stained, and the original donation of the feud is thereby determined, it being always granted to the vassal on the implied condition of *dum bene se gesserit*. Upon the thorough demonstration of which guilt, by legal attainder, the feudal covenant and mutual bond of fealty are held to be broken, the estate instantly falls back from the offender to the lord of the fee, and the inheritable quality of his blood is extinguished and blotted out forever. In this situation the law of feudal escheat was brought into England at the conquest; and in general superadded to the ancient law of forfeiture. In consequence of which corruption and extinction of hereditary blood, the land of all felons would immediately revert in the lord, but that the superior law of forfeiture intervenes, and intercepts it in its passage: in case of treason forever; in case of other felony, for only a year and a day; after which time it goes to the lord in a regular course of escheat, (*i*) as it would have done to the heir of the felon in case the feudal tenures had never been introduced. And that this is the true operation and genuine history of escheats will most evidently appear from this incident to gavelkind lands (which seems to be the old Saxon tenure), that they are in no case subject to escheat for felony, though they are liable to forfeiture for treason. (*j*)

[*253] *As a consequence of this doctrine of escheat, all lands of inheritance immediately reverting in the lord, the wife of the felon was liable to lose her dower, till the statute 1 Edw. VI, c. 12, enacted, that albeit any person be attainted of misprision of treason, murder, or felony, yet his wife shall enjoy her dower. But she has not this indulgence where the ancient law of forfeiture operates, for it is expressly provided by the statute 5, and 6 Edw. VI, c. 11, that the wife of one attaint of high treason shall not be endowed at all. (14)

Hitherto we have only spoken of estates vested in the offender at the time of his offence or attainder. And here the law of forfeiture stops; but the law of

(*e*) See pages 208 and 214.

(*f*) *L. L. Ælfred*, c. 4. *L. L. Canut.* c. 54.

(*g*) 2 Inst. 64. Salk. 63.

(*h*) 3 Inst. 15. Stat. 25 Edw. III, c. 2, § 12.

(*i*) 2 Inst. 36.

(*j*) Somner. 53. Wright. Ten. 118.

(13) In the United States there is no forfeiture of estate except for treason, and an attainder of treason cannot work corruption of blood except during the life of the person attainted. Const. of United States, art. 3, § 3. And see 3 Greenl. Cruise Dig. 393, note. For the present law in England see note 15, p. 254.

(14) The statute embraced petit treason, also, but that is since abolished. Statute 9 Geo. IV, c. 31, s. 2.

escheat pursues the matter still farther. For the blood of the tenant being utterly corrupted and extinguished, it follows not only that all that he now has shall escheat from him, but also that he shall be incapable of inheriting any thing for the future. This may farther illustrate the distinction between forfeiture and escheat. If, therefore, a father be seised in fee, and the son commits treason and is attainted, and then the father dies: here the lands shall escheat to the lord; because the son, by the corruption of his blood, is incapable to be heir, and there can be no other heir during his life; but nothing shall be forfeited to the king, for the son never had any interest in the lands to forfeit. (*k*) In this case the escheat operates, and not the forfeiture; but in the following instance the forfeiture works, and not the escheat. As where a new felony is created by act of parliament, and it is provided (as is frequently the case) that it shall not extend to corruption of blood; here the lands of the felon shall not escheat to the lord, but yet the profits of them shall be forfeited to the king for a year and a day, and so long after as the offender lives. (*l*)

There is yet a farther consequence of the corruption and extinction of hereditary blood, which is this: that the person *attainted shall not only be [*254] incapable himself of inheriting, or transmitting his own property by heirship, but shall also obstruct the descent of lands or tenements to his posterity, in all cases where they are obliged to derive their title through him from any remoter ancestor. The channel which conveyed the hereditary blood from his ancestors to him, is not only exhausted for the present, but totally dammed up and rendered impervious for the future. This is a refinement upon the ancient law of feuds, which allowed that the grandson might be heir to his grandfather, though the son in the intermediate generation was guilty of felony. (*m*) But, by the law of England, a man's blood is so universally corrupted (15) by attainder, that his sons can neither inherit to him nor to any other ancestors, (*n*) at least on the part of their attainted father.

This corruption of blood cannot be absolutely removed but by authority of parliament. The king may excuse the public punishment of an offender; but cannot abolish the private right, which has accrued or may accrue to individuals as a consequence of the criminal's attainder. He may remit a forfeiture, in which the interest of the crown is alone concerned; but he cannot wipe away the corruption of blood; for therein a third person hath an interest, the lord who claims by escheat. If, therefore, a man hath a son, and is attainted, and afterwards pardoned by the king; this son can never inherit to his father or father's ancestors; because his paternal blood, being once thoroughly corrupted by his father's attainder, must continue so; but if the son has been born after the pardon, he might inherit; because by the pardon the father is made a new man, and may convey new inheritable blood to his after-born children. (*o*)

Herein there is, however, a difference between aliens and persons attainted. Of aliens, who could never by any possibility be heirs, the law takes no notice: and therefore we have *seen, that an alien elder brother shall not impede [*255] the descent to a natural-born younger brother. But in attainders it is otherwise: for if a man hath issue a son, and is attainted, and afterwards pardoned, and then hath issue a second son, and dies; here the corruption of blood is not removed from the eldest, and therefore he cannot be heir; neither can the youngest be heir, for he hath an elder brother living, of whom the law takes

(*k*) Co. Litt. 13.
(*) Co. Litt. 391.

(*l*) 3 Inst. 47.
(*o*) *Ibid.* 392.

(*m*) Van Leeuwen in 2 Feud. 81.

(15) The statute 54 Geo. III, c. 155, abolished corruption of blood except in cases of treason, petit treason or murder, and the more recent statute 3 and 4 William IV, c. 106, § 10, enacts that "when the person, from whom the descent of any land is to be traced shall have had any relation who, having been attainted, shall have died before such descent shall have taken place, then such attainder shall not prevent any person from inheriting such land who would have been capable of inheriting the same, by tracing his descent through such relation, if he had not been attainted, unless such land shall have escheated before the first day of January, 1834."

notice, as he once had a possibility of being heir; and therefore the younger brother shall not inherit, but the land shall escheat to the lord; though had the elder died without issue in the life of the father, the younger son born after the pardon might well have inherited, for he hath no corruption of blood. (*p*) So if a man hath issue two sons, and the elder in the lifetime of the father hath issue, and then is attainted and executed, and afterwards the father dies, the lands of the father shall not descend to the younger son: for the issue of the elder, which had once a possibility to inherit, shall impede the descent to the younger, and the land shall escheat to the lord. (*q*) Sir Edward Coke in this case allows, (*r*) that if the ancestor be attainted, his sons born before the attainder may be heirs to each other; and distinguishes it from the case of the sons of an alien, because in this case the blood was inheritable when imparted to them from the father; but he makes a doubt (upon the principles before mentioned, which are now over-ruled) (*s*) whether sons, born after the attainder, can inherit to each other, for they never had any inheritable blood in them.

Upon the whole it appears, that a person attainted is neither allowed to retain his former estate, nor to inherit any future one, nor to transmit any inheritance to his issue, either immediately from himself, or mediately through himself from any remoter ancestor; for his inheritable blood, which is necessary either to hold, to take, or to transmit any feudal property, is blotted out, corrupted, and extinguished forever: the consequence of which is, that estates thus impeded in their descent, result back and escheat to the lord.

[*256] *This corruption of blood, thus arising from feudal principles, but perhaps extended farther than even those principles will warrant, has been long looked upon as a peculiar hardship: because the oppressive part of the feudal tenures being now in general abolished, it seems unreasonable to reserve one of their most inequitable consequences; namely, that the children should not only be reduced to present poverty (which, however severe, is sufficiently justified upon reasons of public policy), but also be laid under future difficulties of inheritance, on account of the guilt of their ancestors. And therefore in most (if not all) of the new felonies created by parliament since the reign of Henry the Eighth, it is declared, that they shall not extend to any corruption of blood: and by the statute 7 Ann. c. 21, (the operation of which is postponed by the statute 17 Geo. II, c. 39), it is enacted, that after the death of the late pretender, and his sons, no attainder for treason shall extend to the disinheriting any heir, nor the prejudice of any person, other than the offender himself: which provisions have indeed carried the remedy farther (16) than was required by the hardship above complained of; which is the only future obstruction of descents, where the pedigree happens to be deduced through the blood of an attainted ancestor.

Before I conclude this head of escheat, I must mention one singular instance in which lands held in fee-simple are not liable to escheat to the lord, even when their owner is no more, and hath left no heirs to inherit them. And this is the case of a corporation; for if that comes by any accident to be dissolved, the donor or his heirs shall have the land again in reversion, and not the lord by escheat; which is perhaps the only instance where a reversion can be expectant on a grant in fee-simple absolute. But the law, we are told, (*t*) doth tacitly annex a condition to every such gift or grant, that if the corporation be dissolved, the donor or grantor shall re-enter; for the cause of the gift or grant [*257] *faileth. This is indeed founded upon the self-same principle as the law of escheat; the heirs of the donor being only substituted instead of the chief lord of the fee: which was formerly very frequently the case in subinfeudations, or alienations of lands by a vassal to be holden as of himself, till

(*p*) *Ibid.* 8.(*q*) Dyer, 48.(*r*) Co. Litt. 8.(*s*) 1 Hal. P. C. 387.(*t*) Co. Litt. 12.

(16) See note 15, p. 254. As to the effect of attainder for treason on a title or dignity, see the *Braye Peerage Case*, 8 Scott, 108.

that practice was restrained by the statute of *quia emptores*, 18 Edw. I, st. 1, to which this very singular instance still in some degree remains an exception.

There is one more incapacity of taking by descent, which, not being productive of any escheat, is not strictly reducible to this head, and yet must not be passed over in silence. It is enacted by the statute 11 and 12 Wm. III, c. 4, (17) that every papist who shall not abjure the errors of his religion by taking the oaths to the government, and making the declaration against transubstantiation, within six months after he has attained the age of eighteen years, shall be incapable of inheriting, or taking, by descent as well as purchase, any real estates whatsoever; and his next of kin, being a Protestant, shall hold them to his own use till such time as he complies with the terms imposed by the act. This incapacity is merely personal; it affects himself only, and does not destroy the inheritable quality of his blood, so as to impede the descent to others of his kindred. In like manner as, even in the times of popery, one who entered into religion, and became a monk professed, was incapable of inheriting lands, both in our own (*u*) and the feudal law; *eo quod desiit esse miles seculi qui factus est miles Christi: nec beneficium pertinet ad eum qui non debet gerere officium.* (*w*) But yet he was accounted only *civiliter mortuus*; he did not impede the descent to others, but the next heir was entitled to his or his ancestor's estate.

These are the several deficiencies of hereditary blood, recognized by the law of England; which, so often as they happen, occasion lands to escheat to the original proprietary or lord. (18)

CHAPTER XVI.

II. OF TITLE BY OCCUPANCY.

OCCUPANCY is the taking possession of those things which before belonged to nobody. This, as we have seen, (*a*) is the true ground and foundation of all property, or of holding those things in severalty, which, by the law of nature, unqualified by that of society, were common to all mankind. But when once it was agreed that every thing capable of ownership should have an owner, natural reason suggested, that he who could first declare his intention of appropriating any thing to his own use, and, in consequence of such intention, actually took it into possession, should thereby gain the absolute property of it; according to that rule of the law of nations, recognized by the laws of Rome, (*b*) *quod nullius est, id ratione naturali occupanti conceditur.*

This right of occupancy, so far as it concerns real property (for of personal chattels I am not in this place to speak), hath been confined by the laws of England within a very narrow compass; and was extended only to a single instance: namely, where a man was tenant *pur autre vie*, or had an estate granted to himself only (without mentioning his heirs) for the life of another man, and died during the life of *cestuy que vie*, or him by whose life it was

(*u*) Co. Litt. 132.

(*w*) 2 Feud. 121.

(*a*) See pages 3 and 8.

(*b*) *Ff.* 41, 1, 3.

(17) These harsh and unreasonable restrictions were very much modified by statutes 18 Geo. III, c. 60, 31 Geo. III, c. 32, and 43 Geo. III, c. 30; and by statute 10 Geo. IV, c. 7, commonly called the Roman Catholic Relief Act, Catholics are entitled to hold and enjoy real and personal estate without being required to take any other oath than such as by law may be required to be taken by any other subjects. See May's Constitutional History, ch. 13, for an account of the passage of this last mentioned act.

(18) Where lands escheat within one of the United States, the state, and not the general government, becomes entitled. But to perfect the right some courts hold that a process must be had commonly called "inquest of office" or "office found," to determine and adjudge the facts. See 4 Kent, 424, 425, note; 2 Washb. Real Prop. 444; ante, p. 249, n. (10.)

holden; in this case he that could first enter on the land might lawfully retain the possession, so long as *cestuy que vie* lived, by right of occupancy. (c)

[*259] *This seems to have been recurring to first principles, and calling in the law of nature to ascertain the property of the land, when left without a legal owner. For it did not revert to the grantor, though it formerly (d) was supposed so to do; for he had parted with all his interest, so long as *cestuy que vie* lived: it did not escheat to the lord of the fee, for all escheats must be of the absolute entire fee, and not of any particular estate carved out of it; much less of so minute a remnant as this: it did not belong to the grantee; for he was dead: it did not descend to his heirs; for there were no words of inheritance in the grant: nor could it vest in his executors; for no executors could succeed to a freehold. Belonging therefore to nobody, like the *hæreditas jacens* of the Romans, the law left it open to be seised and appropriated by the first person that could enter upon it, during the life of *cestuy que vie*, under the name of an occupant. But there was no right of occupancy allowed, where the king had the reversion of the lands: for the reversioner hath an equal right with any other man to enter upon the vacant possession, and where the king's title and a subject's concur, the king's shall be always preferred: against the king therefore there could be no prior occupant, because *nullum tempus occurrit regi*. (e) And, even in the case of a subject, had the estate *pur auter vie* been granted to a man and his heirs during the life of *cestuy que vie*, there the heir might, and still may, enter and hold possession, and is called in law a *special occupant*: as having a special exclusive right, by the terms of the original grant, to enter upon and occupy this *hæreditas jacens*, during the residue of the estate granted: though some have thought him so called with no very great propriety; (f) and that such estate is rather a descendible freehold. But the title of common occupancy is now reduced almost to nothing by two statutes: the one 29 Car. II, c. 3, which enacts (according to the ancient rule of law) (g) that where there is no special occupant, in whom the estate may vest, the tenant *pur auter vie* may devise it *by will, or it shall go to the executors or administrators, and be assets in their hand for payment of debts: the other, that of 14 Geo. II, c. 20, which enacts, that the surplus of such estate *pur auter vie*, after payment of debts, shall go in a course of distribution like a chattel interest.

By these two statutes the title of *common* occupancy is utterly extinct and abolished; though that of *special* occupancy by the heir at law continues to this day; such heir being held to succeed to the ancestor's estate, not by descent, for then he must take an estate of inheritance, but as an occupant specially marked out and appointed by the original grant. But, as before the statutes there could no common occupancy be had of incorporeal hereditaments, as of rents, tithes, advowsons, commons, or the like, (h) (because, with respect to them, there could be no actual entry made, or corporal seisin had; and therefore by the death of the grantee *pur auter vie* a grant of such hereditaments was entirely determined,) so now, I apprehend, notwithstanding these statutes, such grant would be determined likewise; and the hereditaments would not be devisable, nor vest in the executors, nor go in a course of distribution. For these statutes must not be construed so as to create any new estate, or keep that alive which by the common law was determined, and thereby to defer the grantor's reversion, but merely to dispose of an interest in being, to which by law there was no owner, and which, therefore, was left open to the first occupant. (1) When there is a residue left, the statutes give it to the executors and

(c) Co. Litt. 41.

(e) Co. Litt. 41.

(d) Bract. 1. 2, c. 9, l. 4. tr. 3 c. 9, § 4.

(f) Vaugh. 201.

(g) Bract. *ibid.*

Flet. 1. 3, c. 12. § 6, l. 5, c. 5, § 15.

Flet. *ibid.*

(h) Co. Litt. 41. Vaugh. 201.

(1) The statutes here referred to were repealed by 1 Vic. c. 26, § 1, except as to wills executed before January 1, 1838; and by § 3 an estate *pur auter vie*, of whatever tenure, may in all cases be devised by will, and by § 6, if not so devised, it shall be assets in the hands of the heir, as special occupant, for the payment of debts as in the case of freehold lands in fee-

administrators, instead of the first occupant; but they will not *create* a residue, on purpose to give it to either.(i) They only meant to provide an appointed instead of a casual, a certain instead of an uncertain, owner of lands which before were nobody's; and thereby to supply this *casus omissus*, and render the disposition of law in all respects entirely uniform; this being the only instance wherein a title to a real estate could ever be acquired by occupancy.(2)

*This, I say, was the only instance; for I think there can be no other [*261] case devised, wherein there is not some owner of the land appointed by the law. In the case of a sole corporation, as a parson of a church, when he dies or resigns, though there is no *actual* owner of the land till a successor be appointed, yet there is a *legal, potential* ownership subsisting in contemplation of law; and when the successor is appointed, his appointment shall have a retrospect and relation backwards, so as to entitle him to all the profits from the instant that the vacancy commenced. And, in all other instances, when the tenant dies intestate, and no other owner of the lands is to be found in the common course of descents, there the law vests an ownership in the king, or in the subordinate lord of the fee, by escheat.

So, also, in some cases, where the laws of other nations give a right by occupancy, as in lands newly created, by the rising of an island in the sea or in a river, or by the alluvion or dereliction of the waters; in these instances the law of England assigns them an immediate owner. For Bracton tells us,(j) that if an island arise in the *middle* of a river, it belongs in common to those who have lands on each side thereof; but if it be nearer to one bank than the other, it belongs only to him who is proprietor of the nearest shore: which is agreeable to, and probably copied from, the civil law.(k) Yet this seems only to be reasonable, where the soil of the river is equally divided between the owners of the opposite shores; for if the whole soil is the freehold of any one man, as it usually is whenever a several fishery is claimed,(l) there it seems just (and so is the constant practice) that the eyotts or little islands, arising in any part of the river, shall be the property of him who owneth the piscary and the soil. However, in case a new island rise in the sea, though the civil law gives it to the first occupant,(m) yet ours gives it to the king.(n) *And as to lands [*262] gained from the sea, either by *alluvion*, by the washing up of sand and earth, so as in time to make *terra firma*; or by *dereliction*, as when the sea shrinks back below the usual watermark; in these cases the law is held to be, that if this gain be by little and little, by small and imperceptible degrees, it shall go to the owner of the land adjoining.(o) For *de minimis non curat lex*: and, besides, these owners, being often losers by the breaking in of the sea, or at charges to keep it out, this possible gain is therefore a reciprocal consideration for such possible charge or loss. But if the alluvion or dereliction be sudden and considerable, in this case it belongs to the king; for, as the king is lord of the sea, and so owner of the soil while it is covered with water, it is but reasonable he should have the soil when the water has left it dry.(p) So that the quantity of ground gained, and the time during which it is gaining, are what make it either the king's or the subject's property. (3)

(i) But see now the statute 5 Geo. III, c. 17, which makes leases for one, two, or three lives, by ecclesiastical persons or any eleemosynary corporation, of tithes or other incorporeal hereditaments, as good and effectual to all intents and purposes as leases of corporeal possessions.

(j) 1. 2, c. 2.

(k) Inst. 2, 1, 22.

(l) Salk. 637. See page 39.

(m) Inst. 2, 1, 22.

(n) Bract. 1. 2, c. 2. Callis, of sewers, 22.

(o) 2 Roll. Abr. 170. Dyer, 326.

(p) Callis, 24, 28.

simple, and if there shall be no special occupant, it goes to the executor or administrator, to be applied and distributed in the same manner as the personal estate.

(2) [In the mining districts of Derbyshire and Cornwall, by the laws of the Stannaries, an estate in mines might, and it is believed still may, be gained by occupancy. Geary v. Barcroft, 1 Sid. 347.]

(3) [See these subjects of alluvion, avulsion, and reliction, and islands arising in the sea and rivers, fully considered, and the cases collected in the able treatise of Mr. Schultes on Aquatic Rights, who, in pages 115 to 138, draws this conclusion: "that all islands, relict land, and other increase arising in the sea and in navigable streams, except under local circumstances before alluded to, belong to the crown; and that all islands, relict land, and the soil of

In the same manner if a river, running between two lordships, by degrees gains upon the one, and thereby leaves the other dry; the owner who loses his ground thus imperceptibly has no remedy; (4) but if the course of the river be changed by a sudden and violent flood, or other hasty means, and thereby a man loses his ground, it is said that he shall have what the river has left in any other place, as a recompense for this sudden loss. (q) (5) And this law of alluvions and derelictions, with regard to rivers, is nearly the same in the imperial law; (r) from whence indeed those our determinations seem to have been drawn and adopted: but we ourselves, as islanders, have applied them to marine increases; and have given our sovereign the prerogative he enjoys, as well upon the particular reasons before mentioned, as upon this other general ground of prerogative, which was formerly remarked, (s) that whatever hath no other owner is vested by the law in the king.

(q) *Callis*, 22.

(r) *Inst.* 2, 1, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

(s) See Book I, page 236.

inland, unnavigable rivers and streams under similar circumstances belong to the proprietor of the estates to which such rivers act as boundaries; and hence it may be considered as law, that all islands, sand beds, or other parcels of agglomerated or concreted earth which newly arise in rivers, or congregate to their banks by alluvion, reliction, or other aqueous means, as is frequently to be observed in rivers where the current is irregular, such accumulated or relicted property belongs to the owners of the neighbouring estates. *Schultes on Aquatic Rights*, 138. See further, *Com. Dig. Prerog. D.* 61; *Bac. Ab. Prerogative*; 3 *Bar. and C.* 91; 5 *B. and A.* 268; 3 *Ad. and El.* 554; 5 *Nev. and M.* 234; 3 *B. and Ad.* 862. From the late case of the *King v. Lord Yarborough*, 3 *Bar. and Cres.* 91 (though the decision turned rather upon the pleadings and evidence than the general law of alluvion and reliction), and the cases cited, *id.* 102, it may be collected that if the salt water leave a great quantity of land on the shore, the king shall have the land by his prerogative, and not the owner of the adjoining soil; but not so when dry land is formed gradually, and by insensible, imperceptible degrees, by alluvions or relictions, however large it may ultimately become. 2 *Bligh*, 187; 5 *Bing.* 163; 4 *B. and Cr.* 506. As to unnavigable rivers, there is a case cited in *Callis*, 51, from the 22 *lib. ass. pl.* 93, which fully establishes the law. "The case was, that a river of water did run between two lordships, and the soil of one side, together with the river of water, did wholly belong to one of the said lordships, and the river, by little and little, did gather upon the soil of the other lord, but so slowly, that if one had fixed his eye a whole day thereon together, it could not be perceived. By this petty and imperceptible increase, the increment was got to the owner of the river, but if the river by a sudden and unusual flood, had gained hastily a great parcel of the other lord's ground, he should not thereby have lost the same; and so of petty and unperceivable increasements from the sea, the king gains no property, for 'de minimis non curat lex.'" *N. B.* In the above text, it is supposed "he shall have what the river has left in any other place as a recompense for his sudden loss," but the case in 22 *ass. pl.* 93, says that "neither party shall lose his land." *Schultes on Aquatic Rights*, 136, 137.]

Upon this subject see the following American cases; *Adams v. Frothingham*, 3 *Mass.* 352; *Deerfield v. Arms*, 17 *Pick.* 41; *Trustees v. Dickinson*, 9 *Cush.* 544; *Emans v. Tarabull*, 2 *Johns.* 322; *Halsey v. McCormick*, 18, *N. Y.* 147; *Girard v. Hughes*, 1 *Gill and J.* 249; *Chapman v. Hoskins*, 2 *Md. Ch.* 485; *Lamb v. Rickets*, 11 *Ohio*, 311; *Morgan v. Livingston*, 6 *Mart. La.* 19; *New Orleans v. United States*, 10 *Pet.* 662; *St. Louis Public Schools v. Risley*, 40 *Mo.* 356; *Patterson v. Gelston*, 23 *Md.* 432.

(4) [And the same rule holds good as between the crown and a subject in the case of a gradual encroachment of the sea. 5 *Mec. and W.* 327.]

(5) See cases cited in note 3. Also *Lynch v. Allen*, 4 *Dev. and Bat.* 60; *Woodbury v. Short*, 17 *Vt.* 387. As to alluvion formed on the shore of a lake or natural pond, see *Murray v. Sermon*, 1 *Hawks*, 56. Controversies frequently arise, in the case of alluvion; as to the proper division of the increase between the adjoining proprietors on the same side of the water, whose water front is thus extended, but the division line between whom may not, perhaps, have intersected the original shore line at right angles. In such a case the land formed by the alluvion is to be so divided as to give to each proprietor a length on the new water line proportioned to his length on the old water line, whether the one be longer or shorter than the other. *Trustees v. Dickinson*, 9 *Cush.* 544; *People v. Canal Appraisers*, 13 *Wend.* 355; *O'Donnell v. Kelsey*, 4 *Sandf.* 202; *Deerfield v. Arms*, 17 *Pick.* 41; *Emerson v. Taylor*, 9 *Greenl.* 44; *Newton v. Eddy*, 23 *Vt.* 319; *Kennebeck Ferry Co. v. Bradstreet*, 28 *Me.* 374. These cases will illustrate the rule and its application under different circumstances. See also *Clark v. Campan*, 19 *Mich.* 325; 13 *Kent*, 428; *Ang. on Watercourses*, §§ 53 to 60; *Ang. on Tide Waters*, 249 to 253.

CHAPTER XVII.

III. OF TITLE BY PRESCRIPTION.

A THIRD method of acquiring real property by purchase is that by *prescription*; as when a man can show no other title to what he claims, than that he, and those under whom he claims, have immemorially used to enjoy it. Concerning customs, or immemorial usages, in general, with the several requisites and rules to be observed, in order to prove their existence and validity, we inquired at large in the preceding part of these Commentaries.^(a) At present, therefore, I shall only, first, distinguish between *custom*, strictly taken, and *prescription*; and then show what sort of things may be prescribed for.

And, first, the distinction between custom and prescription is this; that custom is properly a *local* usage, and not annexed to any *person*; such as a custom in the manor of Dale that lands shall descend to the youngest son: prescription is merely a *personal* usage; as, that Sempronius and his ancestors, or those whose estate he hath, have used time out of mind to have such an advantage or privilege.^(b) As for example; if there be a usage in the parish of Dale, that all the inhabitants of that parish may dance on a certain close at all times, for their recreation (which is held ^(c) to be a lawful usage); this is strictly a custom, for it is applied to the *place* in general, and not to any particular *persons*: but if the **tenant*, who is seised of the manor of Dale in fee, alleges that he and his ancestors, or all those whose estate he hath in the said manor, [*264] have used time out of mind to have common of pasture in such a close, this is properly called a prescription; for this is a usage annexed to the *person* of the owner of this estate. All prescription must be either in a man and his ancestors, or in a man and those whose estate he hath: ^(d) which last is called prescribing in a *que estate*. And formerly a man might, by the common law, have prescribed for a right which had been enjoyed by his ancestors or predecessors at any distance of time, though his or their enjoyment of it had been suspended ^(e) for an indefinite series of years.⁽¹⁾ But by the statute of limitations, 32 Hen. VIII, c. 2, it is enacted, that no person shall make any prescription by the seisin or possession of his ancestor or predecessor, unless such seisin or possession hath been within threescore years next before such prescription made. ^(f) ⁽²⁾

(a) See book I, page 75, &c.

(b) Co. Litt. 113.

(c) 1 Lev. 176.

(d) 4 Rep. 33.

(e) Co. Litt. 113.

(f) This title, of prescription, was well known in the Roman law by the name of *usucapio* (Ff. 41, 2, 3), so called, because a man, that gains a title by prescription, may be said *usu rem capere*.

(1) [See 6 Mee. and W. 542; 6 Jur. 837; 6 Scott, 167; 11 Ad. and E. 819. A right acquired by prescription may be lost by abandonment or non-user. After twenty years of non-user the court would generally presume that the right had been released, and abandonment may be inferred from unequivocal acts within a much shorter time; as by pulling down a wall, in which was an ancient light, and erecting a blank wall in its place. 3 B. and Cr. 336; 3 Ad. and El. 325.]

(2) [To remedy the defects in the methods of acquiring title by prescription, the act 2 and 3 Wm. IV, c. 71, commonly called Lord Tenterden's act, was passed, by which the user which should render a title to an easement indefeasible is defined.

By the first section it is declared that no claim which might lawfully be made at the common law, by custom, prescription or grant, to any right of common or other profit *a prendre*, except such matters and things as are therein specially provided for (meaning rights of way or other easements, watercourses and lights), shall, if it have been uninterruptedly enjoyed by any person claiming right thereto for thirty years, be defeated by showing the commencement of the enjoyment of such right prior to the period of thirty years. But any other mode of defeating the claim which was before, is to continue to be available for that purpose, except that an uninterrupted enjoyment for sixty years (unless had by consent, expressly given by deed or writing), is to confer an absolute and indefeasible title.

By the next section, when the right claimed is a right of way or other easement or a water course, or the use of any water—see *Webb v. Bird*, 31 L. J. C. P. 335—the above periods of thirty and sixty years are reduced to twenty and forty respectively.

By the third section, the claim to the access and use of light for any dwelling house, workshop or other building, if actually enjoyed, otherwise than by consent or agreement in writing,

Secondly, as to the several species of things which may, or may not, be prescribed for; we may, in the first place, observe, that nothing but incorporeal hereditaments can be claimed by prescription; as a right of way, a common, &c.; but that no prescription can give a title to lands, and other corporeal substances of which more certain evidence may be had. (*g*) For a man shall not be said to prescribe, that he and his ancestors have immemorially used to hold the castle of Arundel: for this is clearly another sort of title; a title by corporal seisin and inheritance, which is more permanent, and therefore more capable of proof, than that of prescription. But, as to a right of way, a common, or the like, a man may be allowed to prescribe; for of these there is no corporal seisin, the enjoyment will be frequently by intervals, and therefore the right to enjoy them can depend on nothing else but immemorial usage. 2. A prescription [*265] must always be *laid in him that is tenant of the fee. A tenant for life, for years, at will, or a copyholder, cannot prescribe, by reason of the imbecility of their estates. (*h*) For, as prescription is usage beyond time of memory, it is absurd that they should pretend to prescribe for anything, whose estates commenced within the remembrance of man. And therefore the copyholder must prescribe under cover of his lord's estate, and the tenant for life under cover of the tenant in fee-simple. As if tenant for life of a manor would prescribe for a right of common as appurtenant to the same, he must prescribe under cover of the tenant in fee-simple; and must plead that John Stiles and his ancestors had immemorially used to have this right of common, appurtenant to the said manor, and that John Stiles demised the said manor, with its appurtenances, to him the said tenant for life. 3. A prescription cannot be for a thing which cannot be raised by grant. For the law allows prescription only in supply of the loss of a grant, and therefore every prescription presupposes a grant to have existed. (3) Thus the lord of a manor cannot prescribe to raise a tax or toll upon strangers; for, as such claim could never have been good by

(*g*) Dr. & St. dial. 1, c. 8. Finch, 132.

(*h*) 4 Rep. 32, 33.

is made indefeasible after twenty years' user, any local user or custom to the contrary notwithstanding. In this case the necessity for proving that the easement had been used as of right is dispensed with. But by other sections, provision is made to meet the cases where the persons who are interested in contesting the right are incapacitated, or only entitled in reversion, and an explanation is given that nothing is to be deemed an interruption unless it is submitted to for a year.

It will be seen from the above statement of the act, that if the easement be enjoyed under a parol license, extending over the periods of thirty or twenty years (except in the case of light), this fact is sufficient to defeat the claim: for then the user would not be as of right, and so would not come within the act: and a parol license was always at common law sufficient to rebut the presumption of a grant. *Tickle v. Brown*, 4 A. and E. 369; S. C., 6 N. and M. 230. And where the nature of the right is such that it could not be claimed as of right, the act evidently does not apply; for instance, where the claim is to the overflow of water from a canal, consequent upon boats passing through the locks of the canal. *Staffordshire, &c. Canal Nav. v. Birmingham Canal*, L. R. 1 H. L. E. and J. 254.

As to the nature of the user, and whether it is of right within the intention of the act, see *Warburton v. Parke*, 2 H. and N. 64; *Bright v. Walker*, 1 Cr. M. and R. 211; *Onley v. Gardiner*, 4 M. and W. 496; *Beasley v. Clarke*, 3 Scott, 263; *England v. Wall*, 10 M. and W. 699; *Eaton v. Swansea Water Co.*, 17 Q. B. 267.]

(3) [The general rule with regard to prescriptive claims is, that every such claim is good if by possibility it might have had a legal commencement: 1 Term. R. 667, ante, pp. 31 and 35, and notes; and from upwards of twenty years' enjoyment of an easement or profit *a prendre*, grants, or, as Lord Kenyon said, even a hundred grants, will be presumed, even against the crown, if by possibility they could legally have been made. 11 East, 284, 495. Thus a fair or market may be claimed by prescription, which presumes a grant from the king, which by length of time is supposed to be lost or worn out: *Gilb. Dist.* 22; but if such a grant would be contrary to an express act of parliament it would be otherwise. 11 East, 495. But an exception to the general rule is the claim of toll *thorough*, where it is necessary to show expressly for what consideration it was granted, though such proof is not necessary in respect of toll *traverse*. 1 T. R. 667; 1 B. and C. 223. An ancient grant without date does not necessarily destroy a prescriptive right for it may be either prior to time of legal memory or in confirmation of such prescriptive right, which is matter to be left to a jury. 2 Bla. R. 989. Nor will a prescriptive right be destroyed by implication merely in an act of parliament. 3 B. and A. 193.]

any grant, it shall not be good by prescription. (i) A fourth rule is, that what is to arise by matter of record cannot be prescribed for, but must be claimed by grant, entered on record; such as, for instance, the royal franchises of deodands, felon's goods, and the like. These, not being forfeited till the matter on which they arise is found by the inquisition of a jury, and so made a matter of record, the forfeiture itself cannot be claimed by an inferior title. But the franchises of treasure-trove, waifs, estrays, and the like, may be claimed by prescription; for they arise from private contingencies, and not from any matter of record. (k) (4) 5. Among things incorporeal, which may be claimed by prescription, a distinction must be made with regard to the manner of prescribing; that is, whether a man shall prescribe in a *que estate*, or in himself and his ancestors. For, if a man prescribes in a *que estate*, (that is, in himself and those whose estate he holds), nothing *is claimable by this prescription, but such things as are incident, appendant, or appurtenant to [*266] lands; for it would be absurd to claim any thing as the consequence, or appendix of an estate, with which the thing claimed has no connexion; but if he prescribes in himself and his ancestors, he may prescribe for any thing whatsoever that lies in grant: not only things that are appurtenant, but also such as may be in gross. (l) Therefore a man may prescribe, that he, and those whose estate he hath in the manor of Dale, have used to hold the advowson of Dale, as *appendant* to that manor; but if the advowson be a distinct inheritance, and not appendant, then he can only prescribe in his ancestors. So also a man may prescribe in a *que estate* for a common *appurtenant* to a manor; but, if he would prescribe for a common *in gross*, he must prescribe in himself and his ancestors. 6. Lastly, we may observe, that estates gained by prescription are not, of course, descendible to the heirs general, like other purchased estates, but are an exception to the rule. For, properly speaking, the prescription is rather to be considered as an evidence of a former acquisition, than as an acquisition *de novo*: and therefore, if a man prescribes for a right of way in himself and his ancestors, it will descend only to the blood of that line of ancestors in whom he so prescribes; the prescription in this case being indeed a species of descent. But, if he prescribes for it in a *que estate*, it will follow the nature of that estate in which the prescription is laid, and be inheritable in the same manner, whether that were acquired by descent or purchase; for every accessory followeth the nature of its principal. (5)

(i) 1 Vent. 337.

(k) Co. Litt. 114.

(l) Litt. § 183. Finch, L. 104.

(4) [The reason for this distinction is not very satisfactory; though the forfeiture must be matter of record, there seems no ground why the right to receive that forfeiture might not be claimed by prescription: at all events there is some inconsistency, for a man may prescribe for a court leet, which is a court of record, as well as for a county palatine, and by reason thereof to have the forfeitures in question. Co. Litt. 114, b.]

(5) The term "prescription" is in strictness applicable only to incorporeal hereditaments. Ferris v. Brown, 3 Barb. 105; Caldwell v. Copeland, 37 Penn. St. 431. In order to raise the presumption of a grant, the user must have been peaceable and open, and it must have been adverse to the owner of the land. Sargent v. Ballard, 9 Pick. 251; Brace v. Yale, 10 Allen, 441; Watkins v. Peck, 13 N. H. 360; Corning v. Gould, 16 Wend. 531; Colvin v. Burnett, 17 id. 564; Trask v. Ford, 39 Me. 437; Perrin v. Garfield, 37 Vt. 310. It must also have been continuous for the whole period. Pollard v. Barnes, 2 Cush. 191; Branch v. Doane, 18 Conn. 233; Pierre v. Fernald, 26 Me. 436; Rogers v. Sawin, 10 Gray, 376. And if the mode of user has been changed during the time, the party can claim only to the extent that he has continuously enjoyed the easement, or other right for the whole time. Monmouth, &c., Co. v. Harford, 1 C. M. & R. 614; Dand v. Kingscote, 6 M. & W. 174. Stackpole v. Curtis, 32 Me. 383; Biglow v. Battle, 15 Mass. 313; Darlington v. Painter, 7 Penn. St. 473; Belknap v. Trimble, 3 Paige, 577. But although the extent of the right is to be measured and regulated by the enjoyment upon which the right is supported, the party is yet allowed freedom in the manner of exercising it. See Ang. on Watercourses, § 226, and cases cited. And on the general subject, see Bowman v. Wickliffe, 15 B. Monr. 84; Garrett v. Jackson, 20 Penn. St. 331; Tyler v. Wilkinson, 4 Mason, 397; Thomas v. Marshfield, 13 Pick. 248; Ricard v. Williams, 7 Wheat, 109; Morrison v. Chapin, 97 Mass. 72.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IV. OF TITLE BY FORFEITURE.

FORFEITURE is a punishment annexed by law to some illegal act, or negligence, in the owner of lands, tenements or hereditaments; whereby he loses all his interest therein, and they go to the party injured, as a recompense for the wrong which either he alone, or the public together with himself, hath sustained.

Lands, tenements, and hereditaments, may be forfeited in various degrees and by various means: 1. By crimes and misdemeanors. 2. By alienation contrary to law. 3. By non-presentation to a benefice, when the forfeiture is denominated a *lapse*. 4. By simony. 5. By non-performance of conditions. 6. By waste. 7. By breach of copyhold customs. 8. By bankruptcy.

I. The foundation and justice of forfeitures for *crimes and misdemeanors*, and the several degrees of those forfeitures proportioned to the several offences, have been hinted at in the preceding book; (a) but it will be more properly considered, and more at large, in the fourth book of these Commentaries. At present, I shall only observe in general, that the offences which induce a forfeiture of lands and tenements to the crown are principally the following six: 1. Treason. [*268] 2. Felony. (1) 3. Misprision of treason. 4. *Præmunire*. *5. Drawing a weapon on a judge, or striking any one in the presence of the king's principal courts of justice. 6. Popish recusancy, or non-observance of certain laws enacted in restraint of papists. (2) But at what time they severally commence, how far they extend, and how long they endure, will with greater propriety be reserved as the object of our future inquiries. (3)

II. Lands and tenements may be forfeited by *alienation*, or conveying them to another, contrary to law. This is either alienation in *mortmain*, alienation to an *alien*, or alienation by *particular tenants*; in the two former of which cases the forfeiture arises from the incapacity of the alienee to take, in the latter from the incapacity of the alienor to grant.

1. Alienation in *mortmain*, in *mortua manu*, is an alienation of lands or tenements to any corporation, sole or aggregate, ecclesiastical or temporal. But these purchases having been chiefly made by religious houses, in consequence whereof the lands became perpetually inherit in one dead hand, this hath occasioned the general appellation of mortmain to be applied to such alienations, (b) and the religious houses themselves to be principally considered in forming the statutes of mortmain; in deducing the history of which statutes, it will be matter of curiosity to observe the great address and subtle contrivance of the ecclesiastics in eluding from time to time the laws in being, and the zeal with which successive parliaments have pursued them through all their finesses: how new remedies were still the parents of new evasions; till the legislature at last, though with difficulty, hath obtained a decisive victory.

By the common law any man might dispose of his lands to any other private man at his own discretion, especially when the feudal restraints of alienation were worn away. Yet in consequence of these it was always and is still necessary, (c) for corporations to have a license in mortmain *from the crown, [*269] to enable them to purchase lands; for as the king is the ultimate lord of every fee, he ought not, unless by his own consent, to lose his privilege of

(a) Book I, page 299.

(b) See Book I, page 479.

(c) F. N. B. 122.

(1) Now by statute 3 and 4 William IV, c. 106, the forfeiture, where it exists at all, is only for the life of the person attainted. See note, p. 254.

(2) These laws are since repealed. See note, p. 257.

(3) [Until the facts of the seisin and of the forfeiture are found by an inquisition on behalf of the crown, or as it is phrased, until "office found," the land remains in the offender, and may be conveyed by him, subject to being divested upon the recording of the inquisition. See 5 B. and Ad. 765.]

escheats, and other feudal profits, by the vesting of lands in tenants that can never be attainted or die. And such licenses of mortmain seem to have been necessary among the Saxons, about sixty years before the Norman conquest. (d) But, besides this general license from the king, as lord paramount of the kingdom, it was also requisite, whenever there was a mesne or intermediate lord between the king and the alienor, to obtain his license also (upon the same feudal principles), for the alienation of the specific land. And if no such license was obtained, the king or other lord might respectively enter on the land so aliened in mortmain as a forfeiture. The necessity of this license from the crown was acknowledged by the constitutions of Clarendon, (e) in respect of advowsons, which the monks always greatly coveted, as being the groundwork of subsequent appropriations. (f) Yet such were the influence and ingenuity of the clergy, that (notwithstanding this fundamental principle) we find that the largest and most considerable dotations of religious houses happened within less than two centuries after the conquest. And (when a license could not be obtained) their contrivance seems to have been this: that, as the forfeiture for such alienations accrued in the first place to the immediate lord of the fee, the tenant who meant to alienate first conveyed his lands to the religious house, and instantly took them back again to hold as tenant to the monastery; which kind of instantaneous seisin was probably held not to occasion any forfeiture: and then, by pretext of some other forfeiture, surrender or escheat, the society entered into those lands in right of such their newly-acquired signiory, as immediate lords of the fee. But when these dotations began to grow numerous, it was observed that the feudal services, ordained for the defense of the kingdom, were every day visibly withdrawn; that the circulation of landed property from man to man began to *stagnate; and that [*270] the lords were curtailed of the fruits of their signiories, their escheats, wardships, reliefs, and the like; and therefore, in order to prevent this, it was ordered by the second of King Henry III.'s great charters, (g) and afterwards by that printed in our common statute books, that all such attempts should be void, and the land forfeited to the lord of the fee. (h)

But, as this prohibition extended only to religious *houses*, bishops and other sole corporations were not included therein; and the aggregate ecclesiastical bodies (who Sir Edward Coke observes, (i) in this were to be commended, that they ever had of their counsel the best learned men that they could get), found many means to creep out of this statute, by buying in lands that were *bona fide* holden of themselves as lords of the fee, and thereby evading the forfeiture; or by taking long leases for years, which first introduced those extensive terms, for a thousand or more years, which are now so frequent in conveyances. This produced the statute *de religiosis*, 7 Edw. I; which provided, that *no person*, religious or other whatsoever, should buy, or sell, or receive under a pretence of a gift, or term of years, or any other title whatsoever, nor should by any art or ingenuity appropriate to himself any lands or tenements in mortmain: upon pain that the immediate lord of the fee, or, on his default for one year, the lords paramount, and, in default of all of them, the king, might enter thereon as a forfeiture.

This seemed to be a sufficient security against all alienations in mortmain: but as these statutes extended only to gifts and conveyances between the parties, the religious houses now began to set up a fictitious title to the land, which it was intended they should have, and to bring an *action to recover it [*271] against the tenant; who by fraud and collusion, made no defence, and thereby judgment was given for the religious house, which then *recovered* the

(d) Selden, Jan. Angl. l. 2, § 45.

(e) *Ecclesia de feudo domini regis non possunt in perpetuum dari, absque assensu et consensione ipsius.* c. 2, A. D. 1164.

(f) See book I, page 384.

(g) A. D. 1217. cap. 43, edit. Ozon.

(h) *Non licet alicui de cetero dare terram suam alicui domui religiosæ, ita quod illam resumat tenendam de eadem domo; nec licet alicui domui religiosæ terram alicujus sic accipere, quod tradat illum ei a quo ipsam recepit tenendam; si quis autem de cetero terram suam domui religiosæ sic de deret, et super hoc contrincatur, donum suum penitus cassetur, ut terra illa domino suo illius feodi in curratur.* Mag. Cart. 9 Hen. III, c. 38.

(i) 2 Inst. 75.

land by sentence of law upon a supposed prior title. And thus they had the honour of inventing those fictitious adjudications of right, which are since become the great assurance of the kingdom, under the name of *common recoveries*. But upon this the statute of Westminster the second, 13 Edw. I, c. 32, enacted, that in such cases a jury shall try the true right of the demandants or plaintiffs to the land, and if the religious house or corporation be found to have it, they shall still recover seisin; otherwise it shall be forfeited to the immediate lord of the fee, or else to the next lord, and finally to the king, upon the immediate or other lord's default. And the like provision was made by the succeeding chapter, (*k*) in case the tenants set up crosses upon their lands (the badges of knights templars and hospitallers), in order to protect them from the feudal demands of their lords, by virtue of the privileges of those religious and military orders. So careful indeed was this provident prince to prevent any future evasion, that when the statute of *quia emptores*, 18 Edw. I, abolished all subinfeudations, and gave liberty for all men to alienate their lands to be holden of their next immediate lord, (*l*) a proviso was inserted (*m*) that this should not extend to authorize any kind of alienation in mortmain. And when afterwards the method of obtaining the king's license by writ of *ad quod damnum* was marked out by the statute 27 Edw. I, st. 2, it was further provided by statute 34 Edw. I, st. 3, that no such license should be effectual, without the consent of the mense or intermediate lords.

Yet still it was found difficult to set bounds to ecclesiastical ingenuity; for when they were driven out of all their former holds, they devised a new method of conveyance, for which the lands were granted, not to themselves directly, but to nominal feoffees *to the use of* the religious houses; thus distinguishing [*272] between the *possession* and the *use*, and receiving *the actual profits, while the seisin of the lands remained in the nominal feoffee; who was held by the courts of equity (then under the direction of the clergy) to be bound in conscience to account to his *cestuy que use* for the rents and emoluments of the estate. And it is to these inventions that our practisers are indebted for the introduction of uses and trusts, the foundation of modern conveyancing. But, unfortunately for the inventors themselves, they did not long enjoy the advantage of their new device; for the statute 15 Ric. II, c. 5, enacts, that the lands which had been so purchased to uses should be amortised by license from the crown, or else be sold to private persons; and that, for the future, uses shall be subject to the statutes of mortmain, and forfeitable like the lands themselves. And whereas the statutes had been eluded by purchasing large tracts of land, adjoining to churches, and consecrating them by the name of church-yards, such subtle imagination is also declared to be within the compass of the statutes of mortmain. And civil or lay corporations, as well as ecclesiastical, are also declared to be within the mischief, and of course within the remedy provided by those salutary laws. And lastly, as during the times of popery, lands were frequently given to superstitious uses, though not to any corporate bodies; or were made liable in the hands of heirs and devisees to the charge of obits, chauntries, and the like, which were equally pernicious in a well governed state as actual alienations in mortmain; therefore, at the dawn of the reformation, the statute 23 Hen. VIII, c. 10, declares that all future grants of lands for any of the purposes aforesaid, if granted for any longer term than twenty years, shall be void.

But during all this time, it was in the power of the crown, by granting a license of mortmain, to remit the forfeiture, so far as related to its own rights; and to enable any spiritual or other corporation to purchase and hold any lands or tenements in perpetuity; which prerogative is declared and confirmed by the statute 18 Edw. III, st. 3, c. 3. But, as doubts were conceived at the time of the revolution how far such license was valid, (*n*) since the kings had no [*273] *power to dispense with the statutes of mortmain by a clause of *non obstante*, (*o*) which was the usual course, though it seems to have been

(*k*) Cap. 33. (l) 2 Inst. 501. (m) Cap. 3. (n) 2 Hawk. P. C. 391. (o) Stat. 1 W. & M. st. 2, c. 2.

unnecessary: (*p*) and as, by the gradual declension of mesne signiories through the long operation of the statute of *quia emptores*, the rights of intermediate lords were reduced to a very small compass; it was therefore provided by the statute 7 and 8 Wm. III, c. 37, that the crown for the future at its own discretion may grant licenses to aliene or take in mortmain, of whomsoever the tenements may be holden.

After the dissolution of monasteries under Henry VIII, though the policy of the next popish successor affected to grant a security to the possessors of abbey lands, yet, in order to regain so much of them as either the zeal or timidity of their owners might induce them to part with, the statutes of mortmain were suspended for twenty years by the statute 1 and 2 P. and M. c. 8, and during that time, any lands or tenements were allowed to be granted to any spiritual corporation without any license whatsoever. And, long afterwards, for a much better purpose, the augmentation of poor livings, it was enacted by the statute 17 Car. II, c. 3, that appropriators may annex the great tithes to the vicarages; and that all benefices under 100*l. per annum* may be augmented by the purchase of lands, without license of mortmain in either case; and the like provision hath been since made, in favour of the governors of Queen Anne's bounty. (*q*) It hath also been held, (*r*) that the statute 23 Hen. VIII, before mentioned, did not extend to any thing but *superstitious* uses; and that therefore a man may give lands for the maintenance of a school, an hospital, or any other *charitable* uses. But as it was apprehended from recent experience, that persons on their death-beds might make large and improvident dispositions even for these good purposes, and defeat the political ends of the statutes of mortmain; it is therefore enacted by the statute 9 Geo. II, c. 36, that no lands or tenements, or money to be laid out thereon, shall *be given for or [*274] charged with any *charitable* uses whatsoever, unless by deed indented, executed in the presence of two witnesses twelve calendar months before the death of the donor, and enrolled in the court of chancery within six months after its execution (except stocks in the public funds, which may be transferred within six months previous to the donor's death), and unless such gift be made to take effect immediately, and be without power of revocation: and that all other gifts shall be void. (4) The two universities, their colleges, and the scholars upon the foundation of the colleges of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, are excepted out of this act: but such exemption was granted with this proviso, that no college shall be at liberty to purchase more advowsons, than are equal in number to one moiety of the fellows or students, upon the respective foundations. (5)

2. Secondly, alienation to an alien (6) is also a cause of forfeiture to the crown of the land so alienated; not only on account of his incapacity to hold them,

(*p*) Co. Litt. 99.

(*q*) Stat. 2 and 3 Anne, c. 11.

(*r*) 1 Rep. 24.

(4) The statutes of mortmain are in force in Pennsylvania so far as they prohibit the dedication of property to superstitious uses, or grants to corporations without statutory license. 3 Binn. App. 626; *Methodist Church v. Remington*, 1 Watts, 218; 2 Kent, 282. They have not been adopted in the law of the other states, and corporations may hold property so far as not restricted by their charters, or as it may not be foreign to the purposes of their creation. And even in Pennsylvania a corporation created in another state, with capacity to take property for its corporate purposes, may hold lands subject only to forfeiture to the state. *Runyan v. Coster's Lessee*, 14 Pet. 122. See further as to conveyances in mortmain, Ang. and A. on Corp. § 149; Grant on Corp. 98, et seq.

(5) The statute 45 Geo. III, c. 101, repealed the restriction imposed by this act on colleges, as to the number of their advowsons, so that now they may hold them without restriction. Mr. Justice Coleridge says he believes it to be understood, however, that neither the statute 9 Geo. II, nor 45 Geo. III, at all affected the restraints of the mortmain laws, and that a license from the crown is still necessary when a college purchases an advowson. Many colleges are provided with a prospective license to purchase in mortmain to a certain extent; and such a license has in practice been considered sufficient.

(6) [An alien may be grantee in a deed, though he cannot hold it; for on "office found" the king shall have it by his prerogative. Co. Litt. 2 b.; 5 Co. 52; 1 Leon. 47; 1 Chitty's Com. L. 162. As to copyhold, see 1 Mod. 17; All. 14.]

which occasions him to be passed by in descents of land, (s) but likewise on account of his presumption in attempting, by an act of his own, to acquire any real property; as was observed in the preceding book. (t)

3. Lastly, alienations *by particular tenants*, when they are greater than the law entitles them to make, and divest the remainder or reversion, (u) are also forfeitures to him whose right is attacked thereby. As, if tenant for his own life aliens by feoffment or fine for the life of another, or in tail, or in fee; (v) these being estates, which either must or may last longer than his own, the creating them is not only beyond his power, and inconsistent with the nature of his interest, but is also a forfeiture of his own particular estate to him in remainder or reversion. (v) For which there seem to be two reasons. First, because such alienation amounts to a renunciation of the feudal connexion and dependence; it implies a refusal to perform the due renders and services to the lord of the fee, of which fealty is constantly one; and it tends in its [*275] consequence to defeat and divest the remainder or reversion expectant: as therefore that is put in jeopardy, by such act of the particular tenant, it is but just that, upon discovery, the particular estate should be forfeited and taken from him, who has shown so manifest an inclination to make an improper use of it. The other reason is, because the particular tenant, by granting a larger estate than his own, has by his own act determined and put an entire end to his own original interest; and on such determination the next taker is entitled to enter regularly, as in his remainder or reversion. The same law, which is thus laid down with regard to tenants for life, holds also with respect to all tenants of the mere freehold or of chattel interests; but if tenant in tail alienes in fee, this is no immediate forfeiture to the remainder-man, but a mere *discontinuance* (as it is called) (w) of the estate-tail, which the issue may afterwards avoid by due course of law: (x) for he in remainder or reversion hath only a very remote and barely possible interest therein, until the issue in tail is extinct. But, in case of such forfeitures by particular tenants, all legal estates by them before created, as if tenant for twenty years grants a lease for fifteen, and all charges by him lawfully made on the lands, shall be good and available in law. (y) For the law will not hurt an innocent lessee for the fault of his lessor; nor permit the lessor, after he has granted a good and lawful estate, by his own act to avoid it, and defeat the interest which he himself has created.

Equivalent, both in its nature and its consequences, to an illegal alienation by the particular tenant, is the civil crime of *disclaimer*; as where a tenant, who holds of any lord, neglects to render him the due services, and upon an action brought to recover them, disclaims to hold of his lord. Which disclaimer of tenure in any court of record is a forfeiture of the lands to the lord (z), upon reasons most apparently feudal. And so, likewise, if in any court of record [*276] the particular tenant does any act which amounts to a virtual disclaimer; if he claims any greater estate than was granted him at the first infeodation, or takes upon himself those rights which belong only to tenant of a superior class; (a) if he affirms the reversion to be in a stranger, by accepting his fine, attorning as his tenant, collusive pleading, and the like; (b) such behaviour amounts to a forfeiture of his particular estate. (8)

(s) See pages 249, 250.

(t) Book I, pages 372.

(u) Co. Litt. 251.

(v) Litt. § 415.

(w) See Book III, ch. 19.

(x) Litt. § 595-597.

(y) Co. Litt. 233.

(z) Finch, 270, 271.

(a) Co. Litt. 258.

(b) *Ibid.* 253.

(7) But now by statute 8 and 9 Vic. c. 106, it is enacted that no feoffment shall have a tortious operation, and fines and recoveries in England are abolished. Forfeiture for this cause, therefore, cannot now take place, as the doctrine never applied to conveyances under the Statute of Uses. 1 Cruise Dig. 109; 1 Washb. Real Prop. 92. In the United States it is declared by statute in many of the states that a deed purporting to convey a greater interest than the grantor has shall not work a forfeiture, but shall be effectual to transfer his actual interest. And this is perhaps the law in the other states also. See 1 Washb. Real Prop. 92, and cases cited.

As to forfeiture by disclaimer of tenure, see *Doe v. Flynn*, 1 C. M. and R. 137; *Doe v. Wells*, 10 A. and E. 427.

(8) [If a servant sets up a title hostile to his landlord, it is a forfeiture of his term; and it is the same if he assists another person to set up such a claim; 1 C., M. and R. 141. See 1 Pw.

III. Lapse is a species of forfeiture, whereby the right of presentation to a church accrues to the ordinary by neglect of the patron to present, to the metropolitan by neglect of the ordinary, and to the king by neglect of the metropolitan. For it being for the interest of religion, and the good of the public, that the church should be provided with an officiating minister, the law has therefore given this right of lapse, in order to quicken the patron; who might otherwise, by suffering the church to remain vacant, avoid paying his ecclesiastical dues, and frustrate the pious intentions of his ancestors. This right of lapse was first established about the time (though not by the authority) (c) of the council of Lateran, (d) which was in the reign of our Henry the Second, when the bishops first began to exercise universally the right of institution to churches. (e) And, therefore, where there is no right of institution there is no right of lapse: so that no donative can lapse to the ordinary, (f) unless it hath been augmented by the queen's bounty. (g) But no right of lapse can accrue when the original presentation is in the crown. (h)

The term, in which the title to present by lapse accrues from the one to the other successively, is six *calendar* months (i) (following in this case the computation of the church, and not the usual one of the common law, and this *exclusive of the day of the avoidance. (k) But, if the bishop be both [*277] patron and ordinary, he shall not have a double time allowed him to collate in; (l) for the forfeiture accrues by law, whenever the negligence has continued six months in the same person. And also if the bishop doth not collate his own clerk immediately to the living, and the patron presents, though after the six months are elapsed, yet his presentation is good, and the bishop is bound to institute the patron's clerk. (m) For as the law only gives the bishop this title by lapse, to punish the patron's negligence, there is no reason that, if the bishop himself be guilty of equal or greater negligence, the patron should be deprived of his turn. If the bishop suffer the presentation to lapse to the metropolitan, the patron also has the same advantage if he presents before the archbishop has filled up the benefice; and that for the same reason. Yet the ordinary cannot, after lapse to the metropolitan, collate his own clerk to the prejudice of the archbishop. (n) For he had no permanent right and interest in the advowson, as the patron hath, but merely a temporary one; which having neglected to make use of during the time, he cannot afterwards retrieve it. But if the presentation lapses to the king, prerogative here intervenes and makes a difference; and the patron shall never recover his right till the king has satisfied his turn by presentation: for *nullum tempus occurrit regi*. (o) And therefore it may seem as if the church might continue void for ever, unless the king shall be pleased to present; and a patron thereby be absolutely defeated of his advowson. But to prevent this inconvenience, the law has lodged a power in the patron's hands, of, as it were, compelling the king to present. For if, during the delay of the crown, the patron himself presents, and his clerk is instituted, the king indeed by presenting another may turn out the patron's clerk; or, after induction, may remove him by *quare impedit*: but if he does not, and the patron's clerk dies incumbent, or is canonically deprived, the king hath lost his right, which was only to the next or first presentation. (p)

*In case the benefice becomes void by death, or cession through plurality [*278] of benefices, there the patron is bound to take notice of the vacancy at

(c) 2 Roll. Abr. 336. pl. 10.

(d) Bracton, l. 4, tr. 2, c. 3.

(e) See page 23.

(f) Bro. Abr. tit. Quar. Imped. 3 Cro. Jac. 518.

(g) St. 1 Geo. I, at. 2, c. 10.

(h) Stat. 17 Edw. II, c. 8. 2 Inst. 273.

(i) 6 Rep. 62. Regist. 42.

(k) 2 Inst. 361.

(l) Gibbs. Cod. 769.

(m) 2 Inst. 273.

(n) 2 Roll. Abr. 368.

(o) Dr. & St. d. 2, c. 36. Cro. Car. 356.

(p) 7 Rep. 38. Cro. Eliz. 44.

and D. 656. A parol disclaimer by tenant for years is no forfeiture. 2 Per. and D. 396. If a tenant set his landlord at defiance, and do any act disclaiming to hold of him as tenant, as, for instance, if he attorn to some other person, no notice to quit will be necessary; for in such case, although the wrongful operation of an attornment has been taken away, 11 Geo. II, c. 19, s. 11, the landlord may treat him as a trespasser. Bull. N. P. 96; Cowp. 622; 2 Sch. and Left. 73, 434.

his own peril; for these are matters of equal notoriety to the patron and ordinary; but in case of a vacancy by resignation, or canonical deprivation, or if a clerk presented be refused for insufficiency, these being matters of which the bishop alone is presumed to be cognizant, here the law requires him to give notice thereof to the patron, otherwise he can take no advantage by way of lapse. (g) Neither shall any lapse thereby accrue to the metropolitan or to the king; for it is universally true, that neither the archbishop nor the king shall ever present by lapse, but where the immediate ordinary might have collated by lapse, within the six months, and hath exceeded his time: for the first step or beginning faileth, *et quod non habet principium, non habet finem.* (r) If the bishop refuse or neglect to examine and admit the patron's clerk, without good reason assigned or notice given, he is styled a disturber by the law, and shall not have any title to present by lapse; for no man shall take advantage of his own wrong. (s) Also if the right of presentation be litigious or contested, and an action be brought against the bishop to try the title, no lapse shall incur till the question of right be decided. (t)

IV. By *simony*, the right of presentation to a living is forfeited, and vested *pro hac vice* in the crown. Simony is the corrupt presentation of any one to an ecclesiastical benefice for money, gift, or reward. It is so called from the resemblance it is said to bear to the sin of Simon Magus, though the purchasing of holy orders seems to approach nearer to his offence. It was by the canon law a very grievous crime: and is so much the more odious, because as Sir Edward Coke observes, (u) it is ever accompanied with perjury; for the presentee is sworn to have committed no simony. However, it was not an offence punishable in a criminal way at the common law; (w) it being thought sufficient to leave the [*279] clerk to ecclesiastical censures. But as these did not affect *the simoniacal patron, nor were efficacious enough to repel the notorious practice of the thing, divers acts of parliament have been made to restrain it by means of civil forfeitures; which the modern prevailing usage, with regard to spiritual preferments, calls aloud to be put in execution. I shall briefly consider them in this place, because they devert the corrupt patron of the right of presentation, and vest a new right in the crown.

By the statute 31 Eliz. c. 6, it is for avoiding of simony enacted, that if any patron for any corrupt consideration, by gift or promise, directly or indirectly, shall present or collate any person to an ecclesiastical benefice or dignity; such presentation shall be void, and the presentee be rendered incapable of ever enjoying the same benefice: and the crown shall present to it for that turn only. (x) But if the presentee dies, without being convicted of such simony in his lifetime, it is enacted by statute 1 W. and M. c. 16, that the simoniacal contract shall not prejudice any other innocent patron, on pretence of lapse to the crown or otherwise. Also by the statute 12 Ann. st. 2, c. 12, if any person for money or profit shall procure, in his own name or the name of any other, the next presentation to any living ecclesiastical, and shall be presented thereupon, this is declared to be a simoniacal contract; and the party is subjected to all the ecclesiastical penalties of simony, is disabled from holding the benefice, and the presentation devolves to the crown.

Upon these statutes many questions have arisen, with regard to what is, and what is not simony. And, among others, these points seem to be clearly settled: 1. That to purchase a presentation, the living being actually vacant, is open and notorious simony: (y) this being expressly in the face of the statute. 2. That for a clerk to bargain for the next presentation, the incumbent being sick and about to die, was simony, even before the statute of Queen Anne: (z) (9) and

(g) 4 Rep. 75. 2 Inst. 632.

(r) Co. Litt. 344, 345.

(s) 2 Roll. Abr. 369.

(t) Co. Litt. 344.

(u) 3 Inst. 156. (w) Moor. 564.

(x) For other penalties inflicted by this statute, see Book IV, ch. 4.

(y) Cro. Eliz. 788. Moor. 914.

(z) Hob. 163.

(9) [Mr. Christian, in his note upon the passage in the text, reminds us, that "it has been determined, that the purchase of an advowson in fee, when the incumbent was upon his death-bed, without any privity of the clerk who was afterwards presented, was not simoniacal, and

now, by that statute, to purchase, either in his own name or another's, the next presentation, and be thereupon presented *at any future time to the [*280] living, is direct and palpable simony. But, 3. It is held that for a father to purchase such a presentation, in order to provide for his son, is not simony: for the son is not concerned in the bargain, and the father is by nature bound to make a provision for him. (a) 4. That if a simoniacal contract be made with the patron, the clerk not being privy thereto, the presentation for that turn shall indeed devolve to the crown, as a punishment of the guilty patron; but the clerk, who is innocent, does not incur any disability or forfeiture. (b) 5. That bonds given to pay money to charitable uses, on receiving a presentation to a living are not simoniacal, (c) provided the patron or his relations be not benefitted thereby; (d) for this is no corrupt consideration, moving to the patron. 6. That bonds of resignation, in case of non-residence or taking any other living, are not simoniacal; (e) there being no corrupt consideration herein, but such only as is for the good of the public. So also bonds to resign, when the patron's son comes to canonical age, are legal; upon the reason before given, that the father is bound to provide for his son. (f) 7. Lastly, general bonds to resign at the patron's request are held to be legal: (g) for they may possibly be given for one of the legal considerations before mentioned, and where there is a possibility that a transaction may be fair, the law will not suppose it iniquitous without proof. (10) But, if the party can prove the contract to have been a corrupt one, such proof will be admitted, in order to show the bond simoniacal, and therefore void. Neither will the patron be suffered to make an ill use of such a general bond of resignation; as, by extorting a composition for tithes, procuring an annuity for his relation, or by demanding a resignation wantonly or without good cause, such as is approved by the law; as, for the benefit of his

(a) Cro. Ellz. 686. Moor. 916. (b) 3 Inst. 154. Cro. Jac. 385. (c) Noy, 142. (d) Stra. 534.
(e) Cro. Car. 180. (f) Cro. Jac. 248, 274. (g) Cro. Car. 180. Stra. 227.

would not vacate the next presentation. 2 Bl. Rep. 1052." And though in the later case of Fox v. the Bishop of Chester: 2 Barn. and Cress. 658; S. C., 4 Dowl. and Ryl. 111; the case of Barrett v. Glubb (the case referred to by Mr. Christian), was repudiated by the court of king's bench, the principle of that case has since been re-established. In Fox v. The Bishop of Chester, where a contract was made for the sale of the next presentation of a living, the contracting parties at the time knowing the incumbent to be at the point of death, it was held by the court of king's bench, that the contract was simoniacal, and the presentation made in pursuance thereof by the purchaser void; although the clerk presented was not privy to the transaction, and the contract was not entered into with a view to the presentation of any particular person. But this judgment was reversed, on appeal, by the house of lords. See 2 B. and Cr. 635; 3 Bligh, N. S. 123.]

(10) [In the great case of The Bishop of London v. Ffytche, it was determined by the house of lords, that a general bond of resignation is simoniacal and illegal. The circumstances of that case were briefly these: Mr. Ffytche, the patron, presented Mr. Eyre, his clerk, to the bishop of London, for institution. The bishop refused to admit the presentation, because Mr. Eyre had given a general bond of resignation; upon this, Mr. Ffytche brought a *quare impedit* against the bishop, to which the bishop pleaded that the presentation was simoniacal and void by reason of the bond of resignation; and to this plea Mr. Ffytche demurred. From a series of judicial decisions, the court of common pleas thought themselves bound to determine in his favour; and that judgment was affirmed by the court of king's bench; but these judgments were afterwards reversed by the house of lords. The principal question was this, viz.: whether such a bond was a *reward, gift, profit, or benefit*, to the patron under the 31 Eliz. c. 6: if it were so, the statute had declared the presentation to be simoniacal and void. Such a bond is so manifestly intended by the parties to be a *benefit* to the patron, that it is surprising that it should ever have been argued and decided that it was not a *benefit* within the meaning of the statute. Yet many learned men are dissatisfied with this determination of the lords, and are of opinion that their judgment would be different, if the question were brought before them a second time. But it is generally understood that the lords, from a regard to their dignity, and to preserve a consistency in their judgments, will never permit a question which they have once decided, to be again debated in their house. See 1 Bro. 286. The case of The Bishop of London v. Ffytche, is reported at length in Cunningham's Law of Simony, p. 52.] Upon the same subject, see the later cases of Rowlatt v. Rowlatt, 1 Jac. and Wal. 283; Dashwood v. Peyton, 18 Ves. 37; Fletcher v. Lord Sondes, 3 Bing. 502, S. C., 5 B. and A. 835; and also the statute 9 Geo. IV, c. 94. And see Bagshaw v. Bossley, 4 T. R. 78; Partridge v. Whiston, id. 359; Newman v. Newman, 4 M. and S. 71.

own son, or on account of non-residence, plurality of livings, or gross immorality in the incumbent. (*h*)

[*281] *V. The next kind of forfeitures are those by *breach* or non-performance of a *condition* annexed to the estate, either expressly by deed at its original creation, or impliedly by law from a principle of natural reason. Both which we considered at large in a former chapter. (*i*)

VI. I therefore now proceed to another species of forfeiture, viz.: by *waste*. Waste, *vastum*, is a spoil or destruction in houses, gardens, trees, or other corporeal hereditaments, to the disherison of him that hath the remainder or reversion in fee-simple or fee-tail. (*k*) (11)

Waste is either *voluntary*, which is a crime of commission, as by pulling down a house; or it is *permissive*, (12) which is a matter of omission only, as by suffering it to fall for want of necessary reparations. Whatever does a lasting damage to the freehold or inheritance is waste. (*l*) Therefore removing wainscot, floors, or other things once fixed to the freehold of a house, is waste. (*m*) (13)

(*h*) 1 Vern. 411. 1 Equ. Cas. Abr. 86, 87. Stra. 534. (*i*) See ch. 10, page 152.

(*k*) Co. Litt. 53. (*l*) Heil. 35. (*m*) 4 Rep. 64.

(11) [A tenant for life has no property in timber or underwood till his estate comes into possession, and therefore cannot have an account in equity, or maintain an action of trover at law, for what has been cut wrongfully by a preceding tenant, notwithstanding his own estate, being without impeachment of waste, would have entitled him to cut such timber or underwood, and put the produce into his own pocket: the owner of the first estate of inheritance, at the time when the timber was cut, is the party entitled to redress in such case. *Pigot v. Bullock*, 1 Ves. Jun. 484; *Whitfield v. Bewit*, 2 P. Wms. 242. However, a tenant for life in remainder, though he cannot establish any property in timber actually severed during a prior estate, may bring a bill to restrain waste; and he may sustain such a suit, although he has not the immediate remainder, and notwithstanding his estate, whenever it comes into possession, will be subject to impeachment for waste; for, though he will have no right to the timber, he will have an interest in the mast and shade of the trees. So, trustees to preserve contingent remainders may maintain a suit for a similar injunction, even though the contingent remainder-men have not come into *esse*. *Perrot v. Perrot*, 3 Atk. 95; *Stansfield v. Habergham*, 10 Ves. 281; *Garth v. Cotton*, 3 Atk. 754. It is true, that, in cases of legal waste, if there be no person capable of maintaining an action, before the party who committed the waste dies, the wrong is then without a remedy at common law; but, where the question is brought without the cognizance of equity, those courts say, unauthorized waste shall not be committed with impunity; and the produce of the tortious act shall be laid up for the benefit of the contingent remainder-men. *Marquis of Lansdowne v. Marchioness Dowager of Lansdowne*, 1 Mad. 140; *Bishop of Winchester v. Knight*, 1 P. Wms. 407; *Anonym.* 1 Ves. Jun. 93.]

(12) [Where an estate is given for life, without impeachment of waste *other than wilful waste*, this will excuse *permissive* waste: *Lansdowne v. Lansdowne*, 1 Jac. and Walk. 523; if the tenant for life, under such a limitation, cut timber, Sir Wm. Grant, M. R., seems to have felt it questionable whether the tenant could appropriate to himself the principal money produced by the sale of such timber, though he held it clear he was entitled to the interest thereof for his life: *Wickham v. Wickham*, 19 Ves. 423; S. C., *Cooper*, 290; but, from the case of *Williams v. Williams*, 12 East, 220, it should appear that the tenant for life would have the entire property in timber so cut down.]

(13) [Between the heir and executor there has not been any relaxation of the ancient law with regard to fixtures, for there is no reason why the one should be more favored than the other, or the courts would be disposed to assist the heir, and to prevent the inheritance from being dismembered and disfigured. If the inheritance cannot be enjoyed, without the things in dispute, the owner could never mean to give them to the executor, as in the case of salt-pans fixed with mortar to a brick floor, and without which the salt works produce no profit; but if removed are of very little value to the executor, as old materials only. 1 Hen. Bl. 259, n. a. But the courts are more favorable to an executor of a tenant for life against a person in remainder, and therefore they have held that his executor shall have the benefit of a fire engine erected by a tenant for life, because the colliery might be worked without it, though not so conveniently. 3 Atk. 13. With regard to a tenant for years, it is fully established he may take down useful and necessary erections for the benefit of his trade or manufacture, and which enable him to carry it on with more advantage. *Bac. Ab. Executor*, H. 3; 3 Esp. 11; 2 East, 88. It has been so held in the case of cider mills. A tenant for years may also carry away ornamental marble chimney pieces, wainscot fixed only by screws, and such like. Where the tenant has covenanted to leave all buildings, &c., he cannot remove even erections for trade. 1 Taunt. 19. Where a tenant for years has a right to remove erections and fixtures during his lease, and omits doing it, he is a trespasser afterwards for going upon the land, but not a trespasser *de bonis asportatis*. 2 East, 88. A farmer who raises young fruit trees on the

If a house be destroyed by tempest, lightning, or the like, which is the act of Providence, it is no waste: but otherwise, if the house be burnt by the carelessness or negligence of the lessee: though now by the statute 6 Ann. c. 31, no action will lie against a tenant for an accident of this kind. (14) Waste may also be committed in ponds, dove-houses, warrens, and the like; by so reducing the number of the creatures therein, that there will not be sufficient for the reversioner when he comes to the inheritance. (n) Timber, also, is a part of the inheritance. (o) Such are oak, ash, and elm in all places; and in some particular countries by local custom, where other trees are generally used for building, they are for that reason considered as timber; and to cut down such trees, or top them, or do any other act whereby the timber may decay, is waste. (p) But underwood the tenant may cut down at any reasonable time *that he [*282] pleases; (q) and may take sufficient estovers of common right for house-bote and cart-bote; unless restrained (which is usual) by particular covenants or exceptions. (r) The conversion of land from one species to another is waste. To convert wood, meadow, or pasture, into arable; to turn arable, meadow, or pasture into woodland; or to turn arable or woodland into meadow or pasture, are all of them waste. (s) For, as Sir Edward Coke observes, (t) it not only changes the course of husbandry, but the evidence of the estate; when such a close, which is conveyed and described as pasture, is found to be arable, and *e converso*. And the same rule is observed, for the same reason, with regard to converting one species of edifice into another, even though it is improved in its value. (u) To open the land to search for mines of metal, coal, &c., is waste; for that is a detriment to the inheritance: (v) (15) but if the pits or mines were open before,

(n) Co. Litt. 53.
(r) Co. Litt. 41.

(o) 4 Rep. 62.
(s) Hob. 298.

(p) Co. Litt. 53.
(t) 1 Inst. 53.

(q) 2 Roll. Abr. 817.
(u) 1 Lev. 309.

(v) 5 Rep. 12.

demised land for filling up his lessor's orchards, is not entitled to sell them, unless he is a nurseryman by trade. 4 Taunt. 316.]

Upon the general subject of fixtures see Amos and Ferrard on Fixtures; Elwes v. Mawe, and the notes thereto, in 2 Smith's Leading Cases 99; Washb. Real Prop. c. 1; Williams on Pers. Prop. 13 notes to 3d American ed.; Willard on Real Estate, 83-90.

(14) [With a proviso, however, that the act shall not defeat any agreement between landlord and tenant. See the statute. But if a lessee covenants to pay rent; and to repair with an express exception of casualties by fire; he may be obliged to pay rent during the whole term, though the premises are burnt down by accident and never rebuilt by the lessor. 1 T. R. 310. Nor can he be relieved by a court of equity; Anst. 687; unless perhaps the landlord has received the value of his premises by insuring. Amb. 621. And if he covenants to repair generally without any express exceptions, and the premises are burned down, he is bound to rebuild them. 6 T. R. 650.]

But though the tenant is not liable for the unroofing of his house by a tempest, he may be liable for waste if he suffer it to remain uncovered. Pollard v. Shaffer, 1 Dall. 210. And he is liable for waste committed upon the premises by a trespasser, because it is his duty to protect them. Fay v. Brewer, 3 Pick. 203. The statute of Anne referred to in the text is adopted into the common law of this country; Waincott v. Silvers, 13 Ind. 497; but the accidental destruction of a building leased with the land on which it stood, would not excuse the tenant from the payment of rent; though if the lease was of a part of a building only, and the building was destroyed, so that the subject matter of the lease no longer existed, the right to rents would be extinguished. Winton v. Cornish, 5 Ohio, 477; Graves v. Berdan, 29 Barb. 100. See post, book 3, p. 228, n.

(15) [It is in order to prevent irremediable injury to the inheritance that the court of chancery will grant injunctions against waste, and allow affidavits to be read in support of such injunctions: the defendant might possibly be able to pay for the mischief done, if it could ultimately be proved that his act was tortious; but, if any thing is about to be abstracted which cannot be restored *in specie*, no man ought to be liable to have that taken away which cannot be replaced, merely because he may possibly recover (what others may deem) an equivalent in money. Berkeley v. Brymer, 9 Ves. 356.]

In general cases, for the purpose of dissolving an injunction granted *ex parte*, the established practice is to give credit to the answer when it comes in, if it denies all the circumstances upon which the equity of the plaintiff's application rests, and not to allow affidavits to be read in contradiction to such answer: Clapham v. White, 8 Ves. 36; but an exception to this rule is made in cases of alleged irremediable waste: Potter v. Chapman, Ambl. 99; and in cases analogous to waste: Peacock v. Peacock, 16 Ves. 51; Gibbs v. Cole, 3 P. Wms. 254; yet even in such cases, the plaintiff's affidavits must not go to the question of title, but be confined to the question of fact as to waste done or threatened. Morphet v. Jones, 19 Ves. 351.

it is no waste for the tenant to continue digging them for his own use; (w) for it is now become the mere annual profit of the land. These three are the general heads of waste, viz.: in houses, in timber, and in land. Though, as was before said, whatever else tends to the destruction, or depreciating the value, of the inheritance is considered by the law as waste.

Let us next see, who are liable to be punished for committing waste. And by the feudal law, feuds being originally granted for life only, we find that the rule was general for all vassals or feudatories; "*si vasallus feudum dissipaverit, aut insigni detrimento deterius fecerit, privabitur.*" (x) But in our ancient common law the rule was by no means so large; for not only he that was seised of an estate of inheritance might do as he pleased with it, but also waste was not punishable in any tenant, save only in three persons; guardian in chivalry, [*283] tenant in dower, and tenant by the *courtesy; (y) and not in tenant for life or years. (z) And the reason of the diversity was, that the estate of the three former was created by the act of the law itself, which therefore gave a remedy against them; but tenant for life, or for years, came in by the demise and lease of the owner of the fee, and therefore he might have provided against the committing of waste by his lessee; and if he did not, it was his own default.

(w) Hob. 295.

(x) Wright. 44.

(y) It was however a doubt whether waste was punishable at the common law in tenant by the courtesy. Regist. 72. Bro. Abr. *tit. waste*, 88. 2 Inst. 301.

(z) 2 Inst. 290.

Norway v. Rowe, id. 153; Countess of Strathmore v. Bowes, 1 Cox, 264. And as to matters which the plaintiff was acquainted with when he filed his bill, he ought at that time to have stated them upon affidavit, in order to give the defendant an opportunity of explaining or denying them by his answer: Lawson v. Morgan, 1 Price, 306; though, of course, acts of waste done subsequently to the filing of the bill would be entitled to a distinct consideration: Smythe v. Smythe, 1 Swanst. 253; and where allegations in an injunction bill have been neither admitted nor denied in the answer, there can be no surprise on the defendant; and it should seem that affidavits in support of those allegations may be read, though they were not filed till after the answer was put in. Morgan v. Goode, 3 Meriv. 11; Jefferies v. Smith, 1 Jac. and Walk. 300; Barrett v. Tickell, Jacob's Rep. 155; Taggart v. Hewlett, 1 Meriv. 499.

Neither vague apprehension of an intention to commit waste, nor information given of such intention by a third person, who merely states his belief, but not the grounds of his belief, will sustain an application for an injunction. The affidavits should go (not necessarily, indeed, to positive acts, but, at least) to explicit threats. A court of equity never grants an injunction on the notion that it will do no harm to the defendant, if he does not intend to commit the act in question; an injunction will not issue unless some positive reasons are shown to call for it. Hannay v. M'Entire, 11 Ves. 54; Coffin v. Coffin, Jacob's Rep. 72.

It was formerly held, that an injunction ought not to go against a person who was a mere stranger, and who consequently might, by summary legal process, be turned out of possession of premises which he was injuring. Such a person, it was said, was a trespasser; but, there not being any privy of estate, waste, strictly speaking, could not be alleged against him. Mortimer v. Cottrell, 2 Cox, 205. But this technical rule is overturned; it is now established by numerous precedents, that wherever a defendant is taking the substance of a plaintiff's inheritance or committing or threatening irremediable mischief, equity ought to grant an injunction; although the acts are such as, in correct technical denomination, ought rather to be termed trespasses than waste. Mitchell v. Dors, 6 Ves. 147; Hanson v. Gardiner, 7 id. 309; Twort v. Twort, 16 id. 130; Earl Cowper v. Baker, 17 id. 128; Thomas v. Oakley, 18 id. 186.

Any collusion, by which the legal remedies against waste may be evaded, will give to courts of equity a jurisdiction over such cases, often beyond, and even contrary to, the rules of law; Garth v. Cotton, 3 Atk. 755; thus, trustees to preserve contingent remainders will be prohibited from joining with the tenant for life in the destruction of that estate, for the purpose of bringing forward a remainder, and thereby enabling him to gain a property in timber, so as to defeat contingent remainder-men; and wherever there is an excoctory devise over, after an estate for life subject to impeachment of waste, equity will not permit timber to be cut. Stansfield v. Habergham, 10 Ves. 278; Oxenden v. Lord Compton, 2 Ves. Jun. 71. So, though the property of timber severed during the estate of a strict tenant for life vests in the first owner of the inheritance; yet, where a party having the reversion in fee is, by settlement, made tenant for life, if he, in fraud of that settlement, cuts timber, equity will take care that the property shall be restored to, and carried throughout all the usage of, the settlement. Powlett v. Duchess of Bolton, 3 Ves. 377; Williams v. Duke of Bolton, 1 Cox, 73.]

As to injunctions to restrain waste, see Eden on Injunctions, 179, *et seq.*; Kerr on Injunctions, 235 *et seq.*; Story Eq. Jur. §§ 912-920; Adams Eq. (5th Am. ed.) 208 note; Williard Eq. 369. And as to waste generally and the remedies therefor, see 1 Washb. Real Prop. 107, *et seq.*; *post*, book III, c. 14.

But in favour of the owners of the inheritance, the statutes of Marlbridge, 52 Hen. III, c. 23, and of Gloucester, 6 Edw. I, c. 5, provided that the writ of waste (15) shall not only lie against tenants by the law of England (or curtesy), and those in dower, but against any farmer or other that holds in any manner for life or years. So that, for above five hundred years past, all tenants merely for life, or for any less estate, have been punishable or liable to be impeached for waste, both voluntary and permissive; unless their leases be made, as sometimes they are, without impeachment of waste, *absque impetitione vasti*; that is, with a provision or protection that no man shall *impetere*, or sue him for waste, committed. But tenant in tail after possibility of issue extinct is not impeachable for waste; because his estate was at its creation an estate of inheritance, and so not within the statutes. (a) Neither does an action of waste lie for the debtor against tenant by statute, recognizance, or *elegit*; because against them the debtor may set off the damages in account: (b) but it seems reasonable that it should lie for the reversioner, expectant on the determination of the debtor's own estate, or of these estates derived from the debtor. (c)

The punishment for waste committed was, by common law and the statute of Marlbridge, only single damages; (d) except in the case of a guardian, who also forfeited his wardship (e) by the provisions of the great charter; (f) but the statute of Gloucester directs, that the other four species of tenants shall lose and forfeit the place wherein the waste is committed, and also treble damages to him that hath the inheritance. The expression of the statute is, "he shall forfeit the *thing* which he hath wasted;" and it hath been determined that under these words the *place* is also included. (g) And if waste be done *sparsim*, or here and there, all over a wood, the whole wood shall be recovered; or if in several rooms of a *house, the whole house shall be forfeited; (h) because it is impracticable for the reversioner to enjoy only the identical [*284] places wasted, when lying interspersed with the other. But if waste be done only in one end of a wood (or perhaps in one room of a house, if that can be conveniently separated from the rest), that part only is the *locus vastatus*, or the thing wasted, and that only shall be forfeited to the reversioner. (i)

VII. A seventh species of forfeiture is that of *copyhold* estates, by *breach* of the *customs* of the manor. Copyhold estates are not only liable to the same forfeitures as those which are held in socage, for treason, felony, alienation, and waste: whereupon the lord may seize them without any presentment by the homage; (k) but also to peculiar forfeitures annexed to this species of tenure, which are incurred by the breach of either the general customs of all copyholds, or the peculiar local customs of certain particular manors. And we may observe that, as these tenements were originally holden by the lowest and most abject vassals, the marks of feudal dominion continue much the strongest upon this mode of property. Most of the offences, which occasioned a resumption of the fief by the feudal law, and were denominated *feloniæ, per quas vassallus amitteret feudum*, (l) still continue to be causes of forfeiture in many of our modern copyholds. As, by subtraction of suit and service (m) *si dominum deservire noluerit*: (n) by disclaiming to hold of the lord, or swearing himself not his copyholder; (o) *si dominum ejuravit, i. e. negavit se a domino feudum habere*: (p) by neglect to be admitted tenant within a year and a day; (q) *si per annum et diem cessaverit in petenda investitura*: (r) by contumacy in not appearing in court after three proclamations; (s) *si a domino ter citatus non comparuerit*: (t) or by refusing, when sworn of the homage, to present the truth according to his oath: (u) **si pares veritatem noverint, et dicant se nescire, cum sciant*. (w) [*285] In these and a variety of other cases, which it is impossible here to

(a) Co. Litt. 27. 2 Roll. Abr. 828, 828.

(e) *Ibid.* 800.

(k) 2 Ventr. 38.

(n) *Feud. l. 1. t. 21.*(q) *Plowd.* 372.(f) *Feud. l. 2. t. 22.*

(j) 9 Hen. III. c. 4.

Cro. Eliz. 499.

(o) Co. Copyh. § 57.

(r) *Feud. l. 2. t. 24.*

(u) Co. Copyh. § 57.

(b) Co. Litt. 54.

(g) 2 Inst. 306.

(i) *Feud. l. 2. t. 26, in calc.*(p) *Feud. l. 2. t. 34, and t. 26, § 3.*

(s) 8 Rep. 199. Co. Copyh. § 57.

(w) *Feud. l. 2. t. 28.*

(c) F. N. B. 58.

(A) Co. Litt. 54.

(m) 3 Leon. 108. Dyer, 211.

(d) 2 Inst. 146.

(f) 2 Inst. 304.

enumerate, the forfeiture does not accrue to the lord till after the offences are presented by the homage, or jury of the lord's court baron: (x) *per laudamentum parium suorum*; (y) or, as it is more fully expressed in another place, (z) *nemo miles adimatur de possessione sui beneficii, nisi convicta culpa, quæ sit laudanda* (a) *per judicium parium suorum*. (17)

VIII. The eighth and last method whereby lands and tenements may become forfeited, is that of *bankruptcy*, or the act of becoming a bankrupt; which unfortunate person may, from the several descriptions given of him in our statute law, be thus defined, a trader who secretes himself, or does certain other acts, tending to defraud his creditors.

Who shall be such a trader, or what acts are sufficient to denominate him a bankrupt, with the several connected consequences resulting from that unhappy situation, will be better considered in a subsequent chapter; when we shall endeavour more fully to explain its nature, as it most immediately relates to personal goods and chattels. I shall only here observe the manner in which the property of lands and tenements is transferred, upon the supposition that the owner of them is clearly and indisputably a bankrupt, and that a commission of bankrupt is awarded and issued against him.

By statute 13 Eliz. c. 7, the commissioners for that purpose, when a man is declared a bankrupt, shall have full power to dispose of all his lands and tenements, which he had in his own right at the time when he became a bankrupt, or which shall descend or come to him at any time afterwards, before his debts are satisfied or agreed for; and all lands and tenements which were purchased by him jointly with his wife or children to his own use (or such interest therein [*286] as *he may lawfully part with), or purchased with any other person upon secret trust for his own use; and to cause them to be appraised to their full value, and to sell the same by deed indented and inrolled, or divide them proportionably among the creditors. This statute expressly included not only free, but customary and copyhold, lands; but did not extend to estate-tail, farther than for the bankrupt's life; nor to equities of redemption on a mortgaged estate, wherein the bankrupt has no legal interest, but only an equitable reversion. Whereupon the statute 21 Jac. I, c. 19, enacts, that the commissioners shall be empowered to sell or convey, by deed indented and inrolled, any lands or tenements of the bankrupt, wherein he shall be seised of an estate-tail in possession, remainder, or reversion, unless the remainder or reversion thereof shall be in the crown; and that such sale shall be good against all such issues in tail, remainder-men, and reversioners, whom the bankrupt himself might

(x) Co. Copyh. § 38

(y) Feud. 1, 2, § 21

(z) Ibid. § 22.

(a) §. e. *arbitranda, definienda*. Du Fresne, IV, 79.

(17) [It is rather singular that in every instance in which Lord Coke on Copyholds is cited in this paragraph, his authority is directly contradictory of the text. In his fifty-seventh chapter he divides forfeitures into those which operate *eo instante*, and those which must be presented; and then enumerates those of the former class. Under this he ranges among many others, disclaimer, not appearing after three proclamations, and refusing when sworn, to present the truth. In his fifty-eighth chapter he enumerates the second class, and under it places treason, felony, and alienation. It is observable also, that the references to Dyer 211 and 8 Rep. 99, are not in point.]

With respect to the subject of the paragraph, if presentment is necessary in any case, it should seem in reason that the necessity would exist rather in case of treason and felony, where the conviction and attainder might take place far from the residence of the lord, than in case of disclaimer, &c., which must take place either in the lord's court, or in a suit to which he was a party. Of the first he might reasonably be supposed to remain ignorant until his homage by presentment informed him; of the latter he could hardly avoid taking instant notice. But, in fact, the better opinion seems to be, that in no case is presentment legally necessary. In every instance the forfeiture is referable back to a supposed determination of the will which the act, being inconsistent with the tenancy, demonstrates. If the lord is not aware of the act, it is the duty of the homagers to inform him; but the forfeiture exists in that case before the information given. As a matter of prudence, however, the lord will of course procure a presentment. See Scriven on Copyholds, 311, in which the opinions of Ch. Baron Gilbert and Watkins are stated.]

have barred by a common recovery, or other means; and that all equities of redemption upon mortgaged estates shall be at the disposal of the commissioners; for they shall have power to redeem the same as the bankrupt himself might have done, and after redemption to sell them. And also by this and a former act, (b) all fraudulent conveyances to defeat the intent of these statutes are declared void; but that no purchaser *bona fide*, for a good or valuable consideration, shall be affected by the bankrupt laws, unless the commission be sued forth within five years after the act of bankruptcy committed.

By virtue of these statutes a bankrupt may lose all his real estates; which may at once be transferred by his commissioners to their assignees without his participation or consent. (18.)

CHAPTER XIX.

OF TITLE BY ALIENATION.

THE most usual and universal method of acquiring a title to real estates is that of alienation, conveyance, or purchase in its limited sense; under which may be comprised any method wherein estates are voluntarily resigned by one man, and accepted by another; whether that be effected by sale, gift, marriage, settlement, devise, or other transmission of property by the mutual consent of the parties.

This means of taking estates by alienation, is not of equal antiquity in the law of England with that of taking them by descent. For we may remember that, by the feudal law, (a) a pure and genuine feud could not be transferred from one feudatory to another without the consent of the lord; lest thereby a feeble or suspicious tenant might have been substituted and imposed upon him to perform the feudal services, instead of one on whose abilities and fidelity he could depend. Neither could the feudatory then subject the land to his debts; for if he might, the feudal restraint of alienation would have been easily frustrated and evaded. (b) And as he could not aliene it in his lifetime, so neither could he by will defeat the succession, by devising his feud to another family; nor even alter the course of it, by imposing particular limitations, or prescribing an unusual path of descent. Nor, in short, could he aliene the estate, even with the consent of the lord, unless he had also obtained the consent of his own next apparent or presumptive heir. (c) And therefore it was very usual in ancient feoffments to express that *the alienation was made by consent [*288] of the heirs of the feoffor; or sometimes for the heir apparent himself to join with the feoffor in the grant. (d) And, on the other hand, as the feudal obligation was looked upon to be reciprocal, the lord could not aliene or transfer

(b) 1 Jac. I. c. 15.

(a) See page 57.

(b) Feud. l. 1, t. 27.

(c) Co. Litt. 94. Wright, 168.

(d) Maddox, Formul. Angl. No 316, 319, 427.

(18) The English Bankrupt Acts were revised and consolidated by stat. 12 and 13 Vic. c. 106, under which the estate of the bankrupt becomes vested in the assignees appointed on behalf of creditors, in the manner directed by law, by virtue of such appointment alone, and without any deed or conveyance. These acts were again revised and consolidated by a new act, taking effect in 1870.

The several states in the United States have insolvent laws, which are in the nature of bankrupt laws, and under which, when an assignee is appointed, the estate of the insolvent is transferred to such assignee, either by force of the appointment, or by a conveyance which the insolvent is required to execute. Congress, however, is empowered by the constitution of the United States to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy, and this power was exercised in 1867. The state laws are in consequence superseded, inasmuch as the system established by Congress cannot be "uniform" throughout the country so long as such state laws remain in force. Sturges v. Crowninshield, 4 Wheat. 132. The bankrupt's estate, under the act of 1867, is vested in the assignee by the appointment.

his signiory without the consent of his vassal: for it was esteemed unreasonable to subject a feudatory to a new superior, with whom he might have a deadly enmity, without his own approbation; or even to transfer his fealty, without his being thoroughly apprised of it, that he might know with certainty to whom his renders and services were due, and be able to distinguish a lawful distress for rent from a hostile seizing of his cattle by the lord of a neighboring clan. (e) This consent of the vassal was expressed by what was called *attorning*, (f) or professing to become the tenant of the new lord; which doctrine of attornment was afterwards extended to all lessees for life or years. For if one bought an estate with any lease for life or years standing out thereon, and the lessee or tenant refused to attorn to the purchaser, and to become his tenant, the grant or contract was in most cases void, or at least incomplete: (g) which was also an additional clog upon alienations.

But by degrees this feudal severity is worn off; and experience hath shown that property best answers the purposes of civil life, especially in commercial countries, when its transfer and circulation are totally free and unrestrained. The road was cleared in the first place by a law of King Henry the First, which allowed a man to sell and dispose of lands which he himself had purchased; for over these he was thought to have a more extensive power than over what had been transmitted to him in a course of descent from his [*289] ancestors; (h) *a doctrine which is countenanced by the feudal constitutions themselves; (i) but he was not allowed to sell the whole of his own acquirements, so as totally to disinherit his children, any more than he was at liberty to aliene his paternal estate. (k) Afterwards a man seems to have been at liberty to part with all his own acquisitions, if he had previously purchased to him and his assigns by name; but, if his assigns were not specified in the purchase deed, he was not empowered to aliene; (l) and also he might part with one-fourth of the inheritance of his ancestors without the consent of his heir. (m) By the great charter of Henry III, (n) no subinfeudation was permitted of part of the land, unless sufficient was left to answer the services due to the superior lord, which sufficiency was probably interpreted to be one half or moiety of the land. (o) But these restrictions were in general removed, by the statute of *quia emptores*, (p) whereby all persons, except the king's tenants *in capite*, were left at liberty to aliene all or any part of their lands at their own discretion. (q) And even these tenants *in capite* were by the statute 1 Edw. III, c. 12, permitted to aliene, on paying a fine to the king. (r) By the temporary statutes 7 Hen. VII, c. 3, and 3 Hen. VIII, c. 4, all persons attending the king in his wars were allowed to aliene their lands without license, and were relieved from other feudal burdens. And lastly, these very fines for alienations were, in all cases of freehold tenure, entirely abolished by the statute 12 Car. II, c. 24. As to the power of *charging* lands with the debts of the owner, this was introduced so early as statute Westm. 2, which (s) subjected a moiety of the tenant's lands to executions, for debts recovered by law; as the whole of them was likewise subjected to be pawned in a statute merchant by the statute *de mercatoribus* made the same year, and in a statute staple by statute 27 Edw. III, c. 9, and in [*290] other similar recognizances by statute *23 Hen. VIII, c. 6. And now, the whole of them is not only subject to be pawned for the debts of the owner, but likewise to be absolutely sold for the benefit of trade and commerce by the several statutes of bankruptcy. The restraint of devising lands by will,

(e) Gilb. Ten. 75.

(f) The same doctrine and the same denomination prevailed in Bretagne—*possessiones in jurisdictionibus non aliter apprehendi posse, quam per attournances et avirances, ut loqui solent; cum vasallus, ejurato prioris domini obsequio et fide, novo se sacramento novo item domino acquirenti obstringebat, idque jussu auctoris.* D'Argentre Antiq. Consuet. Brit. apud Dufresne, i. 819, 820.

(g) Litt. § 551.

(h) *Emptiones vel acquisitiones suas de cui magis velit. Terram autem quam ei parentes dederunt, non mittit extra cognationem suam.* LL. Hen. I, c. 70.

(i) Feud. l. 2, t. 39.

(k) *Si questum tantum habuerit is, qui partem terræ suæ donare voluerit, tunc quidem hoc ei licet; sed non totum questum, quia non potest alium suum heredem exheredare.* Glanvil. l. 7, c. 1.

(l) Mirr. c. 1, § 3. This is also borrowed from the feudal law. Feud. l. 2, t. 48.

(m) Mirr. ibid.

(n) 9 Hen. III, c. 32.

(o) Dalrymple of Feuds, 85.

(p) 18 Edw. I, c. 1.

(q) See pages 72, 91.

(r) 2 Inst. 67.

(s) 13 Edw. I, c. 18.

except in some places by particular custom, lasted longer; that not being totally removed till the abolition of the military tenure. The doctrine of *attornments* continued still later than any of the rest, and became extremely troublesome, though many methods were invented to evade them; till at last they were made no longer necessary to complete the grant or conveyance, by statute 4 and 5 Ann. c. 16; nor shall, by statute 11 Geo. II, c. 19, the attornment of any tenant affect the possession of any lands, unless made with consent of the landlord, or to a mortgagee after the mortgage is forfeited, or by direction of a court of justice. (1)

In examining the nature of alienation, let us first inquire, briefly, *who* may aliene, and to *whom*; and then, more largely, *how* a man may aliene, or the several modes of conveyance.

I. Who may aliene, and to whom: or, in other words, who is capable of conveying and who of purchasing. And herein we must consider rather the incapacity, than capacity, of the several parties: for all persons in *possession* are *prima facie* capable both of conveying and purchasing, unless the law has laid them under any particular disabilities. But, if a man has only in him the *right* of either possession or property, he cannot convey it to any other, lest pretended titles might be granted to great men, whereby justice might be trodden down, and the weak oppressed. (t) (2) Yet reversions and vested remainders may be granted;

(t) Co. Litt. 214.

(1) [An attornment at the common law was an agreement of the tenant to the grant of the signiory, or of a rent, or of the donee in tail, or tenant for life or years, to a grant of reversion, or remainder made to another. Co. Litt. 309 a. And the attornment was necessary to the perfection of the grant. However, the necessity of attornments was in some measure avoided by the statute of uses, as by that statute the possession was immediately executed to the use, 1 Term R. 384, 386, and by the statute of wills, by which the legal estate is immediately vested in the devisee. Yet attornment continued after this to be necessary in many cases: but both the necessity and efficacy, of attornments have been almost totally taken away by the statutes referred to. An attornment, nevertheless, is not altogether useless, for after an attornment, in an action by the landlord against the tenant, it is unnecessary to adduce evidence of the plaintiff's title; unless indeed the tenant shows that he has attorned by mistake. 6 Taunt. 202; Doe v. Thompson, 6 A. and E. 721.]

(2) [It is a very ancient rule of law that rights not reduced into possession should not be assignable to a stranger, on the ground that such alienation tended to increase maintenance and litigation, and afforded means to powerful men to purchase rights of action, and oppress others. Co. Litt. 214, 265, a. n. 1, 232, b. n. 1. Our ancestors were so anxious to prevent alienation of *choses*, or rights in action, that we find it enacted by the 32 Hen. VIII, c. 9, (which it is said was in affirmance of the common law, Plowd. 88), that no person should buy or sell, or by any means obtain any right or title to any manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, unless the person contracting to sell or his ancestor, or they by whom he or they claim the same, had been in *possession* of the same, or of the reversion or remainder thereof, for the space of one year before the contract: and this statute was adjudged to extend to the assignment of a copyhold estate, 4 Co. 26, a., and of a chattel interest, or a lease for years, of land whereof the grantor was not in possession. Plowd. 88. At what time this doctrine, which, it is said, had relation originally only to *landed* estates, 2 Woodd. 388, was first adjudged to be equally applicable to the assignment of a mere *personal* chattel not in possession, it is not easy to decide: it seems, however, to have been so settled at a very early period of our history, as the works of our oldest text writers, and the reports, contain numberless observations and cases on the subject. Lord Coke says, Co. Litt. 214, a.; see also, 2 Bos. and Pul. 541, that it is one of the maxims of the common law, that no right of action can be transferred, "because under color thereof, pretended titles might be granted to great men, whereby right might be trodden down, and the weak oppressed, which the common law forbiddeth."]

Chancellor Kent has well remarked that the ancient policy, which prohibited the sale of pretended titles, and adjudged the conveyance to a third person of lands held adversely at the time to be an act of maintenance, was founded upon a state of society which does not exist in the United States. 2 Kent, 447. Accordingly, many of the states have abolished by statute the rule stated in the text. But where not abolished, it does not apply to judicial sales. Frizzle v. Veach, 1 Dana, 216; Jarrett v. Tomlinson, 3. W. and S. 114; Tuttle v. Jackson, 6 Wend. 213. And a deed of lands adversely possessed is void only as to the person in possession, and those claiming in privity with him; as to the grantor and his heirs it is good, by way of estoppel, and the grantee may sue for and recover possession in the name of the grantor, and then protect himself in his title under such deed. Williams v. Jackson, 5 Johns. 489; Brinley v. Whiting, 5 Pick. 348; Livingston v. Proseus, 2 Hill, 526.

because the possession of the particular tenant is the possession of him in reversion or remainder; but *contingencies*, and mere *possibilities*, though they may be released, or devised by will, (3) or may pass to the heir or executor, yet cannot (it hath been said) be assigned to a stranger, unless coupled with some present interest. (u)

Persons attainted of treason, felony, and *præmunire*, are incapable of conveying, from the time of the offence committed, provided attainder follows: (v) for such conveyance by them may tend to defeat the king of his forfeitures, or [*291] the *lord of his escheat. But they may *purchase* for the benefit of the crown, or the lord of the fee, though they are disabled to *hold*; the lands so purchased, if after attainder, being subject to immediate forfeiture; if before, to escheat as well as forfeiture, according to the nature of the crime. (w) (4) So also corporations, religious or others, may purchase lands; yet, unless they have a license to hold in mortmain, they cannot retain such purchase; but it shall be forfeited to the lord of the fee.

Idiots and persons of non-sane memory, infants and persons under duress, are not totally disabled either to convey or purchase, but *sub modo* only. For their conveyances and purchases are voidable, but not actually void. The king, indeed, on behalf of an idiot, may avoid his grants or other acts. (x) But it hath been said, that a *non compos* himself, though he be afterwards brought to a right mind, shall not be permitted to allege his own insanity in order to avoid such grant: for that no man shall be allowed to stultify himself, or plead his own disability. The progress of this notion is somewhat curious. In the time of Edward I, *non compos* was a sufficient plea to avoid a man's own bond: (y) and there is a writ in the register (z) for the alienor himself to recover lands aliened by him during his insanity; *dum fuit non compos mentis suæ, ut dicit, &c.* But under Edward III a scruple began to arise, whether a man should be permitted to *blemish* himself, by pleading his own insanity: (a) and, afterwards, a defendant in assise having pleaded a release by the plaintiff since the last continuance, to which the plaintiff replied (*ore tenus*, as the manner was) that he was out of his mind when he gave it, the court adjourned the assise; doubting, whether as the plaintiff was sane both then and at the commencement of the suit, he should be permitted to plead an intermediate deprivation of reason; and the question was asked, how he came to remember the release, if out of his [*292] senses when he gave it. (b) Under Henry VI this way of *reasoning (that a man shall not be allowed to disable himself, by pleading his own incapacity, because he cannot know what he did under such a situation) was seriously adopted by the judges in argument; (c) upon a question, whether the heir was barred of his right of entry by the feoffment of his insane ancestor. And from these loose authorities, which Fitzherbert does not scruple to reject as being contrary to reason, (d) the maxim that a man shall not stultify himself hath been handed down as settled law: (e) though later opinions, feeling the

(u) Sheppard's Touchstone, 238, 239, 322. 11 Mod. 152. 1 P. Wms. 574. Stra. 132.

(v) Co. Litt. 42. (w) *Ibid.* 2. (x) *Ibid.* 247. (y) Britton. c. 28, fol. 66.

(z) Fol. 228. See also Memorand. Scacch. 22 Edw. I (prefixed to Maynard's year-book, Edw. II), fol. 23.

(a) 5 Edw. III, 70. (b) 35 Assis. pl. 10. (c) 39 Hen. VI, 42. (d) F. N. B. 202.

(e) Litt. i 405. Cro. Eliz. 398. 4 Rep. 123. Jenk. 40.

(3) [It is now well established, as a general rule, that possibilities (not meaning thereby mere hopes of succession, *Carlton v. Leighton*, 3 Meriv. 671; *Jones v. Roe*, 3 T. R. 93, 96,) are devisable: for a disposition of equitable interests in land, though not good at law, may be sustained in equity. *Perry v. Phelips*, 1 Ves. Jun. 251; *Scawen v. Blunt*, 7 Ves. 300; *Moor v. Hawkins*, 2 Eden, 343.]

(4) [After attainder a man is *civiliter mortuus*; all feudal relation between himself and his lord is at an end, and therefore there can be no escheat. Neither, strictly speaking, can there be forfeiture, which is a kind of punishment, and operates on the relation of king and subject. Indeed, by mere forfeiture in felons, the king's title would only be for a year and a day. Lord Coke expresses himself therefore cautiously, calling it neither escheat nor forfeiture; he says, "the king shall have it by his prerogative, and not the lord of the fee; for a man attainted hath no capacities to purchase (being a man *civiliter mortuus*), but only for the benefit of the king; no more than an alien hath."]

inconvenience of the rule, have in many points endeavoured to restrain it. (*f*) (5) And, clearly, the next heir, or other person interested, may, after the death of the idiot or *non compos*, take advantage of his incapacity and avoid the grant. (*g*) And so, too, if he purchases under this disability, and does not afterwards upon recovering his senses agree to the purchase, his heir may either waive or accept the estate at his option. (*h*) In like manner, an infant may waive such purchase or conveyance, when he comes to full age; or if he does not then actually agree to it, his heirs may waive it after him. (*i*) Persons also, who purchase or convey under duress, may affirm or avoid such transaction, whenever the duress is ceased. (*j*) (6) For all these are under the protection of the law; which will not suffer them to be imposed upon, through the imbecility of their present condition; so that their acts are only binding, in case they be afterwards agreed to, when such imbecility ceases. Yet the guardians or committees of a lunatic, by the statute of 11 Geo. III, c. 20, are empowered to renew in his right, under the directions of the court of chancery, any lease for lives or years, and apply the profits of such renewal for the benefit of such lunatic, his heirs or executors. (7)

The case of a feme-covert is somewhat different. She may *purchase* an estate without the consent of her husband, and the conveyance is good during the coverture, till he avoids *it by some act declaring his dissent. (*k*) And, [*293] though he does nothing to avoid it, or even if he actually consents, the feme-covert herself may, after the death of her husband, waive or disagree to the same: nay, even her heirs may waive it after her, if she dies before her husband, or if in her widowhood she does nothing to express her consent or agreement. (*l*) But the *conveyance* or other contract of a feme-covert (except

(*f*) Comb. 469. 3 Mod. 310, 311. 1 Equ. cas. abr. 279.

(*g*) Perkins, § 21.

(*h*) Co. Litt. 2.

(*i*) *Ibid.*

(*j*) 2 Inst. 483. 5 Rep. 119.

(*k*) Co. Litt. 2.

(*l*) *Ibid.*

(5) The old doctrine that a man shall not be allowed to stultify himself by alleging his mental incompetency in avoidance of his contract, is no longer accepted in the law, either in England or in this country. As Mr. Parsons has well said, those who have no mind cannot agree in mind with another; and as this is the essence of a contract, they cannot enter into a contract. 1 Pars. on Cont. 383. And if one has not made a contract, it is difficult to discover any sound reason which should preclude his saying so when he is charged with having become a party to one. The modern authorities allow want of mental capacity to be made a defense at law as well as a ground for affirmative relief in equity, not only by the party himself while living, but by his representatives afterwards. *Lang v. Whidden*, 2 N. H., 435; *Mitchell v. Kingman*, 5 Pick. 431; *Grant v. Thompson*, 4 Conn. 203; *Horner v. Marshall*, 5 Munf. 466; *Rice v. Peet*, 15 Johns. 503. And if a man is so intoxicated at the time of entering into a contract as to be incapable of comprehending its meaning, nature or effect, and the other party is aware of that fact, this is sufficient answer to an action upon it. *Gore v. Gibson*, 13 M. and W. 623. And see *Foot v. Tewksbury*, 2 Vt. 97; *Duncan v. McCullough*, 4 S. and R. 484; *Harrison v. Lemon*, 3 Blackf. 54; *Prentice v. Achorn*, 2 Paige, 30; *Reinicker v. Smith*, 2 Har. and J. 421.

(6) [Where a deed has been prepared in pursuance of personal instructions of the conveying party, yet, if it be proved that such party, though appearing to act voluntarily, was in fact not a free agent, but so subdued by harshness and cruelty that the deed spoke the mind, not of the party executing, but of another, such deed cannot, in equity, stand: though it may be difficult to make out a case of legal duress. *Peel v. —*, 16 Ves. 159, citing *Lady Strathmore v. Bowes*, 1 Ves. Jun. 22. When an execution of a deed is prevented, or compelled, by force or artifice, equity will give relief, *Middleton v. Middleton*, 1 Jac. and Walk. 96; in favor of a volunteer, and even, in some cases, as against innocent parties: *Meostaer v. Gillespie*, 11 Ves. 639; for, it would be almost impossible ever to reach a case of fraud, if third persons were allowed to retain *gratuitous* benefits, which they have derived from the fraud, imposition, or undue influence practiced by others. *Huguenin v. Baseley*, 14 Ves. 289; *Stilwell v. Wilkins*, Jacob's Rep. 282. Still, it would be pushing this principle too far to extend it to innocent *purchasers*: *Lloyd v. Passingham*, Coop. 155; it is only when an estate has been obtained by a third person without payment, or with notice of fraud, that a court of equity will take it from him, to restore it to the party who has been defrauded of it: *Mackreth v. Symmons*, 1 Ves. 340; a *bona fide* purchaser, for valuable consideration and without notice, will not be deprived of the advantage which his legal title gives him. *Jerrard v. Saunders*, 2 Ves. Jun. 457.]

A contract made under duress is void, inasmuch as in such case the essential element of consent is wanting. As to what is duress, see note to book 1, p. 131.

(7) There are several subsequent statutes prescribing and regulating the powers and duties of these committees. The same subject is also regulated by statute in the United States.

by some matter of record) is absolutely void, and not merely voidable; (*m*) and, therefore, cannot be affirmed or made good by any subsequent agreement. (8)

(*m*) Perkins, § 154. 1 Sid. 120.

(8) [The rule laid down in the text must be understood with some obvious qualifications. The possession by a married woman of property settled to her separate use, may, as a necessary incident, carry with it the right of disposition over such property. *Rich v. Cockell*, 9 Ves. 375; *Fettiplace v. Gorges*, 1 Ves. Jun. 49; *Tappenden v. Walsh*, 1 Phillim. 352; *Grigby v. Cox*, 1 Ves. Sen. 518; *Bell v. Hyde*, Prec. in Cha. 330. A court of equity has no power to set aside, but is bound to give effect to a disposition made by a *feme covert* of property settled to her separate use, though such disposition be made in favor of her husband, or even of her own trustee; notwithstanding it may be plain, that the whole object of the settlement in the wife's favor may be counteracted by this exercise of her power. *Pybus v. Smith*, 1 Ves. Jun. 194; *Parker v. White*, 11 Ves. 221, 222; *Jackson v. Hobhouse*, 2 Meriv. 487; *Nantes v. Corrock*, 9 Ves. 189; *Sperling v. Rochfort*, 8 id. 175; *Sturgis v. Corp*, 13 id. 190; *Glyn v. Baxter*, 1 Younge and Jerv. 352; *Acton v. White*, 1 Sim. and Stu. 432. And the assent of trustees to whom property is given for the separate use of a married woman, is not necessary to enable her to bind that property as she thinks fit; unless such assent is required by the instrument under which she is beneficially entitled to that property. *Essex v. Atkins*, 14 Ves. 547; *Browne v. Like*, 14 id. 302; *Pybus v. Smith*, 1 Ves. Jun. 194.

So, as Mr. Sugden, in the 3d chapter of his *Treatise on Powers* adduces numerous authorities to prove, it has long been settled, that a married woman may exercise a power over land, or, in other words, direct a conveyance of that land, whether the power be appendant, in gross, or simply collateral; and as well whether the estate be copyhold or freehold. *Doe v. Staple*, 2 T. R. 695; *Tomlinson v. Dighton*, 1 P. Wms. 149; *Hearle v. Greenbank*, 3 Atk. 711; *Peacock v. Monk*, 2 Ves. Sen. 191; *Wright v. Englefield*, Amb. 473; *Driver v. Thompson*, 4 Taunt. 297. And it would operate palpable injustice, if, where a married woman held property in trust as executrix, or *en autre droit*, she could not convey and dispose of the same, as the duties of her trust required. *Scammell v. Wilkinson*, 2 East, 557; Perkins, ch. 1, § 7.

No doubt, the separate estate of a *feme covert* cannot be reached as if she were a *feme sole* without some charge on her part, either express or to be implied; it seems, however, to be settled, notwithstanding the dislike of the principle, which has been often expressed: *Jones v. Harris*, 9 Ves. 497; *Nantes v. Corrock*, 9 id. 189; *Heatley v. Thomas*, 15 id. 604; that when a wife joins with her husband in a security, this is an implied execution of her power to charge her separate property. *Greatley v. Noble*, 3 Mad. 94; *Stuart v. Kirkwall*, 3 id. 389; *Hulme v. Tenant*, 1 Brown, 20; *Sperling v. Rockford*, 8 Ves. 175. And by joining in a sale with her husband by fine, a married woman may clearly come under obligations affecting her separate trust estate. *Parker v. White*, 11 id. 221, 224. A court of equity will certainly not interfere without great reluctance, for the purpose of giving effect to the improvident engagement of a married woman, for the accommodation of her husband; but where it appears in evidence that she was a free agent, and understood what she did when she engaged her separate property, a court of equity, it has been held, is bound to give effect to her contract. *Essex v. Atkins*, 14 id. 547. Or rather, perhaps, it may be more correctly put, to say, that, although a *feme covert* cannot, by the equitable possession of separate property acquire a power of personal contract, yet she has a power of disposition as incident to property, and her actual disposition will bind her. *Aguilar v. Aguilar*, 5 Mad. 418. The distinction between the mere contract, or general engagement of a married woman, and an appropriation of her separate estate, has been frequently recognized: *Power v. Bailey*, 1 Ball. and Beat. 52; she can enter into no contract affecting her person; the remedy must be against her property. *Socket v. Wray*, 4 Brown, 485; *Francis v. Widville*, 1 Mad. 263.

Where her husband is banished for life: *Countess of Portland v. Prodgers*, 2 Vern. 104; or as it seems, is transported beyond the seas: *Newsome v. Bowyer*, 3 P. Wms. 38; *Lean v. Schutz*, 2 W. Bla. 1198; or is an alien enemy: *Derby v. Dutchess of Mazarine*, 1 Salk. 116; and see Co. Litt. 132 b., 133 a.; in all these cases it has been held that it is necessary the wife should be considered as a *feme sole*.]

Since this note was first published the statute 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 75, has been passed, which allows a married woman to dispose of her land by deed, with the concurrence of her husband, but the deed must be acknowledged before a judge of the superior or county courts, or before a commissioner appointed for the purpose of taking such acknowledgments, by whom she is examined apart from her husband to ascertain if her consent to the deed is voluntary. This statute establishes a mode of conveyance by married women in England, which has long been employed in the United States. In some of the states the statutes go farther, and allow married women to convey their lands without the concurrence of their husbands, and in the same manner as if they were unmarried. See *Watson v. Thurber*, 11 Mich. 457. *Brunmet v. Weaver*, 2 Oregon 168.

As regards the property settled to the separate use of the married woman, and called her separate estate, the married woman has substantially the same control over it that she would have if under no disability, and this whether it is vested in her directly, or in trustees. She may make contracts which have the effect to charge it, and she may make sale of it without the intervention or consent of the husband. The contracts, however, are not enforceable at

The case of an alien born is also peculiar. For he may purchase any thing; but after purchase he can hold nothing (9) except a lease for years of

law, but only in the courts of equity, and they do not bind her personally, but are to be enforced against the specific property only. See *Gardner v. Gardner*, 7 Paige, 112; *Jaques v. Methodist Church*, 17 Johns. 548. The circumstance that the wife has a separate estate for her support, does not, at the common law, relieve the husband from the obligation he would otherwise be under to answer for her contracts, and, in many cases, it becomes a matter of no little difficulty to determine whether, under the particular circumstances, a debt is to be regarded as contracted on behalf of the husband, or, on the other hand, as a charge on her separate estate. The following are believed to be correct rules on this subject.

1. Where a married woman contracts a debt, apparently for the benefit of the family, though really for the benefit of her separate estate, but this fact is not known to the creditor, and the circumstances are such as fairly to authorize him to infer the authority and consent of the husband, the creditor has a right to treat the wife as the agent of the husband for the purpose of contracting the debt, and to hold him liable for the payment of the same. And the husband, if he would protect himself against any such liability, must take care that those dealing with the wife have no reason to suppose from his acts, or the manner which she transacts business, that she is acting as his agent, and not on her own behalf.

2. But where the debt is contracted expressly on the faith of the separate estate, the creditor cannot look to the husband for payment, inasmuch as he has not trusted to his responsibility, and had no reason to rely upon it. *Bentley v. Griffin*, 5 Taunt. 356; *Petty v. Anderson*, 3 Bing. 170; *Lillia v. Airey*, 1 Ves. 277; *Dyatt v. N. A. Coal Co.*, 20 Wend. 570. And whether the husband or the wife's separate estate was credited in any particular case is a question of fact.

3. Where a married woman contracts a debt for the benefit of her separate estate, it is presumed that she intended to charge that estate; the like presumption is a reasonable one in any case where the debt is contracted for her own benefit, and no other or different intent is manifested at the time. *Story Eq. Juris.* § 1400; *Owens v. Dickinson*, 1 Craig. and Phil. 48; *Vanderheyden v. Mallory*, 1 N. Y. 452. But it seems that no such presumption can be entertained where she signs a note merely as surety for her husband; and in such case her estate is not liable. *Yale v. Dederer*, 18 N. Y. 285. See *Wolf v. Van Metre*, 23 Iowa, 397.

(9) [If, says Lord Coke: *Co. Litt.* 2, a. b.; *Com. Dig. Aliens*, C. 2; see the reasons, *Bac. Ab. Aliens*, C.; "an alien purchase houses, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, to him and his heirs, albeit he can have no heirs, yet he is of capacity to take a fee-simple, but not to hold: for upon office found, that is, upon the inquest of a proper jury, the king shall have it by his prerogative of whomsoever the land is holden; and so it is if the alien doth purchase land and die, the law doth cast the freehold and inheritance upon the king." And if an alien purchase to him and the heirs of his body, he is tenant in tail; and if he suffer a recovery, and afterwards an office is found, the recovery is good to bar the remainder; 9 *Co.* 141; 2 *Roll.* 321; 4 *Leon.* 84; *Com. Dig. Aliens*, C. 2; but the estate purchased by an alien does not vest in the king till office found, until which the alien is seised; and may sustain actions for injuries to the property. 5 *Co.* 52 b.; 1 *Leonard*, 47; 4 *Leon.* 82; *Com. Dig. Aliens*, C. 4. But though an alien may take real property by purchase, yet he cannot take by descent, by dower, or by the curtesy of England, which are the acts of the law, for the act of law, says Sir Edward Coke, 7 *Co.* 25 a; *Com. Dig. Aliens*, C. 1; *Bac. Ab. Aliens*, c.; 2 *Bla. Com.* 249, giveth the alien nothing. Therefore, by the common law, *Co. Litt.* 8, a, an alien could not inherit to his father, though the father were a natural born subject, and the statutes have made no alteration in this respect in favor of persons who do not obtain denization or naturalization. So that an alien is at this day excluded not only from holding what he has taken by purchase, after office found, but from even taking by descent at all; and the reason of this distinction between the act of the alien himself, by which he may take but cannot hold, and the act of the law by which he cannot even take, is marked by Lord Hale in his judgment in the case of *Collingwood v. Pace*, 1 Vent. 417, where he says, though an alien may take by purchase by his own contract that which he cannot retain against the king, yet the law will not enable him by act of his own to transfer or by hereditary descent to take by an act in law; for the law, *que nihil frustra* (which does nothing in vain) will not give an inheritance or freehold by act in law, for he cannot keep it.

The general rule of the law therefore appears to be, that an alien by purchase, which is his own act, may take real property but cannot hold it; by descent, dower, or curtesy, or any other conceivable act of the law, he cannot even take any lands, tenements, or hereditaments whatsoever, much less hold them. The reason of the law's general exclusion of aliens, we have seen, *ante*, book 1, 371, 2.]

By statutes 7 and 8 Vic. c. 66, alien friends are now permitted to take and hold lands, for residence or business, for twenty-one years; and a person born out of the realm, whose mother is a natural born subject, may take any estate, by devise, purchase, inheritance or succession.

The law regarding the holding of property by aliens in the United States is not uniform in the different states, but the disability is removed, wholly or in part, in most of them. See 1 Washb. Real Prop. 51.

a house for convenience of merchandise, in case he be an alien friend; (10) all other purchases (when found by an inquest of office) being immediately forfeited to the king. (n) (11)

Papists, lastly, and persons professing the popish religion, and neglecting to take the oath prescribed by statute 18 Geo. III, c. 60, within the time limited for that purpose, are by statute 11 and 12 Wm. III, c. 4, disabled to purchase any lands, rents, or hereditaments; and all estates made to their use, or in trust for them, are void. (o) (12)

II. We are next, but principally, to inquire, *how* a man may aliene or convey; which will lead us to consider the several modes of conveyance.

In consequence of the admission of property, or the giving a separate right by the law of society to those things which by the law of nature were in common, there was necessarily some means to be devised, whereby that separate [*294] right or exclusive property should be originally acquired: *which we have more than once observed, was that of occupancy or first possession. But this possession, when once gained, was also necessarily to be continued; or else, upon one man's dereliction of the thing he had seised, it would again become common, and all those mischiefs and contentions would ensue, which property was introduced to prevent. For this purpose therefore of continuing the possession, the municipal law has established *descents* and *alienations*: the former to continue the possession in the heirs of the proprietor, after his *involuntary* dereliction of it by his death; the latter to continue it in those persons to whom the proprietor, by his own *voluntary* act, shall choose to relinquish it in his lifetime. A translation, or transfer, of property being thus admitted by law, it became necessary that this transfer should be properly evidenced: in order to prevent disputes, either about the fact, as whether there was any transfer at all; or concerning the persons, by whom and to whom it was transferred; or with regard to the subject-matter, as to what the thing transferred consisted of; or, lastly, with relation to the mode and quality of the transfer, as for what period of time (or, in other words, for what estate and interest) the conveyance was made. The legal evidences of this translation of property are called the *common assurances* of the kingdom; whereby every man's estate is assured to him, and all controversies, doubts, and difficulties are either prevented or removed.

These common assurances are of four kinds: 1. By matter *in pais*, or deed; which is an assurance transacted between two or more private persons *in pais*, in the country; that is (according to the old common law), upon the very spot to be transferred. 2. By matter of *record*, or an assurance transacted only in the king's public courts of record. 3. By special *custom*, obtaining in some particular places, and relating only to some particular species of property. Which three are such as take effect during the life of the party conveying or assuring. 4. The fourth takes no effect till after his death; and that is by *devise*, contained in his last will and testament. We shall treat of each in its order.

(n) Co. Litt. 2.

(o) 1 P. Wms. 354.

(10) [In former times no alien was permitted even to occupy a house for his habitation, and the alteration in that law was merely in favor of commerce and *merchants*. See 1 Rapin Hist. Eng. 361, n. 9; Bac. Ab. Aliens, C.]

(11) [But not before the inquest: 5 Co. 52, b; and if the purchase be made with the king's license, there can be no forfeiture. 14 Hen. IV, 20 Harg. Co. Litt. 2, b. n. 2.]

(12) These disabilities are now entirely removed. See the statutes 10 Geo. IV, c. 7, and 2 and 3 Wm. IV, c. 115; 23 and 24 Vic. c. 134; 32 and 33 Vic. c. 109.

CHAPTER XX.

OF ALIENATION BY DEED.

IN treating of deeds I shall consider, first, their general nature; and, next, the several sorts or kinds of deeds, with their respective incidents. And in explaining the former, I shall examine, first, what a deed is; secondly, its requisites; and, thirdly, how it may be avoided.

I. First, then, a deed is a writing sealed and delivered by the parties. (*a*) It is sometimes called a charter, *carta*, from its materials; but most usually when applied to the transactions of private subjects, it is called a deed, in Latin *factum*, κατ' ἐξοχήν, because it is the most solemn and authentic act that a man can possibly perform, with relation to the disposal of his property; and therefore a man shall always be *estopped* by his own deed, or not permitted to aver or prove any thing in contradiction to what he has once so solemnly and deliberately avowed. (*b*) If a deed be made by more parties than one, there ought to be regularly as many copies of it as there are parties, and each should be cut or indented (formerly in acute angles *instar dentium*, like the teeth of a saw, but at present in a waving line) on the top or side, to tally or correspond with the other; which deed, so made, is called an indenture. Formerly, when deeds were more concise than at present, it was usual to write both parts on the same piece of parchment, with some word or letters of the alphabet written between them; through which the parchment was cut, either in a straight or indented line, in such manner as to leave half the word on *one part and half on the [*296] other. Deeds thus made were denominated *syngrapha* by the canonists; (*c*) and with us *chirographa*, or hand-writings; (*d*) the word *cirographum* or *cyrographum* being usually that which is divided in making the indenture: and this custom is still preserved in making out the indentures of a fine, whereof hereafter. But at length indenting only has come into use, without cutting through any letters at all; and it seems at present to serve for little other purpose than to give name to the species of the deed. When the several parts of an indenture are interchangeably executed by the several parties, that part or copy which is executed by the grantor is usually called the *original*, and the rest are *counterparts*: though of late it is most frequent for all the parties to execute every part; which renders them all originals. A deed made by one party only is not indented, put *polled* or shaved quite even; and therefore called a *deed-poll*, or a single deed. (*e*) (1)

II. We are in the next place to consider the *requisites* of a deed. The *first* of which is, that there be persons able to contract and be contracted with for the purposes intended by the deed: and also a thing, or subject-matter to be contracted for; all which must be expressed by sufficient names. (*f*) So as in every grant there must be a grantor, a grantee, and a thing granted; in every lease a lessor, a lessee, and a thing demised.

Secondly, the deed must be founded upon good and sufficient *consideration*. Not upon an usurious contract; (*g*) nor upon fraud or collusion, either to deceive purchasers *bona fide*, (*h*) or just and lawful creditors; (*i*) any of which bad considerations will vacate the deed, and subject such persons as put the same in use, to forfeitures, and often to imprisonment. (2) A deed also, or other

(*a*) Co. Litt. 171.(*b*) Plowd. 434.(*c*) Lyndew. l. 1. c. 10, c. 1.(*d*) Mirror, c. 2, § 27.(*e*) Mirror, c. 2, § 27. Litt. §§ 371. 372.(*f*) Co. Litt. 35.(*g*) Stat. 13 Eliz. c. 8.(*h*) Stat. 27 Eliz. c. 4.(*i*) Stat. 13 Eliz. c. 5.

(1) Generally, at the present time, deeds for the conveyance of lands simply, though called indentures, are executed only by the grantors, and counterparts are not made and not needful.

(2) But a deed in fraud of purchasers or creditors is not void as between the parties thereto, nor even as to third persons who are not concerned in the fraud. Only the parties who would be defrauded by it can allege its invalidity, and as to them it is avoided only so far as is needful for their protection.

grant, made without any consideration, is, as it were, of no effect: for it is construed to enure, or to be effectual, only to the use of the grantor himself. (*k*) (3) [**297*] The consideration may be either **a good* or a *valuable* one. A *good* consideration is such as that of blood, or of natural love and affection, when a man grants an estate to a near relation; being founded on motives of generosity, prudence and natural duty; a *valuable* consideration is such as money, marriage, or the like, which the law esteems an equivalent given for the grant: (*l*) and is therefore founded in motives of justice. Deeds made upon good consideration only, are considered as merely voluntary, and are frequently set aside in favour of creditors, and *bona fide* purchasers. (4)

Thirdly; the deed must be *written*, or I presume *printed*, (5) for it may be in any character or any language; but it must be upon paper or parchment. For if it be written on stone, board, linen, leather, or the like, it is no deed. (*m*) Wood or stone may be more durable, and linen less liable to erasures; but writing on paper or parchment unites in itself, more perfectly than any other way, both these desirable qualities: for there is nothing else so durable, and at the same time so little liable to alteration: nothing so secure from alteration, that is at the same time so durable. It must also have the regular *stamps* imposed on it by the several statutes for the increase of the public revenue: else it cannot be given in evidence. Formerly many conveyances were made by parol, or word of mouth only, without writing; but this giving a handle to a variety of frauds, the statute 29 Car. II, c. 3, enacts, that no lease-estate or interest in lands, tenements, or hereditaments, made by livery of seisin, or by parol only (except leases, not exceeding three years from the making, and whereon the reserved rent is at least two-thirds of the real value), shall be looked upon as of greater force than a lease or estate at will; nor shall any assignment, grant, or surrender of any interest in any freehold hereditaments be valid; unless in both cases the same be put in writing, and signed by the party granting, or his agent lawfully authorized in writing. (6)

(*k*) Perk. § 533.

(*l*) 3 Rep. 83.

(*m*) Co. Litt. 229. F. N. B. 122.

(3) [This sentence is not quite accurately worded: from the expression "deed or other grant," it might be inferred that a deed was a species of grant, whereas a grant is only one mode of conveyance by deed: next, it is not true that all deeds, or all grants made without consideration, are of no effect, for 1st, as to all deeds which operate at common law, or by transmutation of possession, that they will be valid at law to pass the estates they profess to pass, as against the grantor, though made without any consideration; and secondly as to deeds which operate under the statute of uses, they create a use which results to the grantor. To all appearance, indeed, no change is made in the grantor's title or rights by such a deed, yet that it is without effect in law cannot be said, because it works such an alteration in the grantor's estate from that which he had before, that any devise of the lands made before the date of the deed, will have no effect, unless the will be republished, that is, in fact, new made.]

(4) This rule does not obtain in the United States. A deed purely voluntary is perfectly valid as against any subsequent purchaser from the grantor, who buys with notice, whether the notice be actual, or such as the law implies from the recording of the prior deed. 4 Kent, 463; Jackson v. Town, 4 Cow. 603; Salmon v. Bennett, 1 Conn. 525; Bennett v. Bedford Bank, 11 Mass. 421; Ricker v. Ham, 14 id. 137; Cathcart v. Robinson, 5 Pet. 280; Atkinson v. Phillips, 1 Md. Ch. Dec. 507; Beal v. Warren, 2 Gray, 447; Douglas v. Dunlap, 10 Ohio, 162.

(5) [Com. Dig. Fait, A; 3 Chitty's Com. L. 6. There seems no doubt that it may be printed, and that if signatures be requisite the name of a party in print at the foot of the instrument would suffice. 2 M. and S. 288; 2 Bos. and P. 238.]

(6) Nevertheless courts of equity have long been in the practice of enforcing the specific performance of parol contracts for the sale of lands, where there have been such acts of part performance as preclude the parties being placed in *statu quo*, and where, under the circumstances, it is equitable that such performance should be decreed. See Fry on Specific Performance; Story Eq. Juris. §§ 712—799.

[It is settled, also, that trusts of lands arising by implication, or operation of law, are not within the statute of frauds; if they were, it has been said, that statute would tend to promote frauds rather than prevent them. Young v. Peachy, 2 Atk. 256, 257; Willis v. Willis, id. 71; Anonym. 2 Ventr. 361.

The statute of frauds enacts, that no agreement respecting lands shall be of force, unless it be signed by the party to be charged; but the statute does not say that every agreement so

Fourthly; the matter written must be *legally* and *orderly* set forth: that is, there must be words sufficient to specify the agreement and bind the parties; which *sufficiency must be left to the courts of law to determine.⁽ⁿ⁾ (7) [*298] For it is not absolutely necessary in law to have all the formal parts that are usually drawn out in deeds, so as there be sufficient words to declare clearly and legally the party's meaning. But, as these formal and orderly parts are calculated to convey that meaning in the clearest, distinctest, and most effectual manner, and have been well considered and settled by the wisdom of successive ages, it is prudent not to depart from them without good reason or urgent necessity; and therefore I will here mention them in their usual (o) order.

1. The *premises* may be used to set forth the number and names of the parties, with their additions or titles. They also contain the recital, if any, of such deeds, agreements, or matters of fact, as are necessary to explain the reasons upon which the present transaction is founded; and herein also is set down the consideration upon which the deed is made. And then follows the certainty of the grantor, grantee, and thing granted. (p)

2, 3. Next come the *habendum* and *tenendum*. (q) The office of the *habendum* is properly to determine what estate or interest is granted by the deed: though this may be performed, and sometimes is performed, in the premises. In which case the *habendum* may lessen, enlarge, explain, or qualify, but not totally contradict or be repugnant to the estate granted in the premises. As if a grant be "to A and the heirs of his body," in the premises; *habendum* "to him and his heirs forever," or *vice versa*; here A has an estate-tail, and a fee-simple expectant thereon. (r) But, had it been in the premises "to him and his heirs," *habendum* "to him for life," the *habendum* would be utterly void; (s) for an estate of inheritance is vested in him before the *habendum* comes, and shall not afterwards be taken away or divested by it. The *tenendum*, "and to hold," is now of very little use, and is only kept in by custom. It was sometimes formerly *used to signify the tenure by which the estate granted was to be [*299]

⁽ⁿ⁾ Co. Litt. 235.

^(o) *Ibid.* 6.

^(p) See Appendix, No. II, § 1, page v.

^(q) *Ibid.*

^(r) Co. Litt. 21. 2 Roll. Rep. 19, 23. Cro. Jac. 478

^(s) 2 Rep. 23. 8 Id. 56.

signed shall be enforced. To adopt that construction would be, to enable any person who had procured another to sign an agreement to make it depend on his own will and pleasure whether it should be an agreement or not. Lord Redesdale, indeed, has intimated a doubt, whether in any case (not turning upon the fact of part performance) an agreement ought to be enforced, which has not been signed by, or on behalf of, both parties. *Lawrenson v. Butler*, 1 Sch. and Lef. 20; *O'Rourke v. Percival*, 2 Ball and Beat. 62. Lord Hardwicke and Sir Wm. Grant held a different doctrine. *Backhouse v. Mohun*, 3 Swanst. 435; *Fowle v. Freeman*, 9 Ves. 351; *Western v. Russel*, 3 Ves. and Bea. 192. Lord Eldon, without expressly deciding the point, seems to have leaned to Lord Redesdale's view of the question: *Huddleston v. Biscoe*, 11 Ves. 592; and Sir Thomas Plumer wished it to be considered whether, when one party has not bound himself, the other is not at liberty to enter into a new agreement with a third person. *Martin v. Mitchell*, 2 Jac. and Walk. 428.

By statute 8 and 9 Vic. c. 106, s. 4, a feoffment made after the first of October, 1845, other than a feoffment made under a custom by an infant, shall be void at law, unless evidenced by deed; and it is also enacted that a partition and an exchange of any hereditaments, not being copyhold, and a lease required by law to be in writing, of any hereditaments, and an assignment of a chattel interest not being copyhold in any hereditaments, and a surrender in writing of any interest therein not being a copyhold interest, and not being an interest which might by law have been created without writing, made after the first day of October, 1845, shall also be void at law, unless made by deed.]

Permission from the owner of land to another, to erect and occupy a building upon his premises, though not given in writing, will make the building, when erected, the property of the builder. But this permission, properly called a license, is revocable at any time; but when revoked, the licensee is entitled to the building, and may remove it. *Dubois v. Kelley*, 10 Barb. 496. If, however, the owner of the land sell to a third person who has no knowledge of the license, such third person, it seems, takes the land with whatever is so attached as to pass as a part of the realty if belonging to the grantor; and in such a case, the licensee, if he had not previously removed the building, would lose it. *Prince v. Case*, 10 Conn. 383. That a license is always revocable, see *Burton v. Schuff*, 1 Allen, 13; *Owen v. Field*, 12 Allen, 257; *Pittman v. Poor*, 38 Me. 23; *Rhodes v. Otis*, 33 Ala. 600; *Pratt v. Ogden*, 34 N. Y. 22; *Huff v. McAuley*, 53 Penn. St. 206; *Houston v. Laffer*, 46 N. H. 505. A strong disposition has been manifested of late to hold that where expenditures have been made upon lands in reliance upon a license before revocation, the licensor shall be estopped from revoking afterwards unless the licensee can be placed *in statu quo*. *Kerrick v. Kern*, 14 S. and R. 267; *Dark v. Johnston*, 55 Penn. St. 164; *Snowden v. Wilas*, 19 Ind. 10; *Lane v. Miller*, 27 Ind. 534.

(7) For rules for the construction of deeds, see post, 379.

holden, viz.: "*tenendum per servitium militare, in burgagio, in libero socagio*," &c. But, all these being now reduced to free and common socage, the tenure is never specified. Before the statute of *quia emptores*, 18 Edw. I, it was also sometimes used to denote the lord of whom the land should be holden; but that statute directing all future purchasers to hold, not of the immediate grantor, but of the chief lord of the fee, this use of the *tenendum* hath been also antiquated; though for a long time after we find it mentioned in ancient charters, that the tenements shall be holden *de capitalibus dominis feodi*; (*t*) but as this expressed nothing more than the statute had already provided for, it gradually grew out of use. (*8*)

4. Next follow the terms of stipulation, if any, upon which the grant is made; the first of which is the *reddendum* or reservation, whereby the grantor doth create or reserve some new thing to himself out of what he had before granted, as "rendering therefor yearly the sum of ten shillings, or a pepper-corn, or two days' ploughing, or the like." (*u*) Under the pure feudal system, this render, *reditus*, return or rent, consisted in chivalry principally of military services; in villeinage, of the most slavish offices; and in socage, it usually consists of money, though it may still consist of services, or of any other certain profit. (*w*) To make a *reddendum* good, if it be of any thing newly created by the deed, the reservation must be to the grantors, or some, or one of them, and not to any stranger to the deed. (*x*) But if it be of ancient services or the like, annexed to the land, then the reservation may be to the lord of the fee. (*y*)

5. Another of the terms upon which a grant may be made is a *condition*; which is a clause of contingency, on the happening of which the estate granted may be defeated: as "provided always, that if the mortgagor shall pay the [*300] mortgagee *500*l.* upon such a day, the whole estate granted shall determine;" and the like. (*z*)

6. Next may follow the clause of *warranty*; whereby the grantor doth, for himself and his heirs, warrant and secure to the grantee the estate so granted. (*a*) By the feudal constitution, if the vassal's title to enjoy the feud was disputed, he might vouch, or call the lord or donor to warrant or insure his gift; which if he failed to do, and the vassal was evicted, the lord was bound to give him another feud of equal value in recompense. (*b*) And so, by our ancient law, if before the statute of *quia emptores* a man enfeoffed another in fee, by the feudal verb *dedi*, to hold of himself and his heirs by certain services; the law annexed a warranty to this grant, which bound the feoffer and his heirs, to whom the services (which were the consideration and equivalent for the gift) were originally stipulated to be rendered. (*c*) Or if a man and his ancestors had immemorially holden land of another and his ancestors by the service of homage (which was called *homage auncstral*), this also bound the lord to warranty; (*d*) the homage being an evidence of such a feudal grant. And, upon a similar principle, in case, after a partition or exchange of lands of inheritance, either party or his heirs be evicted of his share, the other and his heirs are bound to warranty, (*e*) because they enjoy the equivalent. And so, even at this day, upon a gift in tail or lease for life, rendering rent, the donor or lessor and his heirs (to whom the rent is payable) are bound to warrant the title. (*f*) But in a feoffment in fee, by the verb *dedi*, since the statute of *quia emptores*, the feoffer only is bound to the implied warranty, and not his heirs; (*g*) because it is a mere personal contract on the part of the feoffer, the tenure (and of course the ancient services) resulting back to the superior lord of the fee. And in other

(*t*) Appendix, No. I. Madox. *Formul. passim*.

(*u*) See page 41.

(*z*) *Ibid.* No. II, § 2, page viii.

(*c*) Co. Litt. 384.

(*x*) Plowd. 13. 8 Rep. 71.

(*a*) *Ibid.* No. I, page i.

(*d*) Litt. § 143.

(*u*) Appendix, No. II, § 1, page lii.

(*y*) Appendix, No. I, page i.

(*b*) *Feud.* l. 2, t. 8 and 25.

(*e*) Co. Litt. 174.

(*f*) *Ibid.* 384.

(*g*) *Ibid.*

(*8*) [The *habendum*, though a proper and formal part of a conveyance at common law, is not absolutely essential; and in a conveyance merely by way of declaration of use, as a bargain and sale, covenant to stand seised, or appointment, it is obviously unnecessary, and (unless in a bargain and sale) improper. See 5 B. and Ad. 783.]

forms of alienation, gradually introduced since that statute, *no warranty whatsoever is implied; (*h*) they bearing no sort of analogy to the original feudal donation. And therefore in such cases it became necessary to add an express clause of warranty to bind the grantor and his heirs; which is a kind of covenant real, and can only be created by the verb *warrantizo* or *warrant*. (*i*) [*301]

These express warranties were introduced, even prior to the statute of *quia emptores*, in order to evade the strictness of the feudal doctrine of non-alienation without the consent of the heir. For, though he, at the death of his ancestor, might have entered on any tenements that were aliened without his concurrence, yet if a clause of warranty was added to the ancestor's grant, this covenant descending upon the heir insured the grantee; not so much by confirming his title, as by obliging such heir to yield him a recompense in lands of equal value: the law in favor of alienations, supposing that no ancestor would wantonly disinherit his next of blood; (*k*) and therefore presuming that he had received a valuable consideration, either in land or in money, which had purchased land, and that this equivalent descended to the heir together with the ancestor's warranty. So that when either an ancestor, being the rightful tenant of the freehold, conveyed the land to a stranger and his heirs, or released the right in fee simple to one who was already in possession, and superadded a warranty to his deed, it was held that such warranty not only bound the warrantor himself to protect and assure the title of the warrantee, but it also bound his heir: and this, whether that warranty was *lineal* or *collateral* to the title of the land. *Lineal* warranty was, where the heir derived, or might by possibility have derived, his title to the land warranted, either from or through the ancestor who made the warranty: as where a father, or an elder son in the life of the father, released to the disseisor of either themselves or the grandfather, with warranty, this was lineal to the younger son. (*l*) *Collateral* warranty was where the heir's title to the land neither was, nor could have been, derived from the *warranting ancestor; as where a younger brother released to his father's disseisor, with warranty, this was collateral to the elder brother. (*m*) [*302] But where the very conveyance to which the warranty was annexed immediately followed a disseisin, or operated itself as such, (as where a father tenant for years, with remainder to his son in fee, aliened in fee-simple with warranty), this being in its original manifestly founded on the *tort* or wrong of the warrantor himself, was called a warranty *commencing by disseisin*; and being too palpably injurious to be supported, was not binding upon any heir of such tortious warrantor. (*n*)

In both lineal and collateral warranty, the obligation of the heir (in case the warrantee was evicted, to yield him other lands in their stead) was only on condition that he had other sufficient lands by descent from the warranting ancestor. (*o*) But though without assets, he was not bound to insure the title of another, yet in case of lineal warranty, whether assets descended or not, the heir was perpetually barred from claiming the land *himself*; for if he could succeed in such claim, he would then gain assets by descent (if he had them not before), and must fulfil the warranty of his ancestor: and the same rule (*p*) was with less justice adopted also in respect of collateral warranties, which likewise (though no assets descended) barred the heir of the warrantor from claiming the land by any collateral title; upon the presumption of law that he might hereafter have assets by descent either from or through the same ancestor. The inconvenience of this latter branch of the rule was felt very early, when tenants by the curtesy took upon them to aliene their lands with warranty; which collateral warranty of the father descended upon the son (who was the heir of both his parents) barred him from claiming his maternal inheritance; to remedy which the statute of Gloucester, 6 Edw. I. c. 3, declared, that such warranty should be no bar to the son, unless assets descended from the father. It was

(*h*) *Ibid.* 102.(*i*) *Litt.* § 733.(*k*) *Co. Litt.* 373.(*l*) *Litt.* §§ 703, 706, 707.(*m*) *Ibid.* §§ 705, 707.(*n*) *Ibid.* §§ 698, 702.(*o*) *Co. Litt.* 102.(*p*) *Litt.* 711, 712.

[*303] afterwards attempted in 50 Edw. III, *to make the same provision universal, by enacting, that no collateral warranty should be a bar, unless where assets descended from the same ancestor; (*g*) but it then proceeded not to effect. However, by the statute 11 Hen. VII, c. 20, notwithstanding any alienation with warranty by tenant in dower, the heir of the husband is not barred, though he be also heir to the wife. And by statute 4 and 5 Ann. c. 16, all warranties by any tenant for life shall be void against those in remainder or reversion; and all collateral warranties by any ancestor who has no estate of inheritance in possession, shall be void against his heir. By the wording of which last statute it should seem that the legislature meant to allow, that the collateral warranty of tenant in tail in possession, descending (though without assets) upon a remainder-man or reversioner, should still bar the remainder or reversion. For though the judges, in expounding the statute *de donis*, held that by analogy to the statute of Gloucester, a lineal warranty by the tenant in tail without assets should not bar the issue in tail, yet they held such warranty with assets to be a sufficient bar: (*r*) which was therefore formerly mentioned (*s*) as one of the ways whereby an estate-tail might be destroyed; it being indeed nothing more in effect than exchanging the lands entailed for others of equal value. They also held, that collateral warranty was not within the statute *de donis*; as that act was principally intended to prevent the tenant in tail from disinheriting his own issue; and therefore collateral warranty (though without assets) was allowed to be, as at common law, a sufficient bar of the estate-tail and all remainders and reversions expectant thereon. (*t*) And so it still continues to be, notwithstanding the statute of Queen Anne, if made by tenant in tail in possession: who therefore may now, without the forms of a fine or recovery, in some cases make a good conveyance in fee-simple, by superadding a warranty to his grant; which, if accompanied with assets, bars his own issue, and without them bars such of his heirs as may be in remainder or reversion. (9)

[*304] *7. After warranty usually follow *covenants*, (10) or conventions, which are clauses of agreement contained in a deed, whereby either party may

(*g*) Co. Litt. 373.

(*r*) Litt. § 712. 2 Inst. 293.

(*s*) Page 116.

(*t*) Co. Litt. 374. 2 Inst. 335.

(9) [Estates-tail and estates expectant thereon are not now barrable by warranty, but by simpler means. See statute 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 74, s. 14. And since statute 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 27, and the statute above mentioned, warranties of real estate have ceased to have practical operation.]

(10) [The word "*covenant*" is not essentially necessary to the validity of a covenant, for a *proviso* to pay is a covenant, and may be so declared upon. *Clapham v. Moyle*, Lev. 155. And it may be inferred from the exception in another covenant. 16 East, 352.]

Covenants which affect, or are intimately attached to, the thing granted, as to repair, pay rent, &c., are said to run with the land, and bind not only the lessee, but his assignee also: 5 Co. 16 b.; and enure to the heir and assignee of the lessor, even although not named in the covenant. See 2 Lev. 92. As are also those which the grantor makes that he is seised in fee, has a right to convey, for quiet enjoyment, for further assurance, and the like, which enure not only to the grantee, but also to his assignee: 1 Marsh. 107; S. C., 5 Taunt. 418; 4 M. and S. 188; id. 53; and to executors, &c., according to the nature of the estate. 2 Lev. 26; *Spencer's Case*, 5 Co. 17, b.; 3 T. R. 13. And these are covenants real, as they either pass a realty, or confirm an obligation, so connected with realty, that he who has the realty is either entitled to the benefit of, or is liable to perform, the obligation. *Fitz. N. B.*, 145; *Shep. Touch. c. 7*, 161. See, as to right and liability of suing and being sued on these covenants, in case of heirs, assignees, &c., 1 Chitty on Pl. 10, 11, 13, 38, 39, 42.]

The most common covenants in American conveyances are: 1. That the grantor is well seized of the premises described; 2. That he has good right and lawful authority to sell and convey the same; 3. That the premises are free from any incumbrance; 4. That the grantor will protect the grantee in the quiet enjoyment of the same as against all persons lawfully claiming, and, 5. The covenant of general warranty. The first three of these covenants are broken at once, if at all, and a right of action immediately accrues in favor of the grantee. *Bingham v. Weiderwax*, 1 N. Y. 509; *Parker v. Brown*, 15 N. H. 176; *Hamilton v. Cutts*, 4 Mass. 349; *Baker v. Hunt*, 40 Ill. 264. As to what will constitute a breach of the covenant of seisin, see *Porter v. Perkins*, 5 Mass. 233; *Sedgwick v. Hollenbeck*, 7 Johns. 376; *Mott v. Palmer*, 1 N. Y. 574. The covenant against incumbrances extends to easements: *Prescott v. Trueman*, 4 Mass. 629; *Butler v. Gale*, 27 Vt. 739; *Wilson v. Cochran*, 46 Penn. St. 232; as well as to liens of every description; and the grantor is liable upon it if an incumbrance exists, notwithstanding the grantee was aware of it when he received the conveyance. *Townsend v. Weld*, 8 Mass. 146; *Harlow v. Thomas*, 15 Pick. 66. The fourth and fifth covenants are designed to protect the

stipulate for the truth of certain facts, or may bind himself to perform, or give, something to the other. Thus the grantor may covenant that he hath a right to convey; or for the grantee's quiet enjoyment; or the like; the grantee may covenant to pay his rent, or keep the premises in repair, &c. (u) If the covenantor covenants for himself and his *heirs*, it is then a covenant real, and descends upon the heirs; who are bound to perform it, provided they have assets by descent, but not otherwise; if he covenants also for his *executors* and *administrators*, his personal assets, as well as his real, are likewise pledged for the performance of the covenant; which makes such covenant a better security than any warranty. (11) It is also in some respects a less security, and therefore more beneficial to the grantor; who usually *covenants* only for the acts of himself and his ancestors, whereas a general *warranty* extends to all mankind. For which reasons the covenant has in modern practice totally superseded the other.

8. Lastly, comes the *conclusion*, which mentions the execution and date of deed, or the time of its being given or executed, either expressly, or by reference to some day and year before mentioned. (w) Not but a deed is good, although it mention no date; or hath a false date; or even if it hath an impossible date, as the thirtieth of February: provided the real day of its being dated or given, that is delivered, can be proved. (x) (12)

I proceed now to the *fifth* requisite for making a good deed; the *reading* (13) of it. This is necessary, wherever any of the parties desire it; and, if it be not done on his request, the deed is void as to him. If he can, he should read it himself; if he be blind or illiterate, another must read it to him. If it be read falsely, it will be void: at least for so much as is misrecited; unless it be agreed by collusion that the deed shall be read false, on purpose to make it void; for in such case it shall bind the fraudulent party. (y)

*Sixthly, it is requisite that the party, whose deed it is, should *seal*, (14) and now in most cases, I apprehend, should *sign* it also. (15) The use [*305]

(u) Appendix No. II, § 2, page viii.
(y) 2 Rep. 3, 9. 11 Rep. 27.

(w) *Ibid.* page xii.

(x) Co. Litt. 46. Dyer, 28.

title in the future, and they pass to the heirs and assignees of the grantee until a breach occurs, and an action then accrues in favor of the person then entitled as heir or assignee. All these covenants may be, and frequently are, qualified by exceptions. See Rawle on Covenants; 2 Washb. Real Prop. 642.

(11) [The executors and administrators are bound by every covenant without being named, unless it is such a covenant as is to be performed personally by the covenantor, and there has been no breach before his death. Cro. Eliz. 553.]

(12) [The date of a deed is not essential. Com. Dig. Fait, B. 3. In ancient times the date of the deed was generally omitted, and the reason was this, viz.: that the time of prescription frequently changed, and a deed dated before the time of prescription was not pleadable, but a deed without date might be alleged to be made within the time of prescription. Dates began to be added in the reigns of Edw. II and Edw. III.]

Where a deed purported to bear date on the 20th of November, and was executed by one of two defendants on the 16th of that month, and by the other on a previous day, it was held to be immaterial, it not appearing that a blank was left for the date at the time of the execution. 6 Moore, 483. And where there is no date to a deed, and it directs something to be done within a certain time after its supposed date, the time will be calculated from the delivery, 2 Ld. Raym. 1076.]

(13) [But this is not necessary even in the case of an illiterate person, unless he desires it to be done. 1 Nev. and M. 578; 4 B. and Ad. 647; See 8 Car. and P. 124.]

(14) [Sealing must be averred in pleading. 1 Saund. 290, n. 1. If A execute a deed for himself and his partner by the *authority* of his partner and *in his presence*, it has been held a good execution, though only sealed *once*; 4 T. R. 313; 3 Ves. 578; though it is an established rule, that one partner cannot bind the other partners by deed. 7 T. R. 207. A person executing a deed for his principal should sign in the name of the principal: 6 T. R. 176; or thus, "for A B (the principal), E F his attorney." 2 East, 142.]

In some of the United States a seal is not necessary to a deed. See *Shelton v. Armor*, 13 Ala. 647; *Simpson v. Munde*, 3 Kansas, 172; *Pierson v. Armstrong*, 1 Iowa, 232; *McKinney v. Miller*, 19 Mich. 142. In others a scroll or any other device employed by the parties as a substitute for a seal is sufficient. As to seals generally, see 1 Am. Law. Rev. 638.

(15) [Signing seems unnecessary, unless in cases under the statute of frauds and deeds executed under powers. Com. Dig. Fait, B. 1; 17 Ves. 459.]

Signing is probably necessary in all the United States. 2 Washb. Real Prop. 569.

of seals, as a mark of authenticity to letters and other instruments in writing, is extremely ancient. We read of it among the Jews and Persians in the earliest and most sacred records of history. (z) And in the book of Jeremiah there is a very remarkable instance, not only of an attestation, by seal, but also of the other usual formalities attending a Jewish purchase. (a) In the civil law, also, (b) seals were the evidence of truth; and were required, on the part of the witnesses, at least, at the attestation of every testament. But in the times of our Saxon ancestors, they were not much in use in England. For though Sir Edward Coke (c) relies on an instance of King Edwin's making use of a seal about an hundred years before the conquest, yet it does not follow that this was the usage among the whole nation: and perhaps the charter he mentions may be of doubtful authority, from this very circumstance, of being sealed; since we are assured by all our ancient historians, that sealing was not then in common use. The method of the Saxons was for such as could write to subscribe their names, and whether they could write or not, to affix the sign of the cross; which custom our illiterate vulgar do, for the most part, to this day keep up; by signing a cross for their mark, when unable to write their names. And indeed this inability to write, and therefore making a cross in its stead, is honestly avowed by Cædwalla, a Saxon king, at the end of one of his charters. (d) In like manner, and for the same unsurmountable reason, the Normans, a brave but *illiterate nation, at their

[*306] first settlement in France, used the practice of sealing only, without writing their names: which custom continued when learning made its way among them, though the reason for doing it had ceased; and hence the charter of Edward the Confessor to Westminster-abbey, himself being brought up in Normandy, was witnessed only by his seal, and is generally thought to be the oldest sealed charter of any authenticity in England. (e) At the conquest, the Norman lords brought over into this kingdom their own fashions; and introduced waxen seals only, instead of the English method of writing their names, and signing with the sign of the cross. (f) And in the reign of Edward I, every freeman, and even such of the more substantial villeins as were fit to be put upon juries, had their distinct particular seals. (g) The impressions of these seals were sometimes a knight on horseback, sometimes other devices: but coats of arms was not introduced into seals, nor indeed into any other use, till about the reign of Richard the First, who brought them from the croisade in the holy land; where they were first invented and painted on the shields of the knights to distinguish the variety of persons of every Christian nation who resorted thither, and who could not, when clad in complete steel, be otherwise known or ascertained.

This neglect of signing, and resting only upon the authenticity of seals, remained very long among us; for it was held in all our books that sealing alone was sufficient to authenticate a deed: and so the common form of attesting deeds,—“*sealed and delivered*,” continues to this day; notwithstanding the statute 29 Car. II, c. 3, before mentioned, revives the Saxon custom, and expressly directs the signing, in all grants of lands, and many other species of deeds: in which therefore signing seems to be now as necessary as sealing, though it hath been sometimes held that the one includes the other. (h)

A seventh requisite to a good deed is, that it be *delivered* (16) by the party

(z) 1 Kings, c. 21. Daniel, c. 6. Esther, c. 8.

(a) “And I bought the field of Hanameel, and weighed him the money, even seventeen shekels of silver. And I subscribed the evidence, and sealed it, and took witnesses, and weighed him the money in the balances. And I took the evidence of the purchase, both that which was sealed according to the law and custom, and also that which was open.” C. 32.

(b) *Inst.* 2, 10, 2 and 3.

(c) 1 *Inst.* 7.

(d) “*Propria manu pro ignorantia literarum signum sanctæ crucis expressi et subscripsi.*” Seld. *Jan. Angl.* l. 1, § 42. And this (according to Procopius), the Emperor Justin in the East, and Theodoric king of the Goths in Italy, had before authorized by their example, on account of their inability to write.

(e) Lamb. *Archæon.* 51.

(f) “*Normanni chirographorum confectionem, cum crucibus aureis, aliisque signaculis sacris, in Angliæ armari solitam, in cæram impressam mutant, modumque scribendi Anglicum rejiciunt.*” Ingulph.

(g) Stat. Exon. 14 Ed. 1.

(h) 3 Lev. 1. Stra. 764.

(16) No title passes by a deed, though it be executed with all due formalities, so long as the grantor retains it in his own possession. *Overman v. Kerr*, 17 Iowa, 490. It is from the

himself or his certain attorney, which therefore is *also expressed in the attestation; "sealed and delivered." A deed takes effect only from [*307] this tradition or delivery; for if the date be false or impossible, the delivery ascertains the time of it. And if another person seals the deed, yet if the party delivers it himself, he thereby adopts the sealing, (i) and by a parity of reason the signing also, and makes them both his own. A delivery may be either absolute, that is, to the party or grantee himself; or to a third person, to hold till some conditions be performed on the part of the grantee: in which last case it is not delivered as a deed, but as an *escrow*; that is, as a scrawl or writing, which is not to take effect as a deed till the conditions be performed; and then it is a deed to all intents and purposes. (j)

The last requisite to the validity of a deed is the *attestation*, or execution of it in the presence of witnesses: (17) though this is necessary, rather for pre-

(i) Perk. § 130.

(j) Co. Litt. 36.

delivery that a deed takes effect; but this will be presumed, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, to have been made on the day the deed bears date. *Jackson v. Bard*, 4 Johns. 230; *Cutts v. York Co.*, 18 Me. 190; *Geiss v. Odenheimer*, 4 Yeates, 278. If, however, the acknowledgment of the deed bears date after the date of the deed itself, the delivery will be presumed to have been made subsequent to the acknowledgment, that being the usual course. *Blanchard v. Tyler*, 12 Mich. 339; *contra*, *Ford v. Gregory*, 10 B. Monr. 175. Possession of the deed by the grantee is evidence of due delivery, but it is not conclusive, and it may nevertheless be shown that after execution the grantee had taken it without the grantor's assent. *Mills v. Gore*, 20 Pick. 36; *Hadlock v. Hadlock*, 22 Ill. 388. If, however, the grantee, in the presence of the grantor, takes possession of the deed without objection, the assent of the latter will be presumed. *Williams v. Sullivan*, 10 Rich. Eq. 217. Delivery to a stranger for the grantee is sufficient, even though the latter be not aware of it at the time, if he subsequently assents. *Buffum v. Green*, 5 N. H. 71; *Cooper v. Jackson*, 4 Wis. 553; *Hatch v. Hatch*, 9 Mass. 307; *Wesson v. Stevens*, 2 Ired. Eq. 557; *Hatch v. Bates*, 54 Me. 136; *Stephens v. Huss*, 54 Penn. St. 20; *Revard v. Walker*, 39 Ill. 413. And the recording of a deed by the grantor may be regarded as a delivery of it to the recorder for the grantee. *Jackson v. Leek*, 12 Wend. 107; *Denton v. Perry*, 5 Vt. 382. But if, in such a case, the deed does not come to the knowledge of the grantee until after the grantor's death, the delivery is not effectual. *Maynard v. Maynard*, 10 Mass. 456. But see *Mitchell v. Ryan*, 3 Ohio, N. S. 377. Where a deed is recorded, and there is no evidence who caused it to be done, delivery is presumed; and it has been held that the like presumption arises where the grantor himself placed it on record. *Mitchell v. Ryan*, 3 Ohio, N. S. 377; *Folk v. Varn*, 9 Rich. Eq. 303. But see *Maynard v. Maynard*, 10 Mass. 456; *Samson v. Thornton*, 3 Met. 275. A deed may be delivered upon condition to be performed before it shall take effect; in which case it is called an *escrow*; but in such a case the delivery must be to some third person, to hold until the condition is performed. If delivered to the grantee himself upon condition, the condition is void, and the deed takes effect at once. *Brown v. Reynolds*, 5 Sneed, 639; *Dawson v. Hall*, 2 Mich. 390; *Graves v. Tucker*, 10 S. and M. 9. See *Resor v. Railroad Co.*, 17 Ohio St. 139. Where a deed is placed in escrow, it takes effect from the delivery made after the condition is performed; *Jackson v. Rowland*, 6 Wend. 666; and if the custodian of the deed shall deliver it without performance of the condition, such second delivery is ineffectual: *Stiles v. Brown*, 16 Vt. 563; and it seems that even an innocent purchaser from the grantee cannot hold in such a case. See *People v. Bostwick*, 32 N. Y. 450; *Smith v. South Royalton Bank*, 32 Vt. 341. But see *Blight v. Schenck*, 10 Penn. St. 285; *Berry v. Anderson*, 22 Ind. 40.

(17) [It is not essential to the validity of a deed, in general, that it should be executed in the presence of a witness. Com. Dig. Fait, B. 4. And where the names of two fictitious persons had been subscribed by way of attestation, the judge permitted the plaintiff, who had received the deed from the defendant in that deceitful shape, to give evidence of the handwriting of the defendant himself; and where the subscribing witness denied any recollection of the execution, proof of his handwriting was deemed sufficient. Peake Rep. 23, 146; 2 Camp. 635.]

The statutes of some of the United States make the presence and attestation of witnesses essential to the validity of the deed. See 2 Washb. Real Prop. 572. Generally, however, they are required only for the purpose of authenticating the deed, in order that it may be recorded, and the deed will be valid as against the grantor and all others acquiring rights, with knowledge of it, without either witnesses or record. *Long v. Ramsey*, 1 S. and R. 73; *Dole v. Thurlow*, 12 Met. 157; *Dougherty v. Randall*, 3 Mich. 581; *Wiswall v. Ross*, 4 Port. 321. What has been said as to witnesses is true also as to acknowledgment; in some states this is essential to give the deed validity, while in others it is only a ceremony preliminary to the record. The statutes regarding the record of deeds are not uniform; in most of the states the record is required for the purpose of notice, and to protect subsequent *bona fide* purchasers; and an unrecorded deed is effectual against the grantor and his heirs, as well as against subsequent purchasers and mortgagees under him, who have received their conveyances and liens with knowledge of such unrecorded deed. Upon this subject, see 4 Kent, 456, et seq.; 2 Washb. Real Prop. 590, et seq. The record of a deed not executed with all the statutory formalities,

serving the evidence, than for constituting the essence of the deed. Our modern deeds are in reality nothing more than an improvement or amplification of the *brevia testata* mentioned by the feudal writers, (*k*) which were written memorandums, introduced to perpetuate the tenor of the conveyance and investiture, when grants by parol only became the foundation of frequent dispute and uncertainty. To this end they registered in the deed the persons who attended as witnesses, which was formerly done without their signing their names (that not being always in their power), but they only heard the deed read; and then the clerk or scribe added their names, in a sort of memorandum, thus: "*hijs testibus Johanne Moore, Jacobo Smith, et alijs, ad hanc rem convocatis.*" (*l*) This, like all other solemn transactions, was originally done only *coram paribus*, (*m*) and frequently when assembled in the court-baron, hundred, or county-court; which was then expressed in the attestation, *teste comitatu hundredo, &c.* (*n*) After-
 [*308] wards the attestation of other witnesses was allowed, the trial in *case of a dispute being still reserved to the *pares*; with whom the witnesses (if more than one) were associated and joined in the verdict; (*o*) till that also was abrogated by the statute of York, 12 Edw. II, st. 1, c. 2. And in this manner, with some such clause of *hijs testibus*, are all old deeds and charters, particularly *magna carta*, witnessed. And in the time of Sir Edward Coke, creations of nobility were still witnessed in the same manner. (*p*) But in the king's common charters, writs or letters patent, the style is now altered: for at present the king is his own witness, and attests his letters patent thus: "*Teste meipso, witness ourself at Westminster,*" &c., a form which was introduced by Richard the First, (*q*) but not commonly used till about the beginning of the fifteenth century; nor the clause of *hijs testibus* entirely discontinued till the reign of Henry the Eighth: (*r*) which was also the æra of discontinuing it in the deeds of subjects, learning being then revived, and the faculty of writing more general: and, therefore, ever since that time the witnesses have usually subscribed their attestations, either at the bottom, or on the back of the deed. (*s*)

III. We are next to consider, how a deed may be *avoided*, or rendered of no effect. And from what has been before laid down, it will follow, that if a deed wants any of the essential requisites before mentioned; either, 1. Proper parties, and a proper subject-matter: 2. A good and sufficient consideration: 3. Writing on paper or parchment, duly stamped: 4. Sufficient and legal words, properly disposed: 5. Reading, if desired, before the execution: 6. Sealing, and, by the statute, in most cases signing also: or, 7. Delivery; it is a void deed *ab initio*. It may also be avoided by matter *ex post facto*: as 1. By rasure, interlining or other alteration in any material part: unless a memorandum be made thereof at the time of the execution and attestation. (*t*) (18) 2. By break-

(*k*) Feud. l. 1. t. 4.

(*l*) Co. Litt. 7.

(*m*) Feud. l. 2. t. 32.

(*n*) Spelm. Gloss. 238. Madox. Formul. No. 221, 322, 660.

(*o*) Co. Litt. 6.

(*p*) 2 Inst. 77.

(*q*) Madox. Formul. No. 515.

(*r*) Ibid. Dissert. fol. 38.

(*s*) 2 Inst. 78. See page 378.

(*t*) 11 Rep. 27.

is notice to no one. Galpin v. Abbott, 6 Mich. 17; Blood v. Blood, 23 Pick. 80; Kerns v. Swope, 2 Watts, 75; Bossard v. White, 9 Rich. Eq. 483; Peck v. Mallams, 10 N. Y. 518; Herndon v. Kimball, 7 Geo. 432; Choteau v. Jones, 11 Ill. 300.

(18) The effect which an erasure, interlineation or other alteration in a deed may have upon it does not depend upon whether or not a memorandum thereof is made at the time of the execution of the deed, but whether in fact it appears to have been made at a proper time and with proper authority. Where such alteration is actually made before the deed is executed, it is always a proper precaution to have a memorandum thereof made at the foot of the deed and attested by the witnesses; and the deed will then bear upon its face the most satisfactory evidence that the alteration has not been improperly made. But where an alteration appears which is not thus noted, it does not follow, even though it be in a material part, that the deed is thereby avoided. If the alteration corrects an evident mistake of description, which without it the court would have corrected by construction, it will be treated as immaterial by whomsoever made. Jordan v. Stevens, 51 Me. 78; Gordan v. Sizer, 39 Miss. 818. But if the alteration appear to be material, it will often happen that the question upon whom rests the burden of explanation is of the last importance, especially as these questions often arise after such lapse of time that complete explanation is difficult or impossible.

ing off, or defacing the seal. (*u*) (19) 3. By delivering it up to be cancelled; *that is, to have lines drawn over it in the form of lattice-work or [**309*] *cancelli*; though the phrase is now used figuratively for any manner of obliteration or defacing it. 4. By the disagreement of such, whose concurrence is necessary, in order for the deed to stand: as the husband, where a feme-covert is concerned; an infant, or person under duress, when those disabilities are removed; and the like. 5. By the judgment or decree of a court of judicature. This was anciently the province of the court of star-chamber, and now of the chancery: (20) when it appears that the deed was obtained by fraud, force, or other foul practice; or is proved to be an absolute forgery. (*w*) In any of these cases the deed may be voided, either in part or totally, according as the cause of avoidance is more or less extensive.

And, having thus explained the general nature of deeds, we are next to consider their several species, together with their respective incidents. And herein

(*u*) 5 Rep. 28.

(*w*) Toth. *anno*. 24. 1 Vern. 348.

There is certainly considerable diversity in the judicial decisions upon this subject, but the tendency of the later adjudications seems to be to establish the doctrine that there is no presumption of law that an alteration was made subsequent to the execution of the deed, but that, on the contrary, the question when and with what intent an alteration was made is one of fact for the jury, who, in the absence of any suspicious circumstance, ought to presume against its having been wrongfully and improperly made. There is much good sense in what is said by Mr. Justice Hall, of the supreme court of Vermont, that "an alteration of a written instrument, if nothing appear to the contrary, should be presumed to have been made at the time of its execution. I think this rule is demanded by the actual condition of the business transactions of this country, and especially of this state, where a great portion of the contracts made are drawn by the parties to them, and without great care in regard to interlineations and alterations. To establish an invariable rule, that the party producing the paper should in all cases be bound to explain any alteration by extrinsic evidence, would, I apprehend, do injustice in a very great majority of the instances in which it should be applied. *

* It is not often that an alteration can be accounted for by extraneous evidence; and to hold that in all cases such evidence must be given, without regard to any suspicious appearance of the alteration, would, I think, in many instances, be doing such manifest injustice as to shock the common sense of most men." *Reaman's Admrs. v. Russell*, 20 Vt. 213; see also *Bailey v. Taylor*, 11 Conn. 531; *Pullen v. Hutchenson*, 12 Shep. 254; *McCormick v. Fritzmorris*, 39 Mo. 34; *Simpson v. Stackhouse*, 9 Penn. St. 106. The cases upon this subject are collected in 1 Greenl. Ev. § 564; 1 Smith Lead. Cas. 5th Am. ed. 961; 2 Washb. Real. Prop. 557. If the alteration is suspicious upon its face—as if it be in a different handwriting or different ink from the body of the deed, and be favorable to the interest of the grantee—it is reasonable that he be required to account for it. *Jackson v. Jacoby*, 9 Cow. 125; *Wilde v. Armsby*, 6 Cush. 314.

Where, by the making and delivery of a deed, the title passes, no subsequent alteration in the deed, or even its destruction, can of itself have the effect to defeat or divest the title which has once passed. *Miller v. Gilleland*, 19 Penn. St. 119; 2 Washb. Real Prop. 557. But if a deed is destroyed or altered by the grantee himself for any fraudulent purpose, or under such circumstances that it would be inequitable for him afterwards to rely upon title under it, it may be that the rules of evidence will preclude his showing the title which he actually possesses. It has been held in one case, that the fraudulent destruction or alteration of a deed would preclude the party from introducing secondary evidence of its contents: *Wallace v. Harmstad*, 44 Penn. St. 492; and in another that, where, by consent of the parties thereto, a deed was destroyed, with the intent to revest the title in the grantor, the grantee was estopped in a suit at law from producing the like secondary evidence. *Gugins v. Van Gorder*, 10 Mich. 523.

(19) [See in general, Com. Dig. Fait, F. 2. It must be an intentional breaking off or defacing by the party to whom the other is bound, for if the person bound break off or deface the seal, it will not avoid the deed. *Touchstone*, c. 4, s. 6, 2. And if it appear that the seal has been affixed and afterwards broken off or defaced by accident, the deed will still be valid. *Palm*. 403. And the defacing or canceling a deed will not in any case divest property which has once vested by transmutation of possession. 2 Hen. Bla. 263; and see 4 B. and A. 675. If several join in a deed and be separately bound thereby, the breaking off the seal of one, with intent to discharge him from future liability, will not alter the liability of the others. 1 B. and C. 682.]

(20) [The courts of common law are equally competent to nullify the deed in such case upon the principle that, the mind not assenting, it is not the deed of the party sought to be charged by it; and there is no occasion to resort to a court of equity for relief, when evidence at law can be adduced. 2 T. R. 765.]

I shall only examine the particulars of those which, from practice and experience of their efficacy, are generally used in the alienation of *real* estates, for it would be tedious, nay infinite, to descant upon all the several instruments made use of in *personal* concerns, but which fall under our general definition of a deed; that is, a writing sealed and delivered. The former being principally such as serve to *convey* the property of lands and tenements from man to man, are commonly denominated *conveyances*; which are either conveyances at *common law*, or such as receive their force and efficacy by virtue of the *statute of uses*.

I. Of conveyances by the common law, some may be called *original* or *primary* conveyances; which are those by means whereof the benefit or estate is created or first arises; others are *derivative* or *secondary*; whereby the benefit or estate originally created, is enlarged, restrained, transferred, or extinguished.

[*310] **Original* conveyances are the following: 1. Feoffment; 2. Gift; 3. Grant; 4. Lease; 5. Exchange; 6. Partition: *derivative* are, 7. Release; 8. Confirmation; 9. Surrender; 10. Assignment; 11. Defeazance.

1. A feoffment, *feoffamentum*, is a substantive derived from the verb, to enfeoff, *feoffare* or *infeudare*, to give one a feud; and therefore feoffment is properly *donatio feudi*. (x) It is the most ancient method of conveyance, the most solemn and public, and therefore the most easily remembered and proved. And it may properly be defined, the gift of any corporeal hereditament to another. He that so gives, or enfeoffs, is called the *feoffor*; and the person enfeoffed is denominated the *feoffee*. (21)

This is plainly derived from, or is indeed itself the very mode of, the ancient feudal donation; for though it may be performed by the word "*enfeoff*" or "*grant*," yet the aptest word of feoffment is, "*do* or *dedi*." (y) And it is still directed and governed by the same feudal rules; insomuch that the principal rule relating to the extent and effect of the feudal grant, "*tenor est qui legem dat feudo*," is in other words become the maxim of our law with relation to feoffments, "*modus legem dat donationi*." (z) And therefore, as in pure feudal donations, the lord, from whom the feud moved, must expressly limit and declare the continuance or quantity of estate which he meant to confer, "*ne quis plus donasse præsumatur quam in donatione expresserit*;" (a) so, if one grants by feoffment lands or tenements to another, and limits or expresses no estate, the grantee (due ceremonies of law being performed) hath barely an estate for life. (b) For as the personal abilities of the feoffee were originally presumed to be the immediate or principal inducements to the feoffment, the feoffee's estate ought to be confined to his person, and subsist only for his life; unless

[*311] the feoffor, by express provision in the creation *and constitution of the estate, hath given it a longer continuance. These express provisions are indeed generally made; for this was for ages the only conveyance, whereby our ancestors were wont to create an estate in fee-simple, (c) by giving the land to the feoffee, to hold to him and his heirs forever; though it serves equally well to convey any other estate or freehold. (d)

But by the mere words of the deed the feoffment is by no means perfected; there remains a very material ceremony to be performed, called *livery of seisin*; without which the feoffee has but a mere estate at will. (e) This livery of seisin is no other than the pure feudal investiture, or delivery of corporeal possession of the land or tenement; which was held absolutely necessary to complete the donation. "*Nam feudum sine investitura nullo modo constitui potuit*;" (f) and an estate was then only perfect, when, as the author of Fleta expresses it in our law, "*fit juris et seisinæ conjunctio*." (g)

(x) Co. Litt. 9.
(b) Co. Litt. 42.
(c) Litt. § 66.

(y) *Ibid.*
(c) See Appendix, No. 1.
(f) Wright, 31.

(z) Wright, 21.
(d) Co. Litt. 9.
(g) l. 3, c. 15, § 5.

(a) Page 108.

(21) [Mr. Saunders' description of a feoffment at common law is more perfect than that given in the text: he calls it a conveyance of corporeal hereditaments from one person to another by delivery of the possession, upon or within view of the hereditaments so conveyed.]

Investitures, in their original rise, were probably intended to demonstrate in conquered countries the actual possession of the *lord*; and that he did not grant a bare litigious right, which the soldier was ill qualified to prosecute, but a peaceable and firm possession. And at a time when writing was seldom practiced, a mere oral gift, at a distance from the spot that was given, was not likely to be either long or accurately retained in the memory of by-standers, who were very little interested in the grant. Afterwards they were retained as a public and notorious act, that the country might take notice of and testify the transfer of the estate; and that such as claimed title by other means, might know against whom to bring their actions.

In all well-governed nations some notoriety of this kind has been ever held requisite, in order to acquire and ascertain *the property of lands. In [*312] the Roman law *plenum dominium* was not said to subsist, unless where a man had both the *right* and the *corporal possession*; which possession could not be acquired without both an actual intention to possess, and an actual seisin, or entry into the premises, or part of them in the name of the whole. (h) And even in ecclesiastical promotions, where the freehold passes to the person promoted, corporal possession is required at this day, to vest the property completely in the new proprietor; who, according to the distinction of the canonists, (i) acquires the *jus ad rem*, or inchoate and imperfect right, by nomination and institution; but not the *jus in re*, or complete and full right, unless by corporal possession. Therefore in dignities possession is given by instalment; in rectories and vicarages by induction, without which no temporal rights accrue to the minister, though every ecclesiastical power is vested in him by institution. So, also, even in descents of lands by our law, which are cast on the heir by act of the law itself, the heir has not *plenum dominium*, or full and complete ownership, till he has made an actual corporal entry into the lands: for if he dies before entry made, his heir shall not be entitled to take the possession, but the heir of the person who was last actually seised. (k) It is not, therefore, only a mere right to enter, but the actual entry, that makes a man complete owner; so as to transmit the inheritance to his own heirs: *non jus, sed seisinam, facit stipitem*. (l)

Yet the corporal tradition of lands being sometimes inconvenient, a symbolical delivery of possession was in many cases anciently allowed; by transferring something near at hand, in the presence of credible witnesses, which by agreement should serve to represent the very thing designed to be conveyed; and an occupancy of this sign or symbol was *permitted as equivalent to occupancy of the land itself. Among the Jews we find the evidence of a [*313] purchase thus defined in the book of Ruth: (m) “now this was the manner in former time in Israel, concerning redeeming and concerning changing, for to confirm all things: a man plucked off his shoe and gave it to his neighbor; and this was a testimony in Israel.” Among the ancient Goths and Swedes, contracts for the sale of lands were made in the presence of witnesses who extended the cloak of the buyer, while the seller cast a clod of the land into it, in order to give possession; and a staff or wand was also delivered from the vendor to the vendee, which passed through the hands of the witnesses. (n) With our Saxon ancestors the delivery of a turf was a necessary solemnity, to establish the conveyance of lands. (o) And to this day, the conveyance of our copyhold estates is usually made from the seller to the lord or his steward by delivery of a rod or verge, and then from the lord to the purchaser by re-delivery of the same, in the presence of a jury of tenants.

Conveyances in writing were the last and most refined improvement. The mere delivery of possession, either actual or symbolical, depending on the ocular testimony and remembrance of the witnesses, was liable to be forgotten or

(h) *Nam aptatimur possessionem corpore et animo; neque per se corpore, neque per se animo. Non autem ita accipiendum est, ut qui fundum possidere velit, omnes glebas circumambulet; sed sufficit quamlibet partem ejus fundi introire.* (Ff. 41, 2, 3.) And again: *traditionibus dominia rerum, non nudis pactis, transferuntur.* (Cod. 2. 3. 20.)

(i) Decretul. l. 3. c. 40.

(k) See pages 200, 227, 228.

(l) Flet. l. 6. c. 2. § 2.

(m) Ch. 4, v. 7.

(n) Stiernhook, *de jure Sueon.* l. 2. c. 4.

(o) Hickes, *Dissert. Epistol.* 85.

misrepresented, and became frequently incapable of proof. Besides, the new occasions and necessities introduced by the advancement of commerce, required means to be devised of charging and encumbering estates, and of making them liable to a multitude of conditions and minute designations for the purpose of raising money, without an absolute sale of the land; and sometimes the like proceedings were found useful in order to make a decent and competent provision for the numerous branches of a family, and for other domestic views. None of which could be effected by a mere, simple, corporal transfer of the soil from one man to another, which was principally calculated for conveying an [*314] absolute unlimited dominion. *Written deeds were therefore introduced, in order to specify and perpetuate the peculiar purposes of the party who conveyed; yet still, for a very long series of years, they were never made use of, but in company with the more ancient and notorious method of transfer, by delivery of corporal possession.

Livery of seisin, by the common law, is necessary to be made upon every grant of an estate of freehold in hereditaments corporeal, whether of inheritance or for life only. In hereditaments incorporeal it is impossible to be made; for they are not the objects of the senses; and in leases for years, or other chattel interests, it is not necessary. In leases for years indeed an actual *entry* is necessary, to vest the estate in the lessee: for the bare lease gives him only a right to enter, which is called his interest in the term, or *interesse termini*: and when he enters in pursuance of that right, he is then, and not before, in possession of his term, and complete tenant for years. (*p*) This entry by the tenant himself serves the purpose of notoriety, as well as livery of seisin from the grantor could have done; which it would have been improper to have given in this case, because that solemnity is appropriated to the conveyance of a freehold. And this is one reason why freeholds cannot be made to commence *in futuro*, because they cannot (at the common law) be made but by livery of seisin; which livery, being an actual manual tradition of the land, must take effect *in præsenti*, or not at all. (*q*) (22)

On the creation of a *freehold* remainder, at one and the same time with a particular estate for years, we have before seen, that at the common law livery must be made to the particular tenant. (*r*) But if such a remainder be created afterwards, expectant on a lease for years now in being, the livery must not be made to the lessee for years, for then it operates nothing; "*nam quod semel meum est, amplius meum esse non potest*;" (*s*) but it must be made to [*315] the remainder-man *himself by consent of the lessee for years; for without his consent no livery of the possession can be given; (*t*) partly because such forcible livery would be an ejectment of the tenant from his term, and partly for the reasons before given (*v*) for introducing the doctrine of attornments.

Livery of seisin is either in *deed* or in *law*. Livery in *deed* is thus performed. The feoffer, lessor, or his attorney, together with the feoffee, lessee, or his attorney (for this may as effectually be done by deputy or attorney, as by the principals themselves in person), (23) come to the land, or to the house; and

(*p*) Co. Litt. 46. (*q*) See Page 165. (*r*) Page 167. (*s*) Co. Litt. 49. (*t*) *Ibid.* 48. (*v*) Page 233.

(22) Livery of seisin is now abolished in England. See statute 8 and 9 Vic. c. 106. It was never necessary except in conveyances at common law: those under the statute of uses were effectual without it. In the United States, though a few very early cases are mentioned, in which feoffment with livery was employed, it can hardly be doubted that from the first other forms of conveyance were commonly used, and they are now universal. See 4 Kent, 84; 1 Washb. Real Prop. 33.

(23) [But the authority given to an attorney, &c., for this purpose should be by deed. And the authority so given, whether by the feoffer or feoffee, must be completely executed or performed in the lifetime of both the principals; for if either of them die before the livery of seisin is completed, his attorney cannot proceed because his authority is then at an end. See 2 Roll. Ab. 8 R. pl. 4, 5; Co. Litt. 52, b.]

As to the cases in which an attorney's acts for his principal may be good, notwithstanding the death of the principal, see the well-reasoned case of *Ish v. Crane*, 8 Ohio, N. S., 545.

there, in the presence of witnesses, declare the contents of the feoffment or lease, on which livery is to be made. And then the feoffor, if it be of land, doth deliver to the feoffee, all other persons being out of the ground, a clod or turf, or a twig or bough there growing, with words to this effect: "I deliver these to you in the name of seisin of all the lands and tenements contained in this deed." But if it be of a house, the feoffor must take the ring or latch of the door, the house being quite empty, and deliver it to the feoffee in the same form; and then the feoffee must enter alone, and shut to the door, and then open it, and let in the others. (w) If the conveyance or feoffment be of divers lands, lying scattered in one and the same county, then in the feoffor's possession, livery of seisin of any parcel, in the name of the rest, sufficeth for all; (x) (24) but if they be in several counties, there must be as many liveries as there are counties. For if the title in these lands comes to be disputed, there must be as many trials as there are counties, and the jury of one county are no judges of the notoriety of a fact in another. Besides anciently this seisin was obliged to be delivered *coram paribus de vicineto*, before the peers or freeholders of the neighbourhood, who attested such delivery in the body or on the back of the deed; according to the rule of the feudal law (y) *pares debent interesse investituræ feudi, et non alii*: for which this reason is expressly given: because *the peers or [*316] vassals of the lord being bound by their oath of fealty, will take care that no fraud be committed to his prejudice, which strangers might be apt to connive at. And though afterwards the ocular attestation of the *pares* was held unnecessary, and livery might be made before any credible witnesses, yet the trial, in case it was disputed (like that of all other attestations), (z) was still reserved to the *pares* or jury of the county. (a) Also, if the lands be out on lease, though all lie in the same county, there must be as many liveries as there are tenants; because no livery can be made in this case but by the consent of the particular tenant; and the consent of one will not bind the rest. (b) And in all these cases it is prudent, and usual, to endorse the livery of seisin on the back of the deed, specifying the manner, place, and time of making it; together with the names of the witnesses. (c) And thus much for livery in deed.

Livery in law is where the same is not made on the land, but *in sight of it* only; the feoffor saying to the feoffee, "I give you yonder land; enter and take possession." Here, if the feoffee enters during the life of the feoffor, it is a good livery, but not otherwise; unless he dares not enter, through fear of his life or bodily harm; and then his continual claim, made yearly, in due form of law, as near as possible to the lands, (d) will suffice without an entry. (e) This livery in law cannot, however, be given or received by attorney, but only by the parties themselves. (f)

2. The conveyance by *gift, donatio*, is properly applied to the creation of an estate-tail, as feoffment is to that of an estate in fee, and lease to that of an estate for life or years. It differs in nothing from a feoffment, but in the nature of the estate passing by it; for the operative words of conveyance in this case are *do* or *dedi*; (g) and gifts in tail are equally imperfect without livery of seisin; as feoffments in fee-simple. (h) *And this is the only distinction [*317] that Littleton seems to take, when he says (i) "it is to be understood" viz.: feoffor is applied to a feoffment in fee-simple, donor to a gift in tail, and lessor to a lease for life, or for years, or at will. In common acceptance gifts are frequently confounded with the next species of deeds: which are,

(w) Co. Litt. 48. West. Symb. 251.
(a) Glb. 10, 35. (b) Dyer, 18.
(e) Co. Litt. 42. (f) Ibid. 58.

(x) Litt. § 414. (y) Feud. l. 2, t. 58. (z) See page 307.
(c) See Appendix, No. 1. (d) Litt. § 421, &c.
(g) West. Symbol. 256. (h) Litt. § 59. (i) § 57.

(24) [So in rectories and vicarages, induction, which is made usually by giving possession of the church, puts the parson into complete and actual possession of the whole glebe and temporalities, so that he may maintain trespass or ejectment. *Bulwer v. Bulwer*, 2 B. and A. 470.]

3. Grants, *concessionēs*; the regular method by the common law of transferring the property of *incorporeal* hereditaments, or such things whereof no livery can be had. (*k*) For which reason all corporeal hereditaments, as lands and houses, are said to lie in *livery*; and the others, as advowsons, commons, rents, reversions, &c., to lie in *grant*. (*l*) And the reason is given by Bracton: (*m*) "*traditio*, or livery, *nihil aliud est quam rei corporalis de persona in personam, de manu in manum, translatio aut in possessionem inductio: sed res incorporeales, quæ sunt ipsum jus rei vel corpori inhærens, traditionem non patiuntur.*" These, therefore, pass merely by the delivery of the deed. And in signiorics, or reversions of lands, such grant, together with the attornment of the tenant (while attornments were requisite), were held to be of equal notoriety with, and therefore equivalent to, a feoffment and livery of lands in immediate possession. It therefore differs but little from a feoffment, except in its subject-matter; for the operative words therein commonly used are *dedi et concessi*, "have given and granted."

4. A lease is properly a conveyance of any lands or tenements (usually in consideration of rent or other annual recompense), made for life, for years, or at will, but always for a *less* time than the lessor hath in the premises; for if it be for the *whole* interest, it is more properly an assignment than a lease. The usual words of operation in it are, "demise, grant, and to farm let; *dimisi, concessi, et ad firmam tradidi*. Farm, or *feorme*, is an old Saxon word [**318*] signifying provisions; (*n*) and it came to be used instead of rent or render, because anciently the greater part of rents were reserved in provisions; in corn, in poultry, and the like; till the use of money became more frequent. So that a farmer, *firmarius*, was one who held his lands upon payment of a rent or *feorme*: though at present, by a gradual departure from the original sense, the word *farm* is brought to signify the very estate or lands so held upon farm or rent. By this conveyance an estate for life, for years, or at will, may be created, either in corporeal or incorporeal hereditaments: though livery of seisin is indeed incident and necessary to one species of leases, viz.: leases for life of corporeal hereditaments; but to no other.

Whatever restriction, by the severity of the feudal law, might in times of very high antiquity be observed with regard to leases; yet by the common law, as it has stood for many centuries, all persons seized of any estate might let leases to endure so long as their own interest lasted, but no longer. Therefore tenant in fee-simple might let leases of any duration; for he hath the whole interest, but tenant in tail, or tenant for life, could make no leases which should bind the issue in tail or reversioner; nor could a husband, seized *jure uxoris*, make a firm or valid lease for any longer term than the joint lives of himself and his wife, for then his interest expired. Yet some tenants for life, where the fee-simple was in abeyance, might (with the concurrence of such as have the guardianship of the fee) make leases of equal duration with those granted by tenants in fee-simple, such as parsons and vicars, with consent of the patron and ordinary. (*o*) So also bishops and deans, and such other sole ecclesiastical corporations as are seized of the fee-simple of lands in their corporate right, might, with the concurrence and confirmation of such persons as the law requires, have made leases for years, or for life, estates in tail, or in fee, without any limitation or control. And corporations aggregate **might* have made what estates [**319*] they pleased, without the confirmation of any other person whatsoever. Whereas now, by several statutes, this power, where it was unreasonable, and might be made an ill use of, is restrained; and, where in the other cases the restraint by the common law seemed too hard, it is in some measure removed. The former statutes are called the *restraining*, the latter the *enabling* statute. We will take a view of them all, in order of time.

And, first, the *enabling* statute, 32 Hen. VIII, c. 28, empowers three manner of persons to make leases, to endure for three lives or one-and-twenty years; which could not do so before. As first, tenant in tail may by such leases bind

(*k*) Co. Litt. 2.(*l*) *Ibid* 172.(*m*) l. 2, c. 18.(*n*) Spelm. Gloss. 220.(*o*) Co. Litt. 44.

his issue in tail, but not those in remainder or reversion. Secondly, a husband seised in right of his wife, in fee-simple or fee-tail, provided the wife joins in such lease, may bind her and her heirs thereby. Lastly, all persons seised of an estate of fee-simple in right of their churches, which extends not to parsons and vicars, may (without the concurrence of any other person) bind their successors. But then there must many requisites be observed, which the statute specifies, otherwise such leases are not binding. (*p*) 1. The lease must be by indenture; and not by deed poll, or by parol. 2. It must begin from the making, or day of the making, and not at any greater distance of time. 3. If there be any old lease in being, it must be first absolutely surrendered, or be within a year of expiring. 4. It must be *either* for twenty-one years, *or* three lives, and not for both. 5. It must not exceed the term of three lives, or twenty-one years, but may be for a shorter term. 6. It must be of corporeal hereditaments, and not of such things as lie merely in grant; for no rent can be reserved thereout by the common law, as the lessor cannot resort to them to distress. (*q*) 7. It must be of **lands and tenements* most commonly letten for twenty years past; so that if they had been let for above half the time (or eleven [*320] years out of the twenty) either for life, for years, at will, or by copy of court roll, it is sufficient. 8. The most usual and customary feorm or rent, for twenty years past, must be reserved yearly on such lease. 9. Such leases must not be made without impeachment of waste. These are the guards, imposed by the statute (which was avowedly made for the security of farmers and the consequent improvement of tillage) to prevent unreasonable abuses, in prejudice of the issue, the wife, or the successor, of the reasonable indulgence here given.

Next follows, in order of time, the *disabling or restraining* statute, 1 Eliz. c. 19, (made entirely for the benefit of the successor), which enacts, that all grants by archbishops and bishops (which include even those confirmed by the dean and chapter; the which, however long or unreasonable, were good at common law), other than for the term of one and twenty years, or three lives from the making, or the dean and chapter, are held to be within the exception of this statute, and therefore valid; provided they do not exceed (together with the lease in being) the term permitted by the act. (*r*) But by a saving expressly made, this statute of 1 Eliz. did not extend to grants made by any bishop to the crown; by which means Queen Elizabeth procured many fair possessions to be made over to her by the prelates, either for her own use, or with intent to be granted out again to her favorites, whom she thus gratified without any expense to herself. To prevent which (*s*) for the future, the statute 1 Jac. I, c. 3, extends the prohibition to grants and leases made to the king, as well as to any of his subjects.

Next comes the statute 13 Eliz. c. 10, explained and enforced by the statutes 14 Eliz. c. 11 and 14, 18 Eliz. c. 11, and 43 Eliz. c. 29; which extend the restrictions laid by **the last-mentioned statute* on bishops, to certain other [*321] inferior coporations, both sole and aggregate. From laying all which [*321] together we may collect, that all colleges, cathedrals, and other ecclesiastical or eleemosynary corporations, and all parsons and vicars, are restrained from making any leases of their lands, unless under the following regulations: 1. They must not exceed twenty-one years, or three lives, from the making. 2. The accustomed rent, or more, must be yearly reserved thereon. 3. Houses in corporations, or market towns, may be let for forty years, provided they be not the mansion-houses of the lessors, nor have above ten acres of ground belonging to them; and provided the lessee be bound to keep them in repair; and they may also be aliened in fee-simple for lands of equal value in recompense. 4. Where there is an old lease in being, no concurrent lease shall be made, unless where the old one will expire within three years. 5. No lease (by the equity of the

(*p*) Co. Litt. 44.

(*q*) But now by the statute 5 Geo. III. c. 17, a lease of tithes or other incorporeal hereditaments, alone, may be granted by any bishop or any such ecclesiastical or eleemosynary corporation, and the successor shall be entitled to recover the rent by an action of debt; which (in case of a freehold lease) he could not have brought at the common law.

(*r*) Co. Litt. 45.

(*s*) 11 Rep. 71.

statute) shall be made without impeachment of waste. (*t*) 6. All bonds and covenants tending to frustrate the provisions of the statutes of 13 and 18 Eliz. shall be void.

Concerning these restrictive statutes there are two observations to be made; first that they do not by any construction enable any persons to make such leases as they were by common law disabled to make. Therefore a parson, or vicar, though he is restrained from making longer leases than for twenty-one years or three lives, even *with* the consent of patron and ordinary, yet is not enabled to make any lease at all, so as to bind his successor, *without* obtaining such consent. (*u*) Secondly, that though leases contrary to these acts are declared void, yet they are good against the *lessor* during his life, if he be a sole corporation; and are also good against an aggregate corporation so long as the head of it lives, who is presumed to be the most concerned in interest. For the act was intended for the benefit of the successor only; and no man shall make an advantage of his own wrong. (*w*)

[*322] *There is yet another restriction with regard to college leases, by statute 18 Eliz. c. 6, which directs, that one-third of the old rent, then paid, should for the future be reserved in wheat or malt, reserving a quarter of wheat for each 6s. 8d., or a quarter of malt for every 5s.; or that the lessees should pay for the same according to the price that wheat and malt should be sold for, in the market next adjoining to the respective colleges on the market day before the rent becomes due. This is said (*x*) to have been an invention of Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and Sir Thomas Smith, then principal secretary of state; who, observing how greatly the value of money had sunk, and the price of all provisions risen, by the quantity of bullion imported from the new-found Indies (which effects were likely to increase to a greater degree), devised this method for upholding the revenues of colleges. Their foresight and penetration has in this respect been very apparent: for, though the rent so reserved in corn was at first but one-third of the old rent, or half what was still reserved in money, yet now the proportion is nearly inverted: and the money arising from corn rents is, *communibus annis*, almost double to the rents reserved in money.

The leases of beneficed clergymen are farther restrained, in case of their non-residence, by statutes 13 Eliz. c. 20, 14 Eliz. c. 11, 18 Eliz. c. 11, and 43 Eliz. c. 9, which direct, that if any beneficed clergyman be absent from his cure above fourscore days in any one year, he shall not only forfeit one year's profit of his benefice, to be distributed among the poor of the parish; but that all leases made by him, of the profits of such benefice, and all covenants and agreements of like nature, shall cease and be void: except in the case of licensed pluralists, who are allowed to demise the living, on which they are non-resident, to their curates only; provided such curates do not absent themselves above

[*323] *forty days in any one year. And thus much for leases, with their several enlargements and restrictions. (*y*) (25)

5. An *exchange* is a mutual grant of equal interests, the one in consideration of the other. The word "exchange," is so individually requisite and appropriated by law to this case, that it cannot be supplied by any other word, or expressed by any circumlocution. (*z*) The estates exchanged must be equal in quantity; (*a*) not of *value*, for that is immaterial, but of *interest*; as fee-simple for fee-simple, a lease for twenty years for a lease for twenty years, and the like. And the exchange may be of things that lie either in grant or in livery. (*b*) But no livery of seisin, even in exchanges of freehold, is necessary to perfect the convey-

(*t*) Co. Litt. 45.

(*u*) Co. Litt. 44.

(*w*) *Ibid.* 45.

(*x*) Strype's *Annals* of Eliz.

(*y*) For the other learning relating to leases, which is very curious and diffusive, I must refer the student to 3 Bac. abridg. 295 (title, *leases and terms for years*), where the subject is treated in a perspicuous and masterly manner; being supposed to be extracted from a manuscript of Sir Geoffrey Gilbert.

(*z*) Co. Litt. 50, 51.

(*a*) Litt. §§ 64, 65.

(*b*) Co. Litt. 51.

(25) Since these Commentaries were written, great changes have been made in the statute law of England concerning the several subjects here referred to, but the changes are not important to the American student.

ance: (c) for each party stands in the place of the other and occupies his right, and each of them hath already had corporal possession of his own land. But entry must be made on both sides; for, if either party die before entry, the exchange is void, for want of sufficient notoriety. (d) (26) And so also, if two parsons, by consent of patron and ordinary, exchange their preferments; and the one is presented, instituted, and inducted, and the other is presented, and instituted, but dies before induction; the former shall not keep his new benefice, because the exchange was not completed, and therefore he shall return back to his own. (e) For if, after an exchange of lands or other hereditaments, either party be evicted of those which were taken by him in exchange, through defect of the other's title; he shall return back to the possession of his own, by virtue of the implied warranty contained in all exchanges. (f) (27)

6. A partition is when two or more joint-tenants, coparceners, or tenants in common, agree to divide the *lands so held among them in severalty, [*234] each taking a distinct part. Here, as in some instances there is a unity of interest, and in all a unity of possession, it is necessary that they all mutually convey and assure to each other the several estates which they are to take and enjoy separately. By the common law, coparceners, being compellable to make partition, might have made it by parol only; but joint-tenants and tenants in common must have done it by deed: and in both cases the conveyance must have been perfected by livery in seisin. (g) And the statutes of 31 Hen. VIII, c. 1, and 32 Hen. VIII, c. 32, made no alteration in this point. But the statute of frauds, 20 Car. II, c. 2, hath now abolished this distinction, and made a deed in all cases necessary. (28)

These are the several species of *primary* or *original* conveyances. Those which remain are of the *secondary* or *derivative* sort; which presuppose some other conveyance precedent, and only serve to enlarge, confirm, alter, restrain, restore, or transfer the interest granted by such original conveyance. As

7. Releases; which are a discharge or a conveyance of a man's right in lands or tenements, to another that hath some former estate in possession. The words generally used therein are "remised, released, and forever quit-claimed." (h) And these releases may enure either, 1. By way of *enlarging an estate*, or *enlarger the estate*: as if there be tenant for life or years, remainder to another in fee, and he in remainder releases all his right to the particular tenant and his heirs, this gives him the estate in fee. (i) But in this case the releassee must be in *possession* (29) of some estate, for the release to work upon; for if there be lessee for years, and before he enters and is in possession, the lessor releases to him

(c) Litt. § 62. (d) Co. Litt. 50. (e) Perk. § 238. (f) Page 300.
(g) Litt. § 250. Co. Litt. 169. (h) Litt. § 445. (i) *Ibid.* § 465.

(26) But this would not be so if exchange were made by lease and release, in which case the statute would execute the possession instantly upon the execution of the deeds. Neither would entry be essential if deeds of bargain and sale were employed.

(27) By statute 8 and 9 Vic. c. 106, an exchange of any hereditaments, made by deed executed after the first day of October, 1845, shall not imply any condition in law.

The general enclosure act of 8 and 9 Vic. c. 118, contains provisions under which exchanges of lands may be effected under the order of the enclosure commissioners, on the application in writing of the persons interested, and the land on each side taken in exchange remains and enures to the same uses, trusts, intents and purposes, and is subject to the same charges as the land given in exchange. And the order of exchange is not to be impeached by reason of any infirmity of estate of the persons on whose application it shall be made.

(28) See also, statute 8 and 9 Vic. 106. Partition may also be made under the general enclosure act of 8 and 9 Vic. 118, in the same manner as exchanges. In the United States it is commonly made by mutual deed of quit-claim and release.

(29) [A *virtual* possession will suffice, if the releassee has an estate actually vested in him at the time of the release, which would be capable of enlargement by such release if he had the *actual* possession. Thus, if a tenant for twenty years makes a lease to another for five years, who enters, a release to the first lessee is good, for the possession of his lessee was his possession. So, if a man makes a lease for years, remainder for years, and the first lessee enters, a release to the person in remainder for years is good, to enlarge his estate. Mr. Hargrave's note (3) to Co. Litt. 270, a]

all his right in the reversion, such release is void for want of possession in the relesee. (*k*) 2. By way of *passing an estate*, or *mitter l'estate*: (30) as when one [*325] of two coparceners releaseth all her *right to the other, this passeth the fee-simple of the whole. (*l*) And in both these cases there must be a privity of estate between the relessor and relesee; (*m*) that is, one of their estates must be so related to the other, as to make but one of the same estate in law. 3. By way of *passing a right* (31) or *mitter le droit*: as if a man be disseised, and releaseth to his disseisor all his right, hereby the disseisor acquires a new right, which changes the quality of his estate, and renders that lawful which before was tortious or wrongful. (*n*) (32) 4. By way of *extinguishment*: as if my tenant for life makes a lease to A for life, remainder to B and his heirs, and I release to A; this extinguishes my right to the reversion, and shall enure to the advantage of B's remainder as well as of A's particular estate. (*o*) 5. By way of *entry and feoffment*: as if there be two joint disseisors, and the disseisee releases to one of them, he shall be sole seised, and shall keep out his former companion; which is the same in effect as if the disseisee had entered, and thereby put an end to the disseisin, and afterwards had enfeoffed one of the disseisors in fee. (*p*) And hereupon we may observe, that when a man has in himself the possession of lands, he must at the common law convey the freehold by feoffment and livery; which makes a notoriety in the country: but if a man has only a right or a future interest, he may convey that right or interest by a mere release to him that is in possession of the land: for the occupancy of the relesee is a matter of sufficient notoriety already.

8. A confirmation is of a nature nearly allied to a release. Sir Edward Coke defines it (*q*) to be a conveyance of an estate or right *in esse*, whereby a voidable (33) estate is made sure and unavoidable, or whereby a particular estate is increased: and the words of making it are these, "have given, granted, ratified, approved and confirmed." (*r*) An instance of the first branch of the definition is, if tenant for life leaseth for forty years, and dieth during that term: here the lease for [*326] years is voidable by him in reversion; yet, if he *hath confirmed the estate of the lessee for years, before the death of tenant for life, it is no longer voidable but sure. (*s*) The latter branch, or that which tends to the increase of a particular estate, is the same in all respects with that species of release, which operates by way of enlargement.

9. A surrender, *sursumrestitutio*, or rendering up, is of a nature directly opposite to a release; for, as that operates by the greater estate descending upon the less, a surrender is the falling of a less estate into a greater. It is defined, (*t*) a yielding up of an estate for life or years to him that hath the immediate reversion or remainder, wherein the particular estate may merge or drown, by mutual agreement between them. It is done by these words, "hath surren-

(*k*) *Ibid.* § 469.
(*p*) Co. Litt. 278.

(*l*) Co. Litt. 273.
(*q*) 1 Inst. 295.

(*m*) *Ibid.* 273, 279.
(*r*) Litt. §§ 515, 531.

(*n*) Litt. § 408.
(*s*) *Ibid.* 516.

(*o*) *Ibid.* § 470.
(*t*) Co. Litt. § 37.

(30) [If one joint-tenant assign to the other, it operates as a release, and must be so pleaded. 2 Cruise, 527.]

(31) [There must be a privity of estate between the relessor and the relesee in the first species of release mentioned, see *ante*; but in this release per mitter le droit, there is not or cannot be any such privity: Co. Litt. 274, a. n. 1; nor is there any occasion for words of inheritance. Litt. 470, and Co. Litt. 273.]

(32) [No privity is necessary when a release of a right is made to one who hath an estate of freehold, in deed or in law; but a release cannot enure by way of *passing* a right, unless it is made to one having a fee-simple; for the person to whom a right is *passed* must have the *whole* right; to a person not having the fee, therefore, a release of right operates, as it were, by extinguishment in respect of him that made the release; which extinguishment shall enure to him in remainder, though the right is not extinct in deed. 1 Instit. 275, a, 279, b. If a release of all *actions* be made to a tenant for life, the person in remainder, after the death of the tenant for life, shall have no benefit from this release. 1 Instit. 275, b, 285, b; Edward Altham's Case, 8 Rep. 302; Lampet's Case, 10 id. 51.]

(33) [The distinction between voidable and void must not be lost sight of here, for it has no operation whatever upon a void estate. Gilb. Ten. 75.]

dered, granted, and yielded up." (34) The surrenderor must be in possession; (*u*) and the surrenderee must have a higher estate, in which the estate surrendered may merge; therefore tenant for life cannot surrender to him in remainder for years. (*w*) In a surrender there is no occasion for livery of seisin; (*x*) for there is a privity of estate between the surrenderor and the surrenderee; the one's particular estate and the other's remainder are one and the same estate: and livery having been once made at the creation of it, there is no necessity for having it afterwards. And, for the same reason, no livery is required on a release or confirmation in fee to tenant for years or at will, though a freehold thereby passes: since the reversion of the releasor, or confirmor, and the particular estate of the lessee, or confirmer, are one and the same estate: and where there is already a possession, derived from such a privity of estate, any farther delivery of possession would be vain and nugatory. (*y*)

10. An *assignment* is properly a transfer, or making over to another, of the right one has in *any* estate; but it is usually applied to an estate for life or years. And it differs from a lease only in this: that by a lease one grants an interest less *than his own, reserving to himself a reversion; in assignments [**327*] he parts with the whole property, and the assignee stands to all intents and purposes in the place of the assignor. (35)

11. A defeazance is a collateral deed, made at the same time with a feoffment or other conveyance, containing certain conditions, upon the performance of which the estate then created may be *defeated* (*z*) or totally undone. And in

(*u*) *Ibid.* 338. (*w*) Perk. § 589. (*x*) Co. Litt. 50. (*y*) Litt. § 460.
(*z*) From the French verb *defaire*, *infectum reddere*.

(34) [But these words are not essential to a surrender. 1 Wils. 127; Cro. Jac. 169; 2 Wils. 26; 5 Moo. and P. 800.]

A surrender must be of the whole estate or it will not operate as such. Touchst. 308; Hard. 417. It cannot be made to take effect in futuro. 1 Mee. and W. 50; 3 id. 328. But it may be made upon a condition precedent. 12 East, 134; 1 Mee. and W. 676; Perk. s. 624.]

The surrender here described is one by deed, but there may be a surrender in law without any deed. As where the lessee, before the expiration of his term, delivered up possession to the lessor who leased the premises to another. *Randall v. Rich*, 11 Mass. 494; *Hesaltine v. Seavey*, 16 Me. 212; *Dodd v. Acklom*, 6 M. and G. 673. So if without a reletting the landlord accepts possession of the premises. *Elliott v. Aiken*, 45 N. H. 36; *Matthew v. Taberner*, 39 Mo. 115. So where the lessee gave to the lessor a lease of the same premises, in terms like his own, it was held a surrender, and that the term was merged. *Shepard v. Spalding*, 4 Met. 416. And the same has been held where the tenant left the premises on a notice from the landlord to quit for non-payment of rent, and the latter went into possession. *Patchin v. Dickerman*, 31 Vt. 666; and see 1 Washb. Real. Prop. 350, *et seq.* Surrenders in England, when in writing, are now by statute 8 and 9 Vic. 106 required to be by deed. And by statute 8 and 9 Vic. c. 112, when the purpose for which a term for years has been created is satisfied, the term itself ceases to exist.

(35) [This is not universally true; for there is a variety of distinctions when the assignee is bound by the covenants of the assignor, and when he is not. The general rule is, that he is bound by all covenants which run with the land; but not by collateral covenants which do not run with the land. As if a lessee covenants for himself, executors, and administrators, concerning a thing not in existence, as to build a wall upon the premises, the assignee will not be bound; but the assignee will be bound, if the lessee has covenanted for himself and assigns. Where the lessee covenants for himself, his executors and administrators, to reside upon the premises, this covenant binds his assignee, for it runs with, or is appurtenant to, the thing demised. 2 Hen. Bl. 133. The assignee in no case is bound by the covenant of the lessee, to build a house for the lessor any where *off the premises*, or to pay money to a *stranger*. 5 Co. 16. The assignee is not bound by a covenant broken *before* assignment. 3 Burr. 1271; see Com. Dig. Covenant. But if an underlease is made, even for a day less than the whole term, the under-lessee is not liable for rent or covenants to the original lessee, like an assignee of the whole term. Dougl. 183, 56. An assignee is liable for rent only whilst he continues in possession under the assignment. And he is held not to be guilty of a fraud, if he assigns even to a beggar, or to a person leaving the kingdom, provided the assignment be executed before his departure. 1 B. and P. 21. The same principle prevails in equity. See 2 Bridg. Eq. Dig. 138; 1 Vern. 87; 2 id. 103; 8 Ves. 95; 1 Sch. and Lefroy, 310. But the assignee's liability commences upon acceptance of the lease, though he never enter. 1 B. and P. 233.]

As to the difference between an assignment and a sub-letting, see in general, 1 Washb. Real Prop. 333, *et seq.* A covenant against an assignment is not broken by a sub-letting, and *e converso*. *Parker v. Copland*, 4 Mich. 660; *Lynde v. Hough*, 27 Barb. 415.

this manner mortgages were in former times usually made; the mortgagor enfeoffing the mortgagee, and he at the same time executing a deed of defeazance, whereby the feoffment was rendered void on repayment of the money borrowed at a certain day. And this, when executed at the same time with the original feoffment, was considered as part of it by the ancient law; (a) and therefore only indulged: no subsequent secret revocation of a solemn conveyance, executed by livery of seisin, being allowed in those days of simplicity and truth; though, when uses were afterwards introduced, a revocation of such uses was permitted by the courts of equity. But things that were merely executory, or to be completed by matter subsequent, (as rents, of which no seisin could be had till the time of payment;) and so also annuities, conditions, warranties, and the like, were always liable to be recalled by defeazances made subsequent to the time of their creation. (b)

II. There yet remain to be spoken of some few conveyances, which have their force and operation by virtue of the *statute of uses*.

Uses and trusts are in their original of a nature very similar, or rather exactly the same: answering more to the *fidei-commissum* than the *ususfructus* of the civil law; which latter was the temporary right of using a thing, without having the ultimate property, or full dominion of the substance. (c)—But the *fidei-commissum*, which usually was created by will, was the disposal of an [*328] inheritance to one, in confidence that he *should convey it or dispose of the profits at the will of another. And it was the business of a particular magistrate, the *prætor fidei commissarius*, instituted by Augustus, to enforce the observance of this confidence. (d) So that the right thereby given was looked upon as a vested right, and entitled to a remedy from a court of justice: which occasioned that known division of rights by the Roman law into *jus legitimum*, a legal right, which was remedied by the ordinary course of law; *jus fiduciarium*, a right in trust, for which there was a remedy in conscience; and *jus precarium*, a right in courtesy, for which the remedy was only by entreaty or request. (e) In our law, a use might be ranked under the rights of the second kind; being a confidence reposed in another who was tenant of the land, or *terre-tenant*, that he should dispose of the land according to the intentions of *cestuy que use*, or him to whose use it was granted, and suffer him to take the profits. (f) As, if a feoffment was made to A and his heirs, to the use of (or in trust for) B and his heirs; here at the common law A, the *terre-tenant*, had the legal property and possession of the land, but B, the *cestuy que use*, was in conscience and equity to have the profits and disposal of it.

This notion was transplanted into England from the civil law, about the close of the reign of Edward III, (g) by means of the foreign ecclesiastics; who introduced it to evade the statutes of mortmain, by obtaining grants of lands, not to their religious houses directly, but to the *use of* the religious houses: (h) which the clerical chancellors of those times held to be *fidei-commissa*, and binding in conscience; and therefore assumed the jurisdiction which Augustus had vested in his *prætor*, of compelling the execution of such trusts in the court of chancery. And, as it was most easy to obtain such grants from dying persons, a maxim was established, that though by law the lands themselves were not devisable, yet if a testator had enfeoffed another to his own use, and so [*329] was *possessed of the use only, such use was devisable by will. But we have seen (i) how this evasion was crushed in its infancy, by statute 15 Ric. II, c. 5, with respect to religious houses.

Yet, the idea being once introduced, however fraudulently, it afterwards continued to be often innocently, and sometimes very laudably, applied to a number of civil purposes: particularly as it removed the restraint of alienations by will, and permitted the owner of lands in his lifetime to make various designations of their profits, as prudence, or justice, or family convenience, might from time to time require. Till at length, during our long wars in France, and the sub-

(a) Co. Litt. 236.

(b) *Ibid.* 237.(c) *FF.* 7, 1, 1.(d) *Inst.* 2 tit. 23.(e) *FF.* 43, 28, 1. Bacon on Uses, 8vo. 306.(f) *Plowd.* 352.(g) *Brit. Mus.* 23.(h) *Brit. Mus.* 23.

sequent civil commotions between the houses of York and Lancaster, uses grew almost universal; through the desire that men had (when their lives were continually in hazard) of providing for their children by will, and securing their estates from forfeitures; when each of the contending parties, as they became uppermost, alternately attainted the other. Wherefore, about the reign of Edw. IV, (before whose time, Lord Bacon remarks, *(k)* there are not six cases to be found relating to the doctrine of uses), the courts of equity began to reduce them to something of a regular system.

Originally it was held that the chancery could give no relief, but against the very person himself intrusted for *cestuy que use*, and not against his heir or alienee. This was altered in the reign of Henry VI, with respect to the heir; *(l)* and afterwards the same rule, by a parity of reason, was extended to such alienees as had purchased either without a valuable consideration, or with an express notice of the use. *(m)* But a purchaser for a valuable consideration without notice, might hold the land discharged of any trust or confidence. And also it was held, that neither the king nor queen, on account of their dignity royal, *(n)* nor any corporation *aggregate, on account of its limited capacity, *(o)* could be seised to any use but their own; that is, they might hold the [*330] lands, but were not compellable to execute the trust. And, if the feoffee to uses died without heir, or committed a forfeiture, or married, neither the lord who entered for his escheat or forfeiture, nor the husband who retained the possession as tenant by the curtesy, nor the wife to whom dower was assigned, were liable to perform the use: *(p)* because they were not parties to the trust, but came in by act of law; though doubtless their title in reason was no better than that of the heir.

On the other hand, the use itself, or interest of *cestuy que use*, was learnedly refined upon with many elaborate distinctions. And, 1. It was held that nothing could be granted to a use, whereof the use is inseparable from the possession; as annuities, ways, commons, and authorities, *quæ ipso usu consumuntur*: *(q)* or whereof the seisin could not be instantly given. *(r)* 2. A use could not be raised without a sufficient consideration. For where a man makes a feoffment to another, without any consideration, equity presumes that he meant it to the use of himself, *(s)* unless he expressly declares it to be to the use of another, and then nothing shall be presumed contrary to his own expressions. *(t)* (36) But if either a good or valuable consideration appears, equity will immediately raise a use correspondent to such consideration. *(u)* 3. Uses were descendible according to the rules of the common law, in the case of inheritances in possession; *(w)* for in this and many other respects *æquitas sequitur legem*, and cannot establish a different rule of property from that which the law has established. 4. Uses might be assigned by secret deeds between the parties, *(x)* or be devised by last will and testament; *(y)* for, as the legalestate in the soil was not transferred by these transactions, no livery of seisin was necessary; *and, [*331] as the intention of the parties was the leading principle in this species

(k) On Uses, 313.

(l) Kellw. 42. Year-book, 22 Edw. IV. 6.

(m) *Ibid.* 46. Bacon on Uses, 312.

(n) Bro. Abr. tit. Feoffm. al uses, 31. Bacon of uses, 346, 347.

(o) Bro. Abr. tit. Feoffm. al uses, 40. Bacon, 347.

(p) 1 Rep. 122.

(q) 1 Jon. 127.

(r) Cro. Eliz. 401.

(s) See page 296.

(t) 1 And. 37.

(u) Moor. 684.

(w) 2 Roll. Abr. 780.

(x) Bacon on Uses, 312.

(y) *Ibid.* 308.

(36) [In the second section of the third chapter of Gilbert on Uses, p. 222, the law is in substance thus laid down. If a feoffment be made, or a fine be levied, or recovery be suffered, without consideration, and no uses be expressed, the use results to the feoffor and his heirs. But if any uses be expressed, it shall be to those uses, though no consideration be had; and herein is the difference between raising uses by fine, feoffment, or other conveyance operating by transmutation of possession, and uses raised by covenant: for, upon the first, if no uses were expressed, it is equity that assigns the feoffor to have the resulting use; by the law, the feoffor has parted with all his interest: see *Cave v. Holford*, 3 Ves. 667; but where he expresses uses, there can be no equity in giving him the use against his own will. On the other hand, in case of a covenant there can be no use without a consideration; for the covenantee in such case can have no right by law, and there is no reason why equity should give him the use. And see *Calthrop's Case*, Moor, 101; *Stephen's Case*, 1 Leon. 138; *Mildmay's Case*, 1 Rep. 176; 2 Roll's Ab. 790.]

of property, any instrument declaring that intention was allowed to be binding in equity. But *cestuy que use* could not at common law aliene the legal interest of the lands, without the concurrence of his feoffee; (z) to whom he was accounted by law to be only tenant at sufferance. (a) 5. Uses were not liable to any of the feudal burthens; and particularly did not escheat for felony or other defect of blood; for escheats, &c., are the consequence of *tenure*, and uses are *held* of nobody: but the land itself was liable to escheat, whenever the blood of the feoffee to uses was extinguished by crime or by defect; and the lord (as was before observed) might hold it discharged of the use. (b) 6. No wife could be endowed, or husband have his curtesy, of a use: (c) for no trust was declared for their benefit, at the original grant of the estate. And therefore it became customary, when most estates were put in use, to settle before marriage some joint estate to the use of the husband and wife for their lives; which was the original of modern jointures. (d) 7. A use could not be extended by writ of *elegit*, or other legal process, for the debts of *cestuy que use*. (e) For, being merely a creature of equity, the common law, which looked no farther than to the person actually seised of the land, could award no process against it.

It is impracticable, upon our present plan, to pursue the doctrine of uses through all the refinements and niceties which the ingenuity of the times (abounding in subtle disquisitions) deduced from this child of the imagination; when once a departure was permitted from the plain, simple rules of property established by the ancient law. These principal outlines will be fully sufficient to show the ground of Lord Bacon's complaint, (f) that this course of proceeding "was turned to deceive many of their just and reasonable rights.—A man, [*332] that had cause to sue for land, knew not against whom to *bring his action or who was the owner of it. The wife was defrauded of her thirds; the husband of his curtesy; the lord of his wardship, relief, heriot, and escheat; the creditor of his extent for debt; and the poor tenant of his lease." To remedy these inconveniences abundance of statutes were provided, which made the lands liable to be extended by the creditors of *cestuy que use*, (g) allowed actions for the freehold to be brought against him if in the actual pernaney or enjoyment of the profits; (h) made him liable to actions of waste; (i) established his conveyances and leases made without the concurrence of his feoffees; (k) and gave the lord the wardship of his heir, with certain other feudal perquisites. (l)

These provisions all tended to consider *cestuy que use* as the real owner of the estate; and at length that idea was carried into full effect by the statute 27 Hen. VIII, c. 10, which is usually called the *statute of uses*, or, in conveyances and pleadings, the *statute for transferring uses into possession*. The hint seems to have been derived from what was done at the accession of King Richard III; who, having, when duke of Gloucester, been frequently made a feoffee to uses, would upon the assumption of the crown (as the law was then understood) have been entitled to hold the lands discharged of the use. But to obviate so notorious an injustice, an act of parliament was immediately passed, (m) which ordained, that where he had been so enfeoffed jointly with other persons, the land should vest in the other feoffees, as if he had never been named; and that, where he stood solely enfeoffed, the estate should itself vest in *cestuy que use* in like manner as he had the use. And so the statute of Henry VIII, after reciting the various inconveniences before-mentioned, and many others, enacts, that "when any person shall be *seised* of lands, &c., to the use, confidence, or trust of any other [*333] person or body *politic, the person or corporation entitled to the use in fee-simple, fee-tail, for life, or years, or otherwise, shall from thenceforth stand and be seised or possessed of the land, &c., of and in the like estates as they have in the use, trust, or confidence; and that the estate of the person so seised

(z) Stat. 1 Ric. III, c. 1.

(a) Bro. Abr. *ibid.* 23.

(b) Jenk. 190.

(c) 4 Rep. 1. 2 And. 73.

(d) See page 137.

(e) Bro. Abr. *tit. executions.* 90.

(f) Use of the law, 153.

(g) Stat. 50. Edw. III, c. 6. 2 Ric. II, sess. 2, c. 3. 19 Hen. VII, c. 15.

(h) Stat. 1 Ric. II, c. 9. 4 Hen. IV, c. 7, c. 15. 11 Hen. VI, c. 3. 1 Hen. VII, c. 1.

(i) Stat. 11 Hen. VI, c. 5.

(k) Stat. 1 Ric. III, c. 1.

(l) Stat. 4 Hen. VII, c. 17. 19 Hen. VII, c. 15. (m) 1 Ric. III, c. 5.

to uses shall be deemed to be in him or them that have the use, in such quality, manner, form, and condition, as they had before in the use." The statute thus *executes* the use, as our lawyers term it; that is, it conveys the possession to the use, and transfers the use into possession; thereby making *cestuy que use* complete owner of the lands and tenements, as well at law as in equity.

The statute having thus not abolished the conveyance to uses, but only annihilated the intervening estate of the feoffee, and turned the interest of *cestuy que use* into a legal instead of an equitable ownership; the courts of common law began to take cognizance of uses, instead of sending the party to seek his relief in chancery. And, considering them now as merely a mode of conveyance, very many of the rules before established in equity were adopted with improvements by the judges of the common law. The same persons only were held capable of being seised to a use, the same considerations were necessary for raising it, and it could only be raised of the same hereditaments as formerly. But as the statute, the instant it was raised, converted it into an actual possession of the land, a great number of the incidents, that formerly attended it in its fiduciary state, were now at an end. The land could not escheat or be forfeited by the act or defect of the feoffee, nor be aliened to any purchaser discharged of the use, nor be liable to dower or curtesy on account of the seisin of such feoffee; because the legal estate never rests in him for a moment, but is instantaneously transferred to *cestuy que use* as soon as the use is declared. And, as the use and the land were now convertible terms, they became liable to dower, curtesy, and escheat, in consequence of the seisin of *cestuy que use*, who was now become the *terre-tenant* also; and they likewise were no longer devisable by will.

*The various necessities of mankind induced also the judges very soon [*334] to depart from the rigour and simplicity of the rules of the common law, and to allow a more minute and complex construction upon conveyances to uses than upon others. Hence it was adjudged that the use need not always be executed the instant the conveyance is made: but, if it cannot take effect at that time, the operation of the statute may wait till the use shall arise upon some future contingency, to happen within a reasonable period of time; and in the meanwhile the ancient use shall remain in the original grantor: as, when lands are conveyed to the use of A and B, after a marriage shall be had between them, (n) or to the use of A and his heirs till B shall pay him a sum of money, and then to the use of B and his heirs. (o) Which doctrine, when devised by will were again introduced, and considered as equivalent in point of construction to declarations of uses, was also adopted in favour of *executory devises*. (p) But herein these, which are called *contingent* or *springing* uses, (37) differ from

(n) 2 Roll. Abr. 791. Cro. Eliz. 493.

(o) Bro. Abr. tit. Feoffm. at uses, 30.

(p) See page 173.

(37) [Mr. Sugden says, shifting, secondary, and springing uses, are frequently confounded with each other, and with future or contingent uses. They may perhaps be thus classed: 1st, *Shifting* or *secondary* uses, which take effect in derogation of some other estate, and are either limited expressly by the deed, or are authorized to be created by some person named in the deed. 2dly, *Springing* uses, confining this class to uses limited to arise on a future event, where no *preceding* use is limited, and which do not take effect in derogation of any other interest than that which results to the grantor, or remains in him, in the mean time. 3dly, *Future* or *contingent* uses, are properly uses to take effect as remainders; for instance, a use to the first unborn son of A, after a previous limitation to him for life, or for years, determinable on his life, is a future or contingent use: but yet does not answer the notion of either a shifting or a springing use. Contingent uses naturally arose, after the statute of 27 Hen. VIII, in imitation of contingent remainders.

The first class, that is, *shifting* or *secondary* uses, are at this day so common that they pass without observation. In every marriage settlement, the first use is to the owner in fee until marriage, and after the marriage to other uses. Here, the owner, in the first instance, takes the fee, which upon the marriage ceases, and the new use arises. But a shifting use cannot be limited on a shifting use: and shifting uses must be confined within such limits as are not to tend to a perpetuity. See *ante*, chap. 11. But a shifting use may be created after an estate-tail, to take effect at any period, however remote; because the tenant in tail for the time being may, by a recovery, defeat the shifting use.

an executory devise; in that there must be a person seised to such uses at the time when the contingency happens, else they can never be executed by the statute; and therefore if the estate of the feoffee to such use be destroyed by alienation or otherwise, before the contingency arises, the use is destroyed forever; (q) (38) whereas by an executory devise the freehold itself is transferred to the future devisee. And, in both these cases, a fee may be limited to take effect after a fee; (r) because, though that was forbidden by the common law in favour of the lord's escheat, yet when the legal estate was not extended beyond one fee-simple, such subsequent uses (after a use in fee) were before the statute permitted to be limited in equity; and then the statute executed the legal estate in the same manner as the use before subsisted. It was also held, that a use, though executed, may change from one to another by circumstances *ex post facto*; (s) as, if A makes a feoffment *to the use of his intended wife and her eldest son for their lives, upon the marriage the wife takes the whole use in severalty; and upon the birth of a son, the use is executed jointly in them both. (t) This is sometimes called a *secondary*, sometimes a *shifting* use. And, whenever the use limited by the deed expires, or cannot vest, it returns back to him who raised it, after such expiration, or during such impossibility, and is styled a *resulting* use. As, if a man makes a feoffment to the use of his intended wife for life, with remainder to the use of her first-born son in tail; here, till he marries, the use results back to himself; after marriage, it is executed in the wife for life: and, if she dies without issue, the whole results back to him in fee. (u) It was likewise held, that the uses originally declared may be revoked at any future time, and new uses be declared of the land, provided the grantor reserved to himself such a power at the creation of the estate; whereas the utmost that the common law would allow, was a deed of defeazance coeval with the grant itself, and therefore esteemed a part of it, upon events specially mentioned. (w) And, in case of such a revocation, the old uses were held instantly to cease, and the new ones to become executed in their stead. (x) And this was permitted, partly to indulge the convenience, and partly the caprice of mankind; who (as Lord Bacon observes) (y) have always affected to have the disposition of their property revocable in their own time, and irrevocable ever afterwards.

(q) 1 Rep. 134. 138 Cro. Eliz. 439.

(s) Bro. Abr. tit. Feoffm. at uses, 30.

(w) See page 327.

(x) Co. Litt. 237.

(r) Pollexf. 78. 10 Mod. 423.

(t) Bacon on Uses, 351.

(y) On Uses, 316.

(u) Ibid. 250. 1 Rep. 120.

As to the second class, or *springing uses*, before the statute of Hen. VIII, there was no mischief in an independent original springing use, to commence at a distant period, because the legal estate remained in the trustee. After the statute, too, the use was held to result to, or remain in, the person creating the future use, according to the mode of conveyance adopted, till the springing use arose. This resulting use the statute executed, so that the estate remained in the settler till the period when the use was to rise: which might be at any time within the limits allowed by law, in case of an executory devise. When springing uses are raised by conveyances not operating by transmutation of possession, as such conveyances have only an equitable effect until the statute and use meet, a springing use may be limited by them at once: but where the conveyance is one which does operate by transmutation of possession (as a feoffment, fine, recovery, or lease and release), two objects must be attended to: first, to convey the estate according to the rules of common law; secondly, to raise the use out of the seisin created by the conveyance. Now, the common law does not admit of a freehold being limited to commence *in futuro*. See *ante*, p. 143.

As to the third class, or *future or contingent uses*, where an estate is limited previously to a future use, and the future use is limited by way of remainder, it will be subject to the rules of common law, and, if the previous estate is not sufficient to support it, will be void. See *ante*, p. 163.

Future uses have been countenanced, and springing uses restrained, by what is now a firm rule of law, namely, that if such a construction can be put upon a limitation in use, as that it may take effect by way of remainder, it shall never take effect as a springing use. *Southcot v. Stowel*, 1 Mod. 226, 237; 2 Mod. 207; *Goodtitle v. Billington*, Dougl. 758.]

(38) By statute 23 and 24 Vic. c. 38, s. 7, it is provided that a future contingent or executory use shall take effect, without any continued existence of a seisin to uses.

By this equitable train of decisions in the courts of law, the power of the court of chancery over landed property was greatly curtailed and diminished. (39) But one or two technical scruples, which the judges found it hard to get over, restored it with tenfold increase. They held, in the first place, that "no use could be limited on a use;" (z) and that when a man bargains and sells his land for money, which raises a use by implication to the bargainee, the limitation of a farther use to another person is repugnant, and therefore *void. (a) [*336] And therefore on a feoffment to A and his heirs, to the use of B and his heirs, in trust for C and his heirs, they held that the statute executed only

(z) Dyer 155.

(a) 1 And. 37, 136.

(39) [With respect to what shall be said to be an use executed by the statute of 37 Hen. VIII, c. 10, or a trust estate now not executed, it is held, that *where an use is limited upon an use, it is not executed, but the legal estate is vested in him to whom the first use is limited.* Dy. 155. As where an estate is conveyed to another in these words, "to W and his heirs, to the use of him and his heirs, in trust for, or to the use of R and his heirs," the use is not executed in R but in W; and the legal estate is vested in him as trustee. Cas. T. Talb. 164; id. 138, 139; 2 P. Wins. 146. So where E made a settlement to the use of himself and his heirs until his then intended marriage, and afterwards to the use of his wife for life, and after her death to the use of trustees and their heirs during the life of E, upon trust to permit him to take the profits, remainder to the first and other sons of the marriage, &c., remainder to the use of the heirs of the body of E; it was adjudged that E took only a trust estate for life, for the use to him could not execute upon the use which was limited to the trustees for his life, and consequently the legal estate for his life was executed in them by the statute of uses, and the limitation to the heirs of the body of E operated as words of purchase, and created a contingent remainder. Carth. 272; S. C., Comb. 312, 313; 1 Ld. Raym. 33; 4 Mod. 380. See also 7 T. R. 342; id. 438, S. C.; id. 433; 12 Ves. 89.

So *where something is to be done by the trustees which makes it necessary for them to have the legal estate*, such as payment of the rents and profits to another's separate use, or of the debts of the testator, or to pay rates and taxes and keep the premises in repair, or the like, the legal estate is vested in them, and the grantee or devisee has only a trust estate. 3 Bos. and Pul. 178, 179; 2 T. R. 444; 6 id. 213; 8 East, 248; 12 id. 455; 4 Taunt. 772. As where lands were devised to trustees and their heirs in trust for A, a married woman, and her heirs, and that the trustees should from time to time pay the rents and profits to A or to such person as she, by any writing under her hand, as well during coverture as being sole, should appoint without the intermeddling of her husband, who he willed should have no benefit or disposal thereof; and as to the inheritance of the premises in trust for such person and for such estates as A by her will, or other writing under her hand, should appoint, and, for want of such appointment, in trust for her and her heirs; the question was, whether this was an use executed by the statute, or a bare trust for the wife; and the court held it to be a trust only, and not an use executed by the statute. 1 Vern. 415. And again, in a late case where a devise was to trustees and their heirs upon trust, to permit a married woman to receive the rents and profits during her life *for her own sole and separate use*, notwithstanding her coverture, and *without being in any wise subject to the debts or control of her then or after taken husband*, and her receipt alone to be a sufficient discharge, with remainder over, it was held that the legal estate was vested in the trustees; for it being the intention of the testator to secure to the wife a separate allowance, free from the control of her husband, it was essentially necessary that the trustees should take the estate with the use executed, in order to effectuate that intention; otherwise the husband should be entitled to receive the profits, and defeat the very object which the testator had in view. 7 Term. Rep. 652. See also 5 East, 162; 9 id. 1. So where lands were devised to trustees and their heirs in trust to pay out of the rents and profits several legacies and annuities, and to pay all the residue of the rents and profits to C, a married woman, during her life, for her separate use, or as she should direct, and after her death the trustees to stand seised to the use of the heirs of her body with remainders over, it was held by Lord King, that the use was executed in the trustees during the life of C, who had only a trust estate in the surplus of the rents and profits for life, with a contingent remainder to the heirs of her body, and that her eldest son would take as a purchaser; for by the subsequent words, viz.: "that the trustees should stand seised to the use of the heirs of the body of C," the use was executed in the persons entitled to take by virtue thereof; and therefore, there being only a trust estate in C, and an use executed in the heirs of her body, these different interests could not unite and incorporate together, so as to create an estate-tail by operation of law in C. And he took a difference between the principal case and that of *Broughton v. Langley*, 1 Lutw. 814; 1 Ld. Raym. 873; for there it was to permit A to receive the rents and profits for life, but in the principal case it was a trust to *pay over* the rents and profits to another, and therefore the estate must remain in the trustees to perform the will: 8 Vin. 262, pl. 19; 1 Eq. Cas. Abr. 383, 384; and this decree was affirmed in the house of lords. 3 Bro. C. P. 458. See 3 Bos. and Pul. 179. So where lands were devised to trustees and their heirs in trust to *pay out* of the rents and profits, *after deducting rates, taxes, and repairs*, the

the first use, and that the second was a mere nullity: not adverting, that the instant the first use was executed in B, he became seised to the use of C, which second use the statute might as well be permitted to execute as it did the first; and so the legal estate might be instantaneously transmitted down through a hundred uses upon uses, till finally executed in the last *cestuy que use*. Again; as the statute mentions only such persons as were *seised* to the use of others, this was held not to extend to terms of years, or other chattel interests, whereof the termor is not *seised*, but only *possessed*; (b) and therefore, if a term of one thousand years be limited to A, to the use of (or in trust for) B, the statute does not execute this use, but leaves it as at common law. (c) And lastly (by more modern resolutions), where lands are given to one and his heirs, in trust

(b) Bacon, Law of Uses. 335. Jenk. 244.

(c) Poph. 76. Dyer, 369.

residue to C S for life, and after his decease to the use of the heirs male of the body of C S, with remainder over; it was held by Lord Thurlow, that the use was executed in the trustees during the life of C S, who had only a trust estate for life, and the remainder in tail was a legal estate, which could not unite and incorporate together, and C S could not suffer a valid recovery; for in order to make a good tenant to the precipe, there must either be a legal estate for life, and a legal remainder in tail, or an equitable estate for life, with an equitable remainder in tail; 1 Bro. C. C. 75. And also, where lands were devised to trustees and their heirs in trust, that they should, out of the rents and profits, or by sale or mortgage of the whole or so much of the estate as should be necessary, raise a sum sufficient to pay the testator's debts and legacies, and afterwards in trust, and to the use of T B for life, with several remainders over, the question was, whether the legal estate vested in the trustees? Lord Hardwicke was of opinion that the devise to the trustees and their heirs carried the *whole fee* to them, and therefore the estate for life, as well as the estates in remainder, were merely trust estates in equity; that part of the trust was to sell the whole, or a sufficient part of the estate, for the payment of debts and legacies, which would carry a fee by construction, though the word "heirs" were omitted in the devise, as in 1 Eq. Cas. Abr. 184, for the trustees must have a fee in the whole estate to enable them to sell, because, it being uncertain what they may sell, no purchaser could otherwise be safe; that the only doubt he had was on the case of Lord Say and Seal v. Lady Jones, before Lord King, and affirmed in the house of lords, as to that point: but, on examination, that case differed in a material part; and, taking together all the clauses of that will, it only amounted to a devise to trustees and their heirs during another's life, upon which a legal remainder might be properly limited. 1 Ves. 143; S. C., 2 Atk. 246, 570. And it was taken for granted in 2 Ves. 646, that a devise to trustees, and their heirs in trust, to pay the rents and profits to another, vested the legal estate in the trustees. For in general the distinction is, that where the limitation to trustees and their heirs is *in trust to receive the rents and profits and pay them over to A*, for life, &c., this use to A is not executed by the statute, but the legal estate is vested in the trustees to enable them to perform the will; but where the limitation is to trustees and their heirs in trust, *to permit and suffer A to receive the rents and profits for his life, &c.*, the use is executed in A, unless it be necessary the use should be executed in the trustees, to enable them to perform the trust, as in the case of Harton v. Harton, above mentioned. So in 2 Taunt. 109, the devise being to trustees and their heirs in trust, *to pay unto, or permit and suffer, the testator's niece to have, receive, and take*, the rents and profits for her life, it was held that the use was executed in the niece, because the words *to permit, &c.*, came last, and in a will the last words shall prevail. See 1 Eq. Ca. Abr. 383. As where lands were devised to trustees and their heirs *to the intent and purpose to permit A to receive the rents and profits for his life*, and after that the trustees should stand seised to the use of the heirs of the body of A, with a proviso, that A, with the consent of the trustees, might make a jointure on his wife, it was held that this was an use executed in A, and not a trust estate, for it would have been a plain trust at common law, and what was a trust of a freehold of inheritance at common law is executed by the statute which mentions the word "trust" as well as "use;" and the case in 2 Vent. 312, adjudged to the contrary upon this point, was denied to be law. 1 Lutw. 814, 823, S. C.; 2 Ld. Raym. 873; 2 Salk. 679.

The statute of uses is not held to extend to *copyhold estates*, for it is against the nature of their tenure that any person should be introduced into the estate without the consent of the lord: Gilb. Ten. 170; nor to *leases for years* which are actually in existence at the time of their being assigned to the use; as where A, possessed of a lease for years, assigns it to B, to the use of C, all the estate is in B; and C takes only a trust or equitable estate. But if A, seised in fee, makes a feoffment to the use of B for a term of years, the term is served out of the seisin of the feoffee, and is executed by the statute. It is the same if he bargains and sells the estate of which he is seised in fee for a term of years. Dy. 369, a., and in the margin, 2 Inst. 671.

Nor does the statute of uses extend to cases where the party seised to the use and the *cestuy que use* is the same person, except there be a direct impossibility for the use to take effect at common law. Bac. Law Tracts, 352, 2d. ed.; 4 M. and S. 178. In that case, a release was made to A and C and their heirs, habendum to them and their heirs and assigns as tenants in

to receive and pay over the profits to another, this use is not executed by the statute; for the land must remain in the trustee to enable him to perform the trust. (*d*) (40)

Of the two more ancient distinctions the courts of equity quickly availed themselves. In the first case it was evident, that B was never intended by the parties to have any beneficial interest; and, in the second, the *cestuy que use* of the term was expressly driven into the court of chancery to seek his remedy: and therefore the court determined, that though these were not *uses* which the statute could execute, yet still they were *trusts* in equity, which in conscience ought to be performed. (*e*) To this the reason of mankind assented, and the doctrine of uses was revived, under the denomination of *trusts*; and thus, by this strict construction of the courts of law, a statute made upon great deliberation, and introduced in the most solemn manner, has had little other effect than to make a slight alteration in the formal words of a conveyance. (*f*) (41)

*However, the courts of equity, in the exercise of this new jurisdiction, have wisely avoided in a great degree those mischiefs which made [*337] uses intolerable. The statute of frauds, 29 Car. II, c. 3, having required that every declaration, assignment, or grant of any trust in lands or hereditaments (except such as arise from implication or construction of law), shall be made in writing signed by the party, or by his written will: the courts now consider a trust-estate (either when expressly declared or resulting by such implication) as equivalent to the legal ownership, governed by the same rules of property, and liable to every charge in equity, which the other is subject to in law: and by a long series of uniform determinations, for now near a century past, with some assistance from the legislature, they have raised a new system of rational jurisprudence, by which trusts are made to answer in general all the beneficial ends of uses, without their inconvenience or frauds. The trustee is considered as merely the instrument of conveyance, and can in no shape affect the estate, unless by alienation for a valuable consideration to a purchaser without notice; (*g*) which, as *cestuy que use* is generally in possession of the land, is a thing that can rarely happen. The trust will descend, may be aliened, is liable to debts, to executions on judgments, statutes and recognizances (by the express provision of the statute of frauds), to forfeiture, to leases, and other incumbrances, nay, even to the curtesy of the husband, as if it was an estate at law. It has not yet indeed been subjected to dower, more from a cautious adherence to some hasty precedents, (*h*) than from any well-grounded principle. (42) It hath

(*d*) 1 Eq. Cas. Abr. 383. 384.

(*e*) 1 Hal. P. C. 248.

(*f*) Vaugh. 50. Atk. 591.

(*g*) 2 Freem. 43.

(*h*) 1 Chanc. Rep. 254. 2 1^o. Wms. 640.

common, and not as joint-tenants, to the use of them, their heirs, and assigns; held that A and C took as tenants in common. Cro. Car. 230; Jenkins v. Young, id. 244. And see Cruise's Dig. title, Use, S. 31, *et seq.*

But where the purposes of a trust may be answered, by giving the trustees a less estate than a fee, no greater estate shall arise to them by implication, but the uses in remainder limited on such lesser estate, so given to them, shall be executed by the statute. Doe d. White v. Simpson, 5 East, 162; 1 Smith, 383. And a devise in fee to trustees, without any specific limitation to *cestuy que trust*, the latter takes a beneficial interest in fee. 8 T. R. 597. And an express devise in fee to trustees may be cut down to an estate for life, upon an implication of intent. 7 T. R. 433. So where the trustees are to receive and pay rents to a married woman, upon her death the legal estate is executed in the person who was to take in remainder 7 id. 654.

(40) [It is the practice to introduce only the names of the trustee and the *cestuy que trust*; the estate being conveyed to A and his heirs, *to the use of A and his heirs*, in trust for B and his heirs; and thus this important statute has been effectually repealed by the repetition of half a dozen words.]

(41) In several of the United States the statute of uses has been adopted as a part of the common law, while in others its main features have been re-enacted, but with such modifications as effectually abolish merely passive trusts, in whatever words they may have been created. See 2 Washb. Real Prop. 142, *et seq.*

(42) [It has been decided, that when the legal and equitable estates meet in the same person, the trust or equitable estate is merged in the legal estate; as if a wife should have the legal estate and the husband the equitable; and if they have an only child, to whom these estates

also been held not liable to escheat to the lord, in consequence of attainder or want of heirs: (*i*) because the trust could never be intended for his benefit. But let us now return to the statute of uses.

The only service, as was before observed, to which this statute is now con- signed, is in giving efficacy to certain new and secret species of conveyances; introduced in order to render transactions of this sort as private as possible, and to save the trouble of making livery of seisin, the only ancient conveyance of corporeal freeholds; the security and notoriety of which public investiture abundantly overpaid the labour of going to the land, or of sending an attorney in one's stead. But this now has given way to

[*338] *12. A twelfth species of conveyance, called a *covenant to stand seised to uses*: (43) by which a man, seised of lands, covenants in consideration of blood or marriage that he will stand seised of the same to the use of his child, wife, or kinsman; for life, in tail, or in fee. Here the statute executes at once the estate; for the party intended to be benefited, having thus acquired the use, is thereby put at once into corporal possession of the land, (*k*) without ever seeing it, by a kind of parliamentary magic. But this conveyance can only operate when made upon such weighty and interesting considerations as those of blood or marriage.

13. A thirteenth species of conveyance, introduced by this statute, is that of a *bargain and sale* of lands; which is a kind of real contract, whereby the bargainor for some pecuniary consideration bargains and sells, that is, contracts to convey, the land to the bargainee, and becomes by such a bargain a trustee for, or seised to the use of, the bargainee: and then the statute of uses completes the purchase; (*l*) or, as it hath been well expressed, (*m*) the bargain first vests the use, and then the statute vests the possession. But as it was foreseen that conveyances, thus made, would want all those benefits of notoriety, which the old common law assurances were calculated to give; to prevent therefore clandestine conveyances of freeholds, it was enacted in the same session of parliament, by statute 27 Hen. VIII, c. 16, that such bargains and sales should not enure to pass a freehold, unless the same be made by indenture, and enrolled within six months in one of the courts of Westminster hall, or with the *custos rotulorum* of the county. Clandestine bargains and sales of chattel interests, or leases for years, were thought not worth regarding, as such interests were very precarious, till about six years before; (*n*) which also occasioned them to be overlooked in framing the statute of uses: and therefore such bargains and

[*339] sales are not directed to be enrolled. But how impossible it is to *fore- see, and provide against, all the consequences of innovations! This omission has given rise to

(4) Hard. 494. Burges and Wheat, Hill. 32 Geo. II. in Canc.

(k) Bacon, Use of the Law, 151.

(l) *Ibid.* 150.

(m) Cro. Jac. 696.

(n) See page 142.

descend, and who dies intestate without issue, the two estates having united, the descent will follow the legal estate, and the estate will go to an heir on the part of the mother: and thus, which appears strange, the beneficial interest will pass out of one family into another, between whom there is no connexion by blood. Goodright v. Wells, Doug. 771.

Before the statute of uses there was neither dower nor tenancy by the curtesy of an use, but since the statute, the husband has curtesy of a trust estate, though it seems strange that the wife should, out of a similar estate, be deprived of dower.]

Dower is now given the widow in these cases by statute 3 and 4 William IV, c. 105.

(43) [This and the next species of conveyance, viz.: bargain and sale, are to be distinguished by the nature of the instrument, and not by the words merely; for the words "covenant to stand seised to uses" are not essential in the one, nor "bargain and sell" in the other. For if a man, for natural love and affection, bargain and sell his lands to the use of his wife or child, it is a covenant to stand seised to uses, and without enrollment vests the estate in the wife or child: so if for a pecuniary consideration he covenants to stand seised to the use of a stranger, if this deed be enrolled within six months, it is a good and valid bargain and sale under the statute, and the estate vests in the purchaser. 7 Co. 40, by; 2 Inst. 672; 1 Leon. 25; 1 Mod. 175; 2 Lev. 10; 2 M. and W. 503; 2 Nev. and M. 602; 10 Mee. and W. 608; 1 Keen, 795. A bargain and sale without enrollment may be construed and act as a grant or surrender, which shows that the words "bargain and sell" have no precise legal import. 1 Prest. Conv. 38.]

14. A fourteenth species of conveyance, viz: by *lease and release*; first invented by Serjeant Moore, soon after the statute of uses, and now the most common of any, and therefore not to be shaken; though very great lawyers (as, particularly, Mr. Noy, attorney-general to Charles I), have formerly doubted its validity. (*o*) It is thus contrived. A lease, or rather bargain and sale, upon some pecuniary consideration, for one year, made by the tenant of the freehold to the lessee or bargainee. Now this, without any enrolment, makes the bargainor stand seised to the use of the bargainee, and vests in the bargainee the *use* of the term for a year; and then the statute immediately annexes the *possession*. He therefore, being thus in possession, (*44*) is capable of receiving a release of the freehold and reversion; which, we have seen before, (*p*) must be made to a tenant in possession: and, accordingly, the next day, a release is granted to him. (*q*) This is held to supply the place of livery of seisin: and so a conveyance by lease and release is said to amount to a feoffment. (*r*) (*45*)

15. To these may be added deeds to *lead* or *declare the uses* of other more direct conveyances, as feoffments, fines, and recoveries; of which we shall speak in the next chapter: and

16. Deeds of *revocation of uses*, hinted at in a former page, (*s*) and founded in a previous power, reserved at the raising of the uses, (*t*) to revoke such as were then declared; and to appoint others in their stead, which is incident to the power of revocation. (*u*) And this may suffice for a specimen of conveyances founded upon the statute of uses, and will finish our observations upon such deeds as serve to *transfer* real property.

*Before we conclude, it will not be improper to subjoin a few remarks [*340] upon such deeds as are used not to *convey*, but to *charge* or *incumber*, lands and to *discharge* them again: of which nature are, *obligations* or bonds, *recognizances*, and *defeazances* upon them both.

1. An *obligation* or bond, is a deed (*v*) whereby the obligor obliges himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, to pay a certain sum of money to another at a day appointed. If this be all, the bond is called a single one, *simplex obligato*: but there is generally a condition added, that if the obligor does some particular act, the obligation shall be void, or else shall remain in full force: as payment of rent; performance of covenants in a deed; or repayment of a principal sum of money borrowed of the obligee, with interest, which principal sum is usually one-half of the penal sum specified in the bond. In case this condition is not performed, the bond becomes forfeited, or absolute at law, and charges the obligor, while living; and after his death the obligation descends upon his

(*o*) 2 Mod. 252.

(*p*) Page 324.

(*q*) See Appendix, No. II, §§ 1, 2.

(*r*) Co. Litt. 270.

Cro. Jac. 604.

(*s*) Page 335.

(*t*) See Appendix, No. II, page xi.

(*u*) Co. Litt. 237.

(*v*) See Appendix, No. III, page xlii.

(44) [It must be borne in mind that in this and former instances, where it is said the statute annexes the *possession*, upon the vesting of the *use*, an actual occupancy of possession of the land is not meant.

The effect of the statute is to complete the title of the bargainee, or to give him a vested interest by which his ownership in the estate is as fully confirmed, as it would have been, according to the common law, by livery and seisin. Mr. Preston in his Conveyancing, vol. 2, page 211, has discussed and explained this subject with his usual ability. See also Cruise Dig. index, Lease and Release; see also the opinion of Mr. Booth in Cases and Opinions, 2d vol. 143 to 149, tit. Reversions, edit. 1791. As to the effect of a conveyance by lease and release of a reversion expectant on a term, and the mode of pleading such a conveyance, see Co. Litt. 270, a. n. 3; 4 Cruise, 199, and 2 Chitty on Pleading, 4th edit. 578, note e.]

(45) [Prior to the statute uses of this form of conveyance was in existence; the person wishing to transfer a freehold to another granted him an actual lease for two or three years, the lessee actually entered, and then was capable of accepting a release of the freehold. As, however, an actual entry was necessary, this mode of conveyance was nearly as inconvenient as a feoffment, and, when completed, was not in all respects so powerful; it was therefore seldom resorted to. The statute of uses has dispensed with actual entry, but, though the releasee is thus made capable of taking the release by the statute, yet the estate which he takes is one at common law, exactly as if he had actually entered under his lease. And if the release be not to his own use, but to the use of another, that is not a use upon a use which the statute will not execute, but the *cestuy que use* will take the legal estate. See 2 Saund. 61, 63.]

heir, who (on defect of personal assets) is bound to discharge it, provided he has real assets by descent as a recompense. So that it may be called, though not a *direct*, yet a *collateral* charge upon the lands. (46) How it affects the personal property of the obligor will be more properly considered hereafter.

If the condition of a bond be impossible at the time of making it, or be to do a thing contrary to some rule of law that is merely positive, or be uncertain, or insensible, the condition alone is void, and the bond shall stand single, and unconditional; for it is the folly of the obligor to enter into such an obligation, from which he can never be released. If it be to do a thing that is *malum in se*, the obligation itself is void: for the whole is an unlawful contract, and the obligee shall take no advantage from such a transaction. And if the condition [*341] be possible at the time of making it, and afterwards *becomes impossible by the act of God, the act of law, or the act of the obligee himself, there the penalty of the obligation is saved; for no prudence or foresight of the obligor could guard against such a contingency. (w) On the forfeiture of a bond, or its becoming single, the whole penalty was formerly recoverable at law: but here the courts of equity interposed, and would not permit a man to take more than in conscience he ought, viz.: his principal, interest, and expenses, in case the forfeiture accrued by non-payment of money borrowed, the damages sustained, upon non-performance of covenants; and the like. And the like practice having gained some footing in the courts of law, (x) the statute 4 and 5 Ann., c. 16, at length enacted, in the same spirit of equity, that, in case of a bond conditioned for the payment of money, the payment or tender of the principal sum due, with interest and costs, even though the bond be forfeited and a suit commenced thereon, shall be a full satisfaction and discharge. (47)

2. A *recognizance* is an obligation of record, which a man enters into before some court of record or magistrate duly authorized, (y) with condition to do some particular act; as to appear at the assizes, to keep the peace, to pay a debt, or the like. It is in most respects like another bond: the difference being chiefly this: that the bond is the creation of a fresh debt or obligation *de novo*, the recognizance is an acknowledgment of a former debt upon record; the form whereof is, "that A. B. doth acknowledge to owe to our lord the king, to the plaintiff, to C D or the like, the sum of ten pounds," which condition to be void on performance of the thing stipulated: in which case the king, the plaintiff, C D, &c., is called the cognizee, "*is cui cognoscitur*," as he that enters into the recognizance is called the cognizor, "*is qui cognoscit*." This, being either certified to or taken by the officer of some court, is witnessed only by the record of that court, and not by the party's seal: so that it is not in strict propriety a deed, though the effects of it are greater than a *common obligation, [*342] being allowed a priority in point of payment, and binding the lands of the cognizor, from the time of enrollment on record. (z) (48) There are

(w) Co. Litt. 206.

(x) 2 Keb. 553, 555. Salk. 596, 597. 6 Mod. 11, 60, 101.

(y) Bro. Abr. tit. *recognizance*, 24.

(z) Stat. 29 Car. II, c. 3. See page 181.

(46) [If in a bond the obligor *binds himself*, without adding his *heirs, executors, and administrators*, the executors and administrators are bound, but not the heir: Shep. Touch. 369; for the law will not imply the obligation upon the heir. Co. Litt. 209, a. A bond does not seem properly to be called an incumbrance upon land; for it does not follow the land like a recognizance and judgment: and even if the heir at law aliens the land, the obligee in the bond, by which the heir is bound, can have his remedy only against the person of the heir to the amount of the value of the land; and he cannot follow it when it is in the possession of a *bona fide* purchaser. Bull. N. P. 175. By statutes 11 Geo. IV, and 1 William IV, c. 47, the creditors are enabled to maintain actions of debt or covenant against heirs and devisees upon the covenants and specialty debts of their ancestors or devisors, to the extent of the value of the lands which have come to them by descent or devise.]

(47) [As to the difference between a penalty and a stipulation for liquidated damages, see 3 Moo. and P. 425; 7 Scott, 364; 3 Mee. and W. 545.] See also *Kemble v. Farren*, 6 Bing. 141; *Pierce v. Fuller*, 8 Mass. 223; *Davies v. Penton*, 6 B. and Cr. 222; *Niver v. Rossman*, 18 Barb. 53; *Sainter v. Ferguson*, 7 M., G. and S. 716; *Jaquith v. Hudson*, 5 Mich. 123; *Wallis v. Carpenter*, 13 Allen, 19; *Powell v. Burroughs*, 53 Penn. St. 329; *Colwell v. Lawrence*, 38 N. Y. 71.

(48) [A recognizance not enrolled will be considered as an obligation, or bond, only; but being sealed and acknowledged, must be paid as a debt by specialty. *Bothomly v. Lord Fair-*

also other recognizances, of a private kind, *in nature of a statute staple*, by virtue of the statute 23 Hen. VIII, c. 6, which have already been explained, (a) and shown to be a charge upon real property.

3. A defeazance, on a bond, or recognizance, or judgment recovered, is a condition which, when performed, defeats or undoes it, in the same manner as a defeazance of an estate before mentioned. It differs only from the common condition of a bond, in that the one is always inserted in the deed or bond itself, the other is made between the same parties by a separate, and frequently a subsequent deed. (b) This, like the condition of a bond, when performed, discharges and disincumbers the estate of the obligor.

These are the principal species of deeds or matter *in pais*, by which estates may be either conveyed, or at least affected. Among which the conveyances to uses are by much the most frequent of any: though in these there is certainly one palpable defect, the want of sufficient notoriety; so that purchasers or creditors cannot know, with any absolute certainty, what the estate, and the title to it, in reality are, upon which they are to lay out or to lend their money. In the ancient feudal method of conveyance (by giving corporal seisin of the lands), this notoriety was in some measure answered; but all the advantages resulting from thence are now totally defeated by the introduction of death-bed devises and secret conveyances: and there has never been yet any sufficient guard provided against fraudulent charges and incumbrances; since the disuse of the old Saxon custom of transacting all conveyances at the county court, and entering a memorial of them in the chartulary or ledger-book of some adjacent monastery; (c) and the failure of the general register established by King Richard the First, for the stars or mortgages made to *Jews in the *capitula de Judæis*, of which Hoveden has preserved a copy. How far [343] the establishment of a like general register, for deeds, and wills, and other acts affecting real property, would remedy this inconvenience, deserves to be well considered. In Scotland every act and event, regarding the transmission of property, is regularly entered on record. (d) And some of our own provincial divisions, particularly the extended county of York, and the populous county of Middlesex, have prevailed with the legislature (e) to erect such register in their several districts. But, however plausible these provisions may appear in theory, it hath been doubted by very competent judges, whether more disputes have not arisen in those counties by the inattention and omissions of parties than prevented by the use of registers. (49)

(a) See page 160.

(b) Co. Litt. 237. 2 Saund. 47.

(c) Hickes *Dissertat. epistolar.* 9.

(d) Dalrymple on Feudal Property, 262, &c.

(e) Stat. 2 and 3 Ann. c. 4. 6 Ann. c. 35. 7 Ann. c. 20. 8 Geo. II, c. 6.

fax, 1 P. Wms. 340; S. C. 2 Vern. 751. If enrollment is allowed by special order, after the proper time has elapsed, this, for most purposes, makes the recognizance effectual from the time of its date; but, should the cognizor, between the date and the enrollment of the recognizance, have borrowed money on a judgment, the judgment creditor will be allowed a preference. *Fothergill v. Kendrick*, 2 Vern. 234.]

(49) [By the register-acts, a registered deed shall be preferred to a prior unregistered deed; yet it has been decreed by Lord Hardwicke, if the subsequent purchaser by the registered deed had previous notice of the unregistered one, he shall not avail himself of his deed, but the first purchaser shall be preferred. 1 Ves. Sen. 64. The legislature has been understood by our courts, not to have meant that (the form of registration being unobserved) actual notice of an incumbrance on an estate should not bind a purchaser. *Davis v. Earl of Strathmore*, 16 Ves. 430; *Le Neve v. Le Neve*, 3 Atk. 650; *Bushell v. Bushell*, 1 Sch. and Lef. 100; *Doe v. Allsop*, 5 Barn. and Ald. 147. The French courts adhered much more rigidly to the letter of their old code respecting registration, and held, that a creditor or purchaser might plead want of registration, in bar of a prior incumbrance, though such creditor or purchaser had full notice of the prior incumbrance, before he made his own contract or purchase. They thought that to admit a contrary doctrine would leave it always open to argument whether sufficient notice had or had not been received; and that this would lead to endless uncertainty, confusion, and perjury; therefore, that it was much better the right of the subject should depend upon certain and fixed principles of law, than upon rules and constructions of equity. They decided, consequently, that nothing, not even the most actual and direct notice, should countervail the want of registration. See Mr. Hargrave's note to Co.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF ALIENATION BY MATTER OF RECORD.

ASSURANCES by *matter of record* are such as do not entirely depend on the act or consent of the parties themselves: but the sanction of a court of record is called in to substantiate, preserve, and be a perpetual testimony of the transfer of property from one man to another; or of its establishment, when already transferred. Of this nature are, 1. Private acts of parliament. 2. The king's grants. 3. Fines. 4. Common recoveries.

I. Private *acts of parliament* are, especially of late years, become a very common mode of assurance. For it may sometimes happen, that by the ingenuity of some, and the blunders of other practitioners, an estate is most grievously entangled by a multitude of contingent remainders, resulting trusts, springing uses, executory devises, and the like artificial contrivances (a confusion unknown to the simple conveyances of the common law); so that it is out of the power of either the courts of law or equity to relieve the owner. Or it may sometimes happen, that by the strictness or omissions of family settlements, the tenant of the estate is abridged of some reasonable power (as letting leases, making a jointure for a wife, or the like), which power cannot be given him by the ordinary judges either in common law or equity. Or it may be necessary, in settling an estate, to secure it against the claims of infants or other persons under legal disabilities; who are not bound by any judgments or decrees of the [*345] ordinary courts of justice. In these, or other cases of *the like kind*, the transcendent power of parliament is called in, to cut the Gordian knot; and by a particular law, enacted for this very purpose, to unfetter an estate; to give its tenant reasonable powers; or to assure it to a purchaser, against the remote or latent claims of infants or disabled persons, by settling a proper equivalent in proportion to the interest so barred. (1) This practice was

Litt. 290, b. With us, it has been much doubted whether our courts ought ever to have suffered the question of notice to be agitated, as against a party who has duly registered his conveyance. *Wyatt v. Barwell*, 19 Ves. 439.

Registration of an *equitable mortgage*, or other incumbrance upon lands situated in a register county, is clearly not, of itself, presumptive notice to a subsequent *legal mortgagee*, so as to take from him his legal advantage, *Morecock v. Dickens*, Ambl. 680; *Bedford v. Bacchus*, 2 Eq. Ca. Ab. 615; *Hodgson v. Dean*, 2 Sim. and Stu. 224. Nor will registration of a mortgage of the equity of redemption preclude a third mortgagee from tacking that incumbrance, if he has bought in the first mortgage; provided he had not notice of the second mortgage when he lent his money. *Cater v. Cooley*, 1 Cox, 182. And an equitable mortgagee will not be compelled to deliver up the title deeds deposited with him, but will be entitled to the benefit thereof, as against a prior legal mortgagee, whose mortgage has been duly registered, but notice of which registration is not brought home to the equitable mortgagee. *Wiseman v. Westland*, 1 Younge and Jerv. 121. For it is settled, (though the soundness of the doctrine, as we have seen, is questionable,) that the registry of a deed does not, of itself, amount to constructive notice. *Cater v. Cooley*, 1 Cox, 182; *Jolland v. Stainbridge*, 3 Ves. 435; *Pentland v. Stokes*, 2 Ball and Peat. 75; *Bushell v. Bushell*, 1 Sch. and Lef. 97, 103; *Latouche v. Dunsany*, 1 id. 157; *Underwood v. Courtown*, 2 id. 64; *Hodgson v. Dean*, 2 Sim. and Stu. 225.]

The system of recording conveyances of lands for the purposes of notice is general throughout the United States; the statutes of each state prescribing what shall be the formalities of execution to entitle the instrument to record, and also what shall be the effect of the record, both as to notice and evidence. In general the record is notice only to those who claim title or liens through or under the grantor, acquired subsequently. *Ely v. Wilcox*, 20 Wis. 530; *George v. Wood*, 9 Allen, 80; *Bates v. Norcross*, 14 Pick. 231; *Crockett v. Maguire*, 10 Mo. 34. But though the deed be not on record, any one who has actual notice of its existence is bound by that notice to the same extent as if the record had been made. *Murphy v. Nathans*, 46 Penn. St. 512; *Blanchard v. Tyler*, 12 Mich. 339; *Wells v. Morrow*, 38 Ala. 125; *Dixon v. Doe*, 1 S. and M. 70; *Rogers v. Jones*, 8 N. H. 264; *Irvin v. Smith*, 17 Ohio, 226; *Lillard v. Rucker*, 9 Yerg. 63; *Cosgray v. Cove*, 2 W. Va. 353. And notice to one of several grantees is notice to all. *Stanley v. Green*, 12 Cal. 148; *Myers v. Ross*, 3 Head. 59.

(1) [Tenants for life sometimes obtain private acts of parliament to enable them to charge the inheritance for the amount of necessary repairs and improvements, which must enure to

carried to a great length in the year succeeding the restoration; by setting aside many conveyances alleged to have been made by constraint, or in order to screen the estates from being forfeited during the usurpation. And at last it proceeded so far, that, as the noble historian expresses it, (*a*) every man had raised an equity in his own imagination, that he thought was entitled to prevail against any descent, testament, or act of law, and to find relief in parliament: which occasioned the king at the close of the session to remark, (*b*) that the good old rules of law are the best security; and to wish, that men might not have too much cause to fear, that the settlements which they make of their estate, shall be too easily unsettled when they are dead, by the power of parliament.

Acts of this kind are however at present carried on, in both houses, with great deliberation and caution; particularly in the house of lords they are usually referred to two judges to examine and report the facts alleged, and to settle all technical forms. Nothing also is done without the consent, expressly given, of all parties in being, and capable of consent, that have the remotest interest in the matter: unless such consent shall appear to be perversely and without any reason withheld. And, as was before hinted, an equivalent in money or other estate is usually settled upon infants, or persons not *in esse*, or not of capacity to act for themselves, who are to be concluded by this act. And a general saving is constantly added, at the close of the bill, of the right and interest of all persons whatsoever; except those whose consent is so given or purchased, and who are therein particularly named: though it hath been holden, that even if such saving be omitted, the act shall bind none but the parties. (*c*)

*A law thus made, though it binds all parties to the bill, is yet looked upon rather as a private conveyance, than as the solemn act of the legislature. It is not, therefore, allowed to be a *public*, but a mere *private* statute: it is not printed or published among the other laws of the session; it hath been relieved against, when obtained upon fraudulent suggestions: (*d*) it hath been holden to be void, if contrary to law and reason; (*e*) and no judge or jury is bound to take notice of it, unless the same be specially set forth and pleaded to them. It remains, however, enrolled among the public records of the nation to be forever preserved as a perpetual testimony of the conveyance or assurance so made or established. (2)

(*a*) Lord. Clar. Contin. 162.

(*b*) *Ibid.* 163.

(*c*) Co. 138. Godb. 171.

(*d*) Richardson v. Hamilton. Cane. 8 Jan. 1773. McKenzie v. Stuart. Dom. Proc. 13 Mar. 1754.

(*e*) 4 Rep. 12.

the benefit of the remainderman and reversioner. But parliament of course is the judge whether the proposed repairs and improvements are adequately beneficial to the amount to be charged upon the estate. As to the forms to be observed in the passing of private statutes see *ante*, book 1, 181, *et seq.*

(2) The power in the legislature to transfer the title to private estates is very much restricted in the several states of the American Union, not only by the universal constitutional principle that no man shall be deprived of property except by due process of law, and by express provisions in some of the constitutions inhibiting private acts for such purposes, but also by the recognized maxim that to transfer one man's property to another, except in pursuance of general laws, and in accordance with the recognized principles which protect private rights, is not the exercise of legislative power, and therefore not within the general grant of that power which the state constitutions make to the state legislative bodies. *Newland v. Marsh*, 19 Ill. 382; *Bowman v. Middleton*, 1 Bay, 232; *Wilkinson v. Leland*, 2 Pet. 657, per Story J. But there are many cases where private statutes similar to those, referred to in the text, are allowable, unless prohibited in express terms. In the case of infants, lunatics, and other persons under disability, the legislature possesses general authority to prescribe the mode in which their property shall be disposed of for their benefit; and though this is usually done by general laws which give supervision of the proceedings to some proper court, it is well settled that the legislature, if not expressly prohibited, may interfere in special cases, and, by private act, authorize a transfer to be made by the guardian or trustee, without regard to the general laws. *Rice v. Parkman*, 16 Mass. 326; *Cochran v. Van Surlay*, 20 Wend. 373; *Holman's Heirs v. Bank of Norfolk*, 12 Ala. 369; *Florentine v. Barton*, 2 Wal. 210. And it is believed to be equally competent for the legislature to authorize a person under legal disability—for example, an infant—to convey his estate, as to authorize it to be conveyed by guardian. *McComb v. Gilkey*, 29 Miss. 146. Private statutes of this description are always supposed to be made in the interest of the persons concerned: *Merrill v. Sherburne*, 1 N. H. 204; and are enacted

II. The *king's grants* are also matter of public record. For as St. Germyn says, (f) the king's excellency is so high in the law, that no freehold may be given to the king, nor derived from him but by matter of record. And to this end a variety of offices are erected, communicating in a regular subordination one with another, through which all the king's grants must pass, and be transcribed, and enrolled; that the same may be narrowly inspected by his officers, who will inform him if any thing contained therein is improper, or unlawful to be granted. These grants, whether of lands, honours, liberties, franchises, or aught besides, are contained in charters, or letters *patent*, that is, open letters, *literæ patentes*: so called because they are not sealed up, but exposed to open view, with the great seal pendant at the bottom; and are usually directed or addressed by the king to all his subjects at large. And therein they differ from certain other letters of the king, sealed also with his great seal, but directed to particular persons, and for particular purposes: which, therefore, not being proper for public inspection, are closed up and sealed on the outside, and are thereupon called writs, *close, literæ clausæ*, and are recorded in the *close-rolls*, in the same manner as the others are in the *patent-rolls*.

Grants or letters patent must first pass by *bill* which is prepared by the attorney [*347] and solicitor general, in consequence *of a warrant from the crown; and is then signed, that is, subscribed at the top, with the king's own *sign manual*, and sealed with his *privy signet*, which is always in the custody of the principal secretary of state; and then sometimes it immediately passes under the great seal, in which case the patent is subscribed in these words, "*per ipsum regem, by the king himself.*" (g) Otherwise the course is to carry an extract of the bill to the keeper of the *privy seal*, who makes out a writ or warrant thereupon to the chancery; so that the sign manual is the warrant to the privy seal, and the privy seal is the warrant to the great seal: and in this last case the patent is subscribed, "*per breve de privato sigillo, by writ of privy seal.*" (h) (3) But there are some grants which only pass through certain offices, as the admiralty or treasury, in consequence of a *sign manual*, without the confirmation of either the *signet*, the *great*, or the *privy seal*.

(f) Dr. & Stud. b. 1, d. 8.

(g) 9 Rep. 18.

(h) *Ibid* 2. Inst. 535.

under such circumstances only as would render it reasonable to imply their assent if they were capable of giving it. Cooley Const. Lim. 103. And there is no general principle of constitutional law which would preclude a private act for the purpose of converting real property into personal, or an equitable estate into a legal, where no other change of rights was made, and the parties in interest, or the proper guardians of their interest, desired the change. Upon this point the reader will consult with profit, Carroll v. Lessee of Olmsted, 16 Ohio, 251; Davison v. Johannot, 7 Met. 388; Leggett v. Hunter, 19 N. Y. 445; Dorsey v. Gilbert, 11 Gill and J. 87; Estep v. Hutchman, 14 S. and R. 435; Shehan's Heirs v. Barnet's Heirs, 6 T. B. Monr. 594; Moore v. Maxwell, 18 Ark. 469, in which the doctrine here stated has been applied in a great variety of circumstances. And see further cases cited in Cooley Const. Lim. 101-103. But the legislature cannot assume to declare that claims which are asserted against the property of individuals are valid, and to order the property sold to satisfy them; for this would be the exercise not of legislative, but of judicial power. Lane v. Dorman, 3 Scam. 242. And see for a similar principle, Cash, appellant, 6 Mich. 193; Irvine's Appeal, 16 Penn. St. 268; State v. Noyes, 47 Me. 189; Edwards v. Pope, 3 Scam. 465.

Interests which are only in expectancy, like the expectation of succeeding to an estate as heir at law on the death of the owner, or of becoming tenant by the curtesy or in dower in the lands of a wife or husband now living, may be modified or altogether abolished by the legislature at any time before they actually become vested. Tong v. Marvin, 15 Mich. 60; Barbour v. Barbour, 46 Me. 9; Lucas v. Sawyer, 17 Iowa, 517; Noel v. Ewing, 9 Ind. 57; Westervelt v. Gregg, 12 N. Y. 208; Plumb v. Sawyer, 21 Conn. 351; Clark v. McCreary, 12 S. and M. 347. But when this is done, it is by general laws, and it would be difficult to defend an attempt to do it by special statute operative only in a particular case.

(3) [But now under the statute 14 and 15 Vic. c. 82, which abolished the offices of the clerk of the signet and privy seal, a warrant under the sign manual may be addressed to the lord chancellor, commanding him to cause letters patent to be passed under the great seal. This warrant must be prepared by the attorney or solicitor general, setting forth the proposed letters patent, and must be countersigned by one of the principal secretaries of state, and sealed with the privy seal.]

The *manner* of granting by the king does not more differ from that by a subject, than the *construction* of his grants, when made. 1. A grant made by the king, *at the suit of the grantee*, shall be taken most beneficially for the king, and *against* the party: whereas the grant of a subject is construed most strongly *against the grantor*. Wherefore it is usual to insert in the king's grants, that they are made, not at the suit of the grantee, but "*ex speciali gratia, certa scientia, et mero motu regis*;" and then they have a more liberal construction. (*i*) 2. A subject's grant shall be construed to include many things, besides what are expressed, if necessary for the operation of the grant. Therefore, in a private grant of the profits of land for one year, free ingress, egress, and regress, to cut and carry away those profits, are also inclusively granted: (*j*) and if a feoffment of land was made by a lord to his villein, this operated as a manumission; (*k*) for he was otherwise unable to hold it. But the king's grant shall not enure to any other intent, than that which is precisely expressed in the grant. As, if he grants land to an alien, it operates nothing; for *such grant shall not also enure to make him a denizen, that so he may be [*348] capable of taking by grant. (*l*) 3. When it appears from the face of the grant, that the king is mistaken, or deceived, either in matter of fact or matter of law, as in case of false suggestion, misinformation, or misrecital of former grants; or if his own title to the thing granted be different from what he supposes; or if the grant be informal; or if he grants an estate contrary to the rules of law; in any of these cases the grant is absolutely void. (*m*) For instance; if the king grants lands to one and his *heirs male*, this is merely void: for it shall not be an estate-tail, because there want words of procreation, to ascertain the body out of which the heirs shall issue: neither is it a fee-simple, as in common grant it would be; because it may reasonably be supposed, that the king meant to give no more than an estate-tail: (*n*) the grantee is therefore (if any thing) nothing more than tenant at will. (*o*) And to prevent deceits of the king, with regard to the value of the estate granted, it is particularly provided by the statute 1 Hen. IV, c. 6, that no grant of his shall be good, unless, in the grantee's petition for them, express mention be made of the real value of the lands.

III. We are next to consider a very usual species of assurance, which is also of record; viz.: a *fine* of lands and tenements. In which it will be necessary to explain, 1. The *nature* of a fine; 2. Its several *kinds*; and, 3. Its *force* and *effect*. (*4*)

1. A fine is sometimes said to be a feoffment of record: (*p*) though it might with more accuracy be called an acknowledgment of a feoffment on record. By which is to be understood, that it has at least the same force and effect with a feoffment, in the conveying and assuring of lands: though it is one of those methods of transferring estates of freehold by the common law, in which livery of seisin is not necessary *to be actually given; the supposition and acknowledgment thereof in a court of record, however fictitious, inducing an equal notoriety. But, more particularly, a fine may be described to be an amicable composition or agreement of a suit, either actual or fictitious, by leave of the king or his justices: whereby the lands in question become, or are acknowledged to be, the right of one of the parties. (*q*) In its original it was founded on an actual suit, commenced at law for recovery of the possession of land or other hereditaments; and the possession thus gained by such composition was found to be so sure and effectual, that fictitious actions were, and continue to be, every day commenced, for the sake of obtaining the same security.

(*i*) Finch, L. 100. 10 Rep. 112. (*j*) Co. Litt. 56. (*k*) Litt. § 206.
 (*l*) Bro. Abr. *tit. Patent*, 82. Finch, L. 110. (*m*) Freem. 172. (*n*) Finch, 101, 102.
 (*o*) Bro. Abr. *tit. Estates*, 34 *tit. Patents*, 104. Dyer, 270. Dav. 45.
 (*p*) Co. Litt. 60. (*q*) *Ibid.* 120.

(4) This species of assurance is now abolished in England by statute 3 and 4 William IV, c. 74. It was never much employed in the United States, and is abolished by express statutes in several of the states.

A fine is so called because it puts *an end*, not only to the suit thus commenced, but also to all other suits and controversies concerning the same matter. Or, as it is expressed in an ancient record of parliament, (r) 18 Edw. I, "*Non in regno Angliæ providetur, vel est, aliqua securitas major vel solennior, per quam aliquis statum certiores habere possit, neque ad statum suum verificandum aliquod solennius testimonium producere, quam finem in curia domini regis levatum: qui quidem finis sic vocatur, eo quod finis et consummatio omnium placitorum esse debet, et hac de causa providebatur.*" Fines indeed are of equal antiquity with the first rudiments of the law itself; are spoken of by Glanvil (s) and Bracton (t) in the reigns of Hen. II, and Hen. III, as things then well known and long established; and instances have been produced of them even prior to the Norman invasion. (u) So that the statute 18 Edw. I, called *modus levandi fines*, did not give them original, but only declared and regulated the manner in which they should be levied or carried on. And that is as follows:

1. The party to whom the land is to be conveyed or assured, commences an action or suit at law against the other, *generally an action of covenant (v) [*350] by suing out a writ of *præcipe*, called a writ of covenant, (w) the foundation of which is a supposed agreement or covenant, that the one shall convey the lands to the other; on the breach of which agreement the action is brought. On this writ there is due to the king, by ancient prerogative, a *primer fine*, or a noble for every five marks of land sued for; that is, one-tenth of the annual value. (x) The suit being thus commenced, then follows,

2. The *licentia concordandi*, or leave to agree the suit. (y) For, as soon as the action is brought, the defendant knowing himself to be in the wrong, is supposed to make overtures of peace and accommodation to the plaintiff. Who, accepting them, but having, upon suing out the writ, given pledges to prosecute his suit, which he endangers if he now deserts it without license, he therefore applies to the court for leave to make the matter up. This leave is readily granted, but for it there is also another fine due to the king by his prerogative, which is an ancient revenue of the crown, and is called the *king's silver*, or sometimes the *post fine*, with respect to the *primer fine* before mentioned. And it is as much as the *primer fine*, and half as much more, or ten shillings for every five marks of land; that is, three-twentieths of the supposed annual value. (z)

3. Next comes the *concord*, or agreement itself, (a) after leave obtained from the court: which is usually an acknowledgment from the deforciant (or those who keep the other out of possession) that the lands in question are the right of the complainant. And from this acknowledgment, or recognition of right, [*351] the party levying the fine is called the **cognizor*, and he to whom it is levied the *cognizee*. This acknowledgment must be made either openly in the court of common pleas, or before the lord chief justice of that court; or else before one of the judges of that court, or two or more commissioners in the country, empowered by a special authority called a writ of *dedimus potestatem*, which judges and commissioners are bound by statute 18 Edw. I, st. 4, to take care that the cognizors be of full age, sound memory, and out of prison. If there be any feme-covert among the cognizors, she is privately examined whether she does it willingly and freely, or by compulsion of her husband.

By these acts all the essential parts of a fine are completed: and, if the cognizor dies the next moment after the fine is acknowledged, provided it be subsequent to the day on which the writ is made returnable, (b) still the fine shall be carried on in all its remaining parts: of which the next is,

(r) 2 Roll. Abr. 13.

(s) l. 8, c. 1.

(t) l. 5, §. 5, c. 23.

(u) Plowd. 369.

(v) A fine may also be levied on a writ of *mesne*, of *warrantia charta*, or *de consuetudinibus et servitiis*. (Finch, L. 273.)

(w) See Appendix, No. IV, § 1.

(x) 2 Inst. 511.

(y) Appendix, No. IV, § 2. In the times of strict feudal jurisdiction, if a vassal had commenced a suit in the lord's court, he could not abandon it without leave; lest the lord should be deprived of his perquisites for deciding the cause. (Robertson, Cha. V, i. 31.)

(z) 5 Rep. 39. 2 Inst. 511. Stat. 32 Geo. II, c. 14.

(a) Appendix, No. IV, § 3.

(b) Comb. 71.

4. The *note* of the fine ; (c) which is only an abstract of the writ of covenant, and the concord ; naming the parties, the parcels of land, and the agreement. This must be enrolled of record in the proper office, by direction of the statute 5 Hen. IV, c. 14.

5. The fifth part is the *foot* of the fine, or conclusion of it ; which includes the whole matter, reciting the parties, day, year, and place, and before whom it was acknowledged or levied. (d) Of this there are indentures made, or engrossed at the chirographer's office, and delivered to the cognizor and the cognizee ; usually beginning thus, "*hæc est finalis concordia*, this is the final agreement," and then reciting the whole proceeding at length. And thus the fine is completely levied at common law.

By several statutes still more solemnities are superadded, in order to render the fine more universally public, and less liable to be levied by fraud or covin. And first by 27 Edw. I, *c 1, the note of the fine shall be openly read [*352] in the court of common pleas, at two several days in one week, and during such reading all pleas shall cease. By 5 Hen. IV, c. 14, and 23 Eliz. c. 3, all the proceedings on fines, either at the time of acknowledgment, or previous or subsequent thereto, shall be enrolled of record in the court of common pleas. By 1 Ric. III, c. 7, confirmed and enforced by 4 Hen. VII, c. 24, the fine, after engrossment, shall be openly read and proclaimed in court, (during which all pleas shall cease) sixteen times, viz.: four times in the term in which it is made, and four times in each of the three succeeding terms, which is reduced to once in each term by 31 Eliz. c. 2, and these proclamations are indorsed on the back of the record. (e) It is also enacted by 23 Eliz. c. 3, that the chirographer of fines shall every term write out a table of the fines levied in each county in that term, and shall affix them in some open part of the court of common pleas all the next term : and shall also deliver the contents of such table to the sheriff of every county, who shall at the next assizes fix the same in some open place in the court, for the more public notoriety of the fine.

2. Fines, thus levied, are of four kinds. 1. What in our law French is called a fine "*sur cognizance de droit, come ceo que il ad de son done*," or, a fine upon acknowledgment of the right of the cognizee, as that which he hath of the gift of the cognizor. (f) This is the best and surest kind of fine ; for thereby the deforciant, in order to keep his covenant with the plaintiff, of conveying to him the lands in question, and at the same time to avoid the formality of an actual feoffment and livery, acknowledges in court a former feoffment, or gift in possession, to have been made by him to the plaintiff. This fine is therefore said to be a feoffment of record ; the livery, thus acknowledged in court, being equivalent to an actual livery : so that this assurance is rather a confession of a former conveyance, than a conveyance now originally made ; for the deforciant or cognizor acknowledges, **cognoscit*, the right to be in the plaintiff, or [*353] cognizee, as that which he hath *de son done*, of the proper gift of himself the cognizor. 2. A fine "*sur cognizance de droit tantum*," or upon acknowledgment of the right merely ; not with the circumstances of a preceding gift from the cognizor. This is commonly used to pass a *reversionary* interest, which is in the cognizor. For of such reversions there can be no feoffment, or donation with livery, supposed ; as the possession during the particular estate belongs to a third person. (g) It is worded in this manner ; "that the cognizor acknowledges the right to be in the cognizee ; and grants for himself and his heirs, that the reversion, after the particular estate determines, shall go to the cognizee." (h) 3. A fine "*sur concessit*" is where the cognizor, in order to make an end of disputes, though he acknowledges no precedent right, yet grants to the cognizee an estate *de novo*, usually for life or years, by way of supposed composition. And this may be done reserving a rent, or the like ; for it operates as a new grant. (i) 4. A fine "*sur done, grant, et render*," is a double fine, comprehending the fine *sur cognizance de droit come ceo*, &c., and the fine *sur con-*

(c) Appendix, No. IV, § 4.

(d) *Ibid.* § 5.

(e) Appendix, No. IV, § 6.

(f) This is that sort, of which an example is given in the Appendix, No. IV.

(g) Moor. 622.

(h) West. Symb. p. 2, § 96.

(i) West. p. 2, § 68.

cessit; and may be used to create particular limitations of estate; whereas the fine *sur cognizance de droit come ceo*, &c., conveys nothing but an absolute estate, either of inheritance or at least of freehold. (*j*) In this last species of fine, the cognizee, after the right is acknowledged to be in him, grants back again, or renders to the cognizor, or perhaps to a stranger, some other estate in the premises. But, in general, the first species of fine, *sur cognizance de droit come ceo*, &c., is the most used, as it conveys a clean and absolute freehold, and gives the cognizee a seisin in law, without any actual livery; and is therefore called a fine executed, whereas the others are but executory.

3. We are next to consider the *force* and *effect* of a fine. These principally depend, at this day, on the common law, and the two statutes, 4 Hen. VII, c. 24, and 32 Hen. VIII, c. 36. The ancient common law, with respect to this [*354] point, *is very forcibly declared by the statute 18 Edw. I, in these words: "And the reason why such solemnity is required in the passing of a fine, is this; because the fine is so high a bar, and of so great force, and of a nature so powerful in itself, that it precludes not only those which are parties and privies to the fine, and their heirs, but all other persons in the world, who are of full age, out of prison, of sound memory, and within the four seas, the day of the fine levied; unless they put in their claim on the foot (*k*) of the fine within a year and a day." But this doctrine, of barring the right by *non-claim*, was abolished for a time by the statute made in 34 Edw. III, c. 16, which admitted persons to claim, and falsify a fine, at any indefinite distance; (*l*) whereby, as Sir Edward Coke observes, (*m*) great contention arose, and few men were sure of their possessions, till the parliament, held 4 Hen. VII, reformed that mischief and excellently moderated between the latitude given by the statute and the rigour of the common law. For the statute, then made, (*n*) restored the doctrine of non-claim; but extended the time of claim. So that now, by that statute, the right of all strangers whatsoever is bound, unless they make claim, by way of action, or lawful entry, not within *one* year and a day, as by the common law, but within *five* years after proclamations made: except feme-coverts, infants, prisoners, persons beyond the seas, and such as are not of whole mind; who have five years allowed to them and their heirs, after the death of their husbands, their attaining full age, recovering their liberty, returning into England, or being restored to their right mind. (*o*)

It seems to have been the intention of that politic prince, King Henry VII, to have covertly by this statute extended fines to have been a bar of estates-tail, in order to unfetter the more easily the estates of his powerful nobility, and lay [*355] *them more open to alienations: being well aware that power will always accompany property. But doubts having arisen whether they could, by mere implication, be adjudged a sufficient bar (which they were expressly declared *not* to be by the statute *de donis*), the statute 32 Hen. VIII, c. 36, was thereupon made; which removes all difficulties, by declaring that a fine levied by any person of full age, to whom or to whose ancestors lands have

(*j*) Salk. 340.

(*k*) *Sur la pie*, as it is in the Cotton MS. and not *pur le pais*, as printed by Berthelet, and in 2 Inst. 511. There were then four methods of claiming, so as to avoid being concluded by a fine. 1. By action. 2. By entering such claim on the record at the *foot* of the fine. 3. By entry on the lands. 4. By continual claim. 2 Inst. 518. The second is not now in force under the statute of Henry VII.

(*l*) Lit. § 441.

(*m*) 2 Inst. 518.

(*n*) 4 Hen. VII, c. 24. See page 118.

(*o*) By the statute 3 and 4 William IV, c. 74, § 15, every tenant in tail is empowered to dispose, either absolutely in fee-simple or for a less estate, of the lands entailed, as against all persons who might have claimed the lands by force of the estate tail if it had not been so defeated. By the 40th section it is enacted, that every disposition of lands under this statute, by a tenant in tail, may be effected by any deed (but not by will) by which he could have disposed of the same if he had been seised in fee; provided that no disposition resting only in contract shall be of any force under this act, although such contract shall be evidenced by deed; and if the tenant in tail making the disposition be a married woman, the concurrence of her husband is necessary to give effect to the same. By the 41st section it is enacted, that every assurance made under this act (except leases not exceeding 21 years) shall be inoperative unless it is enrolled within six months. The 54th section makes a further exception as to copyholds, as to which enrollment is not required, otherwise than on the court rolls.

been entailed, shall be a perpetual bar to them and their heirs claiming by force of such entail; unless the fine be levied by a woman after the death of her husband, of lands which were, by the gift of him or his ancestors, assigned to her in tail for her jointure; (o) or unless it be of lands entailed by act of parliament or letters patent, and whereof the reversion belongs to the crown

From this view of the common law, regulated by these statutes, it appears that a fine is a solemn conveyance on record from the cognizor to the cognizee, and that the persons bound by a fine are *parties*, *privies* and *strangers*.

The *parties* are either the cognizor or cognizees, and these are immediately concluded by the fine, and barred of any latent right they might have, even though under the legal impediment of coverture. (6) And indeed, as this is almost the only act that a *feme-covert*, or married woman, is permitted by law to do (and that because she is privately examined as to her voluntary consent, which removes the general suspicion of compulsion by her husband), it is therefore the usual and almost the only safe method, whereby she can join in the sale, settlement, or incumbrance, of any estate.

Privies to a fine are such as are any way related to the parties who levy the fine, and claim under them by any right of blood or other right of representation. Such as are the heirs general of the cognizor, the issue in tail since the statute of Henry the Eighth, the vendee, devisee, and all others who must make title by the persons who levied the fine. For the act of the ancestor shall bind the heir, and the act *of the principal, his substitute, or such as claim (*356] under any conveyance made by him subsequent to the fine so levied. (p)

Strangers to a fine are all other persons in the world, except only parties and privies. And these are also bound by a fine, unless, within five years after proclamations made, *they interpose their claim*; provided they are under no legal impediments, and have then a present interest in the estate. The impediments, as hath before been said, are coverture, infancy, imprisonment, insanity, and absence beyond sea; and persons, who are thus incapacitated to prosecute their rights, have five years allowed them to put in their claims after such impediments are removed. Persons also that have not a present, but a future interest only, as those in remainder or reversion, have five years allowed them to claim in, from the time that such right accrues. (q) And if within that time they neglect to claim, or (by the statute 4 Ann. c. 16,) if they do not bring an action to try the right within one year after making such claim, and prosecute the same with effect, all persons whatsoever are barred of whatever right they may have, by force of the statute of non-claim.

But, in order to make a fine of any avail at all, it is necessary that the parties should have some interest or estate in the lands to be affected by it. Else it were possible that two strangers by a mere confederacy, might without any risk defraud the owners by levying fines of their lands; for if the attempt be discovered, they can be no sufferers, but must only remain *in statu quo*; whereas if a tenant for life levies a fine, it is an absolute forfeiture of his estate to the remainder-man or reversioner, (r) if claimed in proper time. It is not therefore to be supposed that such tenants will frequently run so great a hazard; but if they do, and claim is not duly made within five years after their respective terms expire, (s) the estate is forever barred by it. Yet where a *stranger*, whose presumption cannot be thus punished, officiously interferes in an estate which in nowise belongs to him, *his fine is of no effect; and may at any time be [*357] set aside (unless by such as are parties or privies thereunto) (t) by pleading that "*partes finis nihil habuerunt*." And, even if a tenant for years, who hath only a chattel interest, and no freehold in the land, levies a fine, it operates nothing, but is liable to be defeated by the same plea. (u) Wherefore when a

(o) See statute 11 Hen. VII. c. 20.
(s) 2 Lev. 52.

(t) Hob. 343.

(p) 3 Rep. 87.

(u) 5 Rep. 123.

(q) Co. Litt. 372.

Hardr. 401.

(r) Co. Litt. 251.

(6) [A fine levied by a lunatic was valid in law, though in equity relief might have been had. 2 Vern. 678; 4 Rep. 124; 12 id. 124; 1 Per and D. 126.]

lessee for years is disposed to levy a fine, it is usual for him to make a feoffment first, to displace the estate of the reversioner, (*v*) and create a new freehold by disseisin. And thus much for the conveyance or assurance by fine: which not only, like other conveyances, binds the grantor himself, and his heirs; but also all mankind, whether concerned in the transfer or no, if they fail to put in their claims within the time allotted by law.

IV. The fourth species of assurance, by matter of record, is a *common recovery*. (7) Concerning the original of which it was formerly observed, (*w*) that common recoveries were invented by the ecclesiastics to elude the statutes of mortmain; and afterwards encouraged by the finesse of the courts of law in 12 Edw. IV, in order to put an end to all fettered inheritances, and bar not only estates-tail, but also all remainders and reversions expectant thereon. I am now, therefore, only to consider first, the *nature* of a common recovery; and, secondly, its *force* and *effect*.

And, first, the *nature* of it: or what a common recovery is. A common recovery is so far like a fine, that it is a suit or action, either actual or fictitious; and in it the lands are *recovered* against the tenant of the freehold; which recovery, being a supposed adjudication of the right, binds all persons, and vests a free and absolute fee-simple in the recoveror. A recovery, therefore, being in the nature of an action at law, not immediately compromised like a fine, but carried on through every regular stage of proceeding, I am greatly apprehensive that its form and method will not be easily understood by the student who is [*358] not yet acquainted *with the course of judicial proceedings; which cannot be thoroughly explained, till treated of at large in the third book of these Commentaries. However, I shall endeavor to state its nature and progress, as clearly and concisely as I can; avoiding, as far as possible, all technical terms and phrases not hitherto interpreted.

Let us, in the first place, suppose David Edwards (*x*) to be tenant of the freehold, and desirous to suffer a common recovery, in order to bar all entails, remainders, and reversions, and to convey the same in fee-simple to Francis Golding. To effect this, Golding is to bring an action against him for the lands; and he accordingly sues out a writ, called a *præcipe quod reddat*, because those were its initial or most operative words, when the law proceedings were in Latin. In this writ the demandant Golding alleges that the defendant Edwards (here called the tenant) has no legal title to the land; but that he came into possession of it after one Hugh Hunt had turned the demandant out of it. (*y*) The subsequent proceedings are made up into a record or recovery roll (*z*) in which the writ and complaint of the demandant are first recited: whereupon the tenant appears, and calls upon one Jacob Morland, who is supposed, at the original purchase, to have warranted the title to the tenant; and thereupon he prays that the said Jacob Morland may be called in to defend the title which he so warranted. This is called the *voucher*, *vocatio*, or calling of Jacob Morland to warranty; and Morland is called the *vouchee*. Upon this, Jacob Morland, the vouchee, appears, is impleaded, and defends the title. Whereupon Golding, the demandant, desires leave of the court to *imparl*, or confer with the vouchee in private; which is (as usual) allowed him. And soon afterwards the demandant Golding returns to court, but Morland the vouchee disappears, or makes default. Whereupon judgment is given for the demandant Golding, now called the recoveror, to recover the lands in question against the tenant, [*359] Edwards, who is now the recoveree; *and Edwards has judgment to recover of Jacob Morland lands of equal value, in recompense for the lands so warranted by him, and now lost by his default; which is agreeable to the doctrine of warranty mentioned in the preceding chapter. (*a*) This is called

(*v*) Hardr. 402. 2 Lev. 52.
(*y*) § 1. (*z*) § 2.

(*w*) Pages 117, 271.
(*a*) Page 301.

(*x*) See Appendix, No. V.

(7) Common recoveries are now abolished in England by statute 3 and 4 William IV, c. 74. They are also abolished by express statute in some of the United States, but were never much employed in any of them,

the recompense, or *recovery in value*. But Jacob Morland having no lands of his own, being usually the cryer of the court (who, from being frequently thus vouched, is called the *common vouchee*), it is plain that Edwards has only a nominal recompense for the land so recovered against him by Golding; which lands are now absolutely vested in the said recoveror by judgment of law, and seisin thereof is delivered by the sheriff of the county. So that this collusive recovery operates merely in the nature of a conveyance in fee-simple, from Edwards the tenant in tail, to Golding the purchaser.

The recovery, here described, is with a single voucher only; but sometimes it is with a *double, treble*, or farther voucher, as the exigency of the case may require. And indeed it is now usual always to have a recovery with double voucher at the least: by first conveying an estate of freehold to any indifferent person, against whom the *præcipe* is brought; and then he vouches the tenant in tail, who vouches over the common vouchee. (*b*) For, if a recovery be had immediately against tenant in tail, it bars only such estate in the premises of which he is then actually seised; whereas if the recovery be had against another person, and the tenant in tail be vouched, it bars every latent right and interest which he may have in the lands recovered. (*c*) If Edwards therefore be tenant of the freehold in possession, and John Barker be tenant in tail in remainder, here Edwards doth first vouch Barker, and then Barker vouches Jacob Morland, the common vouchee; who is always the last person vouched, and always makes default: whereby the demandant Golding recovers the land against the tenant Edwards, and Edwards recovers a recompense of equal value against Barker, the first vouchee; who recovers the like against Morland, the common vouchee, against whom such ideal recovery in value is always ultimately awarded.

*This supposed recompense in value is the reason why the issue in tail is held to be barred by a common recovery. For if the recoveree should [**360*] obtain a recompense in lands from the common vouchee (which there is a possibility in contemplation of law, though a very improbable one, of his doing), these lands would supply the place of those so recovered from him by collusion, and would descend to the issue in tail. (*d*) This reason will also hold with equal force, as to *most* remainder-men and reversioners; to whom the possibility will remain and revert, as a full recompense for the reality, which they were otherwise entitled to: but it will not *always* hold: and therefore, as Pigot says, (*e*) the judges have been even *astuti*, in inventing other reasons to maintain the authority of recoveries. And, in particular, it hath been said, that, though the estate-tail is gone from the recoveree, yet it is not *destroyed*, but *only transferred*; and still subsists, and will ever continue to subsist (by construction of law) in the recoveror, his heirs and assigns: and, as the estate-tail so continues to subsist forever, the remainders or reversions expectant on the determination of such an estate-tail can never take place. (8)

To such awkward shifts, such subtle refinements, and such strange reasoning, were our ancestors obliged to have recourse, in order to get the better of that stubborn statute *de donis*. The design for which these contrivances were set on foot, were certainly laudable; the unriveting the fetters of estates-tail, which were attended with a legion of mischiefs to the commonwealth: but, while we applaud the end, we cannot but admire the means. Our modern courts of justice have indeed adopted a more manly way of treating the subject; by considering common recoveries in no other light than as the formal mode of conveyance, by which tenant in tail is enabled to aliene his lands. But, since the ill conse-

(b) See Appendix, page xviii.

(c) Bro. *Abr. tit. Taille*, 32. Plowd. 8.

(d) Dr. & St. b. 1, dial. 23.

(e) Of com. recov. 13, 14.

(8) [Chief Justice Willes has declared that, "Mr. Pigot has confounded himself and every body else who reads his book, by endeavoring to give reasons for and explain common recoveries. I only say this," he adds, "to show that when men attempt to give reasons for common recoveries, they run into absurdities, and the whole of what they say is unintelligible jargon and learned nonsense. They have been in use some hundreds of years, have gained ground by time, and we must now take them, as they really are, as common assurances." 1 Wils. 73.]

[*361] quences of fettered inheritances are now generally seen *and allowed, and of course the utility and expedience of setting them at liberty are apparent; it hath often been wished, that the process of this conveyance was shortened, and rendered less subject to niceties, by either totally repealing the statute *de donis*; which, perhaps, by reviving the old doctrine of conditional fees, might give birth to many litigations: or by vesting in every tenant in tail, of full age, the same absolute fee-simple at once, which now he may obtain whenever he pleases, by the collusive fiction of a common recovery; though this might possibly bear hard upon those in remainder or reversion by abridging the chances they would otherwise frequently have, as no recovery can be suffered in the intervals between term and term, which sometimes continue for near five months together: or, lastly, by empowering the tenant in tail to bar the estate-tail by a solemn deed, to be made in term time, and enrolled in some court of record: which is liable to neither of the other objections, and is warranted not only by the usage of our American colonies, and the decisions of our own courts of justice, which allow a tenant in tail (without fine or recovery) to appoint his estate to any *charitable* use, (*f*) but also by the precedent of the statute (*g*) 21 Jac. I, c. 19, which, in case of the bankrupt tenant in tail, empowers his commissioners to sell the estate at any time, by deed indented and enrolled. And if, in so national a concern, the emoluments of the officers concerned in passing recoveries are thought to be worthy attention, those might be provided for in the fees to be paid upon each enrollment.

2. The *force* and *effect* of common recoveries may appear, from what has been said, to be an absolute bar not only of all estates-tail, but of remainders and reversions expectant on the determination of such estates. So that a tenant in tail may, by this method of assurance, convey the lands held in tail to the recoverer, his heirs and assigns, absolutely free and discharged of all conditions and limitations in tail, and of all remainders and reversions. But by statute 34 and 35 Hen. VIII, c. 20, no recovery had against tenant in tail, of the king's gift, whereof the remainder or reversion is in the king, shall bar such estate-tail, or the remainder or reversion of the crown. And by the statute 11 Hen. VII, c. 20, no *woman, after her husband's death, shall suffer a recovery of lands [*362] settled on her by her husband, or settled on her husband and her by any of his ancestors. And by statute 14 Eliz. c. 8, no tenant for life, of any sort, can suffer a recovery, so as to bind them in remainder or reversion. For which reason, if there be tenant for life, with remainder in tail, and other remainders over, and the tenant for life is desirous to suffer a valid recovery; either he, or the tenant to the *præcipe* by him made, must *vouch* the remainder-man in tail, otherwise the recovery is void; but if he does vouch such remainder-man, and he appears and vouches the common vouchee, it is then good; for if a man be vouched and appears, and suffers the recovery to be had against the tenant to the *præcipe*, it is as effectual to bar the estate-tail as if he himself were the recoveree. (*h*)

In all recoveries it is necessary that the recoveree, or tenant to the *præcipe*, as he is usually called, be actually seised of the freehold, else the recovery is void. (*i*) For all actions, to recover the seisin of lands, must be brought against the actual tenant of the freehold, else the suit will lose its effect; since the freehold cannot be recovered of him who has it not. And though these recoveries are in themselves fabulous and fictitious, yet it is necessary that there be *actores fabulæ*, properly qualified. But the nicety thought by some modern practitioners to be requisite in conveying the legal freehold, in order to make a good tenant to the *præcipe*, is removed by the provisions of the statute 14 Geo. II, c. 20, which enacts, with a retrospect and conformity to the ancient rule of law, (*j*) that, though the legal freehold be vested in lessees, yet those, who are entitled to the next freehold estate in remainder or reversion may make a good tenant to the *præcipe*;—that though the deed or fine which creates such tenant

(*f*) See page 376.
(*g*) Pigot, 28.

(*g*) See page 286.

(*h*) Salk. 571.

(*j*) Pigot, 41, &c. 4 Burr. 1, 115.

be subsequent to the judgment of recovery, yet, if it be in the same term, the recovery shall be valid in law;—and that, though the recovery itself do not appear to be entered, or be not regularly entered, on record, yet the deed to make a tenant to the *præcipe*, and declare the uses of the recovery, shall *after [*363] a possession of twenty years, be sufficient evidence, on behalf of a purchaser for valuable consideration, that such recovery was duly suffered. And this may suffice to give the student a general idea of common recoveries, the last species of assurance by matter of record.

Before I conclude this head, I must add a word concerning deeds to *lead*, or to *declare*, the uses of fines, and of recoveries. For if they be levied or suffered without any good consideration, and without any uses declared, they, like other conveyances, enure only to the use of him who levies or suffers them. (*k*) And if a consideration appears, yet as the most usual fine, “*sur cognizance de droit come ceo*, &c., conveys an absolute estate, without any limitations, to the cognizee; and as common recoveries do the same to the recoveror; these assurances could not be made to answer the purpose of family settlements (wherein a variety of uses and designations is very often expedient), unless their force and effect were subjected to the direction of other more complicated deeds, wherein particular uses can be more particularly expressed. The fine or recovery itself, like a power once gained in mechanics, may be applied and directed to give efficacy to an infinite variety of movements in the vast and intricate machine of a voluminous family settlement. And if these deeds are made previous to the fine or recovery, they are called deeds to *lead* the uses; if subsequent, deeds to *declare* them. As if A, tenant in tail, with reversion to himself in fee, would settle his estate on B for life, remainder to C in tail, remainder to D in fee; that is what by law he has no power of doing effectually, while his own estate-tail is in being. He therefore usually, after making the settlement proposed, covenants to levy a fine (or if there be any intermediate remainders, to suffer a recovery) to E, and directs that the same shall enure to the uses in such settlement mentioned. This is now a deed to *lead* the uses of the fine or recovery; and the fine when levied, or recovery when suffered, shall enure to the uses so specified, and no other. For though E, the cognizee or recoveror, hath a fee-simple vested in himself by the fine or recovery; yet, by the operation of this deed, he *becomes a mere instrument or conduit-pipe, seised only to the use of B, C, and D, in successive order: which use is executed immediately, by [*364] force of the statute of uses. (*l*) Or, if a fine or recovery be had without any previous settlement, and a deed be *afterwards* made between the parties, *declaring* the uses to which the same shall be applied, this will be equally good, as if it had been expressly levied or suffered in consequence of a deed directing its operation to those particular uses. For by statute 4 and 5 Ann. c. 16, indentures to *declare* the uses of fines and recoveries, made *after* the fines and recoveries had and suffered, shall be good and effectual in law, and the fine and recovery shall enure to such uses, and be esteemed to be only in trust, notwithstanding any doubts that had arisen on the statute of frauds, 29 Car. II, c. 3, to the contrary.

(*k*) Dyer, 18.

(*l*) This doctrine may perhaps be more clearly illustrated by example. In the deed or marriage settlement in the Appendix, No. II, § 2, we may suppose the lands to have been originally settled on Abraham and Cecilia Barker for life, remainder to John Barker in tail, with divers other remainders over, reversion to Cecilia Barker in fee; and now intended to be settled to the several uses therein expressed viz.: to Abraham and Cecilia Barker till the marriage of John Barker with Katherine Edwards, and then to John Barker for life; remainder to trustees to preserve the contingent remainders; remainder to his wife Katherine for life, for her jointure; remainder to other trustees, for a term of five hundred years; remainder to the first and other sons of the marriage in tail; remainder to the daughters in tail; remainder to John Barker in tail; remainder to Cecilia Barker in fee. Now, it is necessary, in order to bar the estate-tail of John Barker, and the remainders expectant thereon, that a recovery be suffered of the premises; and it is thought proper (for though usual it is by no means necessary; see Forrester, 167) that, in order to make a good tenant of the freehold or tenant to the *præcipe*, during the coverture, a fine should be levied by Abraham, Cecilia, and John Barker; and that the recovery itself be suffered against this tenant to the *præcipe*, who shall vouch John Barker, and thereby bar his estate-tail, and become tenant to the fee-simple by virtue of such recovery; the uses of which estate so acquired are to be those expressed in this deed. Accordingly the parties covenant to do these several acts (see page viii); and in consequence thereof the fine and recovery are had and suffered (No. IV and No. V), of which this conveyance is a deed to *lead* the uses.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF ALIENATION BY SPECIAL CUSTOM.

WE are next to consider assurances by special custom, obtaining only in particular places, and relative only to a particular species of real property. This, therefore, is a very narrow title; being confined to copyhold lands, and such customary estates as are holden in ancient demesne or in manors of a similar nature; which, being of a very peculiar kind, and originally no more than tenancies in pure or privileged villenage, were never alienable by deed; for, as that might tend to defeat the lord of his seignior, it is therefore a forfeiture of a copyhold. (a) Nor are they transferable by matter of record, even in the king's courts, but only in the court baron of the lord. (1) The method of doing this is generally by *surrender*; though in some manors, by special custom, recoveries may be suffered of copyholds: (b) but these differing in nothing material from recoveries of free land, save only that they are not suffered in the king's courts, but in the court baron of the manor, I shall confine myself to conveyances by surrender, and their consequences.

Surrender, *sursumredditio*, is the yielding up of the estate by the tenant into the hands of the lord, for such purposes as in the surrender are expressed. As, it may be, to the use and behoof of A and his heirs; to the use of his own [*366] will; and the like. The process, in most manors, is that *the tenant comes to the steward, either in court (or if the custom permits, out of court), or else to two customary tenants of the same manor, provided there be also a custom to warrant it; and there, by delivering up a rod, a glove, or other symbol, as the custom directs, resigns into the hands of the lord, by the hands and acceptance of his said steward, or of the said two tenants, all his interest and title to the estate; in trust to be again granted out by the lord, to such persons and for such uses as are named in the surrender, and the custom of the manor will warrant. If the surrender be made out of court, then at the next or some subsequent court, the jury or homage must present and find it upon their oaths; which presentment is an information to the lord or his steward of what has been transacted out of court. Immediately upon such surrender, in court, or upon presentment of a surrender made out of court, the lord by his steward grants the same land again to *cestui que use* (who is sometimes, though rather improperly, called the surrenderee), to hold by the ancient rents and customary services; and thereupon admits him tenant to the copyhold, according to the form and effect of the surrender, which must be exactly pursued. And this is done by delivering up to the new tenant the rod or glove, or the like, in the name, and as the symbol, of corporal seisin of the lands and tenements. Upon which admission he pays a fine to the lord, according to the custom of the manor, and takes the oath of fealty. (2)

In this brief abstract of the manner of transferring copyhold estates we may plainly trace the visible footsteps of the feudal institutions. The fief, being of a base nature and tenure, is unalienable without the knowledge and consent of the lord. For this purpose it is resigned up, or surrendered into his hands. Custom, and the indulgence of the law, which favours liberty, has now given

(a) Litt. § 74.

(b) Moor. 637.

(1) [This is true, because *real* actions, which alone were conclusive as to the title, could only be brought to recover copyholds in the lord's court. But ejectment is commonly brought in the superior courts to recover the possession of copyholds. See 1 Jac. and Wal. 549.]

(2) [Femes-covert and infants may be admitted by their attorney or guardian, and in default of their appearance, the lord may appoint a guardian or attorney for that purpose. If the fines are not paid, the lord may enter and receive the profits till he is satisfied, accounting yearly for the same upon demand of the person or persons entitled to the surplus, but no forfeiture shall be incurred by infants or femes-covert for not appearing, or refusing to pay fines 9 Geo. I, c. 29.]

the tenant a right to name his successor; but formerly it was far otherwise. And I am apt to suspect that this right is of much the same antiquity with the introduction of uses with respect to freehold lands; for the alienation of a copyhold had merely *jus fiduciarium*, for which *there was no remedy at [*367] law, but only by *subpœna* in chancery. (c) When, therefore, the lord had accepted a surrender of his tenant's interest, upon confidence to re-grant the estate to another person, either then expressly named or to be afterwards named in the tenant's will, the chancery enforced this trust as a matter of conscience; which jurisdiction, though seemingly new in the time of Edward IV, (d) was generally acquiesced in, as it opened the way for the alienation of copyholds, as well as of freehold estates, and as it rendered the *use* of them both equally devisable by testament. Yet, even to this day, the new tenant cannot be admitted but by composition with the lord, and paying him a fine by way of acknowledgment for the license of alienation. Add to this the plain feudal investiture, by delivering the symbol of seisin in presence of the other tenants in open court; "*quando hasta vel aliud corporeum quidlibet porrigitur a domino se investituram facere dicente; quæ saltem coram duobus vasallis solemniter fieri debet.*" (e) and, to crown the whole, the oath of fealty is annexed, the very bond of feudal subjection. From all which we may fairly conclude, that had there been no other evidence of the fact in the rest of our tenures and estates, the very existence of copyholds, and the manner in which they are transferred, would incontestibly prove the very universal reception which this northern system of property for a long time obtained in this island; and which communicated itself, or at least its similitude, even to our very villeins and bondmen.

This method of conveyance is so essential to the nature of a copyhold estate, that it cannot properly be transferred by any other assurance. No feoffment or grant has any operation thereupon. If I would exchange a copyhold estate with another, I cannot do it by an ordinary deed of exchange at the common law, but we must surrender to each other's use, and the lord will admit us accordingly. If I would devise a copyhold, I must surrender *it to the [*368] use of my last will and testament: (3) and in my will I must declare my intentions, and name a devisee, who will then be entitled to admission. (f) A fine or recovery had of copyhold lands in the king's court may, indeed, if not duly reversed, alter the tenure of the lands, and convert them into frank fee, (g) which is defined in the old book of tenures (h) to be "land pleadable at the common law;" but upon an action on the case, in the nature of a writ of *deceit*, brought by the lord in the king's court, such fine or recovery will be reversed,

(c) Cro. Jac. 568.

(d) Bro. Abr. tit. *Tenant per copie*, 10.

(e) Feud. 1. 2, §. 2.

(f) Co. Copyh. § 36.

(g) Old Nat. Brev. §. *briefe de recto clauso*.

F. N. B. 13.

(h) *t. tenir en franke fee*.

(3) [To prevent the recurrence of the evils which frequently resulted from the devisors of copyhold lands omitting, either from negligence or ignorance, to surrender them to the uses of their wills, it was enacted by 55 Geo. III, c. 192, that where, by the custom of any manor in England or Ireland, any copyhold tenant thereof may by will dispose of or appoint his copyhold tenement, the same having been surrendered to such uses as shall be by such will declared, every disposition or charge of any such copyholds, or of any right or title to the same, made by any such will by any person who shall die after passing this act (viz., 12 July 1815), shall be as effectual, although no surrender is made to the use of such will, as it would have been had such surrender been made. But the claimants under the devise must pay the stamp duties, fees, &c., incident to a surrender, as well as those upon admission. Before the passing of this act, equity would relieve in favor of a wife or younger children (but not of a brother, grandchildren, or natural children); or where copyholds were devised for the payment of debts. See 1 Atk. 387; 3 Bro. 229; 1 P. Wms. 60; 2 Ves. 582; 6 id. 544; 5 id. 557. But where a surrender by a married woman to the use of her will is required by the particular custom of the manor, the want of a surrender is not aided; for the 55 Geo. III, c. 192, only aids the want of a formal surrender, and the surrender in this case is matter of substance, and requires to be accompanied by the separate examination of the wife. 5 Bar. and Ald. 492; 1 Dowl. and R. 81. S. C. Where copyhold premises have been surrendered to such uses as the owner shall appoint, the appointment may be made by will, and a surrender to the uses of such will was not necessary even before this statute. 3 M. and S. 158.]

the lord will recover his jurisdiction; and the lands will be restored to their former state of copyhold. (i) (4)

In order the more clearly to apprehend the nature of this peculiar assurance, let us take a separate view of its several parts; the surrender, the presentment, and the admittance.

1. A surrender by an admittance subsequent whereto the conveyance is to receive its perfection and confirmation, is rather a manifestation of the alienor's intention, than a transfer of any interest in possession. For, till admittance of *cestuy que use*, the lord taketh notice of the surrenderor as his tenant; and he shall receive the profits of the land to his own use, and shall discharge all services due to the lord. Yet the interest remains in him not absolutely, but *sub modo*; for he cannot pass away the land to any other, or make it subject to any other incumbrance than it was subject to at the time of the surrender. But no manner of legal interest is vested in the nominee before admittance. If he enters, he is a trespasser, and punishable in an action of trespass: (5) and if he surrenders to the use of another, such surrender is merely void, and by no matter *ex post facto* can be confirmed. For though he be admitted in pursuance of the original surrender, and thereby acquires afterwards a sufficient and plenary interest as absolute owner, yet his second surrender previous to his own admittance is absolutely void *ab initio*; because at the time of such surrender he had but a possibility of an interest, and could therefore transfer nothing; and no subsequent admittance can make an act good, which was *ab initio* void. Yet, though upon the original surrender the nominee hath but a possibility, it is however such a possibility as may, whenever he pleases, be reduced to a certainty; for he cannot either by force or fraud be deprived or deluded of the effects and fruits of the surrender; but if the lord refuse to admit him, he is compellable [*369] to do it by a bill in chancery, or a *mandamus*: (k) *and the surrenderor can in no wise defeat his grant; his hands being forever bound from disposing of the land in any other way, and his mouth forever stopped from revoking or countermanding his own deliberate act. (l)

2. As to the *presentment*; that, by the *general* custom of manors, is to be made at the next court baron immediately after the surrender; but by *special* custom in some places it will be good, though made at the second or other subsequent court. And it is to be brought into court by the *same* persons that took the surrender, and then to be presented by the homage; and in all points material must correspond with the true tenor of the surrender itself. And therefore, if the surrender be conditional, and the presentment be absolute, both the surrender, presentment, and admittance thereupon, are wholly void: (m) the surrender, as being never truly presented; the presentment, as being false; and the admittance, as being founded on such untrue presentment. If a man surrenders out of court, and dies before presentment, and presentment be made after his death, according to the custom, that is sufficient. (n) So, too, if *cestuy que use* dies before presentment, yet, upon presentment made after his death, his heir according to the custom shall be admitted. The same law is, if those, into whose hands the surrender is made, die before presentment; for, upon sufficient proof in court, that such a surrender was made, the lord shall be compelled to admit accordingly. And if the steward, the tenants, or others into

(i) See Book III, page 166.

(k) 2 Roll. Rep. 107.

(l) Co. Copyh. § 39.

(m) *Ibid.* § 40.

(n) Co. Litt. 62.

(4) [Now a person who has a legal estate in copyhold lands may dispose thereof, and bar the entail, by surrender; if his estate be only an equitable one, he may effect the same purposes by deed. See the statute of 3 and 4 Wm. IV, c. 74, ss. 50 to 54.]

(5) [The surrenderee would not now be considered a trespasser; for it has been determined that he may recover in an ejectment against the surrenderor, upon a demise laid after the surrender, where there was an admittance of such party before trial: but as the surrenderor after the surrender is considered merely a trustee for the nominee, it should seem that the decision would have been the same even if the subsequent admittance had not been proved. 1 T. R. 500; 5 Burr. 2764; 16 East, 208.]

whose hands such surrender is made, refuse or neglect to bring it in to be presented, upon a petition preferred to the lord in his court baron, the party grieved shall find remedy. But if the lord will not do him right and justice, he may sue both the lord, and them that took the surrender, in chancery, and shall there find relief.(o) (6)

*3. Admittance is the last stage, or perfection, of copyhold assurances. [*370] And this is of three sorts: first, an admittance upon a voluntary grant from the lord; secondly, an admittance upon surrender by the former tenant; and, thirdly, an admittance upon a descent from the ancestor.

In admittances, even upon a *voluntary grant* from the lord, when copyhold lands have escheated or reverted to him, the lord is considered as an instrument. For though it is in his power to keep the lands in his own hands; or to dispose of them at his pleasure, by granting an absolute fee-simple, a freehold, or a chattel interest therein; and quite to change their nature from copyhold to socage tenure, so that he may well be reputed their absolute owner and lord; yet if he will still continue to dispose of them as copyhold, he is bound to observe the ancient custom precisely in every point, and can neither in tenure nor estate introduce any kind of alteration; for that were to create a new copyhold; wherefore in this respect the law accounts him custom's instrument. For if a copyhold for life falls into the lord's hands, by the tenant's death, though the lord may destroy the tenure and enfranchise the land, yet if he grants it out again by copy, he can neither add to nor diminish the ancient rent, nor make any, the minutest, variation in other respects: (p) nor is the tenant's estate, so granted, subject to any charges or incumbrances by the lord.(q)

In admittances upon *surrender* of another, the lord is to no intent reputed as owner, but wholly as an instrument: and the tenant admitted shall likewise be subject to no charges or incumbrances of the lord; for his claim to the estate is solely under him that made the surrender.(r)

And, as in admittances upon surrenders, so in admittances upon *descents*, by the death of the ancestor, the lord *is used as a mere instrument; and [*371] as no manner of interest passes into him by the surrender or the death of his tenant, so no interest passes out of him by the act of admittance. And therefore neither in the one case nor the other, is any respect had to the quantity or quality of the lord's estate in the manor. For whether he be tenant in fee or for years, whether he be in possession by right or by wrong, it is not material; since the admittances made by him shall not be impeached on account of his title, because they are judicial, or rather ministerial acts, which every lord in possession is bound to perform.(s)

Admittances, however, upon surrender, differ from admittances upon descent in this, that by surrender nothing is vested in *cestuy que use* before admittance, no more than in voluntary admittances; but upon descent the heir is tenant by copy immediately upon the death of his ancestor; not indeed to all intents and purposes, for he cannot be sworn on the homage, nor maintain an action in the lord's court as tenant; but to most intents the law taketh notice of him as of a perfect tenant of the land instantly upon the death of his ancestor, especially where he is concerned with any stranger. He may enter

(o) Co. Copyh. § 40. (p) *Ibid.* § 41. (q) 8 Rep. 63.
(r) 4 Rep. 27. Co. Litt. 59. (s) 4 Rep. 27. 1 Rep. 140.

(6) [But now by the statute 4 and 5 Vic. c. 35, every surrender and deed of surrender which the lord shall be compellable to accept or shall accept, and every will and codicil, a copy of which shall be delivered to the lord, his steward or deputy steward, out of court, or at a court in the absence of a homage, shall be entered in the court rolls by such lord, steward or deputy, and such entry shall be of equal effect with an entry made in pursuance of a presentment: and presentment of the surrender, will, or other matter on which an admittance is founded, shall not be essential to the validity of the admittance. The statute also declares the ceremony of presentment to be not essential to the validity of an admittance, and further enacts that admittance may be made at any time or place without holding any court for the purpose.]

There are a number of subsequent acts amending and extending the one here referred to.

into the land before admittance; may take the profits; may punish any trespass done upon the ground; (*t*) nay, upon satisfying the lord for his fine due upon the descent, may surrender into the hands of the lord to whatever use he pleases. (7) For which reasons we may conclude, that the admittance of an heir is principally for the benefit of the lord, to entitle him to his fine, and not so much necessary for the strengthening and completing the heir's title. Hence indeed an observation might arise, that if the benefit, which the heir is to receive by the admittance, is not equal to the charges of the fine, he will never come in and be admitted to his copyhold in court; and so the lord may be defrauded of his fine. But to this we may reply in *the words of Sir [372] Edward Coke, (*u*) "I assure myself, if it were in the election of the heir to be admitted or not to be admitted, he would be best contented without admittance; but the custom of every manor is in this point compulsory. For, either upon pain of forfeiture of their copyhold, or of incurring some great penalty, the heirs of copyholders are enforced, in every manor, to come into court and be admitted according to the custom, within a short time after notice given of their ancestor's decease."

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF ALIENATIONS BY DEVISE.

THE last method of conveying real property is, by *devise*, or disposition contained in a man's last will and testament. And, in considering this subject, I shall not at present inquire into the nature of wills and testaments, which are more properly the instruments to convey personal estates; but only into the original and antiquity of devising real estates by will, and the construction of the several statutes upon which that power is now founded.

It seems sufficiently clear, that, before the conquest, lands were devisable by will. (*a*) But upon the introduction of the military tenures, the restraint of devising lands naturally took place, as a branch of the feudal doctrine of non-alienation without the consent of the lord. (*b*) And some have questioned whether this restraint (which we may trace even from the ancient Germans) (*c*) was not founded upon truer principles of policy, than the power of wantonly disinheriting the heir by will, and transferring the estate, through the dotage or caprice of the ancestor, from those of his blood to utter strangers. For this, it is alleged, maintained the balance of property, and prevented one man from growing too big or powerful for his neighbours; since it rarely happens, [374] *that the same man is heir to many others, though by art and management he may frequently become their devisee. Thus the ancient law of the Athenians directed that the estate of the deceased should always descend to his children; or, on failure of lineal descendants, should go to the collateral relations: which had an admirable effect in keeping up equality, and preventing the accumulation of estates. But when Solon (*d*) made a slight alteration, by permitting them (though only on failure of issue) to dispose of their lands by testament, and devise away estates from the collateral heir, this soon produced an excess of wealth in some, and of poverty in others: which by a natural progression, first produced popular tumults and dissensions; and these at length ended in tyranny, and the utter extinction of liberty: which was quickly followed by a total subversion of their state and nation. On the other hand, it

(*t*) 4 Rep. 23.

(*u*) Co. Copyh. § 41.

(*a*) Wright of Tenures, 172.

(*b*) See page 57.

(*c*) Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 21.

(*d*) Plutarch, in vita Solon.

(7) If the lord refuse in a proper case to admit the tenant, he may be compelled to do so by mandamus. Reg. v. Dendy, 1 E. and B. 829; Reg. v. Wellesey, 2 id. 924.

would now seem hard, on account of some abuses, (which are the natural consequence of free agency, when coupled with human infirmity), to debar the owner of lands from distributing them after his death as the exigence of his family affairs, or the justice due to his creditors, may perhaps require. And this power, if prudently managed, has with us a peculiar propriety; by preventing the very evil which resulted from Solon's institution, the too great accumulation of property; which is the natural consequence of our doctrine of succession by primogeniture, to which the Athenians were strangers. Of this accumulating the ill effects were severely felt even in the feudal times: but it should always be strongly discouraged in a commercial country, whose welfare depends on the number of moderate fortunes engaged in the extension of trade.

However this be, we find that, by the common law of England since the conquest, no estate, greater than for term of years, could be disposed of by testament; (e) except only in Kent, and in some ancient burghs, and a few particular manors, where their Saxon immunities by special indulgence subsisted. (f) And though the feudal restraint on alienations *by deed vanished very [*375] early, yet this on wills continued for some centuries after: from an apprehension of infirmity and imposition on the testator *in extremis*, which made such devises suspicious. (g) Besides, in devises there was wanting that general notoriety, and public designation of the successor, which in descents is apparent to the neighbourhood, and which the simplicity of the common law always required in every transfer and new acquisition of property.

But when ecclesiastical ingenuity had invented the doctrine of uses as a thing distinct from the land, uses began to be devised very frequently, (h) and the devisee of the use could in chancery compel its execution. For it is observed by Gilbert, (i) that, as the popish clergy then generally sat in the court of chancery, they considered that men are most liberal when they can enjoy their possessions no longer: and therefore at their death would choose to dispose of them to those who, according to the superstitions of the times, could intercede for their happiness in another world. But, when the statute of uses (j) had annexed the possession to the use, these uses, being now the very land itself, became no longer devisable: which might have occasioned a great revolution in the law of devises, had not the statute of wills been made about five years after, viz: 32 Hen. VIII, c. 1, explained by 34 Hen. VIII, c. 5, which enacted, that all persons being *seised in fee-simple* (except feme-coverts, (1) infants, idiots, and persons of non-sane memory) might by will and testament in writing devise to any other *person*, except to bodies corporate, two-thirds of their lands, tenements, and hereditaments, held in chivalry, and the whole of those held in socage: which now, through the alteration of tenures by the statute of Charles the Second, amounts to the whole of their landed property, except their copyhold tenements.

(e) 2 Inst. 7. (f) Litt. § 167. 1 Inst. 111. (g) Glanv. l. 7, c. 1. (h) Plowd. 414.
(i) On Devises, 7. (j) 27 Hen. VIII, c. 10. See Dyer, 143.

(1) [Where lands are conveyed to trustees, a married woman may have the power of appointing the disposition of lands held in trust for her after her death, which appointment must be executed like the will of a *feme-sole*. 2 Ves. 610; 1 Bro. 99. And it has been determined by the house of lords, that the appointment of a married woman is effectual against the heir at law; though it depends only upon an agreement of her husband before marriage without any conveyances of the estate to trustees. 6 Bro. P. C. 156.]

Married women are now in some of the United States given full authority to make wills, the same as if unmarried. In others the power is more or less restricted. See Redf. on Wills, 27. Under the English law the wife might execute a will of personalty with the consent of the husband, but he might nevertheless withdraw his assent, even after her death. *Tucker v. Inman*, 4 M. and G. 1049. Where the statute did not expressly exclude married women, it was held in Ohio they might dispose of their property by will: *Allen v. Little*, 5 Ohio, 65; but in Pennsylvania a different ruling was made. *West v. West*, 10 S. and R. 446.

In England a married woman may dispose by will of property settled to her separate use, without going through the machinery of a power of appointment. *Taylor v. Meads*, 34 L. J. Ch. 203.

Corporations were excepted in these statutes, to prevent the extension of gifts [*376] in mortmain; but now, by construction *of the statute 43 Eliz. c. 4, it is held, that a devise to a corporation for a charitable use is valid, as operating in the nature of an *appointment*, rather than of a *bequest*. And indeed the piety of the judges hath formerly carried them great lengths in supporting such charitable uses; (*k*) it being held that the statute of Elizabeth, which favours appointments to charities, supersedes and repeals all former statutes, (*l*) and supplies all defects of assurances: (*m*) and therefore not only a devise to a corporation, but a devise by a copyhold tenant without surrendering to the use of his will, (*n*) and a devise (nay even a settlement) by tenant in tail without either fine or recovery, if made to a charitable use, are good by way of appointment. (*o*)

With regard to devises in general, experience soon showed how difficult and hazardous a thing it is, even in matters of public utility, to depart from the rules of the common law; which are so nicely constructed and so artificially connected together, that the least breach in any one of them disorders for a time the texture of the whole. Innumerable frauds and perjuries were quickly introduced by this parliamentary method of inheritance; for so loose was the construction made upon this act by the courts of law, that bare notes in the hand-writing of another person were allowed to be good wills within the statute. (*p*) To remedy which, the statute of frauds and perjuries, 29 Car. II, c. 3, directs, that all devises of lands and tenements shall not only be in writing, but signed by the testator, or some other person in his presence, and by his express direction; and be subscribed, in his presence, by three or four credible witnesses. (2) And a solemnity nearly similar is requisite for revoking a devise by writing; though the same may be also revoked by burning, cancelling, tearing, or obliterating thereof by the devisor, or in his presence and with his consent: (3) as likewise *impliedly*, by such a great and entire alteration in the circumstances and situation of the devisor, as arises from marriage and the birth of a child. (*q*) (4)

(*k*) Ch. Prec. 272.

(*l*) Gilb. Rep. 45. 1 P. Wms. 248.

(*m*) Duke's Charit. Uses, 84.

(*n*) Moor. 890.

(*o*) 2 Vern. 433. Ch. Prec. 16.

(*p*) Dyer, 72. Cro. Eliz. 100.

(*q*) Christopher v. Christopher. *Scotch*. 6 July, 1771. Spragge v. Stone, at the Cockpit, 27 Mar. 1773, by Wilmot, de Grey and Parker. See page 502.

(2) The wills act, 1 Vic. c. 26, reduces the number to two. And by section 14, the incompetency of a witness to be admitted to prove the execution will not invalidate the will. See 1 Jarm. on Wills, 102. And by that act the execution of all wills, codicils and revoking instruments requires the same formalities. The testator must sign at the foot or end of the will; as to which, see statute 15 and 16 Vic. c. 24.

(3) [With respect to revocation in general, see 1 Saund. 277 to 279, d. Where a testator being angry with one of his devisees, tore his will into four pieces, but was prevented from further tearing it, partly by force and partly by entreaty, and afterwards, becoming calm, expressed his satisfaction that no material part was injured, and that the will was no worse, the court held that it has been properly left to the jury to say whether the testator had perfected his intention of cancelling the will, or whether he was stopped in medio; and the jury having found the latter, the court refused to disturb the verdict. 3 B. and A. 489. But where the testator threw his will into the fire, out of which it was snatched by a by-stander, and preserved without the testator's knowledge, the will was held to be cancelled. 2 Bla. R. 1043.]

To make any act of destruction or cancellation of a will operate as a revocation, the act must be done *animo revocandi*: Burtenshaw v. Gilbert, 1 Cowp. 49; and when done with that intent, a very slight injury to the instrument may be sufficient; such as drawing a line through the testator's name: Martins v. Gardiner, 8 Sim. 73; Baptist Church v. Robbarts, 2 Penn. St. 110; or even tearing off the seal, though the seal itself was not an essential formality. Avery v. Pixley, 4 Mass. 460; Price v. Powel, 3 H. and N. 341. Alterations made in a will after execution, by interlineation or erasure, ought to be duly attested by witnesses; and if this be not done, the interlineations cannot take effect, and words erased evidently with a view to the changes which the interlineations would make, will still, if legible, be treated as part of the will. 1 Jarm. on Wills, 133; Redf. on Wills, 315. But where erasures are made in a will without addition, the will is revoked *pro tanto*. 1 Jarm. on Wills, 132; Redf. on Wills, 313.

(4) [Marriage and the birth of a posthumous child amount to a revocation. 5 T. R. 49. But the subsequent birth of a child, where the will is made after marriage, is not of itself sufficient. 5 T. R. 51, n.; 4 M. and S. 10; 5 Ves. Jr. 656. In a case where a testator had devised his real estate to a woman with whom he cohabited, and to her children, and he afterwards

In the construction of this last statute, (5) it has been adjudged that the testator's name, written with his own hand, at the beginning of *his [*377]

married her and had children by her, it was held these circumstances, did not amount to a revocation of the will. Lord Ellenborough in his judgment says: "The doctrine of implied or presumptive revocation seems to stand upon a better foundation of reason, as it is put by Lord Kenyon, in *Doe v. Lancashire*, 5 T. R. 58, namely, as being 'a tacit condition annexed to the will when made, that it should not take effect, if there should be a total change in the situation of the testator's family,' than on the ground of any presumed alteration of intention; which alteration of intention should seem in legal reasoning not very material, unless it be considered as sufficient to found a presumption in fact, that an actual revocation has followed thereupon. But, upon whatever grounds this rule of revocation may be supposed to stand, it is on all hands allowed to apply only in cases where the wife and children, the new objects of duty, are wholly unprovided for, and where there is an entire disposition of the whole estate to their exclusion and prejudice. This, however, cannot be said to be the case, where the same persons, who, after the making of the will, stand in the legal relation of wife and children, were before specifically contemplated and provided for by the testator, though under a different character and denomination." 2 East, 530. See 5 Ves. Jun. 656. Where two wills are found in the possession of the testator, to invalidate the first the second should expressly revoke, or be clearly incompatible with, the first devise, for no subsequent devise will revoke a prior one, unless it apply to the same subject-matter. 1 P. Wms. 345.; 7 Bro. P. C. 344; Cowper, 87. A devise of real property is not revoked by the bankruptcy of the devisor. The master of the rolls said, "from the moment the debts are paid, the assignees are mere trustees for the bankrupt, and can be called upon to convey to him." In this case all the debts were paid, and the bankrupt had been dead some time. 14 Ves. 580. See also, as to implied or constructive revocations, 3 Mod. 218; Salk. 592; 3 Mod. 203; 2 East, 488; Carth. 81; 4 Burr. 2512; 7 Ves. Jun. 348; Cowp. 812; 4 East, 419; 2 N. R. 491, and *post*, "Title by Testament," 489, *et seq.*

It has been repeatedly held in the United States that the subsequent marriage and birth of a child are an implied revocation of a will, but that either marriage or birth of a child will not alone have that effect. And it is also held that the presumed revocation may be rebutted by circumstances evidencing a different intent. *Brush v. Wilkins*, 4 Johns. Ch. 506; *Warner v. Beach*, 4 Gray, 162; *Coates v. Hughes*, 3 Binn. 498; *Walker v. Hall*, 34 Penn. St. 483; *Bloomer v. Bloomer*, 2 Bradf. Sur. R. 339. Some changes have been made in this rule, for which the reader must be referred to the statutes of the several states. The marriage of a woman revokes a will previously made. *Hodsdon v. Lloyd*, 2 Br. C. C. 534. But whether this would be so in those states where, after marriage, a woman has the same power to make a will as before, may well be doubted.

The English statute of wills, 1 Vic. c. 26, provides that no will shall be revoked by any presumption of intention on the ground of an alteration in circumstances, but it also makes marriage an absolute revocation.

(5) [As to what shall be deemed a sufficient compliance with this act, see 1 Fonblanque on Equity, 193; Phil. on Evid. chap. 8, sec. 8. It is observable, that the statute requires that the will shall be in *writing*, but it should seem it would suffice if in print, and signed by the testator. *Semble*, 2 M. and S. 286.

It next requires, that the will shall be *signed* by the testator, or some other person in his presence and by his express direction. The first case in which this question was raised was *Lemayne v. Stanley*, 3 Lev. 1; 1 Eq. Ca. Ab. 403, in which case it was determined, that if the testator write the *whole* of the will with his own hand, though he does not subscribe his name, but seals and publishes it, and three witnesses subscribe their names in his presence, it is a good will; for his name being written in the will it is a sufficient signing, and the statute does not direct whether it shall be at the top, bottom, &c. But from the case of *Right, lessee of Cater, v. Price*, Dougl. 241, it may be inferred that the above decision will apply only to those cases where the testator appears to have considered such sufficient signing to support his will; and not to those where the testator appears to have intended to sign the instrument in form: and Mr. Christian, in his edition of Blackstone, 2 vol. 377, n. 5, properly observes, that writing the name at the beginning would never be considered a signing according to the statute, unless the whole will was written by the testator himself; for whatever is written by a stranger after the name of the testator affords no evidence of the testator's assent to it, if the subscription of his name in his own hand is not subjoined; and see *Powell on Devises*, 63. In the case of *Right v. Price*, the will was prepared in five sheets, and a seal affixed to the last, and the form of attestation written upon it, and the will was read over to the testator, who set his mark to the two first sheets, and attempted to set it to the third, but being unable, from the weakness of his hand, he said he could not do it, but that it was his will; and on the following day, being asked if he would sign his will, he said he would, and attempted to sign the two remaining sheets, but was not able. Lord Mansfield observed, that "the testator, when he signed the two first sheets, had an intention of signing the others, but was not able; he therefore did not mean the signature of the two first as the signature of the whole will; there never was a signature of the whole. See also 4 Ves. Jun. 197; 9 Ves. 249. And if it appear upon a will of personal estate that something more was intended to be done, and the party was not prevented by sickness or death from signing, this declaration at the begin-

will, as, "I, John Mills, do make this my last will and testament;" is a sufficient signing, without any name at the bottom; (*r*) though the other is

(*r*) 3 Lev. 1.

ning is not sufficient. 4 Ves. 197, n.; 9 id. 249. But where a will, written on three sides of a sheet of paper, and duly attested, concluded by stating "that the testator had signed his name to the two first sides thereof, and his hand and seal to the last," and it appeared he had put his hand and seal to the last only, omitting to sign the two first sides, it was held that the will was well executed, as his first intention was abandoned by the final signature made by him at the time of executing the will. 5 Moore, 484; 2 Bro. and Bing. 650, S. C. So where the testator had executed such a will, but some years afterwards made various interlineations and obliterations therein, but which was neither re-signed, re-published, nor re-attested, but a fair copy was afterwards made, in which he added one interlineation not affecting his freehold estate, but the copy was never signed, attested or published, and the will and copy were found locked up in a drawer together; it was held that there was no revocation of the will as it originally stood; the alterations, &c., being merely demonstrative of an intention to execute another, never carried into effect. *Id.* The testator's making a mark at the foot of his will, if intended as a signature, is sufficient. Freeman Rep. 533.

The next doubt that occurred upon this point was, whether the testator *sealing* his will was not a signing within the statute, and in 2 Stra. 764, Lord Raymond is reported to have held that it was; and of the same opinion three of the judges appear to have been, in 3 Lev. 1, on the ground that *signum* is no more than a mark, and sealing is a sufficient mark that this is his will; but in 1 Wils. 313, such opinion was said to be very strange doctrine; for that if it were so, it would be easy for one person to forge any man's will by only forging the names of any two obscure persons dead, for he would have no occasion to forge the testator's hand. And they said, "if the same thing should come in question again, they should not hold that sealing a will was a sufficient signing within the statute." But in 2 Atk. 176, Lord Hardwicke seems to have thought, that sealing without signing in the presence of a third witness, the will having been duly signed in the presence of two, would have been sufficient to make it a good will. It was held in a case where the testator was blind, that it is not necessary to read over the will previous to the execution, in the presence of the attesting witnesses. 2 New R. 415. The signing of the testator need not be in the presence of the witnesses; it suffices if he acknowledge his signature to each of them. 3 P. Wms. 253; 2 Ves. 451; 1 Ves. J. 11; 8 Ves. 504; 1 Ves. and B. 362.

Upon the *attestation* of a will, many questions have also arisen. The first seems to have been whether the witnesses must attest the signing by the testator, and upon this point, the statute not requiring the testator to sign his will in the presence of the witnesses, it has been held sufficient, if the testator acknowledge to the witnesses that the name is his. 3 P. Wms. 253; 2 Ves. 254. See also 2 P. Wms. 510; Comyn's Rep. 197; 1 Ves. Jun. 11. The next question respecting the attestation was, What shall be construed a signing in the presence of the testator? and upon this point, which first came into consideration in 1 P. Wms. 740, Lord Maclesfield held, that "the bare subscribing of a will, by the witnesses in the same room, did not necessarily imply it to be in the testator's presence; for it might be in a corner of the room, in a clandestine, fraudulent way, and then it would not be a subscribing by the witness in the testator's presence, merely because in the same room; but that here, it being sworn by the witness, that he subscribed the will at the request of the testatrix and in the same room, this could not be fraudulent, and was therefore well enough." So in the case in 2 Salk. 688, the testator having desired the witnesses to go into another room seven yards distant, to attest it, in which room there was a window broken, through which the testator might have seen, the attestation was held good; for that it was enough that the testator *might* see the witnesses signing, and that it was not necessary that he should *actually* see them. See also 3 Salk. 335. And Lord Thurlow, in 1 Bro. C. C. 99, relying upon the authority in 2 Salk. 688, inclined to think a will well attested where the testatrix could see the witnesses through the window of her carriage, and of the attorney's office. But the above cases turned upon the circumstance of the testator being in a situation which allowed of his seeing the witnesses sign; if, therefore, he be in a position in which he cannot see the signing, it seems such attestation would not be a compliance with the statute. Carth. 79; Holt's Rep. 222; 1 P. Wms. 239; 2 Show. 288. And in the case in Comyn's R. 531, it was determined that the question, whether present or not, was a fact for the consideration of the jury, upon all the circumstances of the case. See also, Stra. 1109. And if the jury find that the testator was in a situation where he could not see the witnesses, the will is not duly attested: 1 M. and S. 294; and if the testator were at the time of attestation insensible, though the witnesses signed in his presence, it is not a good attestation. Dougl. 241.

It seems also to have been a question, whether the witnesses should not attest the will in the presence of each other. But it was determined, very soon after the statute, that though the witnesses must all see the testator sign, or acknowledge the signing, yet that they may do it at different times: Anon. 2 Ch. Ca. 109; Freem. 486; Cook v. Parson, Pre. Ch. 185; Jones v. Lake, cited 2 Atk. 177; Bond v. Seawell, 3 Burr. R. 1773; and the acknowledgment by the testator to one of the witnesses, who did not see him sign, is good. See Addy v. Grix, 8 Ves.

the safer way. (6) It has also been determined, that though the witnesses must all see the testator sign, or at least acknowledge the signing, yet they may do it at different times. (s) But they must all subscribe their names as witnesses *in his presence*, lest by any possibility they should mistake the instrument. (t) (7) And, in one case determined by the court of king's bench, (u) the judges were extremely strict in regard to the credibility, or rather the competency, of the witnesses: for they would not allow any legatee, nor by consequence a creditor, where the legacies and debts were charged on the real estate, to be a competent witness to the devise, as being too deeply concerned in interest not to wish the establishment of the will; for, if it were established, he gained a security for his legacy or debt from the real estate, whereas otherwise he had no claim but on the personal assets. This determination, however, alarmed many purchasers and creditors, and threatened to shake most of the titles in the kingdom, that depended on devises by will. For, if the will was attested by a servant to whom wages were due, by the apothecary or attorney, whose very attendance made them creditors, or by the minister of the parish, who had any demand for tithes or ecclesiastical dues (and these are the persons most likely to be present in the testator's last illness), and if in such case the testator had charged his real estate with the payment of his debts, the whole will, and every disposition therein, so far as related to real property, were held to be utterly void. This occasioned the statute 25 Geo. II, c. 6, which restored both the competency and the credit of such *legatees*, by declaring void all legacies (8) given to witnesses, and thereby removing all possibility of their interest affecting their testimony. The same statute likewise established the competency of *creditors*, by directing the testimony of all such creditors to be admitted, but leaving their credit (like that of all other witnesses) to be considered, on a view of all the circumstances, by the

(s) Freem. 486. 2 Ch. Cas. 109. Pr. Ch. 185.

(t) 1 P. Wms. 740.

(u) Stra. 1253.

504; Ellis v. Smith, 1 id. 11. As to the attestation by a marksman, see Harrison v. Harrison, 8 id. 185. It is not necessary that the witnesses should in their attestation express that they subscribed their names in the presence of the testator, but whether they did or not so subscribe is a question for the jury. 4 Taunt. 217; Willes Rep. 1.

Where there is a *power* to charge lands for the payment of debts, or for a provision for a wife or younger children, a court of equity will decree a will, though not executed according to the statute, a good execution of the power: Sch. and Lef. 60; 1 Duk. 165; and the defective execution of wills, in exercise of a power, is remedied by the 54 Geo. III, c. 68.]

(6) The statute of wills, 1 Vic. 26, requires a will to be signed at the end of the instrument, and this is very generally required also by the statutes of wills in the United States. In the absence of such statutory provision, the writing of the testator's name in any part of the instrument by the testator himself, would be sufficient, if it satisfactorily appeared to have been done to give the instrument effect as a will, but not otherwise. Waller v. Waller, 1 Grat. 454. The signing of a will may be by the testator in person, or by some other person by his direction; but when by another, such person should attest the will as a witness, and in his attestation recite the mode of affixing the testator's name. McGee v. Porter, 14 Mo. 61. Signing by a mark is sufficient if the testator cannot write: Butler v. Benson, 1 Barb. 526; Upchurch v. Upchurch, 16 B. Monr. 102; Smith v. Dolby, 4 Harr. 350; and in some states it has been held sufficient whether he could write or not. St. Louis Hospital v. Williams's Administrator, 19 Mo. 609. See Ray v. Hill, 3 Strobb. 297. And in England it has been held that signing by initials—De Savory, 15 Jur. 1042—or by a fictitious name—Re Redding, 2 Rob. 339—was a sufficient signing.

(7) The attestation should not only be in the bodily presence of the testator, but he should be in a conscious state, and able to observe what is being done, if disposed to do so. It is not absolutely necessary, however, that he be in the same room with the witnesses, if within sight. Dewey v. Dewey, 1 Met. 349; Watson v. Pipes, 32 Miss. 451; Wright v. Lewis, 5 Rich. 212. But if the testator was where he could not see the witnesses in the act of attestation, it is insufficient. Brooks v. Duffell, 23 Geo. 441; Boldry v. Parris, 2 Cush. 433.

An attestation clause to a will is not essential, but it may nevertheless become very important in the event of the witnesses not recollecting the facts recited therein, as in that case the due execution of the will may be inferred from the recitals. See Hitch v. Wells, 10 Beav. 84; Lawyer v. Smith, 8 Mich. 411; Kirk v. Carr, 54 Penn. St. 285.

(8) [This extends to devises of lands, and every interest given to the witnesses. But it has been held that a witness may be rendered competent to prove a will by a release, or the receipt of his legacy. 4 Burn. Ecc. Law, 97.]

[*378] court *and jury before whom such will shall be contested. And in a much later case (*v*) the testimony of three witnesses, who were creditors was held to be sufficiently credible, though the land was charged with the payment of debts; and the reasons given on the former determination were said to be insufficient. (9)

Another inconvenience was found to attend this new method of conveyance by devise; in that creditors by bond and other specialties, which affected the heir provided he had assets by descent, were now defrauded of their securities, not having the same remedy against the devisee of their debtor. To obviate which, the statute 3 and 4 W. and M. c. 14, hath provided, that all wills and testaments, limitations, dispositions, and appointments of real estates, by tenants in fee-simple or having power to dispose by will, shall (as against such creditors only), be deemed to be fraudulent and void: and that such creditors may maintain their actions jointly against both the heir and the devisee. (10)

A will of lands, made by the permission and under the control of these statutes, is considered by the courts of law not so much in the nature of a testament, as of a conveyance declaring the uses to which the land shall be subject: with this difference, that in other conveyances the actual *subscription* of the witnesses is not required by law, (*w*) though it is prudent for them so to do, in order to assist their memory when living, and to supply their evidence when dead; but in devises of lands such subscription is now absolutely necessary by statute, in order to identify a conveyance, which in its nature can never be set up till after the death of the devisor. And upon this notion, that a devise affecting lands is merely a species of conveyance, is founded this distinction between such devises and testaments of personal chattels; that the latter will operate upon whatever the testator dies possessed of, the former only upon such real estates as were his at the time of executing and publishing his will. (*x*) (11)

(*v*) M. 31 Geo. II. 4 Burr. 1, 430.

(*w*) See pages 307, 308.

(*x*) 1 P. Wms. 575. 11 Mod. 148.

(9) [A person who signs his name as witness to a will, by this act of attestation solemnly testifies the sanity of the testator. Should such witness afterwards attempt to impeach his own act, and to prove that the testator did not know what he was doing when he made (what purported to be) his will; though such testimony will be far indeed from conclusive: Hudson's case, Skin. 70; Digg's case, cited, id.; and Lord Mansfield held, that a witness impeaching his own act, instead of finding credit, deserved the pillory: Walton v. Shelley, 1 T. R. 300; Lowe v. Jolliffe, 1 W. Bla. 366; S. C., 1 Dick. 339; Goodtitle v. Clayton, 4 Burr. 2225; yet, Lord Eldon held that the evidence of such parties was not to be entirely excluded: admitting, however, that it is to be received with the most scrupulous jealousy. Bootle v. Blundell, 19 Ves. 504; Howard v. Braithwaite, 1 Ves. and Bea. 203. And Sir John Nicholl has laid it down as a distinct rule, that no fact stated by any witness open to such just suspicion, can be relied on, where he is not corroborated by other evidence. Kinleside v. Harrison, 2 Phillim. 499; and see Burrowes v. Lock, 10 Ves. 474.]

The statute 1 Vic. c. 26, repeals the act 25 Geo. II. c. 6 (except as it affects the colonies), and re-enacts and extends some of its provisions. It makes void devises and bequests, not only to an attesting witness, but to the husband or wife of such witness, and expressly provides that the incompetency of a witness, to be admitted to prove the execution of a will, shall not render it invalid. The statute further enacts that any creditor, or the wife or husband of any creditor, whose debt is charged upon the property devised or bequeathed by the will, may be admitted to prove the execution thereof as an attesting witness, and that an executor of a will may be admitted to prove its execution—a point on which some doubts had previously existed.]

(10) Wills of both real and personal estate in the United States are made subject to the rights of creditors, as well by simple contract as by specialty, and, to the extent that it is necessary to appropriate the property to the satisfaction of their demands, the intended bounty is defeated. And the same is now true in England. See statutes 11 Geo. IV and 1 Wm. IV, c. 47; 3 and 4 id. c. 104, and 2 and 3 Vic. c. 60.

(11) [Lord Mansfield has declared, that this does not turn upon the construction of the statute 32 Hen. VIII, c. 1, (as some have supposed) which says, that any person *having* lands, &c., may devise: for the same rule prevailed before the statute, where lands were devisable by custom. Cowp. 90. It has been determined, that where a testator has devised all his lands, or all the lands which he shall have at the time of his death; if he purchase freehold lands, and then make a codicil duly executed according to the statute, though no notice is taken of the after-purchased lands; yet if the codicil is annexed to, or confirms the will, or, as it seems, has a reference to it, this amounts to a republication of the will, and the after-pur-

Wherefore no *after-purchased lands will pass under such devise, (y) [*379] unless, subsequent to the purchase or contract, (z) the devisor republishes his will. (a) (12)

We have now considered the several species of common assurances, whereby a title to lands and tenements may be transferred and conveyed from one man to another. But, before we conclude this head, it may not be improper to take notice of a few general rules and maxims, which have been laid down by courts of justice, for the construction and exposition of them all. These are,

1. That the construction be *favourable*, and as near the minds and apparent intents of the parties, as the rules of law will admit. (b) For the maxims of law are, that "*verba intentioni debent inservire*;" and "*benigne interpretamur chartas propter simplicitatem laicorum*." And therefore the construction must also be *reasonable*, and agreeable to common understanding. (c) (13)

2. That *quoties in verbis nulla est ambiguitas ibi nulla expositio contra verba fienda est*: (d) but that, where the *intention* is clear, too minute a stress be not laid on the strict and precise signification of words: *nam qui hæret in litera, hæret in cortice*. Therefore, by a grant of a remainder a reversion may well pass, and *e converso*. (e) And another maxim of the law is, that "*mala grammatica non vitiat chartam*;" neither false English nor bad Latin will destroy a deed. (f) Which perhaps a classical critic may think to be no unnecessary caution.

3. That the construction be made upon the entire deed, and not merely upon disjointed parts of it. "*Nam ex antecedentibus et consequentibus fit optima interpretatio*." (g) And *therefore that every part of it be (if possible) [*380] made to take effect: and no word but what may operate in some shape or other. (h) "*Nam verba debent intelligi cum effectu, ut res magis valeat quam pereat*." (i) (14)

(y) Moor. 255. 11 Mod. 127.

(z) 1 Ch. Cas. 39. 2 Ch. Cas. 144.

(a) Salk. 238.

(b) And. 60. (c) 1 Bulstr. 175. Hob. 304.

(d) 2 Saund. 157.

(e) Hob. 27.

(f) 10 Rep. 133. Co. Litt. 223. 2 Show. 334.

(g) 1 Bulstr. 101.

(h) 1 P. Wms. 457.

(i) Flowd. 156.

chased lands will pass under the general devise. Cowp. 158; Com. 383; 4 Bro. 2; 7 Ves. Jun. 98. But if the codicil refer expressly to the lands only devised by the will, then the after-purchased lands will not pass under the general devise of the will. 7 T. R. 482. This also is a general rule, that if a man is seized of an estate in fee, and disposes of it by will, and afterwards makes a conveyance of the fee-simple, and takes back a new estate, this new estate will not pass by the will, for it is not the estate which the testator had at the time of publishing his will. Brydges v. Duchess of Chandos, 2 Ves. Jun. 417.

Equity admits no revocation which would not upon legal grounds be a revocation at law. There are three cases which are exceptions to this general rule, viz.: mortgages, which are revocations *pro tanto* only, a conveyance for payments of debts, or a conveyance merely for the purpose of a partition of an estate. In the two first, a court of equity decrees the redemption, or the surplus, to that person who would have been entitled if such mortgage or conveyance had not existed, i. e. the devisee. 2 Ves. Jun. 428.

If an estate is modified in a different manner, as where a new interest is taken, from that in which it stood at the making of the will, it is a revocation. 3 Atk. 741. And equitable, being governed by the same rules as legal estates, if any new use be limited, or any alteration of the trusts upon which they were settled take place, a devise of them will be revoked. 2 Atk. 579. If A having devised lands to B, afterwards convey to him a less estate, as for years, to commence from the death of the deviser, this is a revocation of the devise to B; Cro. Jac. 49; but a grant only of an estate for years is not a revocation of a devise in fee. 2 Atk. 72. Or, if A after devising in fee, mortgage his lands or convey them in fee to trustees to pay debts, though this is a revocation at law, it is not so in equity, except *pro tanto*. 1 Vern. 329, 342; see also 3 Ves. Jun. 654.]

(12) Under the recent wills act of 1 Vic. c. 26, after-acquired real estate may pass, and as to property of every kind, the will speaks and takes effect from the testator's death, unless restrained by the terms of a particular description. The last preceding note must be understood to apply exclusively to wills made before that act took effect.

(13) See Parkhurst v. Smith, Willes, 332; Kane v. Hood, 13 Pick. 282; Ingalls v. Cole, 47 Me. 530; Bird v. Hamilton, Wal. Ch. 361; Long Island R. R. Co. v. Conklin, 32 Barb. 381; French v. Carhart, 1 N. Y. 96.

(14) Duke of Northumberland v. Ewington, 5 T. R. 526; Folsom v. McDonough, 6 Cush. 208; Browning v. Wright, 2 B. and P. 13; Jackson v. Stevens, 16 Johns. 110; Babcock v. Wil-

4. That the deed be taken most strongly against him that is the agent or contractor, and in favour of the other party. "*Verba fortius accipiuntur contra proferentem.*" (15) As, if tenant in fee-simple grants to any one an estate for life, generally, it shall be construed an estate for the life of the grantee. (j) For the principle of self-preservation will make men sufficiently careful not to prejudice their own interest by the too extensive meaning of their words: and hereby all manner of deceit in any grant is avoided; for men would always affect ambiguous and intricate expressions, provided they were afterwards at liberty to put their own construction upon them. But here a distinction must be taken between an indenture and a deed-poll: for the words of an indenture, executed by both parties, are to be considered as the words of them both; for, though delivered as the words of one party, yet they are not his words only, because the other party hath given his consent to every one of them. But in a deed-poll, executed only by the grantor, they are the words of the grantor only, and shall be taken most strongly against him. (k) And, in general, this rule, being a rule of some strictness and rigour, is the last to be resorted to; and is never to be relied upon, but where all other rules of exposition fail. (l)

5. That, if the words will bear two senses, one agreeable to, and another against law; that sense be preferred, which is most agreeable thereto. (m) As if tenant in tail lets a lease to have and to hold during life generally, it shall be construed to be a lease for his own life only, for that stands with the law; and not for the life of the lessee, which is beyond his power to grant, (16)

[*381] *6. That in a deed, if there be two clauses so totally repugnant to each other, that they cannot stand together, the first shall be received, and the latter rejected; (n) wherein it differs from a will; for there, of two such repugnant clauses the latter shall stand. (o) Which is owing to the different natures of the two instruments; for the first deed and the last will are always most available in law. (17) Yet in both cases we should rather attempt to reconcile them. (p)

7. That a devise be most favourably expounded, to pursue if possible the will of the devisor, who, for want of advice or learning, may have omitted the legal or proper phrases. And therefore many times the law dispenses with the want of words in devises, that are absolutely requisite in all other instruments. Thus, a fee may be conveyed without words of inheritance; (q) and an estate-tail without words of procreation. (r) By a will also an estate may pass by mere implication, without any express words to direct its course. As, where a man devises lands to his heir at law, after the death of his wife; here, though no estate is given to the wife in express terms, yet she shall have an estate for life by implication; (s) for the intent of the testator is clearly to postpone the heir

(j) Co. Litt. 42.

(n) Hardr. 94.

(r) See page 115.

(k) Co. Litt. 134.

(o) Co. Litt. 112.

(s) H. 13 Hen. VII, 17. 1 Vent. 376.

(l) Bacon's Elem. c. 3-

(p) Cro. Eliz. 420. 1 Vern. 80.

(m) Co. Litt. 42.

(q) See page 108.

son, 17 Me. 372; Norris v. Showerman, 2 Doug. Mich. 16; Moore v. Jackson, 4 Wend. 58; Jackson v. Blodget, 16 Johns. 172.

(15) Hathaway v. Power, 6 Hill, 453; Cicotte v. Gagnier, 2 Mich. 381; Glover v. Shields, 32 Barb. 374. This rule, however, is one which the courts only apply when no satisfactory result can be reached by other rules of analysis and construction. 2 Washb. Real Prop. 628; Marshall v. Niles, 8 Conn. 369; Carroll v. Norwood, 5 H. and J. 163.

(16) See Post v. Hoover, 33 N. Y. 593.

(17) [Such was held to be the law in the time of Lord Coke. See, accordingly, 6 Ves. 102; 5 id. 247, 407. But now where the same estate is devised to A in fee, and afterwards to B in fee, in the same will, they are construed to take the estate as joint tenants or tenants in common, according to the limitation of the estates and interests devised. 3 Atk. 493; Harg. Co. Litt. 112, b. n. 1.]

The rule that the last clause shall prevail where two are irreconcilable, is one to be applied only in the last resort, where the instrument does not furnish better means of ascertaining the probable intent. Inglehart v. Kirwan, 10 Md. 559; Bradley v. Amidon, 10 Paige, 235. And see Auburn Seminary v. Kellogg, 16 N. Y. 83; Thrasher v. Ingram, 32 Ala. 645; Everitt v. Everitt, 29 N. Y. 39; Sweet v. Chase, 2 N. Y. 73; see also the English cases of Doe v. Davies, 4 M. and W. 599; Langham v. Sandford, 19 Ves. 647; Clayton v. Lowe, 5 B. and Ald. 636.

till after her death; and, if she does not take it, nobody else can. (18) So, also, where a devise is of black-acre to A, and of white-acre to B in tail, and if they both die without issue, then to C in fee; here A and B have *cross remainders* by implication, and on the failure of either's issue, the other or his issue shall take the whole; and C's remainder over shall be postponed till the issue of both shall fail. (t) But, to avoid confusion, no such cross remainders are allowed between more than two devisees: (u) (19) and, in general, where any implications are allowed, they must be such as are *necessary* (or at least highly **probable*) and not merely *possible* implications. (w) (20) And herein [*382] there is no distinction between the rules of law and of equity; for the will, being considered in both courts in the light of a limitation of uses, (x) is construed in each with equal favour and benignity, and expounded rather on its own particular circumstances, than by any general rules of positive law. (21)

And thus we have taken a transient view, in this and the three preceding chapters, of a very large and diffusive subject, the doctrine of common assurances: which concludes our observations on the *title* to things real, or the means by which they may be reciprocally lost and acquired. We have before considered the *estates* which may be had in them, with regard to their duration or quantity of interest, the time of their enjoyment, and the number and connexions of the persons entitled to hold them: we have examined the *tenures*, both ancient and modern, whereby those estates have been, and are now, holden: and have distinguished the object of all these inquiries, namely, things real into the corporeal or substantial and incorporeal or ideal *kind*; and have thus considered the rights of real property in every light wherein they are contemplated by the laws of England. A system of laws that differs much from every other system, except those of the same feudal origin, in its notions and regulations of landed estates; and which, therefore, could in this particular be very seldom compared with any other.

The subject which has thus employed our attention, is of very extensive use, and of as extensive variety. And yet, I am afraid, it has afforded the student less amusement and pleasure in the pursuit, than the matters discussed in the preceding book. To say the truth, the vast alterations which the doctrine of real property has undergone from the conquest to the present time; the infinite determinations upon points that continually arise, and which have been heaped one upon another for a course of seven centuries, without any order or **method*; and the multiplicity of acts of parliament which have amended, [*383] or sometimes only altered, the common law: these causes have made the study of this branch of our national jurisprudence a little perplexed and intricate. It hath been my endeavour, principally, to select such parts of it as were of the most general use, where the principals were the most simple, the reasons of them the most obvious, and the practice the least embarrassed. Yet I cannot presume that I have always been thoroughly intelligible to such of my readers as were before strangers even to the very terms of art which I have been obliged

(t) Freem. 484.
(w) Vaugh. 262.

(u) Cro. Jac. 655. 1 Ventr. 224. 2 Show. 139.
(x) Fitzg. 236. 11 Mod. 153.

(18) [But the heir shall not be disinherited but by a plain, and not merely a probable intention. Doe v. Wilkinson, 2 T. R. 209.]

(19) [The contrary has for some time been fully established; and this has been laid down by Lord Mansfield, as a general rule, viz.: wherever cross remainders are to be raised between two and no more, the favorable presumption is in support of cross remainders; where between more than two, the presumption is against them; but the intention of the testator may defeat the presumption in either case. Perry et al. v. White, Cowp. 777, 797; 4 T. R. 710.]

In a will there may be cross remainders among any number by implication, where it is the manifest intention of the testator, though he has given the estates to the *respective* heirs of their bodies. 2 East, 36. See 1 Taunt. 234; 2 Jarm. on Wills, 457.]

(20) See what is said by Lord Eldon on this subject in 1 Ves. and B. 466.

(21) For Mr. Jarman's rules for the construction of wills, see 2 Jarm. on Wills, ed. 1861, 762 et. seq.; Redf. on Wills, 425, note. For general rules on the same subject, see Mann v. Mann, 14 Johns. 1; Christie v. Phylfe, 19 N. Y. 344.

to make use of; though, whenever those have first occurred, I have generally attempted a short explication of their meaning. These are indeed the more numerous, on account of the different languages which our law has at different periods been taught to speak; the difficulty arising from which will insensibly diminish by use and familiar acquaintance. And therefore I shall close this branch of our inquiries with the words of Sir Edward Coke: (y) "Albeit the student shall not at any one day, do what he can, reach to the full meaning of all that is here laid down, yet let him no way discourage himself, but proceed: for on some other day, in some other place" (or perhaps upon a second perusal of the same), "his doubts will be probably removed."

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF THINGS PERSONAL.

UNDER the name of things *personal* are included all sorts of things *movable*, which may attend a man's person wherever he goes; (1) and, therefore, being only the objects of the law while they remain within the limits of its jurisdiction, and being also of a perishable quality, are not esteemed of so high a nature, nor paid so much regard to by the law, as things that are in their nature more permanent and *immovable*, as lands and houses and the profits issuing thereout. These being constantly within the reach, and under the protection, of the law, were the principal favourites of our first legislators: who took all imaginable care in ascertaining the rights, and directing the disposition, of such property as they imagined to be lasting, and which would answer to posterity the trouble and pains that their ancestors employed about them; but at the same time entertained a very low and contemptuous opinion of all personal estate, which they regarded as only a transient commodity. The amount of it indeed was comparatively very trifling, during the scarcity of money and the ignorance of luxurious refinements, which prevailed in the feudal ages. Hence it was, that a tax of the *fifteenth*, *tenth*, or sometimes a much larger proportion, of all the movables of the subject, was frequently laid without scruple, and is mentioned with much unconcern by our ancient historians, though now it would justly [*385] alarm our opulent merchants and stockholders. And hence, *likewise, may be derived the frequent forfeitures inflicted by the common law, of *all* a man's goods and chattels, for misbehaviours and inadvertencies that at

(y) Proeme to 1 Inst.

(1) ["Chattels" are real or personal. Co. Lit. 118, b. Chattels real are such as concern the realty, as a term for years. Id. Chattels personal are cattle, stuff, &c., fowls, tame or reclaimed, deer, coney tame, fish in a trunk, tithes severed from the nine parts, trees sold or reserved upon a sale,—Hob. 173—and emblements. Com. Dig. Biens, A. 2. The terms "goods and chattels" include choses in action as well as those in possession. 12 Co. 1; 1 Atk. 182. But a bill of exchange, mortgage, bond, and banker's receipt, will not pass by a bequest of all the testator's "property" in a particular house, though cash and bank notes would have passed, they being quasi cash; for bills, bonds, &c., are mere evidence of title to things out of the house and not things in it. 1 Sch. and Lef. 318; 11 Ves. 662. The term "chattels" is more comprehensive than "goods," and will conclude animate as well as inanimate property. The term "goods" will not include fixtures; but the word "effects" may embrace the same. 7 Taunt. 188; 4 J. B. Moore, 73; 4 B. and A. 206. Invalid exchequer bills are securities and effects within meaning of 15 Geo. II, c. 13. 1 New. R. I. The terms "effects, both real and personal," in a will, pass freehold estates, and all chattels real and personal. 3 Bro. P. C. 388. As to *trees*, see Com. Dig. Biens, H.; 2 Saund. index, Trees: Bridgm. index, tit. Timber, when severed or contracted to be severed, from the land passes as personal property. Hob. 173; 11 Co. 50; Com. Dig. Biens; H. Toller's L. Ex. 195, 196.] Upon the general subject, see the very complete and satisfactory treatise on Personal Property by Mr. Williams.

present hardly seem to deserve so severe a punishment. Our ancient law-books, which are founded upon the feudal provisions, do not, therefore, often condescend to regulate this species of property. There is not a chapter in Britton, or the Mirror, that can fairly be referred to this head; and the little that is to be found in Glanvil, Bracton, and Fleta, seems principally borrowed from the civilians. But of later years, since the introduction and extension of trade and commerce, which are entirely occupied in this species of property, and have greatly augmented its quantity, and, of course, its value, we have learned to conceive different ideas of it. Our courts now regard a man's personalty in a light nearly, if not quite, equal to his realty: and have adopted a more enlarged and less technical mode of considering the one than the other; frequently drawn from the rules which they found already established by the Roman law, wherever those rules appeared to be well grounded and apposite to the case in question, but principally from reason and convenience, adapted to the circumstances of the times; preserving withal a due regard to ancient usages, and a certain feudal tincture, which is still to be found in some branches of personal property.

But things personal, by our law, do not only include things *movable* but also something more: the whole of which is comprehended under the general name of *chattels*, which, Sir Edward Coke says, (*a*) is a French word, signifying goods. The appellation is in truth derived from the technical Latin word, *catalla*: which primarily signified only beasts of husbandry, or (as we still call them) *cattle*, but in its secondary sense was applied to all movables in general. (*b*) In the *grand coustumier* of Normandy (*c*) a *chattel* is described as a mere movable, but at the same time it is set in opposition to a fief or feud: so that not only goods, but whatever was not a feud, were accounted chattels. *And it is in this latter, more extended, negative sense, that our law adopts it; [*386] the idea of goods, or movables only, being not sufficiently comprehensive to take in everything that the law considers as a chattel interest. For since, as the commentator on the *coustumier* (*d*) observes, there are two requisites to make a fief or heritage, duration as to time, and immobility with regard to place; whatever wants either of these qualities is not, according to the Normans, an heritage or fief; or, according to us, is not a *real* estate; the consequence of which in both laws is, that it must be a personal estate, or chattel.

Chattels therefore are distributed by the law into two kinds; chattels *real*, and chattels *personal*. (*e*)

1. Chattels *real*, saith Sir Edward Coke, (*f*) are such as concern, or savour of, the realty; as terms for years of land, wardships in chivalry (while the military tenures subsisted), the next presentation to a church, estates by a statute-merchant, statute-staple, *elegit*, or the like; of all which we have already spoken. And these are called real chattels, as being interests issuing out of, or annexed to, real estates: of which they have one quality, viz., immobility, which denominates them *real*; but want the other, viz., a sufficient, legal, indeterminate duration; and this want it is that constitutes them *chattels*. The utmost period for which they can last is fixed and determinate, either for such a space of time certain, or till such a particular sum of money be raised out of such a particular income; so that they are not equal in the eye of the law to the lowest estate of freehold, a lease for another's life; their tenants were considered upon feudal principles as merely bailiffs or farmers; and the tenant of the freehold might at any time have destroyed their interest, till the reign of Henry VIII. (*g*) A freehold, which alone is a real estate, and seems (as has been said) to answer to the fief in Normandy, is conveyed by corporal investiture and *livery [*387] of seisin; which gives the tenant so strong a hold of the land, that it never after can be wrested from him during his life, but by his own act of voluntary transfer or of forfeiture; or else by the happening of some future contingency,

(a) 1 Inst. 118.

(b) Dufresne II, 409.

(c) C. 87.

(d) Il conviendroît qu'il fust non mouvable et de duree a tou siours, fol. 107, a.

(e) So, too, in the Norman law. Cateux sont meubles et immeubles; si comme vrais meubles sont qui trans-
porter se peuvent et ensuivre le corps; immeubles sont choses qui ne peuvent en suivre le corps, ni estre trans-
portees, et tout ce qui n'est point en heritage. LL. Will. Nothi. c. 4, apud Dufresne, II, 409.

(f) 1 Inst. 118.

(g) See page 142.

as in estates *per auter vie*, and the determinable freeholds mentioned in a former chapter. (*h*) And even these, being of an uncertain duration, may by possibility last for the owner's life; for the law will not presuppose the contingency to happen before it actually does, and till then the estate is to all intents and purposes a life-estate, and therefore a freehold interest. On the other hand, a chattel interest in lands, which the Normans put in opposition to fief, and we to freehold, is conveyed by no seisin or corporal investiture, but the possession is gained by the mere entry of the tenant himself; and it will certainly expire at a time prefixed and determined, if not sooner. Thus a lease for years must necessarily fail at the end and completion of the term; the next presentation to a church is satisfied and gone the instant it comes into possession, that is, by the first avoidance and presentation to the living; the conditional estates by statutes and *elegit* are determined as soon as the debt is paid; and so guardianship in chivalry expired of course the moment that the heir came of age. And if there be any other chattel real, it will be found to correspond with the rest in this essential quality, that its duration is limited to a time certain, beyond which it cannot subsist. (2)

2. Chattels *personal*, are, properly and strictly speaking, things *movable*; which may be annexed to or attendant on the person of the owner, and carried about with him from one part of the world to another. Such are animals, household stuff, money, jewels, corn, garments, and everything else that can properly be put in motion, and transferred from place to place. And of this kind of chattels it is that we are principally to speak in the remainder of this book; having been unavoidably led to consider the nature of chattels real, and [*388] their incidents, in the former chapters, which were *employed upon real estates; that kind of property being of a mongrel, amphibious nature, originally endowed with one only of the characteristics of each species of things; the immobility of things real, and the precarious duration of things personal.

Chattel interests being thus distinguished and distributed, it will be proper to consider, first, the nature of that *property*, or dominion, to which they are liable; which must be principally, nay solely, referred to personal chattels: and, secondly, the *title* to that property, or how it may be lost and acquired. Of each of these in its order.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF PROPERTY IN THINGS PERSONAL.

PROPERTY in chattels personal may be either in *possession*: which is where a man hath not only the right to enjoy, but hath the actual enjoyment of, the thing: or else it is in *action*; where a man hath only a bare right, without any occupation or enjoyment. And of these the former, or property in *possession*, is divided into two sorts, an *absolute* and a *qualified* property.

I. First, then, of property in *possession absolute*, (1) which is where a man hath, solely and exclusively, the right, and also the occupation, of any movable

(*h*) Page 120.

(2) [It is a rule of the law of England, in common with that of most other nations, that the title by succession to personal property, wherever it is situated, shall be determined by the law of the domicile of the deceased owner. 1 H. Bl. 670; 5 Ves. 750; 5 B. and Cr. 451; 1 Hagg. 474, 498; 8 Sim. 310. But it has been denied by a justly esteemed writer that this rule extends to chattels *real*, on the ground that the treatment of such property as personalty is peculiar to our own law. 1 Jarm. on Wills, 4; 2 id. 740. The point appears to be unaffected by decision, and is perhaps open to argument on both sides. See 2 P. Wms. 622.]

(1) [It is a rule of law, that the absolute or general property of personal chattels, draws to it the supposed possession. 2 Saund. 47, a.]

chattels; so that they cannot be transferred from him, or cease to be his, without his own act or default. Such may be all *inanimate* things, as goods, plate, money, jewels, implements of war, garments and the like: such also may be all *vegetable* productions, as the fruit or other parts of a plant, when severed from the body of it; or the whole plant itself, when severed from the ground; none of which can be moved out of the owner's possession without his own act or consent, or at least without doing him injury, which it is the business of the law to prevent or remedy. Of these, therefore, there remains little to be said.

But with regard to *animals* which have in themselves a principle and power of motion, and (unless particularly confined) can convey themselves from one part of the world to another, there is a great difference made with respect to their several classes, not only in our law, but in the law of nature and of all civilized nations. They are distinguished into such as are *domitæ*, [*390] and such as are *feræ naturæ*: some being of a *tame* and others of a *wild* disposition. In such as are of a nature tame and domestic (as horses, kine, sheep, poultry, and the like), a man may have as absolute a property as in any inanimate beings; because these continue perpetually in his occupation, and will not stray from his house or person, unless by accident or fraudulent enticement, in either of which cases the owner does not lose his property: (a) in which our law agrees with the laws of France and Holland. (b) The stealing, or forcible abduction, of such property as this, is also felony; for these are things of intrinsic value, serving for the food of man; or else for the use of husbandry. (c) But in animals *feræ naturæ* a man can have no absolute property.

Of all tame and domestic animals, the brood belongs to the owner of the dam or mother; the English law agreeing with the civil, that "*partus sequitur ventrem*" in the brute creation, though for the most part in the human species it disallows that maxim. And therefore in the laws of England, (d) as well as Rome, (e) "*si equam meam equus tuus prægnantem fecerit, non est tuum sed meum quod natum est.*" And, for this Puffendorf (f) gives a sensible reason: not only because the male is frequently unknown; but also because the dam, during the time of her pregnancy, is almost useless to the proprietor, and must be maintained with great expense and care: wherefore, as her owner is the loser by her pregnancy, he ought to be the gainer by her brood. An exception to this rule is in the case of young cygnets; which belong equally to the owner of the cock and hen, and shall be divided between them. (g) But here the reasons of the general rule cease, and "*cessante ratione cessat et ipsa lex.*" for the male is well known, by his constant association with the female; and [*391] for the same reason the owner of the one doth not suffer more disadvantage, during the time of pregnancy and nurture, than the owner of the other.

II. Other animals, that are not of a tame and domestic nature, are either not the objects of property at all, or else fall under our other division, namely, that of *qualified, limited, or special* property; which is such as is not in its nature permanent, but may sometimes subsist, and at other times not subsist. In discussing which subject, I shall in the first place show, how this species of property may subsist in such animals as are *feræ naturæ*, or of a wild nature; and then how it may subsist in any other things, when under particular circumstances.

First, then, a man may be invested with a qualified, but not an absolute, property in all creatures that are *feræ naturæ*, either *per industriam, propter impotentiam, or propter privilegium*.

1. A qualified property may subsist in animals *feræ naturæ per industriam hominis*: (2) by a man's *reclaiming* and making them tame by art, industry, and education; or by so confining them within his own immediate power, that

(a) 2 Mod. 319.

(b) *Vin. in Inst.* l. 2, tit. 1, § 15.

(c) 1 Hal. P. C. 511, 512.

(d) *Bro. Abr. tit. propretie*, 29.(e) *Ff.* 6, 1, 5.

(f) L. of N. 1, 4, c. 7.

(g) 7 Rep. 17.

(2) See Williams on Real Prop. 19, and the observations by Mr. Justice Bayley, 2 B. and C. 937.

they cannot escape and use their natural liberty. And under this head some writers have ranked all the former species of animals we have mentioned, apprehending none to be originally and naturally tame, but only made so by art and custom, as horses, swine, and other cattle; which, if originally left to themselves, would have chosen to rove up and down, seeking their food at large, and are only made domestic by use and familiarity: and are therefore, say they, called *mansueta, quasi, manui assueta*. But however well this notion may be founded, abstractedly considered, our law apprehends the most obvious distinction to be, between such animals as we generally see tame, and are therefore seldom, if ever, found wandering at large, which it calls *domitæ naturæ*: and such creatures as are usually found at liberty, which are therefore supposed to [*392] be more emphatically *feræ naturæ*, though it may happen that the latter shall be sometimes tamed and confined by the art and industry of man. Such as are deer in a park, hares or rabbits in an enclosed warren, doves in a dove-house, pheasants or partridges in a mew, hawks that are fed and commanded by their owner, and fish in a private pond or in trunks. These are no longer the property of a man, than while they continue in his keeping or actual possession: but if at any time they regain their natural liberty, his property instantly ceases; unless they have *animus revertendi*, which is only to be known by their usual custom of returning. (h) A maxim which is borrowed from the civil law; (i) "*revertendi animus videntur desinere habere tunc, cum revertendi consuetudinem deseruerint*." The law therefore extends this possession farther than the mere manual occupation; for my tame hawk that is pursuing his quarry in my presence, though he is at liberty to go where he pleases, is nevertheless my property; for he hath *animus revertendi*. So are my pigeons, that are flying at a distance from their home (especially of the carrier kind), and likewise the deer that is chased out of my park or forest, and is instantly pursued by the keeper or forester; all which remain still in my possession, and I still preserve my qualified property in them. But if they stray without my knowledge, and do not return in the usual manner, it is then lawful for any stranger to take them. (k) But if a deer, or any wild animal reclaimed, hath a collar or other mark put upon him, and goes and returns at his pleasure; or if a wild swan is taken, and marked and turned loose in the river, the owner's property in him still continues, and it is not lawful for any one else to take him: (l) but otherwise, if the deer has been long absent without returning, or the swan leaves the neighbourhood. Bees also are *feræ naturæ*; but when hived and reclaimed, a man may have a qualified property in them, by the law [*393] of nature, as well as by the civil law. (m) *And to the same purpose, not to say in the same words, with the civil law, speaks Bracton: (n) occupation, that is, hiving or including them, gives the property in bees; for though a swarm lights upon my tree, I have no more property in them till I have hived them, than I have in the birds which make their nests thereon, and therefore if another hives them, he shall be their proprietor: but a swarm, which fly from and out of my hive, are mine so long as I can keep them in sight, and have power to pursue them; and in these circumstances no one else is entitled to take them. But it hath been also said, (o) that with us the only ownership in bees is *ratione soli*; and the charter of the forest, (p) which allows every freeman to be entitled to the honey found within his own woods, affords great countenance to this doctrine, that a qualified property may be had in bees, in consideration of the property of the soil whereon they are found. (3)

(h) Bracton, l. 2, c. 1. 7 Rep. 17.

(i) Inst. 2, l. 15.

(k) Finch, L. 177.

(l) Crompt. of Courts. 187. 7 Rep. 16.

(m) Puff. l. 4, c. 6, § 5. Inst. 2, l. 14.

(n) l. 2, c. 1, § 3.

(o) Bro. Abr. tit. *proprietas*, 37, cites 43 Edw. III, 24.

(p) 9 Hen. III, c. 13.

(3) [With respect to *rooks* it has been recently determined, that no action is sustainable against a person for maliciously causing loaded guns to be discharged near a neighbor's close and trees, and thereby disturbing and driving away the rooks which used to resort to and have young in the same, inasmuch as rooks are a species of birds *feræ naturæ*, destructive in their habits, not properly an article of food, and not protected by any act of parliament,

In all these creatures, reclaimed from the wildness of their nature, the property is not absolute but defeasible: a property, that may be destroyed if they resume their ancient wildness and are found at large. For if the pheasants escape from the mew, or the fishes from the trunk, and are seen wandering at large in their proper element, they become *feræ naturæ* again; and are free and open to the first occupant that hath ability to seize them. But while they thus continue my qualified or defeasible property, they are as much under the protection of the law, as if they were absolutely and indefeasibly mine; and an action will lie against any man that detains them from me, or unlawfully destroys them. (4) It is also as much felony by common law to steal such of them as are fit for food, (4) as it is to steal tame animals: (q) but not so, if they are only kept for pleasure, curiosity, or whim, as dogs, bears, cats, apes, parrots, and singing-birds; (r) because their value is not intrinsic, but depending only on the caprice of the owner: (s) though it is such an invasion of property as may amount to a civil injury, and be redressed by a civil action. (t) Yet [*394] to steal a reclaimed hawk is felony both by common law and statute; (u) which seems to be a relic of the tyranny of our ancient sportsmen. And, among our elder ancestors the ancient Britons, another species of reclaimed animals, viz., cats, were looked upon as creatures of intrinsic value; and the killing or stealing one was a grievous crime, and subjected the offender to a fine; especially if it belonged to the king's household, and was the *custos horrei regii*, for which there was a very peculiar forfeiture. (w) And thus much of qualified property in wild animals, reclaimed *per industriam*. (5)

2. A QUALIFIED property may also subsist with relation to animals *feræ naturæ, ratione impotentia*, on account of their own inability. As when hawks, herons, or other birds build in my trees, or coney or other creatures make their nests or burrows in my land, and have young ones there; I have a qualified

(q) 1 Hal. P. C. 512.

(r) Lamb. Eiren. 275.

(s) 7 Rep. 18. 3 Inst. 109.

(t) Bro. Abr. tit. trespass, 407.

(u) 1 Hal. P. C. 512. 1 Hawk. P. C. c. 33.

(w) "Si quis felen, horrei regii custodem. occiderit vel furto abstulerit, felis summa cauda suspendatur, capite aream attingente, et in eam grana tritici effundantur, usquedum summitas caudæ tritico co-operiatur." Wotton. LL. Wall. l. 3, c. 6, § 5. An amercement similar to which, Sir Edward Coke tells us (7 Rep. 18), there anciently was for stealing swans; only suspending them by the beak, instead of the tail.

and that the plaintiff therefore could not have any property in them. *Hannam v. Mockett*, 2 Bar. and C. 934; 4 Dowl. and R. 518, S. C. But an action on the case lies for discharging guns near the *decoy-pond* of another, with design to damnify the owner, by frightening away the wild fowl resorting thereto, by which the wild fowl are frightened away, and the owner damnified, for wild fowl are protected by the 25 Hen. VIII, c. 11, and they constitute a known article of food; and a person keeping up a decoy expends money and employs skill in taking that which is of use to the public. It is a profitable mode of employing his land, and was considered by Lord Holt as a description of trade. *Keeble v. Hickeringill*, 11 East, 574; 2 B. and C. 943. Other animals are specially protected by acts of parliament, as hawks, falcons, swans, partridges, pheasants, pigeons, wild ducks, mallards, teal, widgeons, wild geese, black game, red game, bustards and herons, and consequently, in the eye of the law, are fit to be preserved. Bees are property, and the subject of larceny. Per Bayley, J., 2 B. and C. 944; Sir T. Raym. 33.]

As to the larceny of dogs and birds or beasts ordinarily kept in confinement, see *infra*, p. 394, note. And as to fish, see statute 24 and 25 Vic. c. 96, §§ 24, 26.

(4) [But it is not felony to steal such animals of a wild nature, unless they are either so confined that the owner can take them whenever he pleases; or are reduced to tameness, and known by the thief to be so. And his knowledge of this fact may be made out before the jury by circumstantial evidence, arising out of his own conduct, and the condition and situation of the animal stolen. East's P. C. 16, s. 41; Hawk. b. 1, c. 33, s. 26.]

(5) Upon this general subject see 2 Kent, 348; Williams on Pers. Prop. 19; Pierson v. Post, 3 Caines, 175; *Buster v. Newkirk*, 20 Johns. 75; *Commonwealth v. Chace*, 9 Pick. 15. A property is acquired in bees by hiving and reclaiming them; but merely marking the tree in which bees are found does not vest any property in the finder. *Gillett v. Mason*, 7 Johns. 16; *Ferguson v. Miller*, 1 Cow. 243; see *Wallis v. Mease*, 3 Binn. 546. If bees once reclaimed fly off, the owner sustains his property so long as he can keep them in sight and pursue them. *Goff v. Kilts*, 15 Wend. 550.

Oysters planted in a bay or arm of the sea, in a bed clearly marked out, and where there were no oysters growing spontaneously, are the property of the planter. *Fleet v. Hogeman*, 14 Wend. 42.

property in those young ones till such time as they can fly or run away, and then my property expires: (*x*) but, till then, it is in some cases trespass, and in others felony, for a stranger to take them away. (*y*) For here, as the owner of the land has it in his power to do what he pleases with them, the law therefore vests a property in him of the young ones, in the same manner as it does of the old ones if reclaimed and confined; for these cannot through weakness, any more than the others through restraint, use their natural liberty and forsake him.

3. A man may, lastly, have a qualified property in animals *feræ naturæ*, *propter privilegium*: that is, he may have the privilege of hunting, taking, and killing them, in *exclusion of other persons. Here he has a transient property in these animals, usually called game, so long as they continue within his liberty; (*z*) and may restrain any stranger from taking them therein: but the instant they depart into another liberty, this qualified property ceases. The manner in which this privilege is acquired will be shown in a subsequent chapter.

The qualified property which we have hitherto considered extends only to animals *feræ naturæ*, when either reclaimed, impotent, or privileged. Many other things may also be the objects of qualified property. It may subsist in the very elements, of fire or light, of air and of water. A man can have no absolute permanent property in these, as he may in the earth and land; since these are of a vague and fugitive nature, and therefore can admit only of a precarious and qualified ownership, which lasts so long as they are in actual use and occupation, but no longer. If a man disturbs another, and deprives him of the lawful enjoyment of these; if one obstructs another's ancient windows, (*a*) (6) cor-

(*x*) *Carta de forest.* 9 Hen. III, c. 13. (*y*) 7 Rep. 17. Lamb. Elen. 274.
(*z*) Cro. Car. 554. Mar. 48. 5 Mod. 376. 12 Mod. 144. (*a*) 9 Rep. 58.

(6) [See Book III, pp. 216, 217. The enjoyment of lights for twenty years, with the acquiescence of the party who, after that time, does any thing to impede such enjoyment, affords so strong a presumption of a right, by grant or otherwise, that, even before the recent act of 2^d and 3 Wm. IV, c. 71, it was held that, unless the exercise of the right were contradicted or explained, a jury ought to support it. *Darwin v. Upton*, 2 Saund. 175 c. in note; *Cross v. Lewis*, 2 Barn. and Cress. 639; 4 D. and R. 238, S. C. This rule, however, was qualified in cases to which the custom of the city of London applied, permitting houses to be raised, upon ancient foundations, to any height the owner pleased, notwithstanding such additional elevation might obscure and darken the windows of other ancient messuages, unless there was, by agreement, some restriction to the contrary. However, in the recent case of *Shadwell v. Hutchinson*, 2 Carr. and P. N. P. C. 619, Lord Tenterden held, that the custom ought to be confined to buildings on ancient foundations, where *all the four walls* belonged to the party; and that no one would be justified by the custom in raising an obstruction by means of those walls of his, so as to darken the lights in a fourth wall belonging to his neighbor. His lordship also intimated an opinion, *obiter*, but without deciding the question, that, in order to support the custom, the walls so raised ought to be, at least, as old as the lights which they obstructed. The custom is set forth in *Wynstanley v. Lee*, 2 Swanst. 339; and see also *Plummer v. Bentham*, 1 Burr. 249. This custom, though formerly allowed to be good, does not seem to have been favored at law; and great care was required to plead it properly: *Hughes v. Keymish*, and *Newell v. Barnarde*, both reported in Bulstr. 116; though, in a later case, (reported anonymously in Comyn. 274,) the custom is said to be founded on good reasons, and that it needed not be pleaded, but might be given in evidence upon the general issue. However, though the custom authorized a party who built on an *old foundation* to raise his walls higher than they formerly stood, although he might thereby obstruct equally ancient lights in an adjacent house; it is not to be understood that the custom ever extended to buildings on new foundations: *Hughes v. Keme*, Yelv. 216; *Fishmongers' Company v. East India Company*, 1 Dick. 164; and to determine the fact whether the buildings were or were not on old foundations, a trial at law was often directed before an injunction issued: *Attorney General v. Bentham*, 1 Dick. 277; S. C. 1 Ves. Sen. 543; for, whenever the legal right is doubtful, equity will not interpose before that question is determined, where the nature of the alleged injury does not strongly call for immediate interference. *Wynstanley v. Lee*, 2 Swanst. 342; *Hanson v. Gardiner*, 7 Ves. 308; *Morris v. Lessees of Lord Berkeley*, 2 Ves. Sen. 435; *The Society of Gray's Inn v. Doughty*, 2 Ves. Sen. 453; *Attorney-General v. Nichol*, 16 Ves. 343. But, an action at law, for a nuisance in obstructing lights, may be brought either by the actual possessor of the premises, or by the party entitled thereto in reversion; by the one in respect of his possession, and by the other in respect of his inheritance. *Jessor v. Gifford*, 4 Burr. 2141. The question, not only as regards claims to the use of lights in general cases, but also

rupts the air of his house or gardens, (b) (7) fouls his water, (c) or unpens and lets it out, or if he diverts an ancient watercourse that used to run to the other's mill or meadow; (d) the law will animadvert hereon as an injury, and protect the party injured in his possession. But the property in them ceases the instant they are out of possession; for, when no man is engaged in their actual occupation, they become again common, and every man has an equal right to appropriate them to his own use.

These kinds of qualification in property depend upon the peculiar circumstances of the subject-matter, which is not capable of being under the absolute dominion of any proprietor. But property may also be of a qualified or special nature, on account of the peculiar circumstances of the owner, when the thing itself is very capable of absolute ownership. *As in case of *bailment*, [*396] or delivery of goods to another person for a particular use; as to a carrier to convey to London, to an innkeeper to secure in his inn, or the like. Here there is no absolute property in either the bailor or the bailee, the person delivering, or him to whom it is delivered: for the bailor hath only the right, and not the immediate possession; the bailee hath the possession, and only a temporary right. But it is a qualified property in them both; and each of them is entitled to an action, in case the goods be damaged or taken away: the bailee, on account of his immediate possession; the bailor, because the possession of the bailee is, immediately, his possession also. (e) So also in case of goods pledged or pawned upon condition, either to repay money or otherwise; both the pledger and pledgee have a qualified, but neither of them an absolute, property in them: the pledger's property is conditional, and depends upon the

(b) 9 Rep. 59. Lut. 92.

(c) 9 Rep. 59.

(d) 1 Leon. 273. Skin. 389.

(e) 1 Roll. Abr. 607.

as that right was formerly qualified by the custom of the city of London, seems set at rest by the statute of 2 and 3 William IV, c. 71, § 3, which enacts, that where the access and use of light to and for any building shall have been enjoyed therewith for twenty years, without interruption, the right thereto shall be indefeasible: unless it shall appear that the same was enjoyed under some particular agreement in writing; in which case, of course, the right must be subject to the conditions of the agreement.

It would be unreasonable to presume a grant, where no adverse right has ever been exercised against the party who alone was capable of making the grant; consequently, the usurpation of an easement, or right of way, for twenty years, merely by the acquiescence of a tenant, without the knowledge of his landlord, will not authorize a presumption against the owner of the reversion, or inheritance, but even in such cases, the origin of the right claimed adversely must be traced, in order to repel the doctrine of presumption. It will not be enough to show, that the hereditaments which are deteriorated by the alleged encroachments have been, for twenty years, in the occupation of tenants; it should, also, be made to appear, that the encroachments complained of had their commencement within the period of such tenancy: *Daniel v. North*, 11 East, 374; *Wood v. Veal*, 5 Barn. and Ald. 456; *Harper v. Charlesworth*, 4 Barn. and Cress. 591; 6 D. and R. 589, S. C.; *Cross v. Lewis*, 4 Dowl. and RyL 239; S. C., 2 Barn. and Cress. 688; and, in order to prevent such claims of rights of way, or of water courses, or of other similar easements, from becoming indefeasible after forty years' uninterrupted enjoyment, the owner of a reversion expectant on the determination of a term of years, must (according to the eighth section of the act cited), resist the claims within three years next after the determination of the term. The last mentioned section of the act has reference only to rights of way and water courses; and from the 3d and 7th sections it appears that after the uninterrupted enjoyment of use of light to any building for twenty years, the claim, though it may have originated in encroachment, will be indefeasible, notwithstanding the parties injured thereby may have been incapable, owing to personal disabilities, or any cause whatever, to resist the encroachments. Formerly, the rule of law (as may be seen by referring to the first of the cases already cited) allowed a landlord to build up against encroaching lights, though his tenant had acquiesced under the encroachment for above twenty years: upon the same principle which still prevails with respect to ways and water courses.]

Upon the subject of the preceding note, see *Story v. Odin*, 12 Mass. 157; *Robeson v. Pettinger*, 1 Green, Ch. 57; *Gerber v. Grabel*, 16 Ill. 217; *Duvel v. Brisblanc*, 1 La. An. 407. The courts in this country have generally, however, rejected the English doctrine respecting the prescriptive right to the enjoyment of light and air, as being unsuited to the condition and circumstances of this country. See *Parker v. Foote*, 19 Wend. 309; *Napier v. Bulwinkle*, 5 Rich. 311; *Cherry v. Stein*, 11 Md. 1; *Haverstick v. Sipe*, 33 Penn. St. 368; *Ingraham v. Hutchinson*, 2 Conn. 597; *Ward v. Neal*, 37 Ala. 500; 2 Washb. Real Prop. 62.

(7) See 3 Kent, 448; 2 Washb. Real Prop. 60, 64; Washb. on Easem. 389.

performance of the condition of repayment, &c.; and so, too, is that of the pledgee, which depends upon its non-performance. (*f*) The same may be said of goods distrained for rent, or other cause of distress: (8) which are in the nature of a pledge, and are not, at the first taking, the absolute property of either the distrainor, or party distrained upon; but may be redeemed, or else forfeited, by the subsequent conduct of the latter. But a servant, who hath the care of his master's goods or chattels, as a butler of plate, a shepherd of sheep, and the like, hath not any property or possession either absolute or qualified, but only a mere charge of oversight. (*g*)

Having thus considered the several divisions of property in *possession*, which subsists there only, where a man hath both the right and also the occupation of the thing; we will proceed next to take a short view of the nature of property in *action*, or such where a man hath not the occupation, but merely a bare right to occupy the thing in question; the possession whereof may however be recovered by a suit or action at law; from whence the thing so recoverable is [*397] called **a thing or chose in action*. (*h*) Thus, money due on a bond is a *chose in action*; for a property in the debt vests at the time of forfeiture mentioned in the obligation, but there is no possession till recovered by course of law. If a man promises, or covenants with me, to do any act, and fails in it whereby I suffer damage, the recompense for this damage is a *chose in action*; for, though a right to some recompense vests in me at the time of damage done, yet what, and how large such recompense shall be, can only be ascertained by verdict; and the possession can only be given me by legal judgment and execution. In the former of these cases the student will observe, that the property, or right of action, depends upon an *express* contract or obligation to pay a stated sum: and in the latter it depends upon an *implied* contract that if the covenantor does not perform the act he engaged to do, he shall pay me the damages I sustain, by this breach of covenant. And hence it may be collected, that all property in action depends entirely upon contracts, either express or implied; which are the only regular means of acquiring a *chose in action*, and of the nature of which we shall discourse at large in a subsequent chapter. (9)

At present we have only to remark, that upon all contracts or promises, either express or implied, and the infinite variety of cases into which they are and may be spun out, the law gives an action of some sort or other to the party injured in case of non-performance; to compel the wrongdoer to do justice to the party with whom he has contracted, and, on failure of performing the identical thing he engaged to do, to render a satisfaction equivalent to the damage sustained. But while the thing, or its equivalent, remains in suspense, and the injured party has only the right and not the occupation, it is called a *chose in action*; being a thing rather in *potentia* than in *esse*: though the owner [*398] may have as **absolute* a property in, and be as well entitled to, such things in action, as to things in possession.

And, having thus distinguished the different *degree* or *quantity* of *dominion* or *property* to which things personal are subject, we may add a word or two

(*f*) Cro. Jac. 245.

(*g*) 3 Inst. 108.

(*h*) The same idea, and the same denomination of property prevailed in the civil law. "*Rem in bonis nostris habere intelligitur: quotiens ad recuperandum eam actionem habeamus.*" (Ff. 41, 1, 52.) And again, "*æque bonis adnumerabitur etiam: si quid est in actionibus, petitionibus, persecutionibus.* Nam et hæc in bonis esse videntur." (Ff. 50, 16, 49.)

(8) [Or taken in execution by the sheriff. 2 Moo. and S. 197; 6 Bligh, 277; 2 Saund. 47. So the finder of a chattel has the right of possession against all the world, except the owner. 1 Str. 504; 1 Lead. Cas. 151.]

(9) There are many rights of action, however, which, spring from torts, and yet are recognized as property so as to be the subject of equitable assignment, and of survivorship to personal representatives on the death of the person entitled to maintain suit. This is so, generally, as to rights of action for such torts as are not merely personal. See *North v. Turner*, 9 S. and R. 244; *McKee v. Judd*, 12 N. Y. 622; *Rice v. Stone*, 1 Allen, 566; *Jordan v. Gillen*, 44 N. H. 424; *Final v. Backus*, 18 Mich. 218; *Tome v. Dubois*, 6 Wal. 548; *More v. Massini*, 82 Cal. 590. And so distinctly are such rights possessed of the attributes of property that it is not even competent for the legislature to deprive the party of them by prohibiting the maintenance of suit. *Griffin v. Wilcox*, 21 Ind. 870.

concerning the *time of their enjoyment*, and the *number of their owners*: in conformity to the method before observed in treating of the proper of things real.

First, as to the *time of enjoyment*. (10) By the rules of the ancient common law, there could be no future property, to take place in expectancy, created in personal goods and chattels; because, being things transitory, and by many accidents subject to be lost, destroyed, or otherwise impaired, and the exigencies of trade requiring also a frequent circulation thereof, it would occasion perpetual suits and quarrels, and put a stop to the freedom of commerce, if such limitations in remainder were *generally* tolerated and allowed. But yet in last wills and testaments such limitations of personal goods and chattels, in remainder after a bequest for life, were permitted: (*i*) though originally that indulgence was only shewn, when merely the use of the goods, and not the goods themselves, was given to the first legatee; (*k*) the property being supposed to continue all the time in the executor of the deviser. But now that distinction is disregarded: (*l*) and therefore, if a man either by deed or will limits his books or furniture to A for life, with remainder over to B, this remainder is good. But, where an estate-tail in things personal is given to the first or any subsequent possessor, it vests in him the total property, and no remainder over shall be permitted on such a limitation. (*m*) For this, if allowed, would tend to a perpetuity, as the devisee or grantee in tail of a chattel has no method of barring the entail; and therefore the law vests in him at once the entire dominion of the goods, being analogous to the fee-simple which a tenant in tail may acquire in a real estate.

*Next, as to the *number of owners*. Things personal may belong to their owners, not only in severalty, but also in joint-tendency and in [*399] common, as well as real estates. They cannot, indeed, be vested in coparcenary; because they do not descend from the ancestor to the heir, which is necessary to constitute coparceners. But if a horse or other personal chattel be given to two or more, absolutely, they are joint-tenants hereof; and, unless the jointure be severed, the same doctrine of survivorship shall take place as in estates of lands and tenements. (*n*) And, in like manner, if the jointure be severed, as, by either of them selling his share, the vendee and the remaining part owner shall be tenants in common, without any *jus accrescendi* or survivorship. (*o*) So, also, if 100*l.* be given by will to two or more, *equally to be divided* between them, this makes them tenants in common; (*p*) as, we have formerly seen, (*q*) the same words would have done in regard to real estates. But, for the encouragement of husbandry and trade, it is held that a stock on a farm, though occupied jointly, and also a stock used in a joint*undertaking, by way of partnership in trade, shall always be considered as common and not as joint property, and there shall be no survivorship therein. (*r*) (11)

(*i*) Equ. Cas. Abr. 360.

(*k*) Mar. 106.

(*l*) 2 Freem. 206.

(*m*) 1 P. Wms. 290.

(*n*) Litt. § 282. 1 Vern. 482.

(*o*) Litt. § 321.

(*p*) 1 Equ. Cas. Abr. 232.

(*q*) Page 193.

(*r*) 1 Vern. 217. Co. Litt. 182.

(10) [At this day chattels real and personal cannot be directly *entailed*, but they may by deed of trust be as effectually settled to one *for life with remainders over*, as an estate of inheritance, if it be not attempted to render them unalienable beyond the period allowed by law. See Gilb. Uses and Trusts, by Sugden, 121, note 4, and Mr. Hargrave's note 5 to Co. Litt. 20 a.]

(11) [But although there is no survivorship as to partnership property in possession, yet at law there is as to *choses in action*, for when one or more partners, having a joint legal interest on a contract, dies, an action against the said parties must be brought in the name of the survivor, and the executor or administrator of the deceased cannot be joined, neither can he sue separately, but must resort to a court of equity to obtain from the survivor the testator's share of the sum which has been recovered. 1 East, 497; 2 Salk. 441; 1 Ld. Raym. 346; Carth. 170; Vin. Ab. Partner, D. See Cowp. 445; 1 Ves. Sen. 242. As to the conversion in equity of real estate into partnership stock, see 3 P. Wms. 158; 1 Russ. and M. 45; 7 Sim. 271; 8 id. 829; 11 id. 496.]

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF TITLE TO THINGS PERSONAL BY OCCUPANCY.

WE are next to consider the *title* to things personal, or the various means of *acquiring*, and of *losing*, such property as may be had therein: both which considerations of gain and loss shall be blended together in one and the same view, as was done in our observations upon real property; since it is for the most part impossible to contemplate the one, without contemplating the other also. And these methods of acquisition or loss are principally twelve:—1. By occupancy. 2. By prerogative. 3. By forfeiture. 4. By custom. 5. By succession. 6. By marriage. 7. By judgment. 8. By gift or grant. 9. By contract. 10. By bankruptcy. 11. By testament. 12. By administration.

And, first, a property in goods and chattels may be acquired by *occupancy*: which, we have more than once remarked, (*a*) was the original and only primitive method of acquiring any property at all; but which has since been restrained and abridged, by the positive laws of society, in order to maintain peace and harmony among mankind. For this purpose, by the laws of England, gifts, and contracts, testaments, legacies, and administrations, have been introduced and countenanced, in order to transfer and continue that property and possession in things personal, which has once been acquired by the owner. And, [*401] where such *things are found without any other owner, they for the most part belong to the king by virtue of his prerogative; except in some few instances, wherein the original and natural right of occupancy is still permitted to subsist, and which we are now to consider.

1. Thus, in the first place, it hath been said, that any body may seize to his own use such goods as belong to an alien enemy. (*b*) For such enemies, not being looked upon as members of our society, are not entitled during their state of enmity to the benefit or protection of the laws; and therefore every man that has opportunity is permitted to seize upon their chattels, without being compelled, as in other cases, to make restitution or satisfaction to the owner. But this, however generally laid down by some of our writers, must in reason and justice be restrained to such captors as are authorized by the public authority of the state, residing in the crown; (*c*) and to such goods as are brought into this country by an alien enemy, after a declaration of war, without a safe-conduct or passport. And, therefore, it hath been holden, (*d*) that where a foreigner is resident in England, and afterwards a war breaks out between his country and ours, his goods are not liable to be seized. (1) It hath also been adjudged, that if an enemy take the goods of an Englishman, which are afterwards retaken by another subject of this kingdom, the former owner only shall lose his property therein, and it shall be indefeasibly vested in the second taker; unless they were retaken the same day, and the owner before sunset puts in his claim of property. (*e*) Which is agreeable to the law of nations, as understood in the time of Grotius, (*f*) even with regard to captures made at sea; which were held to be the property of the captors after a possession of twenty-four hours; though [*402] the modern authorities (*g*) require, that before the property can *be changed, the goods must have been brought into port, and have continued a night *intra presidia*, in a place of safe custody, so that all hope of recovering them was lost. (2)

(a) See pages 3. 8, 258.

(b) Finch. L. 178.

(c) Freeman. 40.

(d) Bro. Abr. tit. *propertie*. 38. *forfeiture*. 57.

(e) *Ibid.*

(f) *De j. b. § p. 1. 2. c. 6. § 2.*

(g) Bynkersh. *quest. jur. publ.* 1. 4 *Rocq. de Assecur. not.* 66.

(1) And his right to bring suit upon contracts made during peace is only suspended, not forfeited, by the war. Wheat. Int. Law, pt. 4, ch. 1, § 12.

(2) [By the practice of the law of nations, in order to vest the property, at least of a ship taken at sea, in the captors, a legal sentence of condemnation by a prize court is necessary. 1 Rob. 139; 3 id. 97 and 236.] This is now the law of England, and is regulated by statute 27 and 28 Vic. c. 25.

And, as in the goods of an enemy, so also in his *person*, a man may acquire a sort of qualified property, by taking him a prisoner in war; (*h*) at least till his ransom be paid. (*i*) (3) And this doctrine seems to have been extended to negro servants, (*j*) who are purchased when captives, of the nations with whom they are at war, and are therefore supposed to continue in some degree the property of the masters who buy them: though, accurately speaking, that property (if it indeed continues), consists rather in the perpetual *service*, than in the *body* or *person* of the captive. (*k*)

2. Thus again, whatever movables are found upon the surface of the earth, or in the sea, and are unclaimed by any owner, are supposed to be abandoned by the last proprietor; and, as such, are returned into the common stock and mass of things: and therefore they belong, as in a state of nature, to the first occupant or fortunate finder, unless they fall within the description of waifs, or estrays, or wreck, or hidden treasure; for these, we have formerly seen, (*l*) are vested by law in the king, and form a part of the ordinary revenue of the crown.

3. Thus, too, the benefit of the elements, the light, the air, and the water, can only be appropriated by occupancy. If I have an ancient window (4) overlooking my neighbour's ground, he may not erect any blind to obstruct the light: but if I build my house close to his wall, which darkens it, I cannot compel him to demolish his wall; for there the first occupancy is rather in him than in me. If my neighbour * makes a tan-yard, so as to annoy and render less [*403] salubrious the air of my house and gardens, the law will furnish me with a remedy; but if he is first in possession of the air, and I fix my habitation near him, the nuisance is of my own seeking, and may continue. If a stream be unoccupied, I may erect a mill thereon, and detain the water; yet not so as to injure my neighbour's prior mill, or his meadow: for he hath by the first occupancy acquired a property in the current. (5)

4. With regard, likewise, to animals *feræ naturæ* all mankind had by the original grant of the Creator a right to pursue and take any fowl or insect of the air, any fish or inhabitant of the waters, and any beast or reptile of the field: and this natural right still continues in every individual, unless where it is restrained by the civil laws of the country. And when a man has once so seized them, they become while living his *qualified* property, or if dead, are *absolutely* his own: so that to steal them, or otherwise invade this property, is, according to their respective values, sometimes a criminal offence, sometimes only a civil injury. The restrictions which are laid upon this right, by the laws of England, relate principally to royal fish, as whale and sturgeon, and such terrestrial, aerial, or aquatic animals as go under the denomination of *game*; the taking of which is made the exclusive right of the prince, and such of his subjects to whom he has granted the same royal privilege. (6) But those animals which are not expressly so reserved, are still liable to be taken and appropriated by any of the king's subjects, upon their own territories; in the same manner as they might have taken even game, itself, till these civil prohibitions were issued:

(h) Bro. *Abr. tit. proprietie*, 18.

(i) We meet with a curious writ of trespass in the register (102), for breaking a man's house, and setting such his prisoner at large. "*Quare domum ipsius A. apud W. (in qua idem A. quendam H. Scotum per ipsum A. de guerra captum tanquam prisonem suum, quousque sibi de centum libris, per quas idem H. redemptionem suam cum prefato A. pro vita sua salvanda feceret satisfactum foret, detinuit) fregit, et ipsum H. cepit et abduxit, vel quo voluit abire permisit, &c.*"

(j) 2 Lev. 201.

(k) Carth. 396. Ld. Raym. 147. Salk. 657.

(l) Book I, ch. 8.

(3) In England the ransom of ships, except in cases of necessity to be allowed by the admiralty, is made illegal by statute. See 2 Doug. 649; 3 Taunt. 6.

(4) [The subject of this paragraph does not belong to the head of personal property. Rights to light, air, &c., are not of a personal nature, but are incidents to the enjoyment of real estate; and even easements annexed to the person, or in gross, are real property.] See *ante*, p. 395, note.

(5) See the preceding note. And on the general subject of rights in water courses, see the treatise on that subject by Mr. Angell.

(6) [See this controverted in page 419, note.]

there being in nature no distinction between one species of wild animals and another, between the right of acquiring property in a hare or a squirrel, in a partridge or a butterfly: but the difference, at present made, arises merely from the positive municipal law.

5. To this principle of occupancy, also, must be referred the method of acquiring a special personal property in corn growing on the ground, or other *emblems*, [*404] (*m*) by any *possessor* *of the land who hath sown or planted it, whether he be owner of the inheritance, or of a less estate which emblements are distinct from the real estate in the land, and subject to many, though not all, the incidents attending personal chattels. They were devisable by testament before the statute of wills, (*n*) and at the death of the owner shall vest in his executor and not his heir; they are forfeitable by outlawry in a personal action; (*o*) and by the statute 11 Geo. II, c. 19, though not by the common law, (*p*) they may be distreined for rent arriere. The reason for admitting the acquisition of this special property, by tenants who have temporary interests, was formerly given; (*q*) and it was extended to tenants in fee, principally for the benefit of their creditors: and therefore, though the emblements are assets in the hands of the executor, are forfeitable upon outlawry, and distreinable for rent, they are not in other respects considered as personal chattels; and particularly they are not the object of larceny before they are severed from the ground. (*r*)

6. The doctrine of property arising from *accession* is also grounded on the right of occupancy. By the Roman law, if any given corporeal substance received afterwards an accession by natural or by artificial means, as by the growth of vegetables, the pregnancy of animals, the embroidering of cloth, or the conversion of wood or metal into vessels and utensils, the original owner of the thing was entitled, by his right of possession, to the property of it under such its state of improvement: (*s*) but if the thing itself, by such operation, was changed into a different species, as by making wine, oil, or bread out of another's grapes, olives, or wheat, it belonged to the new operator; who was only to make a satisfaction to the former proprietor for the materials which he had so converted. (*t*) (8) And these doctrines are implicitly [*405] copied and adopted by our Bracton, (*u*) and have since been *confirmed by many resolutions of the courts. (*u*) It hath even been held, that if one takes away and clothes another's wife or son, and afterwards they return

(*m*) Perk. § 512.

(*n*) Bro. Abr. tit. *emblemments*, 21. 5 Rep. 116.

(*o*) 1 Roll. Abr. 686.

(*p*) Pages 122, 146.

(*q*) 3 Inst. 109.

(*r*) Inst. 2, 1, 25, 26, 31. ff. 6, 1, 5.

(*s*) Inst. 2, 1, 25, 34.

(*t*) l. 2, c. 2 and 3.

(*u*) Bro. Abr. tit. *propertie*, 23. Moor. 20. Poph. 38.

(7) [The right to emblements does not seem to be aptly referred to the principle of occupancy; for they are the continuation of an inchoate, and not the acquisition of an original right.]

(8) [This also has long been the law of England; for it is laid down in the Year books, that whatever alteration of form any property has undergone, the owner may seize it in its new shape, if he can prove the identity of the original materials; as if leather be made into shoes, cloth into a coat, or if a tree be squared into timber, or silver melted or beat into a different figure. 5 Hen. VII, fo. 15; 12 Hen. VIII, fo. 10. See also 2 Campb. 576; 15 Ves. 442.]

An intermixture of property by accident, or without the fault of parties, does not deprive either owner of his right; but if the intermixture be intentional, and with fraudulent purpose on the part of the party causing it, and it is impossible afterwards to distinguish what belonged to each, the innocent party shall have all. *Hart v. Ten Eyck*, 2 Johns. Ch. 62; *Willard v. Rice*, 11 Met. 493; *Hesseltine v. Stockwell*, 30 Me. 237; *Jenkins v. Steanka*, 19 Wis. 126. And in a well reasoned case in New York, it has been held, that where a willful trespasser takes corn and converts it into whisky, the property is not changed, and the owner of the corn may reclaim it. *Silsbury v. McCoon*, 3 N. Y. 379. See the valuable brief of Mr. Hill in this case. See also *Snyder v. Vaux*, 2 Rawle, 427; *Riddle v. Driver*, 12 Ala. 590. But where the admixture was not fraudulent, even though done purposely—for example, under a claim of right—the party causing it does not lose his right. *Ryder v. Hathaway*, 21 Pick. 298. Nor in any other case, if the property of each can be afterwards distinguished. *Frost v. Willard*, 9 Barb. 440. Nor would he, even when it could not be distinguished, if the property of each was of the same description, so that an equal quantity to what he before possessed, restored to each from the common mass, would place him substantially *in statu quo*. See *Stephenson v. Little*, 10 Mich. 433; *Seymour v. Wyckoff*, 10 N. Y. 213; *Lupton v. White*, 15 Ves. 442.]

home, the garments shall cease to be his property who provided them, being annexed to the person of the child or woman. (*w*)

7. But in the case of *confusion* of goods, where those of two persons are so intermixed that the several portions can be no longer distinguished, the English law partly agrees with, and partly differs from, the civil. If the intermixture be by consent, I apprehend that in both laws the proprietors have an interest in common, in proportion to their respective shares. (*x*) But if one willfully intermixes his money, corn, or hay, with that of another man, without his approbation or knowledge, or casts gold in like manner into another's melting pot or crucible, the civil law, though it gives the sole property of the whole to him who has not interfered in the mixture, yet allows a satisfaction to the other for what he has so improvidently lost. (*y*) But our law, to guard against fraud, gives the entire property, without any account, to him whose original dominion is invaded, and endeavoured to be rendered uncertain without his own consent. (*z*)

8. There is still another species of property, which (if it subsists by the common law) being grounded on labour and invention, is more properly reducible to the head of occupancy than any other; since the right of occupancy itself is supposed by Mr. Locke, (*a*) and many others, (*b*) to be founded on the personal labour of the occupant. (9) And this is the right which an author may be supposed to have in his own original literary compositions: so that no other person without his leave may publish or make profit of the copies. When a man by the exertion of his rational powers has produced an original work, he seems to have clearly a *right to dispose of that identical work as he pleases, [*406] and any attempt to vary the disposition he has made of it appears to be an invasion of that right. Now the identity of a literary composition consists entirely in the *sentiment* and the *language*; the same conceptions, clothed in the same words, must necessarily be the same composition: and whatever method be taken of exhibiting that composition to the ear or the eye of another, by recital, by writing, or by printing, in any number of copies, or at any period of time, it is always the identical work of the author which is so exhibited; and no other man (it hath been thought) can have a right to exhibit it, especially for profit, without the author's consent. This consent may perhaps be tacitly given to all mankind, when an author suffers his work to be published by another hand, without any claim or reserve of right, and without stamping on it any marks of ownership; it being then a present to the public, like building a church or bridge, or laying out a new highway; but, in case the author sells a single book, or totally grants the copyright, it hath been supposed, in the one case, that the buyer hath no more right to multiply copies of that book for sale, than he hath to imitate for the like purpose the ticket which is bought for admission to an opera or a concert; and that, in the other, the whole property, with all its exclusive rights, is perpetually transferred to the grantee. On the other hand it is urged, that though the exclusive property of the manuscript, and all which it contains, undoubtedly belongs to the author, *before* it is printed or published;

(*w*) Moor. 214.

(*x*) *Inst.* 2, 1, 27, 28. 1 Vern. 217.

(*y*) *Inst.* 2, 1, 28.

(*z*) Poph. 33. 2 Bulstr. 325. 1 Hal. P. C. 513. 3 Vern. 516. (*a*) On Gov. part 2, ch. 5.

(*b*) See page 8.

(9) Mr. Sweet calls attention to the fact that the right to the exclusive use of distinctive trade marks, or of a particular partnership firm, for the purpose of enabling the public to know if it is dealing with or buying the manufactures of a particular person, is somewhat analogous to literary copyright, and though partially founded on the notion of protecting the public from fraud: 3 Myl. and Cr. 338; 8 Sim. 477; is an example of a right much more evidently arising out of occupancy. And he cites 3 Doug. 293; 3 B. and C. 541; 2 Ves. and B. 218; 2 Keen, 213; 3 Myl. and Cr. 1, 338; 5 Scott, N. S. 562. The court of chancery will restrain the violation of a trade mark: *Motley v. Downman*, 3 Myl. and Cr. 1; *Millington v. Fox*, ib. 333; *Perry v. Truefelt*, 6 Beav. 66; *Franks v. Weaver*, 10 Beav. 297; *Sexio v. Provezende*, Law Rep. 1 Ch. Ap. 192; *Barrows v. Knight*, 6 R. I. 434; *Devinger v. Plate*, 29 Cal. 292; *Kerr on Injunctions* (by Herrick), 474, *et seq.* But not where the trade mark itself is an imposition, and designed for purposes of fraud. *Clark v. Freeman*, 10 Beav. 112; *Stewart v. Smithson*, 1 Hilt. 119; *Kerr on Injunctions*, 481.

yet, from the instant of publication, the exclusive right of an author or his assigns to the sole communication of his ideas immediately vanishes and evaporates; as being a right of too subtle and unsubstantial a nature to become the subject of property at the common law, and only capable of being guarded by positive statutes and special provisions of the magistrate.

The Roman law adjudged, that if one man wrote anything on the paper or parchment of another, the writing should belong to the owner of the blank materials: (*c*) meaning thereby the mechanical operation of writing, for which [*407] it directed the *scribe to receive a satisfaction; for in works of genius and invention, as in painting on another man's canvas, the same law (*d*) gave the canvas to the painter. As to any other property in the works of the understanding, the law is silent; though the sale of literary copies, for the purposes of recital or multiplication, is certainly as ancient as the times of Terence, (*e*) Martial, (*f*) and Statius. (*g*) Neither with us in England hath there been (till very lately) any final (*h*) determination upon the right of authors at the common law. (10)

(*c*) *Si in chartis membranisque tuis carmen vel historiam vel orationem Titius scripsit, hujus corporis non Titius sed tu dominus esse videris.* Inst. 2, 1, 33. See page 401.

(*d*) *Ibid.* § 34.

(*e*) *Prol. in Eunuch.* 20

(*f*) *Epigr.* 1. 67, iv. 72, xiii, 3, xiv, 194.

(*g*) *Juv.* vii, 83.

(*h*) Since this was first written, it was determined, in the case of *Miller v. Taylor*. In *B. R. Pasch.* 9 Geo. III, 1768, that an exclusive and permanent copyright in authors subsisted by the common law. But afterwards, in the case of *Donaldson v. Becket*, before the house of lords, 22 Febr. 1774, it was held that no copyright now subsists in authors, after the expiration of the several terms created by the statute of Queen Anne.

(10) [For the history of the law of copyright see Lowndes on Copyright, and *Miller v. Taylor*, 4 Burr. 2303. In that case it was decided that the authors had, by the common law, a perpetual copyright in their works, and that the statute of Anne, without interfering with this right, gave them additional remedies during a certain term. But this doctrine was overruled in the house of lords in *Donaldson v. Becket*, 4 Burr. 2403; and it was held that the statute of Anne had entirely taken away the common law copyright.

The statute 5 and 6 Vic. c. 45, now regulates copyright and limits its duration to the period of forty-two years from the first publication, or the period of the life of the author, and the seven years next following his death, whichever is the longest. The copyright of articles contributed to an encyclopedia, review, or other periodical work, is, in certain cases, to belong to the projector, publisher or proprietor of such work, subject to the right of any contributor under any contract, express or implied, to publish his own contributions separately. A copy of every book is directed to be delivered at the British Museum within a month of the time of publication, and, after demand, copies are to be delivered to the Stationers' Company for the use of the Bodleian, Cambridge, Advocates, and Trinity College, Dublin, libraries.

The Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and the Colleges of Eton, Westminster, and Winchester, enjoy a perpetual, unalienable copyright in such works as have been or may be given or bequeathed to them by the author or his representatives, such books not having been previously published or assigned. Statute 10 Geo. III, c. 53.

The statute 1 and 2 Vic. c. 59, (the International Copyright Act) authorizes the queen, by order in council, to grant a copyright in any book published abroad, to the author and his representatives and assignees. As to the copyright in books composed and published abroad, independently of this act, see 2 Sim. 237; 5 id. 395; 10 id. 329; 1 You. and C. 288; 4 id. 485; 2 B. and Cr. 861; 9 Law J., N. S. Ch. 227.

The copyright of an unprinted and unpublished work may subsist for any length of time in the proprietor for the time being of the original manuscript. *Ambl.* 694; 2 Eden, 329; 2 Meriv. 435; 4 Burr. 2330; 1 Chit. 26; 2 Ves. and B. 23. It seems that the receiver of a letter, though he may keep the original, has no right to publish copies, unless for the purpose of vindicating his character, &c. 2 Atk. 342; *Ambl.* 737; 2 Ves. and B. 19; 2 Swanst. 402.

Upon the principle that no rights can originate in an act which is illegal or against public policy, it has been decided, with more of legal soundness than of good policy, that there is no copyright in a work which the court may consider to be detrimental to good morals or religion; so that assistance is refused even to the author himself wishing to suppress a work of this nature. 2 Meriv. 437; 2 Camp. 30; 5 B. and Cr. 173; *Jac.* 471.]

As to copyright in dramatic pieces, see statute 3 and 4 William IV, c. 15; 1 Ad. and El. 580; 5 Scott, 242; 8 C. and P. 68, 78; in musical compositions, see statute 5 and 6 Vic. c. 45; in lectures, see statute 5 and 6 William IV, c. 65; in designs for sculpture and articles of manufacture, see statute 38 Geo. III, c. 71; 54 Geo. III, c. 56; 5 and 6 Vic. c. 100; 6 and 7 Vic. c. 65.

A foreigner is entitled to the copyright of a work composed by him, which is first published in England. *Boosey v. Davidson*, 13 Q. B. 257; *Boosey v. Jeffery*, 6 Exch. 580; *Low v. Routledge*, Law Rep. 1 Ch. Ap. Cas. 42.

But whatever inherent copyright might have been supposed to subsist by the common law, the statute 8 Ann. c. 19, (amended by statute 15 Geo. III, c. 53,) hath now declared that the author and his assigns shall have the sole liberty of printing and reprinting his works for the term of fourteen years, *and no longer*; (i) and hath also protected that property by additional penalties and forfeitures: directing farther, that if, at the end of that term, the author himself be living, the right shall then return to him for another term of the same duration; and a similar privilege is extended to the inventors of prints and engravings, for the term of eight-and-twenty years, by the statute 8 Geo. II, c. 13, and 7 Geo. III, c. 38, besides an action for damages, with double costs, by statute 17 Geo. III, c. 57. All which parliamentary protections appear to have been suggested by the exception in the statute of monopolies. 21 Jac. I, c. 3, which allows a royal *patent* of privilege to be granted for fourteen years to any inventor of a new manufacture, for the sole working or making of the same; by virtue whereof it is held, that a temporary property therein becomes vested in the king's patentee. (k) (11)

(i) By statute 15 Geo. III, c. 53, some additional privileges in this respect are granted to the universities, and certain other learned societies.

(k) 1 Vern. 62.

On the general subject of copyright, see Williams Pers. Prop. 224; 2 Kent, 373; Curtis on Copyright, and the leading American case of *Wheaton v. Peters*, 8 Pet. 591. The act of congress of Feb. 4, 1831, (4 Stat. 436), secures to the authors of books, maps, charts, and musical compositions, and to the inventors and designers of prints, cuts and engravings, being citizens of the United States or residents therein, the exclusive right of printing, publishing and vending them for the term of twenty-eight years from the time of recording the title thereof, with a renewal of the right at the end of the term to themselves, if living, or to their widows and children, for a further term of fourteen years, on complying with the conditions of the act. The act of Feb. 5, 1859 (11 Stat. 380), extends the privilege of copyright to photographs and the negatives thereof, and makes some changes in the requisites to perfect the right.

That the writer of a letter has such a property in it, as will enable him to enjoin its publication without his consent, see *Woolsey v. Judd*, 4 Duer, 379, and *Brandreth v. Lance*, 8 Paige, 24.

(11) [When the crown, on behalf of the public, grants letters patent, the grantee thereby enters into a contract with the crown, in the benefit of which contract the public are participants; under certain restrictions, affording a reasonable recompense to the grantee, the use of his invention, improvement, and employment of capital, is communicated to the public. If any infringement of a patent be attempted, after there has been an undisputed enjoyment by the patentee under the grant for a considerable time, courts of equity will deem it a less inconvenience to issue an injunction until the right can be determined at law, then to refuse such preventive interference, merely because it is possible the grant of the crown may, upon investigation, prove to be invalid. Such a question is not to be considered as it affects the parties on the record alone; for, unless the injunction issues, *any* person might violate the patent, and the consequence would be, that the patentee must be ruined by litigation. *Harmer v. Playne*, 14 Ves. 132; *Universities of Oxford and Cambridge v. Richardson*, 6 id. 707; *Williams v. Williams*, 3 Meriv. 160. But, if the patent be a very recent one, and its validity is disputed, an injunction will not be granted before the patentee has established his legal right. *Hill v. Thompson*, 3 id. 624.

The grant of a patent, as already stated, is in the nature of a purchase for the public, to whom the patentee is bound to communicate a free participation in the benefit of his invention, at the expiration of the time limited; *Williams v. Williams*, 3 Meriv. 160: if, therefore, the specification of a patent be not so clear as to enable all the world to use the invention, and all persons of reasonable skill in such matters to copy it, as soon as the term for which it has been granted is at an end, this is a fraud upon the public, and the patent cannot be sustained. *Newbury v. James*, 2 Meriv. 451; *Ex Parte Fox*, 1 Ves. and Bea. 67; *Turner v. Winter*, 1 T. R. 605; *Harmer v. Playne*, 11 East, 107. If a patentee seek, by his specification, more than he is strictly entitled to, his patent is thereby rendered ineffectual, even to the extent to which he would otherwise be entitled. *Hill v. Thompson*, 3 Meriv. 629; *Harmer v. Playne*, 14 Ves. 135.

When a person has invented certain improvements upon an engine, or other subject, for which a patent has been granted, and those improvements cannot be used without the original engine; at the expiration of the patent for such original engine, a patent may be taken out for the improvements; but, before that time, there can be no right to make use of the *substratum* protected by the first patent. *Ex Parte Fox*, 1 Ves. and Bea. 67. And, where industry and ingenuity have been exerted in annexing to the subject of a patent, improvements of such a nature that their value gives an additional value to the old machine; though a patent may be obtained for such improvements; yet, if the public choose to use the original machine

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF TITLE BY PREROGATIVE AND FORFEITURE.

A SECOND method of acquiring property in personal chattels is by the *king's prerogative*; whereby a right may accrue either to the crown itself, or to such as claim under the title of the crown, as by the king's grant, or by prescription, which supposes an ancient grant.

Such, in the first place, are all *tributes, taxes, and customs*, whether constitutionally inherent in the crown, as flowers of the prerogative and branches of the *census regalis* or ancient royal revenue, or whether they be occasionally created by authority of parliament; of both which species of revenue we treated largely in the former book. In these the king acquires and the subject loses a property, the instant they become due; if paid, they are a *chose* in possession; if unpaid, a *chose* in action. Hither also may be referred all forfeitures, fines, and amercements due to the king, which accrue by virtue of his ancient prerogative, or by particular modern statutes: which revenues created by statute do always assimilate, or take the same nature, with the ancient revenues; and may therefore be looked upon as arising from a kind of artificial or secondary prerogative. And, in either case, the owner of the thing forfeited, and the person fined or amerced, lose and part with the property of the forfeiture, fine, or amercement, the instant the king or his grantee acquires it.

[*409] *In these several methods of acquiring property by prerogative there is also this peculiar quality, that the king cannot have a *joint* property with any person in one entire chattel, or such a one as is not capable of division or separation; but where the titles of the king and a subject concur, the king shall have the whole: in like manner as the king cannot, either by grant or contract, become a joint-tenant of a chattel real with another person; (a) but by such grant or contract shall become entitled to the whole in severalty. Thus, if a horse be given to the king and a private person, the king shall have the sole property: if a bond be made to the king and a subject, the king shall have the whole penalty; the debt or duty being one single chattel; (b) and so, if two persons have the property of a horse between them, or have a joint debt owing

(a) See page 184.

(b) Fitzh. *Abr. t. dette*, 38. Plowd. 243.

without the improvements, they may do so without restriction, at the expiration of the original grant; if the public will abstain from the use of the first invention, in consideration of the superior advantages of the improved instrument, it is well; but the choice must be left open. *Harmer v. Playne*, 14 Ves. 134.

The Patent Amendment Act, 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83, now regulates the terms upon which letters patent may be granted. By this statute the fees which it was formerly necessary to pay, upon obtaining a patent, have been greatly reduced, and the payment of them is spread over the space of several years; so that, if an invention be not found lucrative, the patent may be discontinued and the fees saved. Letters patent granted under this act contain a condition that the same shall be void at the end of three years, unless a fee of 40*l.* with 10*l.* stamp duty, be then paid; and again at the end of seven years from the grant, unless a fee of 80*l.* and 20*l.* stamp duty be paid.

The statute 5 and 6 Wm. IV, c. 83, authorized a prolongation of the original term, not exceeding seven years, to be given on the recommendation of the judicial committee of the privy council; and by statute 7 and 8 Vic. c. 69, a further term, not exceeding fourteen years, may be granted, if it be shown that the inventor has not been remunerated during the former period for the expense and labor incurred in perfecting his invention.]

Letters patent granted by the United States are now granted for seventeen years, and are not allowed to be afterwards extended. Act of Congress of March 2, 1861, 12 Stat. 246. Any citizen or any alien who has resided one year in the United States, and taken an oath of intention to become a citizen, may patent any new and original design or manufacture, either for three and a half, seven, or fourteen years, on payment of a fee of ten dollars for the first term, fifteen for the second, and thirty for the third period, and of this there may be an extension for seven years. The fees payable to obtain patents are, on filing the original application, fifteen dollars, and on issuing the patent twenty dollars. There is also a fee of ten dollars on filing a caveat.

On the subject in general, see the elaborate treatise on patents by Curtis.

them on bond, and one of them assigns his part to the king, or is attainted, whereby his moiety is forfeited to the crown; the king shall have the entire horse, and entire debt. (c) For, as it is not consistent with the dignity of the crown to be partner with a subject, so neither does the king ever lose his right in any instance; but where they interfere, his is always preferred to that of another person; (d) from which two principles it is a necessary consequence, that the innocent though unfortunate partner must lose his share in both the debt and the horse, or in any other chattel in the same circumstances. (1)

This doctrine has no opportunity to take place in certain other instances of title by prerogative that remain to be mentioned; as the chattels thereby vested are originally and solely vested in the crown without any transfer or derivative assignment either by deed or law from any former proprietor. Such is the acquisition of property in wreck, in treasure-trove, in waifs, in estrays, in royal fish, in swans, and the *like; which are not *transferred* to the sovereign [*410] from any former owner, but are originally *inherent* in him by the rules of law, and are derived to particular subjects, as royal franchises, by his bounty. These are ascribed to him, partly upon the particular reasons mentioned in the eighth chapter of the former book; and partly upon the general principle of their being *bona vacantia*, and therefore vested in the king, as well to preserve the peace of the public, as in trust to employ them for the safety and ornament of the commonwealth.

There is also a kind of prerogative *copyright* subsisting in certain books, which is held to be vested in the crown upon different reasons. Thus, 1. The king, as the executive magistrate, has the right of promulgating to the people all acts of state and government. This gives him the exclusive privilege of printing, at his own press, or that of his grantees, all *acts of parliament proclamations* and *orders of council*. 2. As supreme head of the church, he hath a right to the publication of all *liturgies* and books of *divine service*. 3. He is also said to have a right by purchase to the copies of such *law-books, grammars*, and other compositions, as were compiled or translated at the expense of the crown. And upon these two last principles, combined, the exclusive right of printing the translation of the *Bible* is founded. (2)

There still remains another species of prerogative property, founded upon a very different principle from any that have been mentioned before; the property of such animals *feræ naturæ*, as are known by the denomination of *game*, with the right of pursuing, taking, and destroying them: which is vested in the king alone, and from him derived to such of his subjects as have received the grants of a chase, a park, a free warren, or free fishery. This may lead us into an inquiry concerning the original of these franchises, or royalties, on which we touched a little in a former chapter: (f) the *right itself being an [*411] incorporeal hereditament, though the fruits and profits of it are of a personal nature.

In the first place, then, we have already shown, and indeed it cannot be denied, that by the law of nature every man, from the prince to the peasant, has an equal right of pursuing, and taking to his own use, all such creatures as are *feræ naturæ*, and therefore the property of nobody, but liable to be seized by the first occupant. And so it was held by the imperial law, even so late as Justinian's time: "*Feræ igiturbestię, et volucres, et omnia animalia quę mari,*

(c) Cro. Eliz. 263. Plowd. 323. Finch, Law, 178. 10 Mod. 245.

(d) Co. Litt. 30.

(f) Pages 38, 39.

(1) [If a joint tenant in any chattel interest commits suicide, the right to the whole chattel becomes vested in the king. Plowd 262, Eng. ed. But in favor of commercial interests, it has been holden, that on an extent, or extent in aid, against one of several parties, only the beneficial interest in that one can be taken. 1 Wightw. 50; Chitty Prerog. Cr. 287.]

(2) [However, it seems to be agreed now that both the Bible and statutes may be printed by others than those deriving the right from the grant of the crown, provided such edition comprises *bona fide* notes; but with this exception the sole right to print these works is now vested in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the patentees of the crown. Baskett v. Cambridge University, 2 Burr. 661.]

cælo, et terra nascuntur, simul atque ab aliquo capta fuerint, jure gentium statim illius esse incipiunt. Quod enim nullius est, id naturali ratione occupanti conceditur." (g) But it follows from the very end and constitution of society, that this natural right as well as many others belonging to a man as an individual, may be restrained by positive laws enacted for reasons of state, or for the supposed benefit of the community. This restriction may be either with respect to the *place* in which this right may or may not be exercised; with respect to the *animals* that are the subject to this right; or with respect to the *persons* allowed or forbidden to exercise it. And, in consequence of this authority, we find that the municipal laws of many nations have exerted such power of restraint; have in general forbidden the entering on another man's grounds, for any cause, without the owner's leave; have extended their protection to such particular animals as are usually the objects of pursuit; and have invested the prerogative of hunting and taking such animals in the sovereign of the state only, and such as he shall authorize. (h) Many reasons have concurred for making these constitutions: as, 1. For the encouragement of agriculture and improvement of lands, by giving every man an exclusive dominion over his own soil. 2. For preservation of the several species of these animals, which would soon be extirpated by general liberty. 3. For prevention of idleness and dissipation in husbandman, artificers, and *others of lower rank; which [*412] would be the unavoidable consequence of universal license. 4. For prevention of popular insurrections and resistance to the government, by disarming the bulk of the people; (i) which last, is a reason oftener meant than avowed by the makers of forest or game laws. (3) Nor, certainly, in these prohibitions is there any *natural* injustice, as some have weakly enough supposed; since, as Puffendorff observes, the law does not hereby take from any man his present property, or what was already his own, but barely abridges him of one means of acquiring a future property, that of occupancy; which indeed the law of nature would allow him, but of which the laws of society have in most instances very justly and reasonably deprived him.

Yet, however defensible these provisions in general may be, on the footing of reason, or justice, or civil policy, we must, notwithstanding, acknowledge that, in their present shape, they owe their immediate original to slavery. It is not till after the irruption of the northern nations into the Roman empire, that we read of any other prohibitions, than that natural one of not sporting on any private grounds without the owner's leave; and another of a more spiritual nature, which was rather a rule of ecclesiastical discipline, than a branch of municipal law. The Roman or civil law, though it knew no restriction as to *persons* or *animals*, so far regarded the article of *place*, that it allowed no man to hunt or sport upon another's ground, but by consent of the owner of the soil. "*Qui alienum fundum ingreditur venandi aut aucupandi gratia, potest a domino prohiberi ne ingreditur.*" (k) For if there can by the law of nature, be any inchoate imperfect property supposed in wild animals before they are taken, it seems most reasonable to fix it in him upon whose lands they are found. And as to the other restriction, which relates to *persons* and not to *place*, the pontifical or canon law (l) interdicts, "*venationes, et sylvaticas vagationes cum canibus et accipitribus,*" to all *clergymen* without distinction; grounded on [*413] *a saying of St. Jerome, (m) that it is never recorded that these diversions were used by the saints, or primitive fathers. And the canons of our Saxon church, published in the reign of King Edgar, (n) concur in the

(g) *Inst.* 2, 1, § 12.(h) *Puff. L. N. l.* 4, c. 6, § 5.

(i) Warburton's Alliance, 324.

(k) *Inst.* 2, 1, § 12.(l) *Decretal.* l. 5, tit. 24, c. 2.(m) *Decret. part* 1, dist. 34, l. 1.(n) *Cap.* 64.

(3) [I am inclined to think that this reason did not operate upon the minds of those who framed the game laws of this country; for in several ancient statutes the avowed object is to encourage the use of the long bow, the most effective armour then in use; and even since the modern practice of killing game with a gun has prevailed, every one is at liberty to keep or carry a gun, if he does not use it for the destruction of game. CHRISTIAN.]

same prohibition: though our secular laws, at least after the conquest did, even in the times of popery, dispense with this canonical impediment; and spiritual persons were allowed by the common law to hunt for their recreation, in order to render them fitter for the performance of their duty: as a confirmation whereof we may observe, that it is to this day a branch of the king's prerogative, at the death of every bishop, to have his kennel of hounds, or a composition in lieu thereof. (o)

But, with regard to the rise and original of our present civil prohibitions, it will be found that all forest and game laws were introduced into Europe at the same time, and by the same policy, as gave birth to the feudal system; when those swarms of barbarians issued from their northern hive, and laid the foundation of most of the present kingdoms of Europe on the ruins of the western empire. For when a conquering general came to settle the economy of a vanquished country, and to part it out among his soldiers or feudatories, who were to render him military service for such donations; it behooved him, in order to secure his new acquisitions, to keep the *rustici*, or natives of the country, and all who were not his military tenants, in as low a condition as possible, and especially to prohibit them the use of arms. Nothing could do this more effectually than a prohibition of hunting and sporting, and therefore it was the policy of the conqueror to reserve this right to himself, and such on whom he should bestow it: which were only his capital feudatories or greater barons. And accordingly we find, in the feudal constitutions, (p) one and the same law prohibiting the *rustici* in general from carrying arms, and also proscribing the use of nets, snares or other engines for destroying the game. *This exclusive privilege well suited the martial genius of the conquering troops who delighted in a sport, (q) which, in its pursuit [*414] and slaughter, bore some resemblance to war. *Vita omnis* (says Cæsar, speaking of the ancient Germans) *in venationibus atque instudiis reimilitaris consistit*. (r) And Tacitus in like manner observes, that *quoties bella non ineunt, multum venatibus plus per otium transigunt*. (s) And indeed, like some of their modern successors, they had no other amusement to entertain their vacant hours; despising all arts as effeminate, and having no other learning, than was couched in such rude ditties as were sung at the solemn carousals which succeeded these ancient huntings. And it is remarkable that, in those nations where the feudal policy remains the most uncorrupted, the forest or game laws continue in their highest rigour. In France all game is properly the king's; (4) and in some parts of Germany it is death for a peasant to be found hunting in the woods of the nobility. (t)

With us in England, also, hunting has ever been esteemed a most princely diversion and exercise. The whole island was replenished with all sorts of game in the time of the Britons; who lived in a wild and pastoral manner, without enclosing or improving their grounds, and derived much of their subsistence from the chase, which they all enjoyed in common. But when husbandry took place under the Saxon government, and lands began to be cultivated, improved, and enclosed, the beasts naturally fled into the woody and desert tracts; which were called the forests, and, having never been disposed of in the first distribution of lands, were therefore held to belong to the crown. These were filled with great plenty of game, which our royal sportsmen reserved for their own diversion, on pain of a pecuniary *forfeiture for such as interfered with [*415] their sovereign. But every freeholder had the full liberty of sporting

(o) 4 Inst. 309.

(p) *Feud. l. 2, tit. 27, § 5.*

(q) In the laws of Jenghiz Khan, founder of the Mogul and Tartarian empire, published A. D. 1205, there is one which prohibits the killing of all game from March to October; that the court of soldiery might find plenty enough in the winter, during their recess from war. (*Mod. Univ. Hist. iv, 468.*)

(r) *De Bell. Gall. l. 6, c. 20.*

(s) *C. 15.*

(t) *Mattheus de Crimin. c. 3, tit. 1.*

Carpzov. Practic Saxonie. p. 2, c. 84.

(4) [One of the first consequences of the French revolution was the repeal of the ancient game laws, which took place in 1789. Since which their system of jurisprudence with respect to game, has been very much altered. See Code Penal, 28, 42.]

upon his own territories, provided he abstained from the king's forests: as is fully expressed in the laws of Canute, (u), and of Edward the Confessor: (v) "*Sit quilibet homo dignus venatione sua, in sylva, et in agris, sibi propriis, et in dominio suo: et absteineat omnis homo a venariis regiis, ubicunque pacem eis habere voluerit.*" which indeed was the ancient law of the Scandinavian continent, from whence Canute probably derived it. "*Cuique enim in proprio fundo quamlibet feram quoquo modo venari permissum.*" (w)

However, upon the Norman conquest, a new doctrine took place; and the right of pursuing and taking all beasts of chase or *venary*, and such other animals as were accounted *game*, was then held to belong to the king, or to such only as were authorized under him. And this, as well upon the principles of the feudal law, that the king is the ultimate proprietor of all the lands in the kingdom, they being all held to him as the chief lord, or lord paramount of the fee; and that therefore he has the right of the universal soil, to enter thereon, and to chase and take such creatures at his pleasure: as also upon another maxim of the common law, which we have frequently cited and illustrated, that these animals are *bona vacantia*, and having no other owner, belong to the king by his prerogative. As therefore the former reason was held to vest in the king a *right* to pursue and take them anywhere; the latter was supposed to give the king, and such as he should authorize, a *sole* and *exclusive* right.

This right, thus newly vested in the crown, was exerted with the utmost rigour, at and after the time of the Norman establishment: not only in the ancient forests, but in the new ones which the conqueror made, by laying together vast *tracts of country depopulated for that purpose, and reserved [*416] solely for the king's royal diversion; in which were exercised the most horrid tyrannies and oppressions, under colour of forest law, for the sake of preserving the beasts of chase: to kill any of which, within the limits of the forest, was as penal as the death of a man. And in pursuance of the same principle, King John laid a total interdict upon the *winged* as well as the *four-footed* creation: "*capturam avium per totam Angliam interdixit.*" (x) The cruel and insupportable hardships which those forest laws created to the subject, occasioned our ancestors to be as zealous for their reformation, as for the relaxation of the feudal rigours, and the other exactions introduced by the Norman family, and accordingly we find the immunities of *carta de foresta* as warmly contended for, and extorted from the king with as much difficulty, as those of *magna carta* itself. By this charter, confirmed in parliament (y) many forests were disafforested, or stripped of their oppressive privileges, and regulations were made in the regimen of such as remained; particularly (z) killing the king's deer was made no longer a capital offense, but only punished by a fine, imprisonment, or abjuration of the realm. And by a variety of subsequent statutes, together with the long acquiescence of the crown without exerting the forest laws, this prerogative is now become no longer a grievance to the subject.

But, as the king reserved to himself the *forests* for his own exclusive diversion, so he granted out from time to time other tracts of land to his subjects, under the names of *chases* or *parks*, (a) or gave them license to make such in their own grounds; which indeed are smaller forests, in the hands of a subject, but not governed by the forest laws: and by the common law no person is at liberty to take or kill any beasts of chase, but such as hath an ancient chase or park; unless they be also beasts of prey.

[*417] *As to all inferior species of game, called beasts and fowls of warren, the liberty of taking or killing them is another franchise of royalty, derived likewise from the crown, and called *free warren*; a word which signifies preservation or custody: as the exclusive liberty of taking and killing fish in a public stream or river is called a *free-fishery*: of which, however, no new franchise can at present be granted, by the express provision of *magna carta*, c. 16. (b)

(u) C. 77.

(v) C. 36.

(w) Stermhook *de jure Sueon.* l. 2, c. 8.

(x) M. Paris, 303.

(y) 9 Hen. III.

(z) Cap. 10.

(a) See page 38.

(b) Murr. c. 5, § 2. See page 40.

The principal intention of granting to any one these franchises or liberties was in order to protect the game by giving the grantee a sole and exclusive power of killing it himself, provided he prevented other persons. And no man, but he who has a chase or free warren, by grant from the crown, or prescription, which supposes one, can justify hunting or sporting upon another man's soil; nor indeed, in thorough strictness of common law, either hunting or sporting at all.

However novel this doctrine may seem to such as call themselves *qualified* sportsmen, it is a regular consequence from what has been before delivered; that the sole right of taking and destroying game belongs exclusively to the king. This appears, as well from the historical deduction here made, as because he may grant to his subjects an exclusive right of taking them; which he could not do, unless such a right was first inherent in himself. And hence it will follow, that no person whatever, but he who has such derivative right from the crown is by common law entitled to take or kill any beasts of chase, or other game whatsoever. It is true that, by the acquiescence of the crown, the frequent grants of free warren in ancient times, and the introduction of new penalties of late by certain statutes for preserving the game, this exclusive prerogative of the king is little known or considered; every man that is exempted from these modern penalties, looking upon himself as at liberty to do what he pleases with the game; whereas the contrary is strictly true, that no man, however well *qualified* he *may vulgarly be esteemed, has a right to encroach on the [*418] royal prerogative by the killing of game, unless he can show a particular grant of free warren; or a prescription, which presumes a grant; or some authority under an act of parliament. As for the latter, I recollect but two instances wherein an *express permission* to kill game was ever given by statute; the one by 1 Jac. I, cap. 27, altered by 7 Jac. I, cap 11, and virtually repealed by 22 and 23 Car. II, c. 25, which gave authority, so long as they remained in force, to the owners of free warren, to lords of manors, and to all freeholders having 40*l.* *per annum* in lands of inheritance, or 80*l.* for life or lives, or 400*l.* personal estate (and their servants), to take partridges and pheasants upon their own, or their master's free warren, inheritance, or freehold; the other by 5 Ann. c. 14, which empowers lords and ladies of manors to appoint *game-keepers* to kill game for the use of such lord or lady; which, with some alteration, still subsists, and plainly supposes such power not to have been in them before. The truth of the matter is, that these game laws (of which we shall have occasion to speak again in the fourth book of these Commentaries) do indeed *qualify* nobody, except in the instance of a game-keeper, to kill game; but only, to save the trouble and formal process of an action by the person injured, who perhaps, too, might remit the offence, these statutes inflict *additional* penalties, to be recovered either in a regular or a summary way, by any of the king's subjects, from certain persons of inferior rank who may be found offending in this particular. But it does not follow that persons excused from these additional penalties, are therefore *authorized* to kill game. The circumstance of having 100*l.* *per annum*, and the rest, are not properly qualifications, but exemptions. And these persons, so exempted from the penalties of the game statutes, are not only liable to actions of trespass by the owners of the land; but also, if they kill game within the limits of any royal franchise, they are liable to the actions of such who may have the right of chase or free warren therein. (5)

(5) [The game laws were revised in 1831, by statute 1 and 2 William IV, c. 32, which allowed any person who purchased a certificate or license to kill game upon his own land, or on the land of any other person with his permission—thus doing away with the qualification of birth or estate. Persons sporting without license are still liable to a penalty, except that by statute 11 and 12 Vic. c. 29, and c. 30, the owner or occupier of enclosed grounds, having a right to kill game thereon, may kill hares, either in person or by any one authorized by him in writing, without taking out a game certificate. The law is very severe against persons not authorized, who take and destroy game by night, or are found in possession of any which appears to have been recently killed. A license is also required to entitle one to sell game.]

[*419] *Upon the whole it appears, that the king, by his prerogative, and such persons as have, under his authority, the royal franchises of chase, park, free warren, or free fishery, are the *only* persons who may acquire any property, however fugitive and transitory, in these animals *feræ naturæ*, while living; which is said to be vested in them, as was observed in a former chapter, *propter privilegium*. (6) And it must also be remembered, that such persons as may thus lawfully hunt, fish, or fowl, *ratione privilegii*, have, (as has been said) only a qualified property in these animals; it not being absolute or permanent, but lasting only so long as the creatures remain within the limits of such respective franchise or liberty, and ceasing the instant they voluntarily pass out of it. It is held, indeed, that if a man starts any game within his own grounds, and follows it into another's and kills it there, the property remains in himself. (c) And this is grounded on reason and natural justice: (d) for the property consists in the possession; which possession commences by the finding it in his own liberty, and is continued by the immediate pursuit. And so if a stranger starts game in one man's chase or free warren, and hunts it into another liberty, the property continues in the owner of the chase or warren; this property arising from privilege, (e) and not being changed by the act of a mere stranger. Or if a man starts game on another's private grounds and kills it there, the property belongs to him in whose ground it was killed, because it was also started there; (f) the property arising *ratione soli*. Whereas, if, after being started there, it is killed in the grounds of a third person, the property belongs not to the owner of the first ground, because the property is local; nor yet to the owner of the second, because it was not started in his soil; but it vests in the person who started and killed it, (g) though guilty of a trespass against both the owners. (7)

[*420] *III. I proceed now to a third method, whereby a title to goods and chattels may be acquired and lost, viz.: by *forfeiture*; as a punishment for some crime or misdemeanor in the party forfeiting, and as a compensation for the offence and injury committed against him to whom they are forfeited. Of forfeitures, considered as the means whereby *real* property might be lost and acquired, we treated in a former chapter. (h) It remains, therefore, in this place only to mention by what means or for what offences, goods and chattels become liable to forfeiture.

In the variety of penal laws with which the subject is at present encumbered, it were a tedious and impracticable task to reckon up the various forfeitures, inflicted by special statutes, for particular crimes and misdemeanors; some of which are *mala in se*, or offences against the divine law, either natural or revealed; but by far the greatest part are *mala prohibita*, or such as derive their guilt merely from their prohibition by the laws of the land: such as is the forfeiture of 40s. per month by the statute 5 Eliz. c. 4, for exercising a trade without having served seven years as an apprentice thereto; and the forfeiture of 10*l.* by 9 Ann. c. 23, for printing an almanack without a stamp. (8) I shall

(c) 11 Mod. 75.

(f) Lord Raym. 251.

(d) Puff. L. N. l. 4, c. 6.

(g) Farr. 18. Lord Raym. 251.

(e) Lord Raym. 251.

(h) See page 267.

In America no similar laws exist. There are laws prohibiting the destruction of game in the breeding season, or in seasons when it is unfit for market, but it is no part of their purpose to enforce discrimination against any class of persons, or to preserve game for any other purpose than the general benefit.

(6) Mr. Christian controverts this doctrine—and Mr. Justice Coleridge thinks successfully—in a learned and somewhat lengthy note, but the importance of the subject does not appear sufficient to warrant its republication. Mr. Hovenden thinks the statute 1 and 2 Wm. IV, c. 32, in doing away with the qualification previously required, has recognized the correctness of Mr. Christian's position.

(7) [These distinctions never could have existed, if the doctrine had been true that all the game was the property of the king: for in that case the maxim, *in æquali jure potior est conditio possidentis*, must have prevailed.]

(8) These forfeitures are now abolished.

therefore, confine myself to those offences only, by which *all* the goods and chattels of the offender are forfeited: referring the student for such, where pecuniary mulcts of different quantities are inflicted, to their several proper heads, under which very many of them have been or will be mentioned; or else to the collections of Hawkins, and Burn, and other laborious compilers. Indeed, as most of these forfeitures belong to the crown, they may seem as if they ought to have been referred to the preceding method of acquiring personal property, namely, by prerogative. But as, in the instance of partial forfeitures, a moiety often goes to the informer, the poor, or sometimes to other persons; and as one total forfeiture, namely, that by a bankrupt who is guilty of felony by *concealing his effects, accrues entirely to his creditors, I have therefore [*421] made it a distinct head of transferring property.

Goods and chattels, then, are totally forfeited by conviction of *high treason* or *misprision* of treason; (9) of *petit treason*; (10) of *felony* in general, and particularly of *felony de se*, and of *manslaughter*; nay, even by conviction of *excusable homicide*; (i) by *outlawry* for treason or felony; by conviction of *petit larceny*; (11) by *flight*, in treason or felony, even though the party be acquitted of the fact; (12) by *standing mute*, when arraigned of *felony*; by *drawing a weapon on a judge*, or *striking any one in the presence of the king's courts*; by *præmunire*; by *pretended prophecies*, upon a second conviction; by *owling*; by the *residing abroad* of artificers; (13) and by *challenging to fight* on account of money won at gaming. All these offences, as will more fully appear in the fourth book of these Commentaries, induce a total forfeiture of goods and chattels.

And this forfeiture commences from the time of *conviction*, not the time of committing the fact, as in forfeiture of real property. For chattels are of so vague and fluctuating a nature, that to affect them by any relation back, would be attended with more inconvenience than in the case of landed estates: and part, if not the whole of them, must be expended in maintaining the delinquent, between the time of committing the fact and his conviction. Yet a fraudulent conveyance of them, to defeat the interest of the crown, is made void by statute 13 Eliz. c. 5. (14)

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF TITLE BY CUSTOM.

A FOURTH method of acquiring property in things personal, or chattels, is by *custom*: whereby a right vests in some particular persons, either by the local usage of some particular place, or by the almost general and universal usage of

(4) Co. Litt. 391. 2 Inst. 316. 3 Inst. 320.

(9) [This forfeiture extends to all the offenders personal property, including chattels real, whether legal or equitable, in possession or in action. Cro. Jac. 513; 2 B. and Al. 258; 2 C. M. and R. 416; with the exception of contingent interests. 1 Keen, 145.]

The goods vest in the crown immediately upon conviction; and, as a felon who is transported is not restored to his civil rights until he is pardoned, or the term expires, all personal property accruing to him in the interval is forfeited to the crown. 2 B. and Al. 258; 1 Myl. and K. 752.]

(10) Petit treason is now unknown to the law.

(11) [The distinction between grand and petit larceny is abolished. Statute 7 and 8 Geo. IV, c. 29, s. 2.]

(12) [By statute 7 and 8 Geo. IV, c. 28, s. 5, on indictments for felony, the jury is no longer to be charged to inquire concerning the prisoner's land or goods, or whether he fled for the offence.]

(13) [Owling is no longer an offence: 5 Geo. IV, c. 47. By the 5 Geo. IV, c. 97, all the laws relating to artificers or colliers going into foreign parts are repealed.]

(14) [A *bona fide* sale of goods and chattels by the offender, for good consideration, after the offence and before conviction, is good. 8 Rep. 171. See Skin. 357; 1 Stark. 319; 6 Car. and P. 145.]

the kingdom. It were endless should I attempt to enumerate all the several kinds of special customs, which may entitle a man to a chattel interest in different parts of the kingdom; I shall, therefore, content myself with making some observations on three sorts of customary interests, which obtain pretty generally throughout most parts of the nation, and are therefore of more universal concern: viz., *heriots*, *mortuaries*, and *heir-looms*.

1. *Heriots*, which were slightly touched upon in a former chapter, (a) are usually divided into two sorts, *heriot-service*, and *heriot-custom*. The former are such as are due upon a special reservation in a grant or lease of lands, and therefore amount to little more than a mere rent: (b) the latter arise upon no special reservation whatsoever, but depend merely upon immemorial usage and custom. (c) Of these, therefore, we are here principally to speak: and they are defined to be a customary tribute of goods and chattels, payable to the lord of the fee on the decease of the owner of the land.

[*423] *The first establishment, if not introduction, of compulsory heriots into England, was by the Danes: and we find in the laws of King Canute (d) the several *heregates* or heriots specified which were then exacted by the king on the death of divers of his subjects, according to their respective dignities; from the highest *earle* down to the most inferior *thegne* or landholder. These, for the most part, consisted in arms, horses, and habiliments of war; which the word itself, according to Sir Henry Spelman, (e) signifies. These were delivered up to the sovereign on the death of the vassal, who could no longer use them, to be put into other hands for the service and defence of the country. And upon the plan of this Danish establishment did William the Conqueror fashion his law of relief, as was formerly observed; (f) when he ascertained the precise relief to be taken of every tenant in chivalry, and, contrary to the feudal custom and the usage of his own duchy of Normandy, required arms and implements of war to be paid instead of money. (g)

The Danish compulsive heriots being thus transmuted into reliefs, underwent the same several vicissitudes as the feudal tenures, and in socage estates do frequently remain to this day in the shape of a double rent payable at the death of the tenant: the heriots which now continue among us, and preserve that name, seeming rather to be of Saxon parentage, and at first to have been merely discretionary. (h) These are now for the most part confined to copyhold tenures, and are due by custom only, which is the life of all estates by copy; and perhaps are the only instance where custom has favoured the lord. For this payment was originally a voluntary donation, or gratuitous legacy of the tenant; perhaps in acknowledgment of his having been raised a degree above villeinage, when all his goods and chattels were quite at the mercy of the lord;

[*424] and *custom, which has on the one hand confirmed the tenant's interest in exclusion of the lord's will, has on the other hand established this discretionary piece of gratitude into a permanent duty. An heriot may also appertain to free land, that is held by service and suit of court; in which case it is most commonly a copyhold enfranchised, whereupon the heriot is still due by custom. Bracton (i) speaks of heriots as frequently due on the death of both species of tenants: "*est quidem alia præstatio quæ nominatur herietum; ubi tenens, liber vel servus, in morte sua, dominum suum, de quo tenuerit, respicit de meliori averio suo, vel de secundo meliori, secundum diversam, locorum consuetudinem.*" And this he adds, "*magis fit de gratia quam de jure*"; in which Fleta (k) and Britton (l) agree: thereby plainly intimating the original of this custom to have been merely voluntary, as a legacy from the tenant; though now the immemorial usage has established it as of right in the lord.

This heriot is sometimes the best live beast, or *averium*, which the tenant dies possessed of (which is particularly denominated the villein's relief in the twenty-ninth law of King William the Conqueror), sometimes the best inanimate good, under which a jewel or piece of plate may be included: but it is always a *per-*

(a) Page 97.

(b) 2 Saund. 166.

(c) Co. Cop. § 24.

(d) C. 69.

(e) Of Fends. c. 18.

(f) Page 65.

(g) LL. Gull. Conq. c. 22, 23, 24.

(h) Lambard. Peramb. of Kent, 492.

(i) l. 2, c. 36, § 9.

(k) l. 3, c. 18.

(l) C. 69.

sonal chattel, which, immediately on the death of the tenant who was the owner of it, being ascertained by the option of the lord, (*m*) becomes vested in him as his property; and is no charge upon the lands, but merely on the goods and chattels. The tenant must be the owner of it, else it cannot be due; and therefore, on the death of a feme-covert, no heriot can be taken; for she can have no ownership in things personal. (*n*) In some places there is a customary composition in money, as ten or twenty shillings in lieu of a heriot, by which the lord and tenant are both bound, if it be an indisputably ancient custom; but a new composition of this sort will not bind the representatives of either party; for that amounts to the creation of a new custom, which is now impossible. (*o*) (1)

*2. Mortuaries are a sort of ecclesiastical heriots, being a customary gift claimed by and due to the minister in very many parishes on the [*425] death of his parishioners. They seem originally to have been, like lay heriots, only a voluntary bequest to the church; being intended, as Lyndewode informs us from a constitution of Archbishop Langham, as a kind of expiation and amends to the clergy for the personal tithes, and other ecclesiastical duties, which the laity in their lifetime might have neglected or forgotten to pay. For this purpose, *after* (*p*) the lord's heriot or best good was taken out, the second best chattel was reserved to the church as a mortuary: "*si decedens plura habuerit animalia optimo cui de jure fuerit debitum reservato, ecclesiæ suæ sine dolo, fraude seu contradictione qualibet, pro recompensatione subtractionis decimarum personalium, necnon et oblationum, secundum melius animal reservetur, post obitum, pro salute animæ suæ.*" (*q*) And therefore in the laws of King Canute (*r*) this mortuary is called soul-scot, *panlycea*, or *symbolum animæ*. And, in pursuance of the same principle, by the laws of Venice, where no personal tithes have been paid during the life of the party, they are paid at his death out of his merchandise, jewels, and other movables. (*s*) So also, by a similar policy, in France, every man that died without bequeathing a part of his estate to the church, which was called *dying without confession*, was formerly deprived of christian burial: or, if he died intestate, the relations of the deceased, jointly with the bishop, named proper arbitrators to determine what he ought to have given to the church, in case he had made a will. But the parliament, in 1409, redressed this grievance. (*t*)

It was anciently usual in this kingdom to bring the mortuary to church along with the corpse when it came to be buried; and thence (*u*) it is sometimes called a *corse-present*: a term which bespeaks it to have been once a voluntary [*426] donation. However, in Bracton's time, so early as Henry III, we find it riveted into an established custom: insomuch that the bequests of heriots and mortuaries were held to be necessary ingredients in every testament of chattels. "*Imprimis autem debet quilibet, qui testamentum fecerit, dominum suum de meliori re quam habuerit recognoscere; et postea ecclesiam de alia meliori.*" the lord must have the best good left him as an heriot, and the church the second best as a mortuary. But yet this custom was different in different places: "*In quibusdam locis habet ecclesia melius animal de consuetudine; in quibusdam secundum vel tertium melius; et in quibusdam nihil: et ideo consideranda est consuetudo loci.*" (*v*) This custom still varies in different places, not only as to the mortuary to be paid, but the person to whom it is payable. In Wales a mortuary or corse-present was due upon the death of every clergyman to the bishop of the diocese; till abolished, upon a recompense given to the bishop, by the statute 12 Ann. st. 2, c. 6. And in the archdeaconry of Chester a custom also

(m) Hob. 60.

(n) Keilw. 84. 4 Leon. 239.

(o) Co. Cop. § 31.

(p) Co. Litt. 185.

(q) Provenc. l. 1, tit. 3.

(r) C. 13.

(s) Panormitan. ad decretal. l. 3 t. 20, c. 32.

(t) Sp. L. b. 28, c. 41.

(u) Selden, Hist. of Tithe, c. 10.

(v) Bracton, l. 2, c. 26. Flet. l. 2, c. 57.

(1) [And indeed heriots themselves will in time cease to be exigible, one of the Copyhold Enfranchisement Acts, 15 and 16 Vic. c. 51, § 27, having enabled either lord or tenant to compel the extinguishment of this ancient feudal burden.]

prevailed, that the bishop, who is also archdeacon, should have, at the death of every clergyman dying therein, his best horse or mare, bridle, saddle, and spurs, his best gown or cloak, hat, upper garment under his gown, and tippet, and also his best signet or ring. (x) But by statute 28 Geo. II, c. 6, this mortuary is directed to cease, and the act has settled upon the bishop an equivalent in its room. The king's claim to many goods, on the death of all prelates in England, seems to be of the same nature: though Sir Edward Coke (y) apprehends, that this is a *duty due upon death* and not a *mortuary*: a distinction which seems to be without a difference. For not only the king's ecclesiastical character, as supreme ordinary, but also the species of the goods claimed, which bear so near a resemblance to those in the archdeaconry of Chester, which was an acknowledged mortuary, puts the matter out of dispute. The king, according to the record vouched by Sir Edward Coke, is entitled to six things: the [*427] *bishop's best horse or palfrey, with his furniture; his cloak, or gown, and tippet; his cup and cover; his basin and ewer; his gold ring; and, lastly, his *muta canum*, his mew or kennel of hounds; as was mentioned in the preceding chapter. (z)

This variety of customs, with regard to mortuaries, giving frequently a handle to exactions on the one side, and frauds or expensive litigations on the other; it was thought proper by statute 21 Hen. VIII, c. 6, to reduce them to some kind of certainty. For this purpose it is enacted, that all mortuaries or corse-presents to persons of any parish, shall be taken in the following manner; unless where by custom less or none at all is due; viz.: for every person who does not leave goods to the value of ten marks, nothing: for every person who leaves goods to the value of ten marks and under thirty pounds, 3s. 4d.; if above thirty pounds and under forty pounds, 6s. 8d.; if above forty pounds, of what value soever they may be, 10s. and no more. And no mortuary shall, throughout the kingdom, be paid for the death of any feme-covert; nor for any child; nor for any one of full age, that is not a housekeeper; nor for any wayfaring man; but such wayfaring man's mortuary shall be paid in the parish to which he belongs. And upon this statute stands the law of mortuaries to this day.

3. Heir-looms (2) are such goods and personal chattels, as, contrary to the nature of chattels, shall go by special custom to the heir along with the inheritance, and not to the executor of the last proprietor. The termination, *loom*, is of Saxon original; in which language it signifies a limb or member; (a) so that an heir-loom is nothing else but a limb or member of the inheritance. They are generally such things as cannot be taken away without damaging or dismembering the freehold: otherwise the general rule is, that no chattel interest whatsoever shall go to the heir, notwithstanding it be expressly limited to a man [*428] and his heirs, but shall vest in the executor. (b) But deer in a real *authorised park, fishes in a pond, doves in a dovehouse, &c., though in themselves personal chattels, yet they are so annexed to and so necessary to the well-being of the inheritance, that they shall accompany the land wherever it vests, by either descent or purchase. (c) For this reason also I apprehend it is, that the ancient jewels of the crown are held to be heir-looms; (d) for they are necessary to maintain the state, and support the dignity, of the sovereign for the time being. *Charters* likewise, (3) and deeds, court-rolls, and other evidences of the land, together with the chests in which they are contained, shall pass together with the land to the heir, in the nature of heir-looms, and shall not go to the executor. (e) By special custom, also, in some places carriages, utensils, and

(x) Cro. Car. 237.

(b) Co. Litt. 388.

(y) 2 Inst. 491.

(c) *Ibid.* 8.

(z) Page 413.

(d) *Ibid.* 18.

(a) Spelm. Gloss. 277.

(e) Bro. Abr. tit. *chattels*, 18.

(2) Heir-looms do not seem to be recognized in the law of the United States. 1 Washb. Real Prop. 6.

(3) [In general the right to the custody of title-deeds descends or passes with the estate to the existing present owner, whether tenant for life or in fee, and he may retain or recover the deed from any other person. 4 Term R. 229.]

other household implements, may be heir-looms; (*f*) but such custom must be strictly proved. On the other hand, by almost general custom, whatever is strongly affixed to the freehold or inheritance, and cannot be severed from thence without violence or damage, "*quod ab ædibus non facile revellitur*," (*g*) is become a member of the inheritance, and shall thereupon pass to the heir; as chimney-pieces, pumps, old fixed or dormant tables, benches, and the like. (*h*) A very similar notion to which prevails in the duchy of Brabant; where they rank certain things movable among those of the immovable kind, calling them by a very particular appellation, *prædia volantia*, or volatile estates; such as beds, tables, and other heavy implements of furniture, which (as an author of their own observes), "*dignitatem istam nacta sunt, ut villis, sylvis, et ædibus, aliisque prædiis, comparentur; quod solidiora mobilia ipsis ædibus ex destinatione patrisfamilias cohærere videantur, et pro parte ipsarum ædium æstimentur*." (*i*)

Other personal chattels there are, which also descend to the heir in the nature of heir-looms, as a monument or tombstone in a church, (*4*) or the coat-armour of his ancestor there *hung up, with the penons and other ensigus of [*429] honour, suited to his degree. In this case, albeit the freehold of the church is in the parson, and these are annexed to that freehold, yet cannot the parson or any other take them away or deface them, but is liable to an action from the heir. (*k*) Pews (*5*) in the church are somewhat of the same nature, which may descend by custom immemorial (without any ecclesiastical concurrence) from the ancestor to the heir. (*l*) (*6*) But though the heir has a property in the monuments and escutcheons of his ancestors, yet he has none in their bodies or ashes; nor can he bring any civil action against such as indecently,

(*f*) Co. Litt. 18, 185.

(*g*) Spelm. Gloss. 277.

(*h*) 12 Mod. 520.

(*i*) Stockman's *de jure devolutionis*, c. 3, § 16.

(*k*) 12 Rep. 106. Co. Litt. 18.

(*l*) 3 Inst. 202. 12 Rep. 105.

(4) [See *Spooner v. Brewster*, 3 Bing. 136; 10 Moore, 494.]

(5) [The right to sit in a particular pew in a church arises either from prescription as appurtenant to a messuage, or from a faculty or grant from the ordinary, for he has the disposition to all pews which are not claimed by prescription. *Gibs. Cod.* 221. See generally as to the right to pews, 1 Phill. E. C. 316.]

In an action upon the case at law for a disturbance of the enjoyment of a pew in the body of the church, if the plaintiff claims it by prescription, he must state it in the declaration as appurtenant to a messuage in the parish. 5 B. and A. 356. But a pew in the aisle or chancel of the church may be prescribed for in respect of a house out of the parish. *Forrest Rep.* 14; 5 B. and A. 361, S. P. This prescription may be supported by an enjoyment for thirty-six years, and perhaps any time above twenty years. 1 T. R. 428. But where a pew was claimed as appurtenant to an ancient messuage, and it was proved that it had been so annexed for thirty years, but that it had no existence before that time, it was held this modern commencement defeated the prescriptive claim. 5 T. R. 296. In an action against the ordinary, the plaintiff must allege and prove repairs of the pew. 1 Wils. 326. But a possessory right to a pew is sufficient to sustain a suit in the ecclesiastical court against a mere disturber. 1 Phill. E. C. 316. See further the cases and precedents, 2 Chitty on Pl. 817; Com. Dig. Action on Case for Disturbance, A. 5; 2 Saund. 175, c. d.]

(6) In some of the United States pews are expressly declared by statute to be real, and in others personal estate. In the absence of such statute they partake of the nature of the realty. 1 Washb. Real Prop. 9. The pew holder has an exclusive right to occupy his pew and to maintain trespass against any one who disturbs him in his seat. *Gay v. Baker*, 17 Mass. 435; *Gorton v. Hadsell*, 9 Cush. 508; *Freligh v. Platt*, 5 Cow. 494. The pew owners, however, are not owners or part owners of the church lot; their interest consists in the right to occupy their respective pews as a part of the auditory upon occasions of public worship. *Wheaton v. Gates*, 18 N. Y. 404; *Cooper v. Presb. Church*, 32 Barb. 226; *Kimball v. Second Parish*, 24 Pick. 347. And their right of occupancy must yield to circumstances of necessity, convenience or expediency, growing out of the rights in common of the society; and if the trustees make changes in the edifice upon any of these considerations, and a pew is thereby destroyed, the owner must be content with a just and adequate compensation. *Wentworth v. First Parish*, 3 Pick. 344; *Cooper v. Presb. Church*, 32 Barb. 226. And if the church edifice become useless by dilapidation, and has to be rebuilt, the right of the pew holder is gone. *Voorhies v. Presb. Church*, 17 Barb. 103; *Howard v. First Parish*, 7 Pick. 138; *Van Houten v. Reformed Dutch Church*, 2 Green, N. J. 126. But the destruction of a church edifice by the trustees does not conclude a pew owner, and he may nevertheless show it to have been unnecessary, and claim compensation. *Gorton v. Hadsell*, 9 Cush. 508.

at least, if not impiously, violate and disturb their remains, when dead and buried. The parson, indeed, who has the freehold of the soil, may bring in action of trespass against such as dig and disturb it; and if any one in taking up a dead body steals the shroud or other apparel, it will be felony; (*m*) for the property thereof remains in the executor, or whoever was at the charge of the funeral. (7)

But to return to heir-looms; these, though they be mere chattels, yet cannot be devised away from the heir by will; but such a devise is void, (*n*) even by a tenant in fee-simple. For though the owner might during his life have sold or disposed of them, as he might of the timber of the estate, since as the inheritance was his own, he might mangle or dismember it as he pleased; yet they being at his death instantly vested in the heir, the devise (which is subsequent and not to take effect till *after* his death) shall be postponed to the custom, whereby they have already descended.

CHAPTER XXIX.

OF TITLE BY SUCCESSION, MARRIAGE, AND JUDGMENT.

IN the present chapter we shall take into consideration three other species of title to goods and chattels.

V. The fifth method, therefore, of gaining a property in chattels, either personal or real, is by *succession*: which is, in strictness of law, only applicable to *corporations aggregate* of many, as dean and chapter, mayor and commonalty, master and fellows, and the like; in which one set of men may, by succeeding another set, acquire a property in all the goods, movables, and other chattels of the corporation. The true reason whereof is, because in judgment of law a corporation never dies: and therefore the predecessors, who lived a century ago, and their successors now in being, are one and the same body corporate. (*a*) Which identity is a property so inherent in the nature of a body politic, that, even when it is meant to give any thing to be taken in succession by such a body, that succession need not be expressed: but the law will of itself imply it. So that a gift to such a corporation, either of lands or of chattels, without naming their successors, vests an absolute property in them so long as the corporation subsists. (*b*) And thus a lease for years, an *obligation, a [*431] jewel, a flock of sheep, or other chattel interest, will vest in the successors, by succession, as well as in the identical members to whom it was originally given.

But, with regard to sole corporations, a considerable distinction must be made. For if such sole corporation be the representative of a number of persons; as the master of an hospital, who is a corporation for the benefit of the poor brethren; an abbot, or prior, by the old law before the reformation, who represented the whole convent; or the dean of some ancient cathedral, who stands in the place of and represents, in his corporate capacity, the chapter; such sole corporations as these have, in this respect, the same powers as corporations aggregate have, to take personal property or chattels in succession. And therefore a bond to such a master, abbot, or dean, and his successors, is good in

(*m*) 3 Inst. 110. 12 Rep. 113. 1 Hal. P. C. 515. (*n*) Co. Litt. 185.
 (*a*) 4 Rep. 63. (*b*) Bro. *Adm. t. estates*, 30. Cro. Eliz. 464.

(7) [It has been determined that stealing dead bodies, though for the improvement of the science of anatomy, is an indictable offense as a misdemeanor; it being considered a practice contrary to common decency, and shocking to the general sentiments and feelings of mankind. 2 T. R. 733; 2 Leach, 560, S. C.]

law; and the successor shall have the advantage of it, for the benefit of the aggregate society, of which he is in law the representative. (c) Whereas, in the case of sole corporations, which represent no others but themselves, as bishops, parsons, and the like, no chattel interest can regularly go in succession: and, therefore, if a lease for years be made to the bishop of Oxford and his successors, in such case his executors or administrators, and not his successors, shall have it. (d) For the word *successors*, when applied to a person in his political capacity, is equivalent to the word *heirs* in his natural; and as such a lease for years, if made to John and his heirs, would not vest in his heirs but his executors; so if it be made to John, bishop of Oxford, and his successors, who are the heirs of his body politic, it shall still vest in his executors and not in such his successors. The reason of this is obvious: for besides that the law looks upon goods and chattels as of too low and perishable a nature to be limited either to heirs, or such successors as are equivalent to heirs; it would also follow, that if any such chattel interest (granted to a sole corporation and his successors) were allowed to descend to such successor, the property thereof must be in abeyance from the death of the present owner until the successor be appointed: and this [*432] is contrary to the nature of a chattel interest, which can never be in abeyance or without an owner; (e) but a man's right therein, when once suspended, is gone forever. This is not the case in corporations aggregate, where the right is never in suspense; nor in the other sole corporations before mentioned, who are rather to be considered as heads of an aggregate body, than subsisting merely in their own right; the chattel interest therefore, in such a case, is really and substantially vested in the hospital, convent, chapter, or other aggregate body; though the head is the visible person in whose name every act is carried on, and in whom every interest is therefore said (in point of form) to vest. But the general rule, with regard to corporations merely sole, is this, that no chattel can go to or be acquired by them in right of succession. (f)

Yet to this rule there are two exceptions. One in the case of the king, in whom a chattel may vest by a grant of it formerly made to a preceding king and his successors. (g) The other exception is, where, by a *particular* custom, some *particular* corporations sole have acquired a power of taking *particular* chattel interests in succession. And this custom, being against the general tenor of the common law, must be strictly interpreted, and not extended to any other chattel interests than such immemorial usage will strictly warrant. Thus the chamberlain of London, who is a corporation sole, may, by the custom of London, take *bonds* and *recognizances* to himself and his successors, for the benefit of the orphan's fund: (h) but it will not follow from thence, that he has a capacity to take a *lease for years* to himself and his successors for the same purpose; for the custom extends not to that: nor that he may take a *bond* to himself and his successors, for any other purpose than the benefit of the orphan's fund; for that also is not warranted by the custom. Wherefore, upon the whole, we may close this head with laying down this general rule; that such right of succession to chattels is *universally inherent by the common law in all aggregate [*433] corporations, in the king, and in such single corporations as represent a number of persons; and may, by special custom, belong to certain other sole corporations for some particular purposes; although generally, in sole corporations, no such right can exist. (1)

VI. A sixth method of acquiring property in goods and chattels is by *marriage*; whereby those chattels, which belonged formerly to the wife, are by act of law vested in the husband with the same degree of property and with the same powers, as the wife, when sole, had over them.

(c) Dyer, 48. Cro. Eliz. 464.

(d) Co. Litt. 46.

(e) Brownl. 132.

(f) Co. Litt. 48.

(g) *Ibid.* 90.

(h) 4 Rep. 65.

Cro. Eliz. 682.

(1) [Thus, the ornaments of the chapel of a preceding bishop belong to his successor, and the bishop may take such chattels in succession.]

This depends entirely on the notion of an unity of person between the husband and wife; it being held that they are one person in law, (1) so that the very being and existence of the woman is suspended during the coverture, or entirely merged or incorporated in that of the husband. (2) And hence it follows, that whatever personal property belonged to the wife, before marriage, is by marriage absolutely vested in the husband. In a *real* estate, he only gains a title to the rents and profits during coverture; for that, depending upon feudal principles, remains entire to the wife after the death of her husband, or to her heirs, if she dies before him; unless, by the birth of a child, he becomes tenant for life by the curtesy. But, in *chattel interests*, the sole and absolute property vests in the husband, to be disposed of at his pleasure, if he chooses to take possession of them: for unless he reduces them to possession, by exercising some act of ownership upon them, no property vests in him, but they shall remain to the wife, or to her representatives, after the coverture is determined. (3)

(1) See Book I, c. 15.

(2) The tendency of legislation in the United States is to the utter abrogation of this doctrine, so far as civil rights depend upon it, and to leave property rights existing at the time of the marriage wholly unchanged by that relation. The tendency further is to remove the disability under which the married woman lay at the common law, to acquire and take property, real and personal, generally for her own use, and to control and dispose of the same; and the statutes of some of the states now declare that she shall have the same power and right in these particulars that she would have had if unmarried. Except as modified by these statutes, the English rules so fully stated by Mr. Chitty in the following note, are still in force in the United States. As to the reduction of the wife's choses to possession by the husband, further reference is made to *Poor v. Hazelton*, 15 N. H. 565; *Van Epps v. Van Deusen*, 4 Paige, 64; *Mardree v. Mardree*, 9 Ired. 295; *Searing v. Searing*, 9 Paige, 283. And as to the protection of the wife's equity in the property she brings her husband, for the benefit and support of herself and her children, to *Kenney v. Udall*, 3 Cow. 590; *Van Epps v. Van Deusen*, 4 Paige, 64; *Smith v. Kane*, 2 id. 303; *Moore v. Moore*, 14 B. Monr. 259; 2 Kent, 139 *et seq.*; *Story Eq. Juris*. §§ 1402, 1420, and cases cited.

(3) [It seems to be, at present, clearly held, that a deed by which the husband assigns his wife's contingent or reversionary chattel interests, is not such a reduction thereof into possession by him, as to give even a qualified title to his assignee, if the wife prove to be the survivor. *Pardew v. Jackson*, 1 Russ. 50; *Hornsby v. Lee*, 2 Mad. 20. And though, in *Gage v. Acton*, 1 Salk. 327, Chief Justice Holt said, that when the wife has *any* right or duty, which by possibility may happen to accrue during the marriage, the husband may, by release, discharge it; this *dictum* cannot now be relied on, without qualifying it by a condition, that the possibility shall actually come into possession during the coverture. Keeping this restriction in mind, there is no doubt that a wife's possibilities are assignable by her husband, for a valuable consideration; though the assignee may be compelled to make some provision for the wife, when the subject of assignment is of such a nature, that when the contingency has happened, it cannot be reached without the aid of equity: *Johnson v. Johnson*, 1 Jac. and Walk. 477; *Beresford v. Hobson*, 1 Mad. 373; *Lloyd v. Williams*, 1 id. 457; and it seems, that courts of equity do not merely act in analogy to the legal doctrine, but were the first to hold that such assignment by the husband ought to be supported. *Grey v. Kentish*, 1 Atk. 290; *Hawkins v. Obyn*, 2 id. 551; *Bates v. Dandy*, id. 208; *Duke of Chandos v. Talbot*, 2 P. Wms. 608, and cases there cited; *Spragg v. Blinks*, 5 Ves. 588.

It appears settled, however, that where the wife's interest was such that the husband could not, even for valuable consideration, have released it at law, equity will not assist him. Thus, if the reversion could not possibly fall into possession during the husband's life,—for instance, if it were a reversion upon his own death,—there the husband's release, or assignment, would be invalid at law; and clearly, the wife's consent would not be taken, in order to give it effect in equity. *Dalbiac v. Dalbiac*, 16 Ves. 122. So, if a woman, before marriage, stipulate that her property shall revert to her own absolute disposal in the event of her surviving her husband, or if a bequest be made to her, accompanied with direction, and no power of disposition over the fund, during the marriage, be reserved by her, in one case, or given to her, in the other, there it would obviously be to defeat the plain object of the settlement, or will, if the wife, while under the possible influence of her husband, were permitted, either by examination in court, or by any other act during the coverture, to dispose of her right of survivorship. *Richards v. Chambers*, 10 Ves. 586; *Lee v. Muggeridge*, 1 Ves. and Bea. 123.

An assignment by a husband, to a particular assignee, of a *chose en action*, or equitable interest, given to his wife *for her life only* (such assignment being made for valuable consideration, and at a time when the husband was maintaining his wife), will, it seems, not only be supported, but the purchaser will not be bound to make any provision for the wife. *Elliot v. Cordell*, 5 Mad. 156; *Wright v. Morley*, 11 Ves. 18; *Mitford v. Mitford*, 9 id. 100. Equity,

There is therefore a very considerable difference in the acquisition of this species of property by the husband, *according to the subject matter; [*434] viz., whether it be a chattel *real* or chattel *personal*; and, of chattels [*434] personal, whether it be in *possession* or in *action* only. A *chattel real* vests in the husband, not absolutely, but *sub modo*. As, in case of a lease for years, the husband shall receive all the rents and profits of it, and may, if he pleases, sell, surrender, or dispose of it during the coverture; (*k*) if he be outlawed or attainted, it shall be forfeited to the king: (*l*) it is liable to execution for his debts: (*m*) and, if he survives his wife, it is to all intents and purposes his own. (*n*) Yet, if he has made no disposition thereof in his lifetime, and dies before his wife, he cannot dispose of it by will (*o*) for, the husband having made no alteration in the property during his life, it never was transferred from the wife; but after his death she shall remain in her ancient possession, and it shall not go to his executors. So it is also of chattels personal (or *choses*) in *action*: as debts upon bond, contracts, and the like; these the husband may have if he pleases; that is, if he reduces them into possession by receiving or recovering them at law. (4) And upon such receipt or recovery they are absolutely and entirely his

(*k*) Co. Litt. 46. (l) Plowd. 283. (m) Co. Litt. 351.
(n) *Ibid.* 300. (o) Poph. 5. Co. Litt. 351.

however, will not allow the general assignee under a commission of bankruptcy against a husband, to obtain possession of such property, without making some provision for the wife; since, when the title of such last described assignee vests, the incapacity of the husband to maintain his wife has already raised this equity in her favor. *Elliott v. Cordell*, *ubi supra*; and where the right to the whole equitable interest, or *chose en action*, was in the wife, absolutely, and not for life only, there, the preponderance of modern authority (after considerable fluctuation of judicial opinion), seems fully to establish, that the wife's right to a provision cannot be resisted by the particular assignee of her husband, more than by his general assignee. *Johnson v. Johnson*, 1 Jac. and Walk. 477; *Like v. Berseford*, 3 Ves. 512; *Macaulay v. Phillips*, 4 id. 19; *Beresford v. Hobson*, 1 Mad. 373; *Earl of Salisbury v. Newton*, 1 Eden, 371; *Oswell v. Probert*, 2 Ves. Jun. 682.

When a husband makes a settlement in consideration of the wife's whole fortune, whatever fortune she then has, notwithstanding it may consist entirely of *choses en action*, is looked on as purchased by the husband, and it will go to his executors, though he may not have reduced it into possession; but, if the settlement was made in consideration of a part only of the wife's fortune, then the remaining part, if not reduced by the husband into possession during his life, will survive to his wife: *Cleland v. Cleland*, Prec. in Cha. 63; for, the mere fact of his having made a settlement upon his wife at the time of the marriage, is not sufficient to entitle a husband to his wife's *choses en action*, or chattels; to constitute him a purchaser thereof, so as to exclude the wife's equity, there must be an agreement, either expressed or implied: *Salwey v. Salwey*, Ambl. 693; and, according to the modern cases, a settlement made by the husband is no purchase of the wife's equitable interests, or *choses en action*, unless such settlement either distinctly expresses it to be made in consideration of the wife's fortune; or the contents thereof altogether import that, and plainly import it, as much as if it were expressed. *Druce v. Dennison*, 6 Ves. 395. It is also well settled, that a settlement in consideration of the wife's fortune will be understood to have been intended to apply only to her fortune at the time; unless the settlement expressly, or by necessary implication, shows that it was the intention to comprehend all future property which might devolve upon the wife. Where no distinct agreement to that effect appears, should any subsequent accession of *choses en action* accrue to the wife, in such a shape that the husband cannot lay hold of it without the assistance of a court of equity, the wife will, according to the established rule of such courts, be entitled to an additional provision out of that additional fortune, as against either the husband or assignee: *Ex Parte O'Ferrall*, 1 Glyn and Jameson, 348; and if the husband die first, not having reduced the property into possession nor having assigned it, for valuable consideration, the whole will survive to the wife. *Mitford v. Mitford*, 9 Ves. 95, 96; *Carr v. Taylor*, 10 id. 579; *Burnett v. Kinaston*, 2 Freem. 241, 2d ed.; *Wildman v. Wildman*, 9 Ves. 177; *Nash v. Nash*, 2 Mad. 139. But, if the wife's property be of such a nature that the husband or his assignees can reach it by process of common law, there is no ground for the interposition of equity to restrain the exercise of the legal right. *Oswell v. Probert*, 2 Ves. Jun. 682; *Attorney-General v. Whorwood*, 1 Ves. Sen. 539; *Macaulay v. Phillips*, 4 Ves. 18; *Langham v. Nenny*, 3 id. 469; *Jewson v. Moulson*, 2 Atk. 420; *Purdew v. Jackson*, 1 Russ. 54.]

(4) [If a bill or note be made to a feme-sole, and she afterwards marry, being possessed of the note, the property vests in the husband, and he may indorse it or sue alone for the recovery of the amount: 3 Wils. 5; 1 B. and A. 218; for these instruments, when in possession of the wife, are to be considered rather as chattels personal, than choses en action. *Id.* The transfer of

own; and shall go to his executors or administrators, or as he shall bequeath them by will, and shall not revert in the wife. But if he dies before he has recovered or reduced them into possession, so that at his death they still continue *choses in action*, they shall survive to the wife; for the husband never exerted the power he had of obtaining an exclusive property in them. (*p*) And so, if an estray comes into the wife's franchise, and the husband seizes it, it is absolutely his property, but if he dies without seizing it, his executors are not now at liberty to seize it, but the wife or her heirs; (*q*) for the husband never exerted the right he had, which right determined with the coverture. Thus, in both these species of property the law is the same, in case the wife survives the husband; but in case the husband survives the wife, the law is very different [*435] with respect to *chattels real* and *choses in action*: for he shall have the *chattel real* by survivorship, but not the *chose en action*; (*r*) except in the case of arrears for rent, due to the wife before her coverture, which in case of her death are given to the husband by statute 32 Hen. VIII, c. 37. And the reason for the general law is this: that the husband is in absolute possession of the *chattel real* during the coverture, by a kind of joint-tenancy with his wife; wherefore the law will not wrest it out of his hands, and give it to her representatives; though in case he had died first, it would have survived to the wife; unless he thought proper in his lifetime to alter the possession. But a *chose in action* shall not survive to him, because he never was in possession of it at all during the coverture; and the only method he had to gain possession of it was by suing in his wife's right; but as, after her death he cannot (as husband) bring an action in her right, because they are no longer one and the same person in law, therefore he can never (as such) recover the possession. But he still will be entitled to be her administrator; and may, in that capacity, recover such things in action as become due to her before or during the coverture. (5)

Thus, and upon these reasons, stands the law between husband and wife, with regard to *chattels real* and *choses in action*: but, as to *chattels personal*, (or *choses*) in possession, which the wife hath in her own right, as ready money, jewels, household goods, and the like, the husband hath therein an immediate and absolute property, devolved to him by the marriage, not only potentially but in fact, which never can again revert in the wife or her representatives. (*s*)

And, as the husband may thus generally acquire a property in all the personal substance of the wife, so in one particular instance the wife may acquire a property in some of her husband's goods: which shall remain to her after his death and not go to his executors. These are called her *paraphernalia*,

[*436] *which is a term borrowed from the civil law, (*t*) and is derived from the Greek language, signifying something over and above her dower. Our law uses it to signify the apparel and ornaments of the wife, suitable to her

(*p*) Co. Litt. 351.

(*q*) *Ibid.*

(*r*) 3 Mod. 188.

(*s*) Co. Litt. 351.

(*t*) *Ff.* 23, 3, 9, § 3.

stock into the wife's name, to which she became entitled during the marriage, will not be considered as payment or transfer to her husband, so as to defeat her right by survivorship: 9 Ves. 174; 16 id. 413; but if it is transferred into his name, it is a reduction of it into his possession. 1 Roper's Law of Hus. and Wife, 218. So if a promissory note be given to the wife, the husband's receipt of the interest thereon will not defeat the right of the wife by survivorship. 2 Madd. 133. But where the husband *does* and can bring an action for a chose in action of the wife, in his own name, and dies after judgment, leaving his wife surviving, his representatives will be entitled. If, however, she is joined, she will be entitled, and may have a *scire facias* upon such judgment. 1 Vern. 396; 2 Ves. Sen. 677; 12 Mod. 346; 3 Lev. 403; Noy, 70. And if previously to marriage she had obtained a judgment, and afterwards she and her husband sued out a *scire facias* and had an award of execution, and she died before execution, the property would be changed by the award, and belong to the husband as the survivor. 1 Salk. 116; Roper L. Hus. and Wife, 1 vol. 210.]

(5) [By 29 Carr. II, c. 3, s. 25, the husband shall have administration of all his wife's personal estate, which he did not reduce into his possession before her death, and shall retain it to his own use; but he must first pay his wife's debts before coverture; and if he die before administration is granted to him, or he has recovered his wife's property, the right to it passes to his personal representative, and not to the wife's next of kin. 1 P. Wms. 378; 1 Mod. 231; Butler's Co. Litt. 351; 1 Wils. 168.]

rank and degree; and therefore even the jewels of a peeress usually worn by her, have been held to be *paraphernalia*. (u) These she becomes entitled to at the death of her husband, over and above her jointure or dower, and preferably to all other representatives. (w) Neither can the husband devise by his will such ornaments and jewels of his wife; though during his life perhaps he hath the power (if unkindly inclined to exert it) to sell them or give them away. (x) But if she continues in the use of them till his death, she shall afterwards retain them against his executors and administrators, and all other persons except creditors where there is a deficiency of assets. (y) And her necessary apparel is protected even against the claim of creditors. (z) (6)

VII. A judgment, in consequence of some suit or action in a court of justice, is frequently the means of vesting the right and property of chattel interests in the prevailing party. (7) And here we must be careful to distinguish between property, the *right* of which is before vested in the party, and of which only *possession* is recovered by suit or action; and property to which a man before had no determinate title or certain claim, but he gains as well the right as the possession by the process and the judgment of the law. Of the former sort

(u) Moor. 213.

(w) Cro. Car. 813. 1 Roll. Abr. 911. 2 Leon. 166.

(x) Noy's Max. c. 49. *Grahne v. Ltd. Londonderry*, 24 Nov. 1746. Canc.

(y) 1 P. Wms. 730.

(z) Noy's Max. c. 49.

(6) [The husband may dispose absolutely of his wife's jewels or other paraphernalia in his lifetime. 3 Atk. 394. And although after his death they are liable to his debts, if his personal estate is exhausted, yet the widow may recover from the *heir* the amount of what she is obliged to pay in consequence of her husband's specialty creditors obtaining payment out of her paraphernalia. 1 P. Wms. 730; 3 Atk. 369, 393.

But she is not entitled to them after his death, if she has barred herself by an agreement before marriage of every thing she could claim out of his personal estate either by the common law or custom. 2 Atk. 642.

Where the husband permits the wife to make profit of certain articles for her own use, or in consideration of her supplying the family with particular necessities, or makes her a yearly allowance for keeping house, the profits or savings will be considered in equity as the wife's own separate estate. Sir P. Neal's case, cited in *Herbert v. Herbert*, Pre. Ch. 44; 3 P. Wms. 337; 2 Eq. Ca. Abr. 156, in marg.; except as against creditors, Pre. Ch. 297; see also 1 Vern. 244; 2 id. 535; 1 Eq. Ca. Abr. 346, pl. 18; 1 Atk. 278. And she may dispose of her separate estate by anticipation, and her right of alienation is absolute, unless she is expressly restrained by the settlement. *Jackson v. Hobhouse*, 2 Meriv. 483; 11 Ves. 222; 1 Ves. Jun. 189; 3 Bro. C. C. 340, S. C.; 12 Ves. 501; 14 id. 302. A husband's agreement before marriage that a wife shall have separate property, converts him into her trustee: see 1 Ventr. 193; 29 Ch. II, c. 3, s. 4; 1 Ves. Jun. 196; 12 Ves. 67; unless by fraud of the husband he prevents the agreement from being reduced to writing. *Montacute v. Maxwell*, 1 P. Wms. 620; 1 Stra. 236, S. C.]

The statutes of the American states not only save to the widow her own paraphernalia, but generally give her also the wearing apparel and personal ornaments of the husband, besides setting apart for her use other personal property to some specified amount, to the exclusion of the claims of creditors. In some of the states, also, the court having jurisdiction in the settlement of the estate is empowered to make provisions from the assets for the support of the widow and children, if any, while the settlement is in progress.

(7) And sometimes also in the defeated party; for if the plaintiff in an action of trespass *de bonis asportatis*, or trover, recovers judgment and obtains satisfaction, the title to the property is transferred from the plaintiff to the defendant; the damages recovered being considered in law the price of the chattel so transferred. And indeed it has in several cases been held that the judgment alone, without satisfaction, will change the property. *Brown v. Wotton*, Cro. Jac. 73; *Adams v. Broughton*, Strange, 1078; *Rogers v. Moors*, 1 Rice, 60; *White v. Philbrick*, 5 Greenl. 147; *Carlisle v. Burley*, 3 id. 250; *Murrell v. Johnson's Adm'r*, 1 H. and M. 452; *Floyd v. Browne*, 1 Rawle, 121; *Marsh v. Pier*, 4 id. 273; *Fox v. Northern Liberties*, 3 W. and S. 107; *Merrick's Estate*, 5 W. and S. 17; *Foreman v. Neilson*, 2 Rich. Eq. 287; *Hunt v. Bates*, 7 R. I. 217. But there are many other cases which treat the judgment as a security merely, which does not deprive the plaintiff of any other right until the security has actually been made available by producing payment. *Sturtevant v. Waterbury*, 2 Hall, 449; *Curtis v. Groat*, 6 Johns. 168; *Osterhout v. Roberts*, 8 Cow. 43; *Morris v. Berkley*, 2 Rep. Con. Ct. 228; *Sanderson v. Caldwell*, 2 Aiken, 203; *Elliott v. Porter*, 5 Dana, 299; *Campbell v. Phelps*, 1 Pick. 70, per Wilde J.; *Sharp v. Gray*, 5 B. Monr. 4; *Hepburn v. Sewell*, 5 Har. and J. 211; *Spivey v. Morris*, 18 Ala. 254; *Drake v. Mitchell*, 3 East, 258, per Ellenborough, Ch. J.; *Cooper v. Shepherd*, 3 C. B. 266. And this seems the most reasonable doctrine.

are all debts and *choses in action*; as if a man gives bond for 20*l.*, or agrees to buy a horse at a stated sum, or takes up goods of a tradesman upon an implied contract to pay as much as they are reasonably worth: in all these cases the right accrues to the creditor, and is completely vested in him, at the time of the bond being sealed, or the contract or agreement made; and the law only gives him a remedy to recover the possession of that right, which already in justice [*437] belongs to him. *But there is also a species of property to which a man has not any claim or title whatsoever, till after suit commenced and judgment obtained in a court of law: where the right and the remedy do not follow each other, as in common cases, but accrue at one and the same time: and where, before judgment had, no man can say that he has any absolute property, either in possession or in action. Of this nature are,

1. Such penalties as are given by particular statutes, to be recovered on an action *popular*; or, in other words, to be recovered by him or them that will sue for the same. Such as the penalty of 500*l.*, which those persons are by several acts of parliament made liable to forfeit, that, being in particular offices or situations in life, neglect to take the oaths to the government: which penalty is given to him or them that will sue for the same. Now here it is clear that no particular person, A or B, has any right, claim or demand, in or upon this penal sum, till after action brought; (a) for he that brings his action, and can *bona fide* obtain judgment first, will undoubtedly secure a title to it, in exclusion of everybody else. He obtains an inchoate imperfect degree of property, by commencing his suit: but it is not consummated till judgment; for, if any collusion appears, he loses the priority he had gained. (b) But, otherwise, the right so attaches in the first informer, that the king (who before action brought may grant a pardon which shall be a bar to all the world) cannot after suit commenced remit anything but his own part of the penalty. (c) For by commencing the suit the informer has made the popular action his own private action, and it is not in the power of the crown, or of any thing but parliament, to release the informer's interest. This, therefore, is one instance, where a suit and [*438] judgment at law are *not only the means of recovering, but also of acquiring, property. And what is said of this one penalty is equally true of all others, that are given thus at large to a common informer, or to any person that will sue for the same. They are placed, as it were, in a state of nature, accessible by all the king's subjects, but the acquired right of none of them; open therefore to the first occupant, who declares his intention to possess them by bringing his action; and who carries that intention into execution, by obtaining judgment to recover them. (8)

2. Another species of property, that is acquired and lost by suit and judgment at law, is that of *damages* given to a man by a jury, as a compensation and satisfaction for some injury sustained; as for a battery, for imprisonment, for slander or for trespass. Here the plaintiff has no certain demand till after verdict; but, when the jury has assessed his damages, and judgment is given thereupon, whether they amount to twenty pounds or twenty shillings, he instantly acquires, and the defendant loses at the same time, a right to that specific sum. It is true, that this is not an acquisition so perfectly original as in the former instance: for here the injured party has unquestionably a vague and indeterminate right to some damages or other the instant he receives the injury; and the verdict of the jurors, and judgment of the court thereupon, do not in this case so properly vest a *new* title in him, as fix and ascertain the *old* one; they do not *give*, but *define*, the right. But, however, though strictly speaking, the primary right to a satisfaction for injuries is given by the law of nature, and the suit is only the means of ascertaining and recovering that

(a) 2 Lev. 141. Str. 1169. Combe v. Pitt. B. R. Tr. 3 Geo. III.

(b) Stat. 4 Hen. VII, c. 20. (c) Cro. Eliz. 138. 11 Rep. 65.

(8) The right to a penalty given by statute may at any time before recovery be taken away by statute. *Oriental Bank v. Freeze*, 6 Shep. 109; *Confiscation Cases*, 7 Wal. 454.

satisfaction; yet, as the legal proceedings are the only visible means of this acquisition of property, we may fairly enough rank such damages, or satisfaction assessed, under the head of property acquired by suit and judgment at law.

*3. Hither also may be referred, upon the same principle, all title to costs and expenses of suit; which are often arbitrary, and rest entirely [*439] on the determination of the court, upon weighing all circumstances, both as to the *quantum*, and also (in the courts of equity especially, and upon motions in the courts of law,) whether there shall be any costs at all. These costs, therefore, when given by the court to either party may be looked upon as an acquisition made by the judgment of law.

CHAPTER XXX.

OF TITLE BY GIFT, GRANT AND CONTRACT.

WE are now to proceed, according to the order marked out, to the discussion of two of the remaining methods of acquiring a title to property in things personal, which are much connected together, and answer in some measure to the conveyances of real estates; being those by *gift* or *grant*, and by *contract*: whereof the former vests a property in *possession*, the latter a property in *action*.

VIII. Gifts then, or *grants*, which are the eighth method of transferring personal property, are thus to be distinguished from each other, that *gifts* are always *gratuitous*, *grants* are upon some *consideration* or equivalent; and they may be divided, with regard to their subject-matter, into gifts or grants of chattels *real*, and gifts or grants of chattels *personal*. Under the head of gifts or grants of chattels *real*, may be included all leases for years of land, assignments, and surrenders of those leases; and all the other methods of conveying an estate less than freehold, which were considered in the twentieth chapter of the present book, and therefore need not be here again repeated: though these very seldom carry the outward appearance of a gift, however freely bestowed; being usually expressed to be made in consideration of blood, or natural affection, or of five or ten shillings nominally paid to the grantor; and, in case of leases, always reserving a rent, though it be but a pepper corn: any of which considerations will, in the eye of the law, convert the gift, if executed, into a grant; if not executed, into a contract.

*Grants or gifts, of chattels *personal*, (1) are the act of transferring the right and the possession of them; whereby one man renounces, and [*441]

(1) [A gift or grant of personal property may be by parol. 3 M. and S. 7. But when an assignment is for a valuable consideration, it is usually in writing; and when confined merely to personalty, is termed a bill of sale. An assignment, or covenant, does not pass after-acquired personal property: 5 Taunt. 212; but where there has been a subsequent change of new for old articles, and the assignment is afterwards set aside, it will in general be left to a jury to say, whether the new were not substituted for the old. In general there should be an immediate change of possession, or the assignment made notorious, or creditors, who were ignorant of the transfer, may treat it as fraudulent and void, on the ground that the grantor was, by his continuance of possession, enabled to gain a false credit. *Twyne's Case*, 3 Co. 81, see cases, *Tidd. Prac.* 8th ed. 1043, 1044; 1 Campb. 333, 334; 5 Taunt. 212. As to the notoriety of the sale, 2 B. and P. 59; 8 Taunt. 838; 1 B. Moore, 189. If possession be taken at any time before an adverse execution, though long after the date of the deed, it seems it will be valid. 15 East, 21. An assignment to a creditor of all a party's effects, in trust for himself and other creditors, is valid. 3 M. and S. 517. And as a debtor may prefer one creditor to another, he may, on the eve of an execution of one creditor, assign his property to another, so as to satisfy the latter, and leave the other unpaid. 5 T. R. 235. But an assignment made by way of sale, to a person not a creditor, in order to defeat an execution, will, if

another man immediately acquires, all title and interest therein, which may be done either in writing, or by word of mouth, (a) attested by sufficient evidence, of which the delivery of possession is the strongest and most essential. But this conveyance, when merely voluntary, is somewhat suspicious; and is usually construed to be fraudulent, if creditors or others become sufferers thereby. And, particularly, by statute 3 Hen. VII, c. 4, all deeds of gifts of goods, made in trust to the use of the donor, shall be void: because otherwise persons might be tempted to commit treason or felony, without danger of forfeiture; and the creditors of the donor might also be defrauded of their rights. And by statute 13 Eliz. c. 5, every grant or gift of chattels, as well as lands, with an intent to defraud creditors or others, (b) shall be void as against such persons to whom such fraud would be prejudicial; but, as against the grantor himself, shall stand good and effectual; and all persons partakers in, or privy to, such fraudulent grants, shall forfeit the whole value of the goods, one moiety to the king, and another, moiety to the party grieved; and also on conviction shall suffer imprisonment for half a year.

A true and proper gift or grant is always accompanied with delivery of possession, and takes effect immediately, (2) as if A gives to B 100*l.*, or a flock of sheep, and puts him in possession of them directly, it is then a gift executed in the donee; and it is not in the donor's power to retract it, though he did it without any consideration or recompense: (c) unless it be prejudicial to creditors; or the donor were under any legal incapacity, as infancy, coverture, duress, or the like; or if he were drawn in, circumvented or imposed upon, by false pretences, ebriety, or surprise. But if the gift does not take effect, by delivery of immediate possession, it is then not properly a gift, but a contract; [*442] *and this a man cannot be compelled to perform, but upon good and sufficient consideration; as we shall see under our next division.

IX. A contract, which usually conveys an interest merely in action, is thus defined: "an agreement upon sufficient consideration, to do or not to do a particular thing." From which definition there arise three points to be contemplated in all contracts; 1. The *agreement*; 2. The *consideration*; and 3. The *thing* to be done or omitted, or the different species of contracts.

First then it is an *agreement*, a mutual bargain or convention; and therefore there must at least be two contracting parties, of sufficient ability to make a contract; as where A contracts with B to pay him 100*l.* and thereby transfers a property in such sum to B. Which property is however not in possession, but in action merely, and recoverable by suit at law; wherefore it could not be transferred to another person by the strict rules of the ancient common law; for no *chose* in action could be assigned or granted over, (d) because it was thought to be a great encouragement to litigiousness, if a man were allowed to make over to a stranger his right of going to law. But this nicety is now disregarded: though in compliance with the ancient principle, the form of assigning a *chose* in action is in the nature of a declaration of trust, and an agree-

(a) Perk. § 57.

(b) See 3 Rep. 82.

(c) Jenk. 109.

(d) Co. Litt. 214.

the purchaser knew that intention, be void, although he paid a full price for the goods. 1 East, 51; 1 Burr. 474.] See Burrill on Assignments, *passim*.

That gifts prejudicial to existing creditors are void, see 1 Para. on Cont. 5th ed. 235. They may also be void as to subsequent creditors if made under actual or expected insolvency, or with fraudulent intent as to such subsequent creditors. Id.

(2) Delivery is essential to a gift. Noble v. Smith, 2 Johns. 52; Withers v. Weaver, 10 Penn. St. 391; Sims v. Sims, 2 Ala. 117; Carpenter v. Dodge, 20 Vt. 595. It has been held, however, that if the gift be evidenced by writing it is sufficient without delivery. Cranz v. Kroger, 22 Ill. 74. But this may be questionable. But a constructive delivery is sufficient when an actual delivery is impracticable. Williams on Pers. Prop. 34.

[And now by the statute 17 and 18 Vic. c. 36, s. 1, bills of sale, which is the actual denomination of a grant of chattels personal, must be filed with the clerk of dockets and judgments in the court of queen's bench within twenty-one days after the making or giving them; otherwise any such grant will, as against assignees in bankruptcy or insolvency, or creditors, be null and void.]

ment to permit the assignee to make use of the name of the assignor, in order to recover the possession. And, therefore, when in common acceptance a debt or bond is said to be assigned over, it must still be sued in the original creditor's name; the person to whom it is transferred being rather an attorney than an assignee. (3) But the king is an exception to this general rule, for he might always either grant or receive a *chose* in action by assignment: (e) and our courts of equity, considering that in a commercial country almost all personal property must necessarily lie in contract, will protect the assignment of a *chose* in action, as the law will that of a *chose* in possession. (f)

*This contract or agreement may be either express or implied. *Express* contracts are where the terms of the agreement are openly uttered [*443] and avowed at the time of the making, as to deliver an ox, or ten loads of timber, or to pay a stated price for certain goods. *Implied*, are such as reason and justice dictate, and which therefore the law presumes that every man undertakes to perform. As, if I employ a person to do any business for me, or perform any work; the law implies that I undertook, or contracted, to pay him as much as his labour deserves. If I take up wares from a tradesman, without any agreement of price, the law concludes that I contracted to pay their real value. And there is also one species of implied contracts, which runs through and is annexed to all other contracts, conditions, and covenants, viz: that if I fail in my part of the agreement, I shall pay the other party such damages as he has sustained by such my neglect or refusal. In short, almost all the rights of personal property (when not in actual possession) do in great measure depend upon contracts, of one kind or other, or at least might be reduced under some of them: which indeed is the method taken by the civil law; it having referred the greatest part of the duties and rights, which it treats of, to the head of obligations *ex contractu* and *quasi ex contractu*. (g)

A contract may also be either *executed*, as if A agrees to change horses with B, and they do it immediately; in which case the possession and the right are transferred together: or it may be *executory*, as if they agree to change next week; here the right only vests, and their reciprocal property in each other's horse is not in possession but in action; for a contract *executed* (which differs nothing from a grant) conveys a *chose in possession*; a contract *executory* conveys only a *chose in action*.

Having thus shown the general nature of a contract, we are, *secondly*, to proceed to the *consideration* upon which it is founded; or the reason which moves the contracting party to *enter into the contract. "It is an agreement, upon *sufficient consideration*." The civilians hold, that in [*444] all contracts, either express or implied, there must be something given in exchange, something that is mutual or reciprocal. (h) This thing, which is the price or motive of the contract, we call the consideration; and it must be a thing lawful in itself, or else the contract is void. A *good* consideration, we have before seen, (i) is that of blood or natural affection between near relations; the satisfaction accruing from which the law esteems an equivalent for whatever benefit may move from one relation to another. (j) This considera-

(e) Dyer, 30. Bro. Abr. tit. *chose in action*, 1 and 4.

(f) 3 P. Wms. 199.

(g) Inst. 3. 14. 2.

(h) In omnibus contractibus, sive nominatis, sive innominatis, permutatio continetur. Gravina. l. 2. § 12.

(i) Page 297.

(j) 3 Rep. 83.

(3) There are several exceptions to this rule. Bills of exchange when made payable to order were negotiable by the law merchant, and the person to whom they were indorsed might bring suit in his own name. The statute 3 and 4 Anne, c. 9, put promissory notes on the same footing, and if payable to bearer instead of to order they require no indorsement, and the property passes by mere delivery for value. Bills of lading and checks upon bankers are also negotiable, and the tendency of recent decisions is to hold all contracts for the payment of money, which by their terms are payable to bearer, and also all which by custom are transferable on mere delivery, as occupying the like position. See *Delafield v. Illinois*, 2 Hill, 159; *Ido v. Connecticut, &c.*, R. R. Co., 32 Vt. 297; 1 Pars. on Cont. 5th ed. 291. The statutes of some of the states go very much further, and allow the assignee of any *chose* in action to bring suit in his own name. See *Final v. Backus*, 18 Mich. 218.

tion may sometimes, however, be set aside, and the contract become void, when it tends in its consequences to defraud creditors, or other third persons, of their just rights. But a contract for any *valuable* consideration, as for marriage, for money, for work done, or for other reciprocal contracts, can never be impeached at law; and, if it be of a sufficient adequate value, is never set aside in equity; for the person contracted with has then given an equivalent in recompense, and is therefore as much an owner, or a creditor, as any other person. (4)

These valuable considerations are divided by the civilians (*k*) into four species. 1. *Do ut des*: as when I give money or goods, on a contract that I shall be repaid money or goods for them again. Of this kind are all loans of money upon bond, or promise of repayment; and all sales of goods, in which there is either an express contract to pay so much for them, or else the law implies a contract to pay so much as they are worth. 2. The second species is, *facio, ut facias*; as, when I agree with a man to do his work for him, if he will do mine for me; or if two persons agree to marry together; or to do any positive act on both sides. Or, it may be to forbear on one side on consideration of something done on the other, as, that in consideration A, the tenant, will repair his house, B. the landlord, will not sue him for waste. Or, it may be for mutual forbearance on both sides; *as, that in consideration that A will not trade to [*445] Lisbon, B will not trade to Marseilles; so as to avoid interfering with each other. 3. The third species of consideration is, *facio ut des*: when a man agrees to perform any thing for a price, either specifically mentioned, or left to the determination of the law to set a value to it. As when a servant hires himself to his master for certain wages or an agreed sum of money: here the servant contracts to do his master's service, in order to earn that specific sum. Otherwise, if he be hired generally; for then he is under an implied contract to perform this service for what it shall be reasonably worth. 4. The fourth species is *do, ut facias*: which is the direct counterpart of the preceding. As when I agree with a servant to give him such wages upon his performing such work: which, we see, is nothing else but the last species inverted: for *servus facit, ut herus det, and herus dat, ut servus faciat*.

A consideration of some sort or other is so absolutely necessary to the forming of a contract, that a *nudum pactum*, or agreement to do or pay any thing

(*k*) *Fy.* 19, 5, 5.

(4) [If there be no fraud in the transaction, mere inadequacy of price would not be deemed, even in equity, sufficient to vacate a contract. 10 Ves. 292, 295; 1 Brid. Eq. D. 359. Nor is mere folly without fraud a foundation for relief. 8 Price, 620. And on the question of executing an agreement, hardship cannot be regarded, unless it amount to a degree of inconvenience and absurdity so great as to afford judicial proof that such could not be the meaning of the parties. 1 Swans. 329. But if there be such an inadequacy as to show that the person did not understand the bargain he made, or that, knowing it, he was so oppressed that he was glad to make it; this will show such a command over the grantor as may amount to fraud. 2 Bro. Ch. C. 167; 2 Brid. Eq. Dig. 55. An action was brought on an agreement to pay for a horse a barley corn a nail for every nail in the horse's shoes and double every nail, which came to five hundred quarters of barley; and, on a trial before Holt, C. J., the jury gave only the value of the horse. 1 Lev. 111. And in an action of assumpsit, in consideration of 2s. 6d. paid, and 4l. 17s. 6d. to be paid, the defendant undertook to deliver two rye corns next Monday, and double every succeeding Monday for a year, which would have required the delivery of more rye than was grown in all the world: on demurrer, Probyn, J., said, that though the contract was a foolish one, yet it would hold in law, and the defendant ought to pay something for his folly, and made the defendant refund the 2s. 6d. and costs. Ld. Raym. 1164. This seems to have been a vacating of the bargain as void, and a return for *that reason* of the money received without consideration.]

If there be a consideration of some value the courts do not usually inquire into its adequacy, and a very small consideration may support a very onerous promise. Metc. on Cont. 168. Nevertheless, if the contract is plainly unconscionable, the party who sues for a breach of it in a court of law will be awarded such damages only as seem reasonable: Cutler v. How, 8 Mass. 257; and if he seeks specific performance in a court of equity it will be refused. Osgood v. Franklin, 2 Johns. Ch. 23; Chambers v. Livermore, 15 Mich. 281: A seal to a contract imports a consideration, and, at law, obviates the necessity of proving one: Metc. on Cont. 161, 233; but not, it seems, in equity, when enforcement of the contract is sought in that forum. Black v. Cord, 2 Har. and G. 100. Sharpe v. Rogers, 12 Minn. 174.

on one side, without any compensation on the other, is totally void in law; and a man cannot be compelled to perform it. *(l)* (5) As if one man promises to give another 100*l.*, here there is nothing contracted for or given on the one side, and therefore there is nothing binding on the other. And, however a man may or may not be bound to perform it, in honour or conscience, which the municipal laws do not take upon them to decide; certainly those municipal laws will not compel the execution of what he had no visible inducement to engage for: and therefore our law has adopted *(m)* the maxim of the civil law, *(n)* that *ex nudo pacto non oritur actio*. But any degree of reciprocity will prevent the pact from being nude: nay, even if the thing be founded on a prior moral obligation (as a promise to pay a just debt, though barred by the statute of limitations,) it is no longer *nudum pactum*. (6) And as this rule was principally established to avoid the inconvenience that would arise from setting up mere verbal promises, for which no good reason could *be assigned, *(o)* it therefore does not hold in some cases, where such promise is authentically proved by written documents. For if a man enters into a voluntary bond, or gives a promissory note, he shall not be allowed to aver the want of a consideration in order to evade the payment: for every bond, from the solemnity of the instrument, *(p)* and every note, from the subscription of the drawer, *(q)* (7) carries with it an internal evidence of a good consideration.

(l) Dr. & St. d. 2, c. 24.
(o) Plowd. 308, 309.

(m) Bro. Abr. tit. dette. 79.
(p) Hurd. 200. 1 Ch. R. 157.

Salk. 129. (n) Cod. 2, 3, 10 and 5, 14, 1.
(q) Ld. Raym. 760.

(5) [This must be read as confined to simple contracts; for no consideration is essential to the validity of a contract under seal, though in some cases creditors may treat voluntary deeds without consideration, as fraudulent and invalid. 7 T. R. 477; 4 East, 200; 2 Sch. and Lef. 228; Fonbl. Eq. 2d ed. 347, n. f.; Plowd. 308, 309. The leading rule with respect to consideration is, that it must be some benefit to the party by whom the promise is made, or to a third person at his instance, or some detriment sustained at the instance of the party promising, by the party in whose favor the promise is made. 4 East, 455; 1 Taunt. 523. A written agreement, *not under seal*, is *nudum pactum*, without consideration; and a negotiable security as a bill of exchange, or promissory note, carries with it prima facie evidence of consideration, which is binding in the hands of a third party, to whom it has been negotiated, but may be inquired into between the immediate parties to the bill, &c., themselves. The consideration for a contract, as well as the promise for which it is given, must also be *legal*. Thus a contract for the sale of blasphemous, obscene, or libellous prints, or for the furtherance of immoral practices, or contrary to public policy, or detrimental to the rights of third parties, or in contravention of the statute law, in all these cases the considerations are invalid, and the contracts void.]

(6) A mere moral obligation is not a sufficient consideration to support an express contract, except in those cases where there was originally an obligation which was enforceable but for the interference of some positive rule of law. The reporters, in a note to the leading case of *Wennall v. Adney*, 3 B. and P. 352, state the law very correctly to be, that "an express promise can only revive a precedent good consideration, which might have been enforced at law, through the medium of an implied promise, had it not been suspended by some positive rule of law, but can give no original right of action if the obligation on which it is founded could never have been enforced at law, though not barred by any legal maxim or statute provision." Accordingly it has been held that a promise made by a father to pay expenses incurred in caring for his adult child taken sick at a distance from his relatives, would not support an action. *Mills v. Wyman*, 3 Pick. 207. Neither would a promise to pay for labor expended by the plaintiff on land which he claimed, but which the defendant recovered from him. *Frear v. Hardenberg*, 5 Johns. 272. Nor a promise to pay a witness a sum beyond his legal fees for attendance upon court. *Willis v. Peckham*, 1 Brod. and Bing. 515. And see *Eastwood v. Kenyon*, 11 A. and E. 438; *Cook v. Bradley*, 7 Conn. 57; *Parker v. Carter*, 4 Munf. 273; and the cases cited in *Metc. on Cont.* 178; *et seq.*, and 1 Pars. on Cont. 5th ed. 434.

A promise to pay a debt barred by the statute of limitations, or discharged in bankruptcy, or contracted during infancy, may be enforced within this rule; and so may the promise of an indorser to pay a bill from which he is discharged by neglect to give notice of dishonor. But where one released his debtor in order to make him a witness, the debtor's promise to pay the debt was held to be *nudum pactum*. *Valentine v. Foster*, 1 Met. 520.

(7) [Mr. Fonblanque, in his discussion of the subject of consideration, referred to in the last note but one, has taken notice of this inaccuracy: he says, what certainly is fully established, that the want of consideration cannot be averred by the maker of a note, if the action be brought by an indorsee; but if the action be brought by the payee, the want of consid-

Courts of justice will therefore support them both, as against the contractor himself; but not to the prejudice of creditors, or strangers to the contract.

We are next to consider, *thirdly*, the thing agreed to be done or omitted. "A contract is an agreement, upon sufficient consideration, *to do or not to do a particular thing*." The most usual contracts, whereby the right of chattels personal may be acquired in the laws of England, are, 1. That of *sale or exchange*. 2. That of *bailment*. 3. That of *hiring and borrowing*. 4. That of *debt*.

1. Sale, or *exchange*, is a transmutation of property from one man to another, in consideration of some price or recompense in value: for there is no sale without a recompense: there must be *quid pro qua*. (r) If it be a commutation of goods for goods, it is more properly an *exchange*: but if it be a transferring of goods for money, it is called a *sale*; which is a method of exchange introduced for the convenience of mankind, by establishing an universal medium, which may be exchanged for all sorts of other property; whereas, if goods were only to be exchanged for goods, by way of barter, it would be difficult to adjust the respective values, and the carriage would be intolerably cumbersome. All civilized nations adopted, therefore, very early the use of money; for we find Abraham giving "four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant," for the field of Macpelah; (s) though the practice of exchange still subsists among several of the savage nations. But with regard to the *law* of [*447] *sales and exchanges, there is no difference. I shall, therefore, treat of them both under the denomination of sales only; and shall consider their force and effect, in the first place where the vendor *hath* in himself, and secondly where he *hath not*, the property of the thing sold.

Where the vendor *hath* in himself the property of the goods sold, he hath the liberty of disposing of them to whomsoever he pleases, at any time, and in any manner; unless judgment has been obtained against him for a debt or damages, and the writ of execution is actually delivered to the sheriff. For then, by the statute of frauds, (t) the sale shall be looked upon as fraudulent, and the property of the goods shall be bound to answer the debt, from the time of delivering the writ. (8) Formerly it was bound from the *teste*, or issuing of the writ, (u) and any subsequent sale was fraudulent; but the law was thus altered in favour of *purchasers*, though it still remains the same between the *parties*; and therefore if a defendant dies after the awarding and before the delivery of the writ, his goods are bound by it in the hands of his executors. (v) (9)

If a man agrees with another for goods at a certain price, he may not carry them away before he hath paid for them; for it is no sale without payment, unless the contrary be expressly agreed. And therefore, if the vendor says, the price of a beast is four pounds, and the vendee says he will give four pounds, the bargain is struck; and they neither of them are at liberty to be off, provided immediate possession be tendered by the other side. But if neither the money be paid nor the goods delivered, nor tender made, nor any subsequent agreement be entered into, it is no contract, and the owner may dispose of the goods as he pleases. (w) But if any part of the price is paid down, if it be but a penny, or any portion of the goods delivered by way of *earnest* (which the

(r) Noy's Max. c. 42. (s) Gen. c. 23, v. 16. (t) 29 Car. II, c. 3. (u) 8 Rep. 171. 1 Mod. 188.
(v) Comb. 33. 12 Mod. 5. 7 Mod. 35. (w) Hob. 41. Noy's Max. c. 42.

eration is a bar to the plaintiff's recovering upon it. 1 Stra. 674; Bull. N. P. 274; 1 B. and P. 651; 2 Atk. 182; and Chitty on Bills, 63. An indorsee, who has given full value for a bill of exchange, may maintain an action both against him who drew it and him who accepted it, without any consideration. 4 T. R. 339, 471; 5 Esp. Rep. 178; 3 id. 46.]

(8) This rule is believed not to prevail generally in the United States, but the goods are bound only from the time when they are actually levied upon by virtue of the writ.

(9) [If two writs are delivered to the sheriff on the same day, he is bound to execute the first which he receives; but if he levies and sells under the second, the sale to a vendee, without notice of the first, is irrevocable, and the sheriff makes himself answerable to both parties. 1 Salk. 320; 1 T. R. 729.]

civil law calls *arrha*, and interprets to be "*emptionis venditionis *contractæ argumentum*," (x), the property of the goods is absolutely bound [*448] by it; and the vendee may recover the goods by action, as well as the vendor may the price of them. (y) (10) And such regard does the law pay to earnest as an evidence of a contract, that, by the same statute, 29 Car. II, c. 3, no contract for the sale of goods, to the value of 10*l.* or more, shall be valid, unless the buyer actually receives part of the goods sold, by way of earnest on his part; or unless he gives part of the price to the vendor by way of earnest to bind the bargain, or in part of payment; or unless some note in writing be made and signed by the party, or his agent, who is to be charged with the contract. (11) And with regard to goods under the value of 10*l.* no contract or agreement for the sale of them shall be valid, unless the goods are to be delivered within one year, or unless the contract be made in writing, and signed by the party, or his agent, who is to be charged therewith. (12) Anciently, among all the northern nations, shaking of hands was held necessary to bind the bargain; a custom which we still retain in many verbal contracts. A sale thus made was called *handsale*, "*venditio per mutuum manuum complexionem*;" (z) till in process of time the same word was used to signify the price or earnest, which was given immediately after the shaking of hands, or instead thereof.

As soon as the bargain is struck, the property of the goods is transferred to the vendee, and that of the price to the vendor; but the vendee cannot take the

(x) *Inst.* 3, tit. 24.

(y) *Noy, ibid.*

(z) *Stiernhook de jure Goth.* l. 2, c. 5.

(10) [The property does not seem to be *absolutely bound* by the earnest: for Lord Holt has laid down the following rules, viz.: "That notwithstanding the earnest the money must be paid upon fetching away the goods, because no other time for payment is appointed; that earnest only binds the bargain, and gives the party a right to demand; but then a demand without the payment of the money is void; that after earnest given, the vendor cannot sell the goods to another, without a default in the vendee; and therefore if the vendee does not come and pay, and take the goods, the vendor ought to go and request him; and then if he does not come and pay, and take away the goods in a convenient time, the agreement is dissolved, and he is at liberty to sell them to any other person." 1 Salk. 113; see 3 Camp. 426.]

(11) [In construing the statute of frauds, the principal difficulty has arisen in determining what acts between the parties amount to a delivery on the one part, and acceptance on the other. An *actual* delivery by the seller, and acceptance by the buyer, is not necessary in all cases; as where goods are ponderous, delivery of the key of the warehouse in which they are deposited, or delivery of other tokens of property is sufficient. 1 Atk. 170; 1 East, 194. Or payment of warehouse rent by the purchaser. 1 Camp. Rep. 452. Where goods are sold by sample, delivery of the sample to the purchaser may be part delivery within the statute: 5 Esp. 267; 7 East, 564; but it is otherwise if the sample be not part of the bulk. 7 T. R. 14; Holt. N. P. 179. Delivery of an order by the seller, to a wharfinger or warehouseman who has the custody of the goods, to deliver them to the vendee, is sufficient to satisfy the statute. 2 Esp. Rep. 598. So, if a purchaser write his name or initials upon the article bought, it will suffice; but other articles bought at the same time will not pass unless the signature is put upon them also. 1 Camp. 233, 235, n. But in the case of *Tempest v. Fitzgerald*, where the defendant agreed to purchase a horse for ready money, and to take it at a distant specified day, before which day defendant rode the horse and gave directions as to its treatment, but requested that it might remain in plaintiff's possession for a further time, when he would fetch it away and pay the price, to which plaintiff assented, and the horse died in the interval, it was held that there was no acceptance of the horse within the meaning of the statute of frauds. In this case there was no earnest given, nor part payment, nor any note or memorandum in writing, which distinguishes it from the case in the text; and as it was a ready money bargain, the purchaser could have no right to take away the horse till the price was paid, and of course there could be no acceptance on the part of the defendant. These cases will illustrate the principle on which the statute of frauds is founded, the object of which (in the language of Mr. J. Holroyd) was to remove all doubts as to the completion of the *bargain*, and it therefore requires some clear and unequivocal acts to be done in order to show that the thing had ceased to be in fieri. 3 Bar. and Ald. 634.]

(12) [And this enactment is, by Lord Tenterden's act (9 Geo. IV, c. 14), extended to all contracts for the sale of goods of the value of 10*l.* sterling and upwards, notwithstanding the goods may be intended to be delivered at some future time, or may not, at the time of the contract, be actually made, or provided, or ready for delivery, or some act may be requisite for the making or completing thereof, or rendering the same fit for delivery.]

goods, until he tenders the price agreed on. (a) (13) But if he tenders the money to the vendor, and he refuses it, the vendee may seize the goods, or have

(a) Hop. 41.

(13) [It has long been settled that delivery to an agent of the vendee (and for this purpose common carriers, packers, and wharfingers, are considered to stand in that character) is for most purposes a delivery to the vendee himself. But this species of delivery affords a security to the vendor upon credit, which does not exist where the delivery is actually made to the vendee himself; for if the vendor discover that the vendee is insolvent, or has become bankrupt, he may seize upon the goods so sold upon credit, and delivered into the hands of such carrier, &c., at any time before their actual and complete delivery to the vendee. This branch of the law is called STOPPAGE IN TRANSITU, and though not referred to in the text, may be properly stated in this place, from its importance in the concerns of trade and commerce. This law is founded upon an equitable right in the vendor to detain the goods until the price be paid or tendered, for stoppage in transitu does not rescind the contract of sale: 1 Atk. 245; 3 T. R. 466; 6 East, 27; and if the vendor afterwards offer to deliver them, he may, unless he had resold them, recover the price, which he could not do if by stopping in transitu the sale was rescinded. 1 Camp. 109; 6 Taunt. 162. The right extends to every case in which the contract is in effect a sale, and the consignor substantially the vendor of the goods. 3 East, 93; Amb. 399; 3 T. R. 783. It extends also to contracts of exchange, as to an agreement between consignor and consignee that the latter shall return another commodity of equal value in payment, and the fulfilment of which engagement is rendered hazardous by his insolvency. Sittings post M. Term. Guildhall, 1822; 3 Chit. C. L. 346. The consignor of goods for sale on the joint account of himself and the consignee, may exercise this right in the event of the bankruptcy or insolvency of the latter: 6 East, 371; but it does not arise between principal and factor, for the property is never divested out of the principal, and the factor as against him has only a right of lien upon the goods, and he cannot, after parting with them, repossess himself of them while in transitu. 1 East, 4; 2 New R. 64. Nor can the surety for the payment of the price of goods, by the vendee, though he may have accepted the bills drawn upon him by the consignee for that purpose, stop the goods in transitu. 1 Bos. and Pul. 563. If a party, being indebted to another, on the balance of accounts, including bills of exchange running accepted by the latter, consign goods to him on account of this balance, the consignor has no right to stop them in transitu, upon the consignee becoming insolvent before the bills are paid. 4 Campb. 31. If a sale be legalized by license, and the vendor be an alien enemy, he may stop the goods in transitu: 15 East. 419; and any authorized agent of the consignor may exercise the right. See 1 Campb. 369: Though the consignment must be on credit, at least for some part of the price, yet partial payment, acceptance of bills on account of, and not as actual payment, or the vendor's being indebted to the vendee in part of the value, will not defeat the right to resume possession before actual delivery to the vendee. 7 T. R. 440, 464; 3 East, 93; 2 Vern. 203. It is necessary that the consignee should become bankrupt or be insolvent for the vendor to exercise this right. 6 Robinson Ad. R. 321. It is not necessary that the vendor, to exercise this right of stoppage, should actually take possession of the property consigned, by corporal touch: he may put in his claim or demand of his right to the goods in transitu, either verbally or in writing, and it will be equivalent in law to an actual stoppage of the goods, provided it be made before the transit has expired. 2 B. and P. 457, 462; 2 Esp. R. 613; Co. B. L. 494; 1 Atk. 45; Amb. 399; 3 East, 394. This right may be exercised by making out a new invoice or bill of lading: Holt, N. P. 338; but such a claim on the part of the consignee would not be sufficient to divest the former of his right. 2 Esp. 613; 5 East, 175; 14 id. 308. The *transitu* in goods continues till there has been an actual delivery to the vendee or his agent expressly authorized for that purpose, with the express or implied consent of the vendor to sanction such delivery. 3 T. R. 466; 5 East, 181. The delivery of goods to the master on board a ship wholly chartered by the consignee, is not such a delivery to the vendee as to put an end to the *transitu*; for the master is a carrier of both consignor and consignee; and till a ship is actually at the end of her voyage, the right of stoppage in transitu continues; and where a ship came into port without performing quarantine, when she ought to have done so, and the assignees of the consignee, who had become bankrupt, took possession of the goods, and the ship was ordered out of port to perform quarantine, where an agent of the consignor claimed the goods on behalf of his principal, it was held that the consignor had properly exercised and might claim a stoppage in transitu. 1 Esp. 240. And goods deposited in the king's warehouses under 26 Geo. III, c. 59, may be stopped in transitu, though they have been claimed by the consignee. 2 Esp. 663.

On the other hand, the *transitu* may be determined by delivery of the key of the warehouse where the goods are deposited to the vendee. 3 T. R. 464; 8 T. R. 199: or payment of rent for such warehouse to the vendor, or to the wharfinger, with the vendor's privity. 1 Campb. 452; 2 id. 243; 1 Marsh. 257, 258. And in all similar cases of constructive delivery and acceptance, the right to stoppage in transitu is at an end. See 7 Taunt. 278; 2 Bar. and Cres. 540; 1 Ryan and Moody, N. P. C. 6; and 3 Chitty's Com. L. 340.]

Upon the right of stoppage in transitu, see the American cases collected in 1 Pars. on Cont. 5th Am. ed. 595-601. And see Houston on Stoppage in Transitu.

an action against the vendor for detaining them. And by a regular sale, without delivery, the property is so absolutely vested in the vendee, that if A sells a horse to B for 10*l.*, and he pays him earnest or signs a note in writing of the bargain; and afterwards, before the delivery of the horse, or money paid, the horse dies in the vendor's custody, still he is entitled to the money, because by the *contract the property was in the vendee. (*b*) Thus may property [*449] in goods be transferred by sale, where the vendor *hath* such property in himself.

But property may also in some cases be transferred by sale, though the vendor *hath none at all* in the goods; for it is expedient that the buyer, by taking proper precautions, may at all events be secure of his purchase; otherwise all commerce between man and man must soon be at an end. And therefore the general rule of the law is, (*c*) that all sales and contracts of any thing vendible, in fairs or markets *overt*, (14) (that is, open,) shall not only be good between the parties, but also be binding on all those that have any right or property therein. And for this purpose, the Mirror informs us, (*d*) were tolls established in markets, viz.: to testify the making of contracts; for every private contract was discountenanced by law: insomuch that our Saxon ancestors prohibited the sale of anything above the value of twenty pence, unless in open market, and directed every bargain and sale to be contracted in the presence of credible witnesses. (*e*) Market overt in the country is only held on the special days provided for particular towns by charter or prescription; but in London every day, except Sunday, is market day. (*f*) The market place, or spot of ground set apart by custom for the sale of particular goods, is also in the country the only market overt; (*g*) but in London every shop in which goods are exposed publicly to sale is market overt, for such things only as the owner professes to trade in. (*h*) But if my goods are stolen from me, and sold, out of market overt, my property is not altered, and I may take them wherever I find them. And it is expressly provided by statute 1 Jac. I, c. 21, that the sale of any goods, wrongfully taken, to any pawnbroker in London, or within two miles thereof, shall not alter the property: for this, being usually a clandestine trade, is therefore made an exception to the general rule. And even in market overt, if the goods be the property of the king, such sale (though regular in other respects) *will in no case bind him; though it binds infants, feme-coverts, idiots, and lunatics, and men beyond sea or in prison: or if the goods be stolen [*450] from a common person, and then taken by the king's officer from the felon, and sold in open market; still, if the owner has used due diligence in prosecuting the thief to conviction, he loses not his property in the goods. (*i*) (15) So likewise, if the buyer knoweth the property not to be in the seller; or there be any other fraud in the transaction; if he knoweth the seller to be an infant, or feme-covert not usually trading for herself; if the sale be not originally and wholly made in the fair or market, or not at the usual hours; the owner's property is not bound thereby. (*j*) If a man buys his own goods in a fair or market, the contract of sale shall not bind him, so that he shall render the price: unless the property had been previously altered by a former sale. (*k*) And notwithstanding any number of intervening sales, if the original vendor, who sold without having the property, comes again into the possession of the goods, the original owner may take them, when found in his hands who was guilty of the first breach of justice. (*l*) By which wise regulations the common law has secured the right of the proprietor in personal chattels from being divested, so far as was

(*b*) Noy, c. 42.

(*c*) 2 Inst. 713.

(*d*) C. 1, § 3.

(*e*) LL. Ethel. 10, 12. LL. Eadg. Wilk. 80.

(*f*) Cro. Jac. 68.

(*g*) Godb. 131.

(*h*) 5 Rep. 83.

12 Mod. 521.

(*i*) Bacon's Use of the law, 158.

(*j*) 2 Inst. 713, 914.

(*k*) Perk. § 93.

(*l*) 2 Inst. 713.

(14) This rule does not obtain in the United States. *Wheelwright v. Depeyster*, 1 Johns. 471.

(15) This subject is now covered by statute 24 and 25 Vic. c. 96, s. 100. See 7 C. and P. 431; id. 646. The effect of the statute is, upon conviction of the thief, to restore to the owner the property in the goods stolen, with all the legal remedies incident to that right; and this notwithstanding a sale in market overt. *Scattergood v. Sylvester*, 15 Q. B. 506; *Roscoe, Cr. Ev.* 212.

consistent with that other necessary policy, that purchasers, *bona fide*, in a fair, open and regular manner, shall not be afterwards put to difficulties by reason of the previous knavery of the seller.

But there is one species of personal chattels, in which the property is not easily altered by sale, without the express consent of the owner, and those are horses. (*m*) For a purchaser gains no property in a horse that has been stolen, unless it be bought in a fair or market overt, according to the direction of the statutes 2 P. and M. c. 7, and 31 Eliz. c. 12. By which it is enacted, that the horse shall be openly exposed, in the time of such fair or market, for one whole hour together, between ten in the morning and sunset, in the public place used for such sales, and not in any private yard or stable; and afterwards brought by both the vendor and vendee to the book-keeper of such fair or market; that toll [*451] be paid, if any *be due; and if not, one penny to the book-keeper, who shall enter down the price, colour and marks of the horse, with the names, additions, and abode of the vendee and vendor; the latter being properly attested. Nor shall such sale take away the property of the owner, if within six months after the horse is stolen he puts in his claim before some magistrate, where the horse shall be found; and, within forty days more, proves such his property by the oath of two witnesses, and tenders to the person in possession such price as he *bona fide* paid for him in market overt. But in case any one of the points before mentioned be not observed, such sale is utterly void; and the owner shall not lose his property, but at any distance of time may seize or bring an action for his horse, wherever he happens to find him.

By the civil law (*n*) an implied warranty was annexed to every sale, in respect to the title of the vendor; and so, too, in our law, a purchaser of goods and chattels may have a satisfaction from the seller, if he sells them as his own and the title proves deficient, without any express warranty for that purpose. (*o*) (16) But with regard to the goodness of the wares so purchased, the vendor is not bound to answer; unless he expressly warrants them to be sound and good, (*p*) (17) or unless he knew them to be otherwise, and hath used any art to

(*m*) 2 Inst. 719.

(*n*) *Ff.* 21, 2, 1.

(*o*) *Cro. Jac.* 474. 1 *Roll. Abr.* 90.

(*p*) *F. N. B.* 94.

(16) Mr. Parsons in his treatise on contracts states the rule as settled in the United States, "that the seller of a chattel, if in possession, warrants by implication that it is his own, and is answerable to the purchaser if it be taken from him by one who has a better title than the seller, whether the seller knew the defect of his title or not, and whether he did or did not make a distinct affirmation of his title. But if the seller is out of possession, and no affirmation of title is made, then it may be said that the purchaser buys at his peril." "If the seller is in possession, but the possession is of such a kind as not to denote or imply title in him, there would be no warranty of title in England, and we are confident there would be none in this country." 1 *Parson* on *Cont.* 5th ed. 574. Chancellor Kent says there is an implied warranty of title "if the seller has possession of the article, and he sells it as his own, and not as agent for another, and for a fair price." 2 *Kent*, 478; see cases cited by these authors; also *Benj. on Sales*, 466, *et seq.*

(17) There are some exceptions, however, to the doctrine here stated. One of these exceptions is, where chattels are sold by sample, in which case there is an implied warranty that they correspond with the sample exhibited. *Bradford* 2. *Manley*, 13 *Mass.* 139; *Bervice v. Dord*, 2 *Sandf.* 89, and 5 *N. Y.* 95; *Borrekins v. Bevan*, 3 *Rawle*, 37; *Rose v. Beatie*, 2 *Nott and McC.* 538; *Hall v. Plasson*, 19 *La. An.* 11. Another is where an article is ordered from a manufacturer for a special purpose, and is supplied for that purpose, in which case the manufacturer takes upon himself the risk of supplying that which is fit for the purpose. The leading case upon this subject is *Jones v. Bright*, 5 *Bing.* 533, in which it was decided that one who sells goods manufactured by himself, knowing the purpose for which they are to be used by the purchaser, impliedly warrants that they are reasonably fit and proper for that purpose, and is answerable for latent defects, inasmuch as, being the maker, he has the means of ascertaining and of guarding against these defects, whereas the purchaser must necessarily be altogether ignorant of them. See also *Laing v. Fidgeon*, 6 *Taunt.* 108; *Chanter v. Hopkins*, 4 *M. and W.* 399; *Howard v. Hoey*, 23 *Wend.* 351; *Dickson v. Jordan*, 11 *Ired.* 166; *Brenton v. Davis*, 8 *Blackf.* 317; *Bird v. Mayer*, 8 *Wis.* 362; *Rodgers v. Niles*, 11 *Ohio*, *N. S.* 48; *Beals v. Olmstead*, 24 *Vt.* 114. Another is where provisions are sold, not to a dealer, for immediate domestic use. *Moses v. Mead*, 1 *Denio*, 378; *Emerson v. Brigham*, 11 *Mass.* 197; *Winsor v. Lombard*, 18 *Pick.* 57; *Humphreys v. Comline*, 8 *Blackf.* 516; *Hoover v. Peters*, 18 *Mich.* 51; *Divine v. McCormick*, 50 *Barb.* 116.

In judicial sales, however, there is no implied warranty. *The Monte Allegre*, 9 *Wheat.* 644.

disguise them, (q) or unless they turn out to be different from what he represented them to the buyer. (18)

2. Bailment, (19) from the French *bailler*, to deliver, is a delivery of goods in trust, upon a contract, express or implied, that the trust shall be faithfully

(q) 2 Roll. Rep. 5.

(18) Any distinct assertion of the quality or condition of the thing sold, not intended as mere matter of opinion or belief, made by the seller during the negotiations for the sale, for the purpose of assuring the buyer of the truth of the fact asserted, and inducing him to make the purchase, if received and relied upon by him, is an express warranty. *Osgood v. Lewis*, 2 Har. and G. 495; *Roberts v. Morgan*, 2 Cow. 438; *Hawkins v. Berry*, 5 Gil. 36; *Otto v. Alderson*, 10 S. and M. 476; *Cook v. Moseley*, 13 Wend. 277. But if the contract of sale is in writing, and contains no warranty, parol evidence is not admissible to add a warranty. *Van Ostrand v. Reed*, 1 Wend. 424; *Lamb v. Crafts*, 12 Met. 353; *Dean v. Mason*, 4 Conn. 432; *Reed v. Wood*, 9 Vt. 285; 1 Pars. on Cont. 5th ed. 589. A mere receipted bill of sale, however, does not preclude proof of warranty. *Hersom v. Henderson*, 1 Fost. 224; *Bradford v. Manly*, 13 Mass. 142; *Picard v. McCormick*, 11 Mich. 68. As to what will constitute frauds in a sale, see 1 Pars. on Cont. 5th ed. 578.

(19) [There are two celebrated classifications of the various kinds of bailments: that of Lord Holt in the case of *Coggs v. Bernard*, Lord Raym. 909; 1 Smith Lead. Cas. 77; and that of Sir Wm. Jones. Lord Holt's was thus expressed: "There are six sorts of bailments. The first sort of bailment is a bare naked bailment of goods delivered by one man to another to keep for the use of the bailor; and this I call a *depositum*; and it is that sort of bailment which is mentioned in *Southcote's Case*, 4 Rep. 83. The second sort is when goods or chattels that are useful are lent to a friend gratis, to be used by him, and this is called *commodatum*, because the thing is to be restored in specie. The third sort is when goods are left with the bailee to be used by him for hire: this is called *locatio et conductio*, and the lender is called the *locator*, and the borrower *conductor*. The fourth sort is when goods or chattels are delivered to another as a pawn, to be security to him for money borrowed of him by the bailor; and this is called in Latin *vadum*, and in English a pawn or a pledge. The fifth sort is when the goods or chattels are delivered to be carried, or something is to be done about them for a reward, to be paid by the person who delivers them, to the bailee, who is to do the thing about them. The sixth sort is when there is a delivery of goods or chattels to somebody who is to carry them, or to do something about them gratis, without any reward for such his work or carriage." The fifth sort of bailment mentioned by Lord Holt is called *locatio operis faciendi*, and the sixth *mandatum*.

Upon this judgment of Lord Holt, Sir W. Jones has these remarks: "His division of bailments into six sorts appears in the first place a little inaccurate; for in fact his fifth sort is no more than a branch of his third, and he might with equal reason have added a seventh, since the fifth is capable of another subdivision. I acknowledge, therefore, but five species of bailment, which I shall now enumerate and define, with all the Latin names, one or two of which Lord Holt has omitted. 1. *Depositum*, which is a naked bailment, without reward, of goods to be kept for the bailor. 2. *Mandatum* or *commissio*, when the mandatory undertakes without recompense to do some act about the things bailed, or simply to carry them; and hence Sir H. Finch divides bailments into two sorts, to keep, and to employ. 3. *Commodatum*, or loan for use, when goods are bailed without pay, to be used for a certain time by the bailee. 4. *Pignori acceptum*, when a thing is bailed by a debtor to his creditor in pledge, or as security for the debt. 5. *Locatum* or hiring, which is always for a reward, and this bailment is either. *Locatio rei*, by which the hirer gains the temporary use of the thing; or, 2. *Locatio operis faciendi*, when work and labor, or care and pains are to be performed or bestowed on the thing delivered; or 3. *Locatio operis mercium vehendarum*, when goods are bailed for the purpose of being carried from place to place, either to a public carrier, or to a private person." Dr. Story makes a separate subdivision under the head of hiring, of *locatio custodiæ*, which Sir W. Jones refers to the general title of *locatio operis faciendi*. I am unable to guess at the analogy which could have led Sir W. Jones to confuse *locatio operis* with *locatio rei*, and to rank Lord Holt's fifth sort of bailment as a branch of his third.

The difference between the first and sixth classes, it will be observed, is merely that, in the one, the bailee's care extends only to the keeping of the goods, while in the other he carries or performs some work upon them. If there were any real distinction, for the purposes of arrangement, between the care bestowed in keeping and watching, and the care bestowed in carrying or working upon goods, the fifth class, which includes bailments with reward for custody, as well as for carriage or for manipulation, should have been divided into two. But the arrangement may be better amended by uniting the first and sixth kinds; and then (setting aside the case of a pawn, which is peculiar, and involves a contingent dereliction of ownership) we have four kinds of bailment, reducible to two general heads, viz.: 1. Bailment of goods to be kept carried, or manufactured with or without reward. 2. Hiring of goods, with or without payment.

There are two considerations of importance with respect to a bailee, which should not be passed over: his liability for loss or injury to the thing bailed; and his lien for the recompense for his labor bestowed upon it.

executed on the part of the bailee. As if cloth be delivered, or (in our legal dialect) bailed, to a tailor to make a suit of clothes, he has it upon an implied contract to render it again when made, and that in a workmanly manner. (r) If money or goods be delivered to a common carrier, to convey from Oxford to London, he is under a contract in law to pay, or carry them, to the person appointed. (s) If a horse, or other goods, be delivered to an innkeeper or his

(r) 1 Vern. 268.

(s) 12 Mod. 482.

The liability of the bailee for losses and injuries depends upon the nature of the contract of bailment, and the amount of care which might have prevented the injury. The result of the cases is thus stated by Mr. Smith: "Bailees may be divided into three general classes, varying from one another in their degrees of responsibility. The first of these is when the bailment is for the benefit of the bailor alone; this includes the cases of mandatories and deposits, and in this the bailee is liable only for gross negligence. See 11 Mee. and W. 113. The second is where the bailment is for the benefit of the bailee alone; this comprises loans, and in this class the bailee is bound to the very strictest diligence. The third is where the bailment is for the benefit both of bailor and bailee; this includes *locatio rei*, *radium*, and *locatio operis*; and in this class an ordinary and average degree of diligence is sufficient to exempt the bailee from responsibility. 1 Lead. Cas. 104; 4 Nev. and M. 170; 1 H. Bl. 158; 8 Mee. and W. 258; 3 Scott, N. R. 1. All bailees become responsible for loss by casualty or violence, after their refusal to return the goods bailed, upon a lawful demand. Noy's Max. 215; Jones on Bailments, 42, 120. The liabilities of innkeepers and carriers rest on peculiar grounds, and deserve more particular notice.

An innkeeper's liability is not so extensive as that of a carrier, nor is he regarded, as a carrier is, in the light of a surety. He is bound to keep safely all such things as his guests deposit in his custody, or within his inn; and all losses, except those arising from irresistible force, the act of God, or the king's enemies, are *prima facie* presumed to arise from the negligence of himself or his servants.

He may excuse himself by showing, if he can, that he and his servants were guilty of no negligence, and that the loss was the result of inevitable accident or superior force, or arose from the guest's own default, as that the robbery was committed by the guest's own servant or companion; but the plea of sickness or even insanity at the time, will not avail him; nor is the guest's mere negligence any excuse. Jeremy, 145; Cro. Eliz. 622; 3 B. and Al. 283; 8 B. and Cr. 9; see 7 Jurist, 1038. He cannot discharge himself from responsibility by refusing to take charge of the goods, because there are suspected persons in the house, whose conduct he cannot control. Jones, 95; 5 T. R. 273; 8 Coke, 32. If he refuse because his house is full of parcels, he is still liable for a loss, if the goods are deposited there, though he is not informed of it, provided the owner remains a guest. 8 Rep. 63; 5 T. R. 273. When the guest quits the inn, the goods, if left, become a simple deposit, gratuitous or for hire, as the case may be. But if the guest obtain exclusive use of a room, for the purpose of a shop or warehouse, his conduct may exonerate the innkeeper as to the property therein. Holt, 209, 211, n.; 1 Stark. 249; see also 4 Mau. and S. 306; 4 Dowl. and Ry. 636; 2 Barn. and Adol. 803; 1 Adol. and El. 533.

The 6 Ann. c. 31, and 14 Geo. III, c. 78, seem to exonerate bailees generally from liability for losses occasioned by fire beginning in any house or chamber; the latter act extends to barns, stables, or other buildings, on any person's estate, within the bills of mortality; but it seems that innkeepers and carriers are not within the protection of this statute. 4 T. B. 581; 5 id. 389; 1 Stark. 72.

Special carriers who do not undertake to carry for all persons indiscriminately, have no greater liabilities than any other bailees for hire. Common carriers are those who undertake to carry for all persons indifferently, see 8 Car. and P. 207, and they are bound to do so for reasonable hire and reward. 2 Show. 81, 129; 1 B. and Al. 32; 4 Mee. and W. 749; 8 id. 443; 10 id. 161.

A common carrier is not merely answerable as a bailee for the consequences of his own negligence, but has a further liability in the character of an insurer against accidents and losses, however inevitable, that do not arise from the act of the queen's enemies, or of God, such as tempests, &c.; and even for losses arising from such causes as these latter, if he voluntarily encounters the mischief. 1 T. R. 27; 5 id. 389; 1 Per. and D. 4. Carriers were in the habit of endeavoring to limit their liabilities in this respect, by notices to the effect that they would not be accountable for property beyond a certain value, unless the value was declared, and an insurance was paid; and wherever it could be proved that these notices had come to the knowledge of their employers, they were allowed the benefit of the contract implied from such knowledge: 6 B. and Cr. 601; see 12 Moore, 447; and remained answerable only for the consequences of their gross negligence. 2 B. and Al. 356; 5 id. 53, see 4 id. 21; 2 Moo. and P. 319, 331; see 8 Mee. and W. 228; 10 id. 161. The land carriers' act, 11 Geo. IV, and 1 Wm. IV, c. 68, deprives these general notices of effect, but provides that carriers, who affix in some public and conspicuous part of their offices a notice in the form prescribed by the act, shall not be answerable for the loss or damage of gold, silver, jewelry, silks, stamps,

servants, he is bound to keep *them safely, and restore them when his guest leaves the house. (t) If a man takes in a horse, or other cattle, to graze and depasture in his grounds, which the law calls *agistment*, he takes them upon an implied contract to return them on demand to the owner. (u) If a pawnbroker receives plate or jewels as a pledge, or security, for the repayment of money lent thereon at a day certain, he has them upon an express contract or condition to restore them, if the pledgor performs his part by redeeming them in due time: (v) for the due execution of which contract many useful

(t) Cro. Ellz. 622.

(u) Cro. Car. 271.

(v) Cro. Jac. 245. Yelv. 178.

bank notes, title deeds, pictures and other valuable goods, specified in the act, contained in any parcel to the value of more than 10l., unless the value and notice of the articles shall have been declared at the time of delivery, and an insurance paid or agreed to be paid. It is provided that the act shall not exonerate carriers from the liability for losses arising from the felonious acts of their servants. It was thought that this act was intended to relieve carriers from their peculiar liabilities as insurers only; and that they would still be liable for the loss of any goods specified by the act, the value of which had not been declared, if such loss arose from their own gross neglect: 2 Cr. and M. 353; but this opinion has been overruled. 2 Gale and D. 36. See 8 Mee. and W. 443.

Carriers by water are still allowed to protect themselves by general notices, (provided they come to the knowledge of the parties to be bound,) and are further protected from particular liabilities by the statutes 7 Geo. II, c. 15; 26 Geo. III, c. 86; 53 id. c. 159; and 6 Geo. IV, c. 125, s. 86; see 2 B. and Al. 2.

Most bailees for reward have a lien upon or right of detaining the thing bailed, until they have received their remuneration, with this obvious exception, that the nature of the bailment be not such as necessarily to preclude the bailee from claiming the uninterrupted possession of the chattels, as in the case of a horse-trainer. 5 Mee. and W. 350. The common law right of lien arises in three cases: first, where the bailee has bestowed labor or expense to alter or improve the chattels: 5 Mau. and S. 180; 2 Cr. and M. 304; 5 Mee. and W. 342; secondly, where the bailee was compellable to receive the chattel, as in case of a carrier or innkeeper: Bac. Ab., Inn, d; 2 B. and Al. 283; lastly, where the party in possession has saved the chattel from peril by sea, or has recovered it after actual loss at sea, or capture by an enemy; in which case he may retain it until he is remunerated for the salvage. Id. Raym. 393; 8 East, 57. A lien is special, i. e. confined to the particular demand which arises in respect of the thing detained, unless extended by special agreement or the usage of the particular business, into a general lien, for the entire balance due in respect of the mutual dealings of the parties in that business. This general lien has been allowed in the case of a factor (4 B. and Al. 27; and see statute 6 Geo. IV, c. 94), wharfinger (M'Clel. and Y. 173), packer (1 Atk. 228), calico printer (3 Esp. 268) insurance broker, (2 East. 523), banker (15 id. 428; 2 Scott, N. R. 96), attorney (Doug. 104, 238; 4 Taunt. 807; 2 Hare, 177), stereotype printer (Mood and M. 465). But carriers are not entitled to such a general lien, and the courts do not encourage usages of this nature. 7 East, 229; see 7 B. and Cr. 212. The lien of an innkeeper is necessarily general. 7 Car. and P. 67; see 3 Mee. and W. 248.]

With respect to the common law liability of innkeepers as bailees, see *Clute v. Wiggins*, 14 Johns. 175. And as to the circumstances under which one whose property is deposited at an inn is to be regarded as a *guest*, so that the extraordinary liability of innkeeper shall attach, see *Mason v. Thompson*, 9 Pick. 280; *Grinnell v. Cook*, 3 Hill, 488; *Berkshire Co. v. Proctor*, 7 Cush. 417; *Carter v. Hobbs*, 12 Mich. 52. A permanent boarder at a hotel is not regarded as a guest. *Manning v. Wells*, 9 Humph. 746; *Kiston v. Hilderbrand*, 9 B. Monr. 72.

It seems to be well settled in the United States that common carriers may make special contracts with persons sending goods by them, by which they limit their common law liability. *N. J. Steam Nav. Co. v. Merchant's Bank*, 6 How. 344; *Camden and A. R. R. Co. v. Bauldauf*, 16 Penn. St. 67; *Farm. and Mech. Bank v. Champlain Trans. Co.*, 23 Vt. 186. But a mere notice by the carrier that he will not be responsible will not relieve him, unless it is brought home to the knowledge of the bailor, and he, either expressly or by implication, assents. Whether he does assent or not is a question for the jury. *Brown v. Eastern R. R. Co.*, 11 Cush. 97; *Farm. and Mech. Bank v. Champlain Trans. Co.*, 23 Vt. 186; *Sager v. P. S. and P. R. R. Co.*, 31 Me. 228; *Verner v. Sweitzer*, 32 Penn. St. 208; *Cooper v. Berry*, 21 Geo. 526.

The act of congress of March 3, 1859, 9 Statute at Large, 635, exempts the owners of any sloop or vessel from liability for loss or damage to goods shipped, by reason of any fire happening on board without the design or neglect of the owners; and also makes other exceptions from the common law liability, and permits the parties to make special contracts as they may see fit. But the act does not apply "to the owner or owners of any canal boat, barge or lighter, or to any vessel of any description whatsoever, used in river or inland navigation." It is held that the navigation of the great American lakes and their connecting waters is not *inland navigation* within the meaning of this act. *American Trans. Co. v. Moore*, 5 Mich. 368; same case in error, 24 How. 1.

regulations are made by statute 30 Geo. II, c. 24. And so if a landlord distrains goods for rent, or a parish officer for taxes, these for a time are only a pledge in the hands of the distrainers, and they are bound by an implied contract in law to restore them on payment of the debt, duty and expenses, before the time of sale: or, when sold, to render back the overplus. If a friend delivers any thing to his friend to keep for him, the receiver is bound to restore it on demand; and it was formerly held that in the mean time he was answerable for any damage or loss it might sustain, whether by accident or otherwise; (x) unless he expressly undertook (y) to keep it only with the same care as his own goods, and then he should not be answerable for theft or other accidents. But now the law seems to be settled, (z) that such a general bailment will not charge the bailee with any loss, unless it happens by gross neglect, which is an evidence of fraud; but, if he undertakes specially to keep the goods safely and securely, he is bound to take the same care of them, as a prudent man would take of his own. (a)

In all these instances there is a special qualified property transferred from the bailor to the bailee, together with the possession. It is not an absolute property, [*453] because of his *contract for restitution; the bailor having still left in him the right to a *chose* in action, grounded upon such contract. And, on account of this qualified property of the bailee, he may (as well as the bailor) maintain an action against such as injure or take away these chattels. The tailor, the carrier, the innkeeper, the agisting farmer, the pawnbroker, (20) the distrainer, and the general bailee, may all of them vindicate, in their own right, this their possessory interest, against any stranger or third person. (b) For, being responsible to the bailor, if the goods are lost or damaged by his wilful default or gross negligence, or if he do not deliver up the chattels on lawful demand, it is therefore reasonable that he should have a right of action against all other persons who may have purloined or injured them; that he may always be ready to answer the call of the bailor.

3. Hiring and *borrowing* are also contracts by which a qualified property may be transferred to the hirer or borrower: in which there is only this difference, that hiring is always for a price, or stipend, or additional recompense; borrowing is merely gratuitous. But the law in both cases is the same. They are both contracts, whereby the possession and a transient property is transferred for a particular time or use, on condition to restore the goods so hired or borrowed, as soon as the time is expired or use performed; together with the price or stipend (in case of hiring) either expressly agreed on by the parties, or left to be implied by law according to the value of the service. By this mutual contract, the hirer or borrower gains a temporary property in the thing hired, accompanied with an implied condition to use it with moderation, and not to abuse it; and the owner or lender retains a reversionary interest in the same, and acquires a new property in the price or reward. Thus if a man hires or borrows a horse for a month, he has the possession and a qualified property therein during that period; on the expiration of which his qualified property determines, and

(x) Co. Litt. 89.

(y) 4 Rep. 84.

(z) Lord Raym. 909. 12 Mod. 487.

(a) By the laws of Sweden the depositary or bailee of goods is not bound to restitution, in case of accident by fire or theft, provided his own goods perished in the same manner; "*jura enim nostra*" says Stjernhook, "*dolum præsumunt, si una non pereant.*" (*De jure Sueon.* l. 2, c. 5.)

(b) 13 Rep. 69.

(20) [A pawn differs from a mortgage (which by special contract may be made even of a personal chattel) and also from a lien, which confers no right of sale or appropriation. On breach of the condition the thing mortgaged becomes at law the absolute property of the mortgagee; but in case of a pawn, non-payment at the time only authorizes the pawnee to sell, and so long as the chattel remains in his hands unsold, the debtor may re-entitle himself by payment or tender of the debt. 2 Str. 919; 1 P. Wms. 261; 1 Salk. 522. The pawnee is bound to keep the pledge with ordinary care; and if he does this, he may recover the debt, notwithstanding the loss of the pledge. And as the security is collateral to the debt, he may commence an action for the debt without giving up the pledge. Bac. Abr. Bailment, b.]

In addition to these common law liabilities, pawnbrokers are regulated in their dealings by statutes, which fix the rate of interest to be taken by them, and prescribe the mode of disposing of the bailments when not claimed within the time limited.]

the owner becomes (in case of hiring) entitled also to the price for which the horse was hired. (c)

*There is one species of this price or reward, the most usual of any [*454] but concerning which many good and learned men have in former times [*454] very much perplexed themselves and other people, by raising doubts about its legality *in foro conscientiæ*. That is, when money is lent on a contract to receive not only the principal sum again, but also an increase by way of compensation for the use; which generally is called *interest* by those who think it lawful, and *usury* by those who do not so. For the enemies to interest in general make no distinction between that and usury, holding any increase of money to be indefensibly usurious. And this they ground as well on the prohibition of it by the law of Moses among the Jews, as also upon what is said to be laid down by Aristotle, (d) that money is naturally barren, and to make it breed money is preposterous, and a perversion of the end of its institution, which was only to serve the purposes of exchange and not of increase. Hence the school divines have branded the practice of taking interest as being contrary to the divine law both natural and revealed; and the canon law (e) has proscribed the taking any, the least, increase for the loan of money, as a mortal sin.

But in answer to this, it hath been observed, that the Mosaical precept was clearly a political, and not a moral precept. It only prohibited the Jews from taking usury from their brethren the Jews; but in express words permitted them to take it of a stranger: (f) which proves that the taking of moderate usury, or a reward for the use, for so the word signifies, is not *malum in se*; since it was allowed where any but an Israelite was concerned. And as to the reason supposed to be given by Aristotle and deduced from the natural barrenness of money, the same may with equal force be alleged of houses, which never breed houses; and twenty other things, which nobody doubts it is lawful to make profit of, by letting them to hire. And though money was originally used only for the purposes of exchange, yet the laws of any state *may be well [*455] justified in permitting it to be turned to the purposes of profit, if the convenience of society (the great end for which money was invented) shall require it. And that the allowance of moderate interest tends greatly to the benefit of the public, especially in a trading country, will appear from that generally acknowledged principle, that commerce cannot subsist without mutual and extensive credit. Unless money, therefore can be borrowed, trade cannot be carried on; and if no premium were allowed for the hire of money, few persons would care to lend it; or at least the ease of borrowing at a short warning (which is the life of commerce) would be entirely at an end. Thus, in the dark ages of monkish superstition and civil tyranny, when interest was laid under a total interdict, commerce was also at its lowest ebb, and fell entirely into the hands of the Jews and Lombards: but when men's minds began to be more enlarged, when true religion and real liberty revived, commerce grew again into credit: and again introduced with itself its inseparable companion, the doctrine of loans upon interest. And, as to any scruples of conscience, since all other conveniences of life may either be bought or hired, but money can only be hired, there seems to be no greater oppression in taking a recompense or price for the hire of this, than of any other convenience. To demand an exorbitant price is equally contrary to conscience, for the loan of a horse, or the loan of a sum of money: but a reasonable equivalent for the temporary inconvenience which the owner may feel by the want of it, and for the hazard of his losing it entirely, is not more immoral in the one case than it is in the other. Indeed the absolute prohibition of lending upon any, even moderate interest, introduces the very inconvenience which it seems meant to remedy. The necessity of individuals will make borrowing unavoidable. Without some profit allowed by law, there will be but few lenders; and those principally bad men, who will break through the law, and take a profit; and then will endeavour

(c) Yelv. 172. Cro. Jac. 236.

(d) Polit. l. 1, c. 10.

This passage hath been suspected to be spurious.

(e) Decretal, l. 5, tit. 19.

(f) Deut. xxiii. 20.

to indemnify themselves from the danger of the penalty, by making that profit [*456] exorbitant. A capital *distinction must therefore be made between a moderate and exorbitant profit; to the former of which we usually give the name of interest, to the latter the truly odious appellation of usury: the former is necessary in every civil state, if it were but to exclude the latter, which ought never to be tolerated in any well regulated society. For, as the whole of this matter is well summed up by Grotius, (g) "if the compensation allowed by law does not exceed the proportion of the hazard run, or the want felt, by the loan, its allowance is neither repugnant to the revealed nor the natural law; but if it exceeds those bounds, it is then oppressive usury; and though the municipal laws may give it impunity, they can never make it just."

We see that the exorbitance or moderation of interest, for money lent, depends upon two circumstances; the inconvenience of parting with it for the present and the hazard of losing it entirely. The inconvenience to individual lenders can never be estimated by laws; the rate therefore of general interest must depend upon the usual or general inconvenience. This results entirely from the quantity of specie or current money in the kingdom; for the more specie there is circulating in any nation, the greater superfluity there will be, beyond what is necessary to carry on the business of exchange and the common concerns of life. In every nation or public community, there is a certain quantity of money thus necessary, which a person well skilled in political arithmetic might perhaps calculate as exactly, as a private banker can the demand for running cash in his own shop: all above this necessary quantity may be spared or lent, without much inconvenience to the respective lenders; and the greater this national superfluity is, the more numerous will be the lenders, and the lower ought the rate of the national interest to be; but where there is not enough circulating cash, or barely enough, to answer the ordinary uses of the public, interest will be proportionably high: for lenders will be but few, as few can submit to the inconvenience of lending.

[*457] *So also the hazard of an entire loss has its weight in the regulation of interest: hence, the better the security the lower will the interest be; the rate of interest being generally in a compound *ratio*, formed out of the inconvenience, and the hazard. And as if there were no inconvenience, there should be no interest but what is equivalent to the hazard, so, if there were no hazard there ought to be no interest, save only what arises from the mere inconvenience of lending. Thus, if the quantity of specie in a nation be such, that the general inconvenience of lending for a year is computed to amount to *three per cent.*: a man that has money by him will perhaps lend it upon a good personal security at *five per cent.*, allowing two for the hazard run; he will lend it upon landed security or mortgage at *four per cent.*, the hazard being proportionably less; but he will lend it to the state on the maintenance of which all his property depends, at *three per cent.*, the hazard being none at all. (21)

But sometimes the hazard may be greater than the rate of interest allowed by law will compensate. And this gives rise to the practice of, 1. Bottomry, or *respondentia*. 2. Policies of insurance. 3. Annuities upon lives.

And first, *bottomry* (which originally arose from permitting the master of a ship, in a foreign country, to hypothecate the ship in order to raise money to refit) is in the nature of a mortgage of a ship; when the owner takes up money

(g) *De j. b. & p. l. 2, c. 12, § 22.*

(21) [This proportion between the inconvenience and the two descriptions of hazard is entirely arbitrary, and only put for an example.]

In this disquisition upon the principles which regulate the rate of interest, and on all subjects connected with political economy, the author writes with the information only of his age; his reasoning is open to much observation, but as the subject is only collateral, and could not be explained satisfactorily except at considerable length, I think it better to content myself with this notice. COLERIDGE]

to enable him to carry on his voyage, and pledges the keel or *bottom* of the ship (*partem pro toto*) as a security for the repayment. In which case it is understood, that if the ship be lost, the lender loses also his whole money; but, if it returns in safety, then he shall receive back his principal, and also the premium or interest agreed upon, however it may exceed the legal rate of interest. And this is allowed to be a valid contract in all trading nations, for the benefit of commerce, and by reason of the extraordinary hazard run by the lender. (*h*) And in this case the ship and tackle, if brought home, are answerable (as well as the person of the borrower) for the money lent. But if the loan is not upon the vessel, but upon the goods and merchandise, which must necessarily be sold or exchanged in the course of the voyage, then only the borrower, personally, is bound to answer the contract; who, therefore, in this case is said to take up money at *respondentia*. These terms are also applied to contracts for the repayment of money borrowed, not on the ship and goods only, but on the mere hazard of the voyage itself; when a man lends a merchant 1,000*l.* to be employed in a beneficial trade, with condition to be repaid with extraordinary interest, in case such a voyage be safely performed: (*i*) which kind of agreement is sometimes called *fœnus nauticum*, and sometimes *usura maritima*. (*j*) But as this gave an opening for usurious and gaming contracts, especially upon long voyages, it was enacted by the statute 19 Geo. II, c. 37, that all monies lent on bottomry or at *respondentia*, on vessels bound to or from the East Indies, shall be expressly lent only upon the ship or upon the merchandise; that the lender shall have the benefit of salvage; (*k*) and that if the borrower hath not an interest in the ship or in the effects on board, equal to the value of the sum borrowed, he shall be responsible to the lender for so much of the principal as hath not been laid out, with legal interest and all other charges, though the ship and merchandise be totally lost. (22)

Secondly, a policy of *insurance* is a contract between A and B, that upon A's paying a premium equivalent to the hazard run, B will indemnify or insure him against a particular event. This is founded upon one of the same principles as the doctrine of interest upon loans, that of hazard; but not that of inconvenience. For if I insure a ship to the Levant, and back again, at *five per cent*; here I calculate the chance that she performs her voyage to be twenty to one against her being lost; and, if she be lost, I lose 1000*l.* and get 5*l.* Now this is much the same as if I lend the merchant, whose whole for-

(*h*) Moll. *de jur. mar.* 361. Malyne, *lex mercat.* b. 1, c. 31. Bacon's Essays, c. 41. Cro. Jac. 208. Bynkersh. *quest. jur. privat.* l. 3. c. 16.

(*i*) 1 Sid. 27.

(*j*) Molloy, *ibid.* Malyne, *ibid.*

(*k*) See book I, page 294.

(22) [The general nature of a *respondentia* bond is this; the borrower binds himself in a large penal sum, upon condition that the obligation shall be void, if he pay the lender the sum borrowed, and so much a month from the date of the bond till the ship arrives at a certain port, or if the ship be lost or captured in the course of the voyage. The *respondentia* interest is frequently at the rate of forty or fifty *per cent*, or in proportion to the risk and profit of the voyage. The *respondentia* lender may insure his interest in the success of the voyage, but it must be expressly specified in the policy to be *respondentia* interest: 3 Burr. 1391; unless there is a particular usage to the contrary. Park Ins. 11. A lender upon *respondentia* is not obliged to pay salvage or average losses, but he is entitled to receive the whole sum advanced, provided the ship and cargo arrive at the port of destination; nor will he lose the benefit of the bond, if an accident happens by the default of the borrower or the captain of the ship. Id. 421. Nor will a *temporary* capture, or any damage short of the destruction of the ship defeat his claim. 2 Park, 626, 627; 1 M. and S. 30.

Where bottomry bonds are sealed, and the money paid, the person borrowing runs the hazard of all injuries by storm, fire, &c., before the beginning of the voyage, unless it be otherwise provided. As, that, if the ship shall *not arrive at such a place at such a time, &c.*, then the contract hath a beginning from the time of sealing; but if the condition be, that if such ship shall *sail from London* to any port abroad, and shall not arrive there, &c., then, &c., the contingency hath not its beginning till the departure. Beawes Lex. Merc. 143; Park, 626. A lender on bottomry or *respondentia* is not liable to contribute in the case of general average, nor is he entitled to the benefit of salvage. Park, 627, 629; 4 M. and Slew. 141. See, however, Marshal on Insurance, 6 ch., book 2. In the case of hypothecation the lender may recover the ship itself in the admiralty court, but not in bottomry or *respondentia*. See 6 Moore, 397.

[*459] tunes are embarked in this vessel, 100*l.* at *the rate of *eight per cent.* For by a loan I should be immediately out of possession of my money, the inconvenience of which we have supposed equal to *three per cent.*: if therefore, I had actually lent him 100*l.*, I must have added 3*l.* on the score of inconvenience, to the 5*l.* allowed for the hazard, which together would have made 8*l.* But, as upon an insurance, I am never out of possession of my money till the loss actually happens, nothing is therein allowed upon the principle of inconvenience, but all upon the principle of hazard. Thus, too, in a loan, if the chance of repayment depends upon the borrower's life, it is frequent (besides the usual rate of interest) for the borrower to have his life insured till the time of repayment; for which he is loaded with an additional premium, suited to his age and constitution. Thus, if Sempronius has only an annuity for his life, and would borrow 100*l.* of Titius for a year; the inconvenience and general hazard of this loan, we have seen, are equivalent to 5*l.*, which is, therefore, the legal interest; but there is also a special hazard in this case; for, if Sempronius dies within the year, Titius must lose the whole of his 100*l.* Suppose this chance to be as one to ten: it will follow that the extraordinary hazard is worth 10*l.* more, and, therefore, that the reasonable rate of interest in this case would be *fifteen per cent.* But this the law, to avoid abuses, will not permit to be taken; Sempronius therefore gives Titius, the lender, only 5*l.*, the legal interest; but applies to Gaius, an insurer, and gives him the other 10*l.* to indemnify Titius against the extraordinary hazard. And in this manner may any extraordinary or particular hazard be provided against, which the established rate of interest will not reach; that being calculated by the state to answer only the ordinary and general hazard, together with the lender's inconvenience in parting with his specie for the time. But, in order to prevent these insurances from being turned into a mischievous kind of gaming, it is enacted by statute 14 Geo. III, c. 48, that no insurance shall be made on lives, or on any other event, wherein the party insured hath no interest; that in all policies [*460] the name of such interested party shall be *inserted; and nothing more shall be recovered thereon than the amount of the interest of the insured.

This does not, however, extend to marine insurances, which were provided for by a prior law of their own. The learning relating to these insurances hath of late years been greatly improved by a series of judicial decisions; which have now established the law in such a variety of cases, that (if well and judiciously collected) they would form a very complete title in a code of commercial jurisprudence: but, being founded on equitable principles which chiefly result from the special circumstances of the case, it is not easy to reduce them to any general heads in mere elementary institutes. (23) Thus much, however, may be said; that being contracts, the very essence of which consists in observing the purest good faith and integrity, they are vacated by any the least shadow of fraud or undue concealment; and, on the other hand, being much for the benefit and extension of trade, by distributing the loss or gain among a number of adventurers, they are greatly encouraged and protected both by common law and acts of parliament. But as a practice had obtained of insuring large sums without having any property on board, which were called insurances, *interest or no interest*, and also of insuring the same goods several times over; both of which were a species of gaming without any advantage to commerce, and were denominated *wagering policies*: it is therefore enacted by the statute 19 Geo. II, c. 37, that all insurances, interest or no interest, or without farther

(23) [This task was accomplished by Mr. Justice Park in his masterly treatise on the subject, which was followed by Mr. Serjt. Marshal's excellent work; and see 3 Chitty's Commercial Law, 445 to 536.]

See also Duer and Phillips on Insurance, and the several treatises on Maritime and Mercantile Law and Contracts. Also Angell on Fire and Life Insurance.

The subject is too broad to make any notes upon the text, reasonable in length, of much value.

proof of interest than the policy itself, or by way of gaming or wagering, or without benefit of salvage to the insurer (all of which had the same pernicious tendency), shall be totally null and void, except upon privateers or upon ships or merchandise from the Spanish and Portuguese dominions, for reasons sufficiently obvious; and that no re-assurance shall be lawful, except the former insurer shall be insolvent, a bankrupt, or dead: and lastly, that, in the East India trade, the lender of money on bottomry, or at *respondentia*, shall alone have a right to be insured for the money lent, and the borrower *shall (in case [*461] of a loss) recover no more upon any insurance than the surplus of his property, above the value of his bottomry, or *respondentia* bond.

Thirdly, the practice, of purchasing *annuities for lives* at a certain price or premium, instead of advancing the same sum on an ordinary loan, arises usually from the inability of the borrower to give the lender a permanent security for the return of the money borrowed, at any one period of time. He therefore stipulates (in effect) to repay annually, during his life, some part of the money borrowed; together with legal interest for so much of the principal as annually remains unpaid, and an additional compensation for the extraordinary hazard run, of losing that principal entirely by the contingency of the borrower's death: all which considerations, being calculated and blended together, will constitute the just proportion or *quantum* of the annuity which ought to be granted. The real value of that contingency must depend on the age, constitution, situation, and conduct of the borrower; and therefore the price of such annuities cannot, without the utmost difficulty, be reduced to any general rules. So that if, by the terms of the contract, the lender's principal is *bona fide* (and not colourably) (1) put in jeopardy, no inequality of price will make it an usurious bargain; though, under some circumstances of imposition, it may be relieved against in equity. To throw however some check upon improvident transactions of this kind, which are usually carried on with great privacy, the statute 17 Geo. III, c. 26, has directed, that upon the sale of any life annuity of more than the value of ten pounds *per annum* (unless on a sufficient pledge of lands in fee-simple or stock in the public funds) the true consideration, which shall be in money only, shall be set forth and described in the security itself; and a memorial of the date of the security, of the names of the parties, *cestuy que trusts*, *cestuy que vies*, and witnesses, and of the consideration money, shall within twenty days after its execution be enrolled in the court of chancery; else the security shall be null and void; (24) and, in case of collusive practices respecting the consideration, the *court in which any action is brought or judgment obtained upon such collusive security, may order the same to be [*462] cancelled, and the judgment (if any) to be vacated: and also all contracts for the purchase of annuities from infants shall remain utterly void, and be incapable of confirmation after such infants arrive to the age of maturity. But to return to the doctrine of common interest on loans:

Upon the two principles of inconvenience and hazard, compared together, different nations have, at different times, established different rates of *interest*. The Romans at one time allowed *centesima*, one per cent monthly, or *twelve per cent per annum*, to be taken for common loans; but Justinian (m) reduced it to

(1) Carth. 67

(m) Cod. 4, 32, 26. Nov. 33, 34, 35. A short explication of these terms, and of the division of the Roman as, will be useful to the student, not only for understanding the civilians, but also the more classical writers, who perpetually refer to this distribution. Thus Horace, *ad Pisones*, 325:

Romani pueri longis rationibus assem
Discunt in partes centum diducere. Dicit
Filius Albini, si de quincentis remota est
Uncia, quid superet? poterat dixisse, triens; eu,
Rem poterat servare tuam! reddit uncia, quid sit?
Semis.

It is therefore to be observed, that in calculating the rate of interest, the Romans divided the principal sum into an hundred parts, one of which they allowed to be taken monthly; and this, which was the highest rate

(24) [The statute cited in the text was repealed by the statute of 53 Geo. III, c. 141, which last-named act was explained by the subsequent one of 3 Geo. IV, c. 92, and lastly by that of 7 Geo. IV, c. 75. By these three acts the enrolments and forms of attestation of annuity instruments are now regulated.]

trientes, or one-third of the *as* or *centesima*, that is, *four per cent*; but allowed higher interest to be taken of merchants, because there the hazard was greater. So, too, Grotius informs us, (*n*) that in Holland the rate of interest was then [*463] eight *per cent* in common loans, but twelve to merchants. And Lord Bacon was desirous of introducing a similar policy in England: (*o*) but our law establishes one standard for all alike, where the pledge of security itself is not put in jeopardy; lest, under the general pretence of vague and indeterminate hazard, a door should be opened to fraud and usury: leaving specific hazards to be provided against by specific insurances, by annuities for lives, or by loans upon *respondentia*, or bottomry. But as to the rate of legal interest, it has varied and decreased for two hundred years past, according as the quantity of specie in the kingdom has increased by accessions of trade, the introduction of paper credit, and other circumstances. The statute 37 Hen. VIII, c. 9, confined interest to ten *per cent*, and so did the statute 13 Eliz. c. 8. But as, through the encouragements given in her reign to commerce, the nation grew more wealthy, so under her successor the statute 21 Jac. I, c. 17, reduced it to eight *per cent*; as did the statute 12 Car. II, c. 13, to six; and, lastly, by the statute 12 Ann. st. 2, c. 16, it was brought down to five *per cent* yearly, which is now the extremity of legal interest that can be taken. (25) But yet, if a con-

of interest permitted, they called *usura centesima*, amounting yearly to twelve *per cent*. Now as the *as* or Roman pound, was commonly used to express any integral sum, and was divisible into twelve parts or *unciae*, therefore these twelve monthly payments or *unciae* were held to amount annually to one pound, or *as usurarius*: and so the *usura asses* were synonymous to the *usura centesima*. And all lower rates of interest were denominated according to the relation they bore to this centesimal usury, or *usura asses*; for the several multiples of the *uncia*, or duodecimal parts of the *as*, were known by different names according to their different combinations; *sextans quadrans*, *triens*, *quincunx*, *sems*, *seplunx*, *des dodrans*, *dextans*, *deunx*, containing respectively 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, *unciae*, or duodecimal parts of an *as*. *FF.* 23, 5, 50. § 2. Garvin. *Orig. jur. civ. l.* 2. § 47. This being premised, the following table will clearly exhibit at once the subdivisions of the *as*, and the denominations of the rate of interest:

USURÆ.	PARTES ASSIS.	PER ANNUM.
<i>Asses, sive centesima</i>	Integer.....	12 per cent.
<i>Deunces</i>	11-12ths.....	11
<i>Dextantes, vel deunces</i>	5-6.....	10
<i>Dodrans</i>	3-4.....	9
<i>Beases</i>	2-3.....	8
<i>Septunces</i>	7-12.....	7
<i>Semisses</i>	1-2.....	6
<i>Quincunxes</i>	5-12.....	5
<i>Trientes</i>	1-3.....	4
<i>Quadrantes</i>	1-4.....	3
<i>Sextantes</i>	1-6.....	2
<i>Uncia</i>	1-12.....	1

(n) *De jur. b. & p.* 2, 12, 22.

(o) *Essays*, c. 41.

(25) [If the usury arise from error in computation, it will not vitiate. *Cro. Car.* 501; 2 *Bla. Rep.* 792; 1 *Camp.* 149. Exorbitant discount to induce the acceptor to take up a bill before it is due is not usurious, because there must be a loan or forbearance of payment, or some device for the purpose of concealing or evading the appearance of a loan or forbearance. 4 *East*, 55; 5 *Esp.* 11; *Peake*, 200; 1 *B. and P.* 144; 4 *Taunt.* 810. Nor if the charge alleged to be usurious is fairly referable to the trouble, expense, &c., in the transaction. 3 *B. and P.* 154; 4 *M. and S.* 192; 2 *T. R.* 238; 1 *Mad. Rep.* 112; 1 *Camp.* 177; 15 *Ves.* 120. Bankers may charge their usual commission beyond legal interest. 2 *T. R.* 52. The purchase of an annuity at ever so cheap a rate, will not *prima facie* be usurious, but if it be for *years*, or an express agreement to repurchase, and on calculation more than the principle with legal interest is to be returned it will. 3 *B. and P.* 151; 3 *B. and A.* 666. And if part of the advance be in goods, it must be shown that they were not overcharged in price. *Doug.* 735; 1 *Esp.* 40; 2 *Camp.* 375; *Holt, N. P. C.* 256. A loan made returnable on a certain day, on payment of a sum beyond legal interest, on default thereof, may be a *penalty* and not usurious interest, the intention of the parties being the criterion in all cases. If money be lent on risk at more than legal interest, and the casualty affects the *interest* only, it is usury, not so if it affects the *principal* also. *Cro. J.* 508; 3 *Wils.* 395. The usury must be part of the contract in its inception, and being void in its commencement, it is so in all its stages: *Doug.* 735; 1 *Stark.* 385; though bills of exchange so tainted, are by the 58 *Geo. III*, c. 93, rendered valid in the hands of a *bona fide* holder, unless he has actual notice of the usury; but if the drawer of a bill transfer it for a valuable consideration, he cannot set up antecedent usury with the acceptor as a defence. 4 *Bar. and Ald.* 215. A security with legal interest only, substituted for one that is usurious, is valid. 1 *Camp.* 165, n.; 2 *Taunt.* 184; 2 *Stark.* 237. Taking usurious interest on a *bona fide* debt, does not destroy the debt. 1 *H. B.* 462; 1 *T. R.* 153; 2 *Ves.* 567; 1 *Saund.* 295. The *penalty* of three times the amount of the principal, is not incurred, till the usurious interest has been actually received; and the action must be brought within one year afterwards. 2 *Bla. Rep.* 792; 2 *B. and P.* 381; 1 *Saund.* 295, a.]

tract which carries interest be made in a foreign country, our courts will direct the payment of interest according to the law of that country in which the contract was made. (p) Thus, Irish, American, Turkish, and Indian interest, have *been allowed in our courts to the amount of even twelve *per cent*: for the moderation or exorbitance of interest depends upon local [*464] circumstances; and the refusal to enforce such contracts would put a stop to all foreign trade. (26) And, by statute 14 Geo. III, c. 79, all mortgages and other securities upon estates or other property in Ireland or the plantations, bearing interest not exceeding six *per cent*, shall be legal; though executed in the kingdom of Great Britain; unless the money lent shall be known at the time to exceed the value of the thing in pledge; in which case, also, to prevent usurious contracts at home under colour of such foreign securities, the borrower shall forfeit treble the sum so borrowed. (27)

4. The last general species of contracts, which I have to mention, is that of *debt*; whereby a *chose* in action, or right to a certain sum of money, is mutually acquired and lost. (q) This may be the counterpart of, and arise from, any of the other species of contracts. As, in case of a sale where the price is not paid in ready money, the vendee becomes indebted to the vendor for the sum agreed on; and the vendor has a property in this price, as a *chose* in action, by means of this contract of debt. In bailment, if the bailee loses or detains a sum of money bailed to him for any special purpose, he becomes indebted to the bailor in the same numerical sum, upon his implied contract, that he should execute the trust reposed in him, or repay the money to the bailor. Upon hiring or borrowing, the hirer or borrower, at the same time that he acquires a property in the thing lent, may also become indebted to the lender, upon his contract to restore the money borrowed, to pay the price or premium of the loan, the hire of the horse, or the like. Any contract, in short, whereby a determinate sum of money becomes due to any person, and is not paid, but remains in action merely, is a contract of debt. And, taken in this light, it comprehends a great variety of *acquisition; being usually divided into debts of *record*, debts by [*465] *special*, and debts by *simple* contract.

A debt of *record* (28) is a sum of money, which appears to be due by the evidence of a court of record. Thus, when any specific sum is adjudged to be due

(p) 1 Eq. Ca. Abr. 289. 1 P. Wms. 395.

(q) F. N. B. 119.

(26) [Where foreign interest is to be taken or not, see in general 1 P. Wms. 395, 696; 2 T. R. 52; 1 Bla. R. 267; Burr. 1094; 2 Bro. C. C. 2; 2 Vern. 395; 3 Atk. 727; 1 Ves. 427; Comyn on Usury, 152.]

(27) The law of usury in England has undergone radical alteration since these Commentaries were published. By statute 5 and 6 William IV, c. 41, bills and other securities are not to be totally void because a higher rate of interest is reserved than was allowed by the statute of 12 Anne. By statute 3 and 4 William IV, c. 98, and 1 Vic. c. 80, bills and notes payable within twelve months are exempted from the laws for the prevention of usury. The statute 2 and 3 Vic. c. 37, provides that no bill of exchange or promissory note made payable at or within twelve months after date, or having not more than twelve months to run, nor any contract of loan for more than 10%, shall, by reason of any interest taken thereon or secured thereby, or any agreement to buy or receive, or allow interest in discounting, or negotiating any such bill or note, be void, nor any person so lending be liable to the penalties of the usury laws; but this relaxation of the law was not to extend to loans on the security of lands. And still later the statute 17 and 18 Vic. c. 90, reciting that it is "expedient to repeal the laws at present in force relating to usury," proceeds to repeal the statutory penalties for usury, with a saving, however, of the rights, remedies or liabilities of any person in respect to previous transactions.

There is very little uniformity in the interest and usury laws of the states of the American Union. In some of them the rate of interest is fixed for all cases in which it is allowed at all: in others it is prescribed, but with permission to the parties to agree upon a higher rate, not to exceed a certain percentage mentioned; in some, a reservation of usurious interest renders the contract void, in others, it makes the lender liable to a penalty only, and in still others, the lender is only precluded from recovering the usurious interest.

(28) [Debts or contracts of *record*, being sanctioned in their creation by some court or magistrate, having competent jurisdiction, have certain particular properties distinguishing them as well from simple contracts as from specialties. 1st. These debts or contracts cannot in pleading be impeached or affected by any supposed defect or illegality in the transaction on

from the defendant to the plaintiff, on an action or suit at law; this is a contract of the highest nature, being established by the sentence of a court of judicature. Debts upon recognizance are also a sum of money, recognized or acknowledged to be due to the crown or a subject, in the presence of some court or magistrate, with a condition that such acknowledgment shall be void upon the appearance of the party, his good behaviour, or the like; and these, together with statutes merchant and statutes staple, &c., if forfeited by non-performance of the condition, are also ranked among this first and principal class of debts, viz: debts of record; since the contract, on which they are founded, is witnessed by the highest kind of evidence, viz., by matter of record.

Debts by *specialty*, or special contract, are such whereby a sum of money becomes, or is acknowledged to be, due by deed or instrument under seal. Such as by deed of covenant, by deed of sale, by lease reserving rent, or by bond or obligation; which last we took occasion to explain in the twentieth chapter of the present book; and then showed that it is a creation or acknowledgment of a debt from the obligor to the obligee, unless the obligor performs a condition thereunto usually annexed, as the payment of rent or money borrowed, the observance of a covenant, and the like; on failure of which the bond becomes forfeited and the debt becomes due in law. These are looked upon as the next class of debts after those of record, being confirmed by special evidence, under seal.

Debts by *simple contract* are such, where the contract upon which the obligation arises is neither ascertained by matter of record, nor yet by deed or special instrument, but by mere oral evidence, the most simple of any; or by [*466] notes *unsealed, which are capable of a more easy proof, and (therefore only) better, than a verbal promise. It is easy to see into what a vast variety of obligations this last class may be branched out, through the numerous contracts for money, which are not only expressed by the parties, but virtually implied in law. Some of these we have already occasionally hinted at; and the rest, to avoid repetition, must be referred to those particular heads in the third book of these Commentaries, where the breach of such contracts will be considered. I shall only observe at present, that by the statute 29 Car. II, c. 3, no executor or administrator shall be charged upon any special promise to answer damages, out of his own estate, and no person shall be charged upon any promise to answer for the debt or default of another, or upon any agreement in con-

which they are founded, and if a judgment be erroneous, that circumstance will afford no answer to an action of debt upon it, and the only course for the defendant is to reverse it by writ of error. 2 Burr. 1005; 4 East, 311; 2 Lev. 161; Gilb. on U. and T. 109; Gilb. Debt, 412; Yelv. 155; Tidd. 6th ed. 1152. And though third persons, who have been defrauded by a collusive judgment, may show such fraud, so as to prevent themselves from being prejudiced by it, 13 Eliz. c. 5; 2 Marsh. 392; 7 Taunt. 97, the parties to such judgment are estopped at law for pleading such a plea, and must in general apply for relief to a court of equity. 13 Eliz. c. 5; 2 Marsh. 392; 7 Taunt. 97; 1 Anstr. 8. There is, however, one instance in which a party may apply to the common law court to set the judgment aside, viz.: where it has been signed upon a warrant of attorney, given upon an unlawful consideration, or obtained by fraud; in which case, as this is a peculiar instrument, affording the defendant no opportunity to resist the claim by pleading, and frequently given by persons in distressed circumstances, the court will afford relief upon a summary application. Dougl. 196; Cowp. 721; 1 Hen. Bla. 75. *Semble*, not so in exchequer; 1 Anstr. 7, 8. Another peculiar property of a contract of record is, that its existence, if disputed, must be tried by inspection of the record, entry of recognizance, &c., and not by a jury of the country. Tidd. 6th ed. 797, 798. But notwithstanding, since the act of union, an Irish judgment is a record, yet it is only provable by an examined copy on oath, and therefore it is only triable by a jury, 5 East, 473. Another quality, and one of the most important, is, that a judgment when docketed binds the land as against subsequent purchasers: Tidd. 6th ed. 966, 967; and such a judgment and recognizance is entitled to preference to a specialty and other debts of an inferior nature. 6 T. R. 384; Tidd. 6th edit. 967. Lastly, if a judgment be obtained expressly for a simple contract or specialty debt, and not as a collateral security, the inferior demand is merged, according to the rule *transit in rem judicatum*, but if the judgment were obtained merely as a collateral security, the creditor retains an election to proceed either on the judgment or inferior security. 3 East, 258.]

sideration of marriage, or upon any contract or sale of any real estate, or upon any agreement that is not to be performed within one year from the making; unless the agreement or some memorandum thereof be in writing, and signed by the party himself, or by his authority. (29)

But there is one species of debts upon simple contract, which, being a transaction now introduced into all sorts of civil life, under the name of *paper credit*, deserves a more particular regard. These are debts by *bills of exchange*, and *promissory notes*.

A *bill of exchange* is a security, originally invented among merchants in different countries, for the more easy remittance of money from the one to the other, which has since spread itself into almost all pecuniary transactions. It is an open letter of request from one man to another, desiring him to pay a sum named therein to a third person on his account; by which means a man at the most distant part of the world may have money remitted to him from any trading country. If A lives in Jamaica, and owes B, who lives in England, 1000*l.*, now if C be going from England to Jamaica, he may pay B this 1000*l.*, and take a bill of exchange drawn by B in England upon A in Jamaica, and receive it when he comes thither. Thus does B receive his debt, at any distance of place, by transferring it to C; who carries over his money *in paper [*467] credit, without danger of robbery or loss. This method is said to have been brought into general use by the Jews and Lombards, when banished for their usury and other vices; in order the more easily to draw their effects out of France and England into those countries in which they had chosen to reside. But the invention of it was a little earlier; for the Jews were banished out of Guienne in 1287, and out of England in 1290; (r) and in 1236 the use of paper credit was introduced into the Mogul empire in China. (s) In common speech such a bill is frequently called a *draft*, but a *bill of exchange* is the more legal as well as mercantile expression. The person, however, who writes this letter, is called in law the *drawer*, and he to whom it is written the *drawee*; and the third person, or negotiator, to whom it is payable (whether especially named, or the *bearer* generally) is called the *payee*.

These bills are either *foreign* or *inland*; *foreign*, when drawn by a merchant residing abroad upon his correspondent in England, or *vice versa*; and *inland*, when both the drawer and drawee reside within the kingdom. Formerly foreign bills of exchange were much more regarded in the eye of the law than inland ones, as being thought of more public concern in the advancement of trade and commerce. But now by two statutes, the one 9 and 10 Wm. III. c. 17, the other 3 and 4 Ann. c. 9, inland bills of exchange are put upon the same footing as foreign ones; what was the law and custom of merchants with regard to the one, and taken notice of merely as such, (t) being by those statutes expressly enacted with regard to the other. So that now there is not in law any manner of difference between them. (30)

Promissory notes, or notes of hand, are a plain and direct engagement in writing, to pay a sum specified at the time therein limited to a person therein named, or sometimes to his order, or often to the bearer at large. These also,

(r) 2 Carte. Hist. Eng. 203, 206.

(s) Mod. Un. Hist. iv, 499.

(t) Roll. Abr. 6.

(29) Upon this subject in general, see Browne on the Statute of Frauds; a valuable and reliable treatise. Also the treatises on contracts.

(30) There is this very important difference, that in the case of a foreign bill, in order to bind the drawer and indorsers it is necessary that it be protested if dishonored, while in the case of an inland bill, although there may be a protest, it is not essential, and the liability of the drawer and indorsers will be fixed by due notice of dishonor without it. *Burroughs v. Perkins*, Holt, 121; *Harris v. Benson*, 2 Stra. 910; *Windle v. Andrews*, 2 Barn. and Ald. 696. The same difference is recognized in this country. *Edw. on Bills*, 584, 585.

The several states of the American Union are so far foreign in respect to each other, that a bill drawn in one upon another is to be considered a foreign bill. *Buckner v. Finley*, 2 Pet. 586; *Hartridge v. Wesson*, 4 Geo. 101; *Atwater v. Streets*, 1 Doug. Mich. 455; *Carter v. Union Bank*, 7 Humph. 548; *Chenoweth v. Chamberlain*, 6 B. Monr. 60; *Wells v. Whitehead*, 15 Wend. 527; *Halliday v. McDougall*, 20 Wend. 81.

by the same statute, 3 and 4 Ann. c. 9, are made assignable and indorsable in like manner as bills of exchange. But, by statute 15 Geo. III, c. 51, all promissory or other notes, *bills of exchange, drafts, and undertakings in [*468] writing, being negotiable or transferable, for the payment of less than twenty shillings, are declared to be null and void; and it is made penal to utter or publish any such; they being deemed prejudicial to trade and public credit. And by 17 Geo. III, c. 30, all such notes, bills, drafts and undertakings, to the amount of twenty shillings, and less than five pounds, are subjected to many other regulations and formalities; the omission of any one of which vacates the security, and is penal to him that utters it. (31)

The payee, we may observe, either of a bill of exchange or promissory note, has clearly a property vested in him (not indeed in possession but in action) by the *express* contract of the drawer in the case of a promissory note, and, in the case of a bill of exchange, by his *implied* contract, viz.: that, provided the drawee does not pay the bill, the drawer will: for which reason it is usual in bills of exchange to express that the *value* thereof hath been *received* by the drawer; (*u*) in order to show the consideration, upon which the implied contract of repayment arises. And this property, so vested, may be transferred and assigned from the payee to any other man; contrary to the general rule of the common law, that no *chose* in action is assignable: which assignment is the life of paper credit. It may therefore be of some use to mention a few of the principal incidents attending this transfer or assignment, in order to make it regular, and thereby to charge the drawer with the payment of the debt to other persons than those with whom he originally contracted.

In the first place, then, the payee, or person to whom or whose *order* such bill of exchange or promissory note is payable, may by indorsement, or writing his name in *dorso*, or on the back of it, assign over his whole property to the bearer, or else to another person by name, either of whom is then called the indorsee; and he may assign the same to another, and so on *in infinitum*. And a promissory note, payable to A, or *bearer*, is negotiable without any indorsement, and payment thereof may be demanded by any bearer *of it. (*v*) [*469] But, in case of a bill of exchange, the payee, or the indorsee (whether it be a general or particular indorsement), is to go to the drawee, and offer his bill for acceptance; which acceptance (so as to charge the drawer with costs) must be in writing, under or on the back of the bill. If the drawee accepts the bill, either verbally or in writing, (*w*) he then makes himself liable to pay it; this being now a contract on his side, grounded on an acknowledgment that the drawer has effects in his hands, or at least credit sufficient to warrant the payment. If the drawee refuses to accept the bill, and it be of the value of 20*l*. or upwards, and expressed to be for value received, the payee or indorsee may protest it for *non-acceptance*; which protest must be made in writing, under a copy of such bill of exchange, by some notary public; or, if no such notary be resident in the place, then by any other substantial inhabitant in the presence of two credible witnesses; and notice of such protest must, within fourteen days after, be given to the drawer. (32)

(*u*) *Str.* 1212.

(*v*) 2 *Show.* 235. *Grant v. Vaughan*, T. 4 Geo. III, B. R.

(*w*) *Str.* 1006.

(31) A promissory note under 5*l*. payable to the bearer on demand is illegal in England, by statute 26 and 27 Vic. c. 105, and previous acts.

(32) [With respect to *acceptance* and *protest*, the law now is, in several material points, different from the statement of it in the text. Acceptance is not necessary, though usual and desirable, on bills payable at a certain time: but when the bill is payable at a certain distance of time after *sight*, then acceptance is essential and should not be delayed, because (as the time for payment of the bill does not begin to run till it is accepted: 6 T. R. 212; Bayl. 112; Chitty on Bills, 263), the responsibility of the drawer would be thereby protracted. Acceptance of an *inland* bill can now be in *writing* only on the face of the bill itself, by 1 and 2 Geo. IV, c. 78; though formerly, as is the case still with *foreign* bills, it might have been verbal, or in writing on any other paper. 4 East, 67; 5 *id.* 514. But in all cases, whether of an inland or foreign bill, if it be presented and acceptance is refused, prompt notice (within fourteen days

But in case such bill be accepted by the drawee, and after acceptance he fails or refuses to pay it within three days after it becomes due (which three days are called days of grace), (33) the payee or indorsee is then to get it protested for *non-payment*, in the same manner, and by the same persons who are to protest it in case of non-acceptance, and such protest must also be notified within fourteen days after to the drawer. And he, on producing such protest, either of non-acceptance, or non-payment, is bound to make good to the payee, or indorsee, not only the amount of the said bills (which he is bound to do within a reasonable time after non-payment, without any protest, by the rules of the common law), (x) but also interest and all charges to be computed from the time of making such protest. But if no protest be made or notified to the drawer, and any damage accrues by such neglect, it shall fall on the holder of the bill. The bill, when refused, must be demanded of the drawer as soon as conveniently may be: for though, when one draws a bill of **exchange*, [**470*] he subjects himself to the payment, if the person on whom it is drawn refuses either to accept or pay, yet that is with this limitation, that if the bill be not paid when due, the person to whom it is payable shall in convenient time give the drawer notice thereof; for otherwise the law will imply it paid: since it would be prejudicial to commerce if a bill might rise up to charge the drawer at any distance of time: when in the mean time all reckonings and accounts may be adjusted between the drawer and the drawee. (y)

If the bill be an indorsed bill, and the indorsee cannot get the drawee to discharge it, he may call upon either the drawer or the indorser, or, if the bill has been negotiated through many hands, upon any of the indorsers; for each indorser is a warrantor for the payment of the bill, which is frequently taken in payment as much (or more) upon the credit of the indorser, as of the drawer. And if such indorser, so called upon, has the names of one or more indorsers prior to his own, to each of whom he is properly an indorsee, he is also at liberty to call upon any of them to make him satisfaction; and so upwards. But the first indorser has nobody to resort to but the drawer only.

What has been said of bills of exchange is applicable also to promissory notes, that are indorsed over, and negotiated from one hand to another; only that, in this case, as there is no drawee, there can be no protest for non-acceptance; or rather the law considers a promissory note in the light of a bill drawn by a man upon himself, and accepted at the time of drawing. And, in case of non-payment by the drawer, the several indorsees of a promissory note have the same remedy, as upon bills of exchange, against the prior indorsers. (34)

(x) Lord Raym. 938.

(y) Salk. 127.

will not suffice, but usually the next day to the immediate indorser, and each indorser is allowed a day) must be given to the drawer and indorsers, or they will be discharged from responsibility. Upon non-acceptance, the holder may immediately sue the drawer (2 Camp. 458), and indorsers (4 East. 481), without waiting till the bill becomes due, according to the terms of it. No protest of an inland bill is essential to entitle the holder to recover interest and costs, and such a protest now seems useless. 2 B. and A. 696.]

An acceptance by parol, when not otherwise provided by statute, is sufficient. *Leonard v. Mason*, 1 Wend. 522; *Ward v. Allen*, 2 Metc. 53. But by statute in several of the United States it is declared that no person shall be charged as acceptor on a bill of exchange, unless his acceptance be in writing, signed by himself or his lawful agent.

(33) When the last day of grace falls on Sunday, or any general holiday, such as Christmas day, Fourth of July, &c., presentment must be made on the day preceding; but if the bill or note were payable without grace, it would not be due until the day following. 1 Pars. on Bills and Notes, 400, 401.

The law on this subject is very much regulated by statutes in the United States, and in the absence of statutes, it may be affected by usage. Ordinary bank checks and demand notes are not entitled to grace, and other negotiable paper is sometimes so drawn as by its terms to exclude this extension.

(34) We may briefly refer here to two other kinds of negotiable paper, premising that the subject is too broad for any discussion.

Bank notes are securities issued by banking corporations or private bankers, in the form of promissory notes, and by which they undertake to pay to the bearer a certain sum of money

CHAPTER XXXI.

OF TITLE BY BANKRUPTCY.

THE preceding chapter having treated pretty largely of the acquisition of personal property by several commercial methods, we from thence shall be easily led to take into our present consideration a tenth method of transferring property, which is that of

X. Bankruptcy; a title which we before lightly touched upon, (a) so far as it related to the transfer of the real estate of the bankrupt. At present we are to treat of it more minutely, as it principally relates to the disposition of chattels, in which the property of persons concerned in trade more usually consists, than in lands or tenements. Let us, therefore, first of all consider, 1. *Who* may become a bankrupt: 2. What *acts* make a bankrupt: 3. The *proceedings* on a commission of bankrupt: and, 4. In what manner an estate in goods and chattels may be *transferred* by bankruptcy.

1. Who may become a bankrupt. A bankrupt was before (b) defined to be "a trader, who secretes himself, or does certain other acts, tending to defraud his creditors." He was formerly considered merely in the light of a criminal or offender, (c) (1) and in this spirit we are told by Sir Edward Coke, (d) that we [*472] have fetched as well the name, as the wickedness *of bankrupts from foreign nations, (e) But at present the laws of bankruptcy are consid-

(a) See page 285.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) Stat. 1 Jac. I, c. 15. § 17.

(d) 4 Inst. 277.

(e) The word itself is derived from the word *bancus* or *banque*, which signifies the table or counter of a tradesman (Dufresne, I. 969), and *ruptus*, broken; denoting thereby one whose shop or place of trade is broken and gone; though others rather choose to adopt the word *route*, which in French signifies a trace or track, and tell us that a bankrupt is one who hath removed his banque, leaving but a trace behind. (4 Inst. 277.) And it is observable that the title of the first English statute concerning this offence (34 Hen. VIII, c. 4). "against such persons as do make bankrupt," is a literal translation of the French idiom, *qui font banque route*.

mentioned therein on demand. These securities are designed to circulate as money, and they are not allowed to be issued except by persons duly authorized by statute. But though they circulate as money, no one is obliged to receive them as such, but has a right instead to insist upon receiving the legal tender of the country. A tender of such notes is nevertheless good, if accepted, or if refused on any other ground than because they are not money. *Warren v. Mains*, 7 Johns. 476; *Wright v. Reed*, 3 T. R., 554; *Snow v. Perry*, 9 Pick. 539. The property in these notes follows possession; grace is not allowed upon them, and they bear no interest until after demand of payment and refusal. They never become overdue in the law, and the statute of limitations does not apply to them.

Bank checks are orders drawn by an individual upon his banker, directing him to pay the sum of money specified therein, either to the bearer or to some person named, or to the order of a person named. These instruments are supposed to be drawn against funds actually deposited subject to call, and they are payable at presentation without grace. If payable to order or bearer they are negotiable, and the person in whose favor they are drawn may make himself a party thereto by indorsement, in which case his rights and liabilities correspond to those of the indorsee of a bill or note. They ought usually to be presented for payment as soon as convenient, and if the holder retains them in his own hands without presentation for an unreasonable time, he takes upon himself the risk of the banker's responsibility. 2 Pars. Notes and Bills, 72. A check does not operate as an assignment of the amount thereof in bank to the drawee, and if the banker refuses to pay, the recourse of the holder is to the drawer and indorsers if any. But the banker would be liable to the drawer of the check for any injury to his credit by unjustifiable refusal to pay. *Marzetti v. Williams*, 1 B. and Ald. 415; 14 C. B. 595. If a check is drawn without funds, or if the funds are withdrawn by the drawer, before the check is presented, he will be liable to the holder for the amount without presentment or notice.

Checks are sometimes presented to banks for *certification*, and after being certified by the proper officer as good, are withdrawn to be used instead of money in business transactions. This is sometimes done when there are no funds to meet them, and important questions then arise, regarding the liability of the bank upon them. Upon this subject see cases collected and discussed in 3 American Law Review, 612.

Upon the general subject of negotiable paper, the elementary treatises on bills and notes are very full and satisfactory, especially the English treatises by Chitty and Byles, and the American by Edwards and Parsons.

(1) [Throughout the three first statutes the bankrupt is invariably called an offender, and the original design of the bankrupt law appears to have been to prevent and defeat the frauds of criminal debtors.]

ered as laws calculated for the benefit of trade, and founded on the principles of humanity as well as justice ; and to that end they confer some privileges, not only on the creditors, but also on the bankrupt or debtor himself. On the creditors, by compelling the bankrupt to give up all his effects to their use, without any fraudulent concealment : on the debtor, by exempting him from the rigour of the general law, whereby his person might be confined at the discretion of his creditor, though in reality he has nothing to satisfy the debt : whereas the law of bankrupts, taking into consideration the sudden and unavoidable accidents to which men in trade are liable, has given them the liberty of their persons, and some pecuniary emoluments, upon condition they surrender up their whole estate to be divided among their creditors.

In this respect our Legislature seems to have attended to the example of the Roman law. I mean not the terrible law of the twelve tables ; whereby the creditors might cut the debtor's body into pieces, and each of them take his proportionable share : if, indeed, that law, *de debitore in partes secando*, is to be understood in so very butchery a light ; which many learned men have with reason doubted. (f) Nor do I mean those less inhuman laws (if they may be called so, as *their* meaning is indisputably certain), of imprisoning the debtor's person in chains ; subjecting him to stripes and hard labour, at the mercy of his rigid creditor ; and sometimes selling him, his wife, and children, to perpetual foreign slavery *trans Tiberim* : (g) an oppression which produced so many *popular insurrections, and secessions to the *mons sacer*. But I [*473] mean the law of *cession*, introduced by the Christian emperors ; whereby, if a debtor *ceded*, or yielded up all his fortune to his creditors, he was secured from being dragged to a gaol, "*omni quoque corporali cruciatu semoto*." (h) For, as the emperor justly observes, (i) "*inhumanum erat spoliatum fortunæ suis in solidum damnari*." Thus far was just and reasonable : but, as the departing from one extreme is apt to produce its opposite, we find it afterwards enacted, (k) that, if the debtor by any unforeseen accident was reduced to low circumstances, and would *swear* that he had not sufficient left to pay his debts, he should not be compelled to cede or give up even that which he had in his possession : a law which, under a false notion of humanity, seems to be fertile of perjury, injustice and absurdity.

The laws of England, more wisely, have steered in the middle between both extremes : providing at once against the inhumanity of the creditor, who is not suffered to confine an honest bankrupt after his effects are delivered up ; and at the same time taking care that all his just debts shall be paid, so far as the effects will extend. But still they are cautious of encouraging prodigality and extravagance by this indulgence to debtors ; and therefore they allow the benefit of the laws of bankruptcy to none but actual *traders* ; since that set of men are, generally speaking, the only persons liable to accidental losses, and to an inability of paying their debts, without any fault of their own. If persons in other situations of life run in debt without the power of payment, they must take the consequences of their own indiscretion, even though they meet with sudden accidents that may reduce their fortunes : for the law holds it to be an unjustifiable practice, for any person but a trader to incur himself with debts of any considerable value. If a gentleman or *one in a liberal profession, [*474] at the time of contracting his debts, has a sufficient fund to pay them, the delay of payment is a species of dishonesty, and a temporary injustice to his creditor : and if, at such time he has no sufficient fund, the dishonesty and injustice is the greater. He cannot therefore murmur, if he suffers the punishment which he has voluntarily drawn upon himself. But in mercantile transactions the case is far otherwise. Trade cannot be carried on without mutual credit on both sides : the contracting of debts is therefore here not only justi-

(f) Taylor, Comment in L. decemviral. Rynkersh. Observ. Jur. I. 1. Helnecc. Antiq. III. 30, 4.

(g) In Pegu and the adjacent countries in East India, the creditor is entitled to dispose of the debtor himself, and likewise of his wife and children : insomuch that he may even violate with impunity the chastity of the debtor's wife, but then, by so doing, the debt is understood to be discharged. (Mod. Un. Hist. vii. 123.)

(h) Cod. 7, 71, *per tot.*

(i) Inst. 4, 6, 40.

(k) Nov. 135, c. 1.

fiable, but necessary. And if by accidental calamities, as, by the loss of a ship in a tempest, the failure of brother traders, or by the non-payment of persons out of trade, a merchant or trader becomes incapable of discharging his own debts, it is his misfortune and not his fault. To the misfortunes, therefore, of debtors, the law has given a compassionate remedy, but denied it to their faults: since, at the same time that it provides for the security of commerce, by enacting that every considerable trader may be declared a bankrupt, for the benefit of his creditors as well as himself, it has also (to discourage extravagance) declared that no one shall be capable of being made a bankrupt, but only a *trader*; nor capable of receiving the full benefit of the statutes, but only an *industrious* trader.

The first statute made concerning any English bankrupts was 34 Hen. VIII, c. 4, when trade began first to be properly cultivated in England: which has been almost totally altered by statute 12 Eliz. c. 7, whereby bankruptcy is confined to such persons only as have *used the trade of merchandise*, in gross or by retail, by way of bargaining, exchange, re-change, bartering, chevisance, (l) or otherwise; or have *sought their living by buying and selling*. And by statute 21 Jac. I, c. 19, persons using the trade or profession of a *scrivener*, receiving other men's monies and estates into their trust and custody, are also made liable to the statutes of bankruptcy: and the benefits, as well as the penal parts of the [*475] law, are *extended as well to *aliens* and *denizens* as to natural-born subjects; being intended entirely for the protection of trade, in which aliens are often as deeply concerned as natives. By many subsequent statutes, but lastly by statute 5 Geo. II, c. 30, (m) *bankers, brokers, and factors*, are declared liable to the statutes of bankruptcy; and this upon the same reason that scriveners are included by the statute of James I, viz.: for the relief of their creditors; whom they have otherwise more opportunities of defrauding than any other set of dealers; and they are properly to be looked upon as traders, since they make merchandise of money, in the same manner as other merchants do of goods and other movable chattels. But by the same act, (n) no *farmer, grazier, or drover*, shall (as such) be liable to be deemed a bankrupt: for, though they buy and sell corn, and hay, and beasts, in the course of husbandry, yet trade is not their principal, but only a collateral, object; their chief concern being to manure and till the ground, and make the best advantage of its produce. And, besides, the subjecting them to the laws of bankruptcy might be a means of defeating their landlords of the security which the law has given them above all others, for the payment of their reserved rents; wherefore, also, upon a similar reason, a *receiver of the king's taxes* is not capable, (o) as such, of being a bankrupt; lest the king should be defeated of those extensive remedies against his debtors, which are put into his hands by the prerogative. By the same statute, (p) no person shall have a commission of bankrupt awarded against him, unless at the petition of some *one* creditor, to whom he owes 100*l.*; or of *two*, to whom he is indebted 150*l.*; or of *more*, to whom altogether he is indebted 200*l.* For the law does not look upon persons whose debts amount to less, to be traders considerable enough, either to enjoy the benefits of the statutes themselves, or to entitle the creditors, for the benefit of public commerce, to demand the distribution of their effects. (2)

(l) That is, making contracts. Dufresne, II, 569. (m) § 39. (n) § 40. (o) *Ibid.* (p) § 23.

(2) The English law of bankruptcy was entirely remodeled by the act 32 and 33 Vic. c. 71, which took effect on the first day of January, 1870. The following is a summary of its provisions:

[First, all persons, even including persons who have privilege of parliament, may be adjudged bankrupt, whether they be traders or not.

Next, a person becomes a bankrupt, when adjudged so by the court, upon the petition of a creditor whose debt, which must be a liquidated and unsecured debt, amounts to 50*l.* or upwards, or of several creditors whose debts in the aggregate amount to that sum at least. But before such petition can be presented the debtor must have committed one of the acts or defaults which are constituted "acts of bankruptcy."

*In the interpretation of these several statutes, it hath been held [*476] that buying only, or selling only, will not qualify a man to be a bankrupt; but it must be both buying and selling, and also getting a livelihood by it. As, by exercising the calling of a merchant, a grocer, a mercer, or in one general word, a *chapman*, who is one that buys and sells any thing. But no handicraft occupation (where nothing is bought and sold, and where, therefore, an extensive credit for the stock in trade is not necessary to be had) will make a man a regular bankrupt; as that of a husbandman, a gardener, and the like, who are paid for their work and labour. (q) Also an inn-keeper cannot, as such, be a bankrupt: (r) for his gain or livelihood does not arise from buying and selling in the way of merchandise, but greatly from the use of his rooms and furniture, his attendance, and the like: and though he may buy corn and victuals, to sell again at a profit, yet that no more makes him a trader than a school-master or

(q) Cro. Car. 31.

(r) Cro. Car. 549. Skinn. 291.

These are, 1. Making a conveyance or assignment of all his property to a trustee for the benefit of his creditors generally. 2. Making a fraudulent conveyance, gift, delivery or transfer of his property, or any part or it. 3. Doing, with intent to defeat or delay his creditors, any of the following acts, viz.: departing from or remaining out of England; or (being a trader) departing from his dwelling-house or otherwise absenting himself; or beginning to keep house, or suffering himself to be outlawed; 4. Filing, in the manner prescribed by the rules of the court, a declaration that he is unable to pay his debts; 5. Having execution levied by seizure and sale of his goods, for payment of a debt of 50*l.* or upwards; 6. Having neglected to pay, or secure, or compound the prisoner's debt, after having had a debtor's summons served upon him, being a trader, within seven days, and, being a non-trader, within three weeks after service.

An adjudication founded upon any of these acts of bankruptcy will not, however, be granted, unless the petition be presented within six months after the act has been committed. The act of bankruptcy upon which the petition is founded, or the earliest act of bankruptcy that is proved to have been committed within twelve months preceding the presentation of the petition, constitutes the commencement of the bankruptcy. As soon as the bankrupt has been so adjudicated, no creditor may commence or prosecute any proceeding against the bankrupt without leave of the court, and all the ordinary remedies are taken away, the rights only of secured creditors with respect to their security being, however, preserved. Every creditor must prove his debt under the bankruptcy, and is bound by it. Immediately an order of adjudication has been made, the property of the debtor becomes divisible among his creditors, and, for the purpose of making a division, a meeting of the creditors is to be called, at which they are to appoint some fit person, whether a creditor or not, as a trustee, and also nominate some other fit persons, not exceeding five, who are to be creditors who have proved their debts, as a committee of inspection, for the purpose of guiding and in some measure controlling the trustee in the discharge of his duties, or the creditors may leave the appointment of the trustee to the committee. The title of the trustee relates back to the commencement of the bankruptcy. The creditors may at the same or any subsequent meeting give any special directions they may please as to the manner in which the property is to be administered by the trustee, and such directions are to be binding upon him. The property which is to be divisible among the creditors is not to include any property held by the bankrupt on trust for any other person, nor the tools, if any, of his trade, nor the necessary wearing apparel and bedding of himself, his wife and children; such tools, apparel and bedding not exceeding in value 20*l.* But it is to include, first, all such property as may be vested in the bankrupt at the commencement of the bankruptcy, or may be acquired by or devolve upon him during its continuance. Second, the capacity to exercise or take proceedings to exercise all powers over property which might be exercised by the bankrupt for his own benefit at the commencement, or at any time during the continuance of the bankruptcy. Third, all goods and chattels being at the commencement of the bankruptcy in the possession, order or disposition of the bankrupt, being a trader, by the consent and permission of the true owner; of which goods and chattels the bankrupt is reputed owner, or of which he has taken upon himself the sale and disposition as owner: but it is provided that things in action, other than debts due to him in the course of his trade or business, are not to be deemed goods and chattels within the meaning of this clause.

Upon the appointment of the trustee the property vests, without any conveyance, assignment or transfer, in him; and the certificate of the court of his appointment constitutes his title-deed. Until the appointment of a trustee, and during any vacancy which may occur, the registrar of the court is the trustee; and the property also vests, as new trustees (if any) are from time to time appointed, on their respective appointments.

When the property has been realized, the court makes an order declaring the bankruptcy closed, and the bankrupt may apply for his discharge. The order of discharge will only be granted upon condition that the assets have been sufficient to pay a dividend of not less than 10*s.* in the pound, unless the creditors shall have passed a resolution, by a majority in number

other person is that keeps a boarding-house, and makes considerable gains by buying and selling what he spends in the house; and such a one is clearly not within the statutes. (*s*) But where persons buy goods, and make them up into saleable commodities, as shoe-makers, smiths, and the like; here, though part of the gain is by bodily labour, and not by buying and selling, yet they are within the statutes of bankrupts: (*t*) for the labour is only in melioration of the commodity, and rendering it more fit for sale.

One single act of buying and selling will not make a man a trader; but a repeated practice, and profit by it. Buying and selling bank-stock, or other government securities, will not make a man a bankrupt; they not being goods, wares or merchandise, within the intent of the statute, by which a profit may be fairly made. (*u*) Neither will buying and selling under particular restraints, [*477] or for particular purposes; as, if *a commissioner of the navy uses to buy victuals for the fleet, and dispose of the surplus and refuse, he is not thereby made a trader within the statutes. (*w*) An infant, though a trader, cannot be made a bankrupt; (3) for an infant can owe nothing but for necessaries: and the statutes of bankruptcy create no new debts, but only give a speedier and more effectual remedy for recovering such as were before due: and no person can be made a bankrupt for debts which he is not liable at law to pay. (*x*) But a feme-covert in London, being a sole trader according to the custom, is liable to a commission of bankrupt. (*y*)

2. Having thus considered who may, and who may not, be made a bankrupt, we are to inquire, secondly, by what *acts* a man may become a bankrupt. (4) A

(*s*) Skinn. 292. 3 Mod. 330.
(*w*) 1 Salk. 110. Skinn. 292.

(*t*) Cro. Car. 31. Skinn. 292.
(*x*) Lord Raym. 443.

(*u*) 2 P. Wms. 308.
(*y*) *La Vie v. Phillips*, M. 6 Geo. III, B. R.

representing three-fourths in value of the debts, present at a meeting called specially for the purpose, to the effect that a discharge should be granted. An order of discharge releases the bankrupt from all debts provable under the bankruptcy, except those which he incurred by means of any fraud or breach of trust, and those of which he obtained forbearance by means of fraud; and also except debts due to the crown or relating to the revenue: but of these last he may be discharged if the commissioners of the treasury certify their consent in writing to such discharge. If the bankrupt fail to obtain an order of discharge, then, after the close of the bankruptcy, the following consequences ensue: a period of three years is given to the bankrupt, during which, if he pays to his creditors such additional sum as, together with the dividend already paid, makes up 10s. in the pound, he is to obtain an order of discharge; and meanwhile no debt provable under the bankruptcy shall be enforced against his property; but, if at the expiration of the three years, he has not in this manner obtained an order of discharge, any balance remaining unpaid in respect of any debt proved under the bankruptcy (without interest) shall be deemed an existing debt, in the nature of a judgment debt, and may be enforced as such.]

In the United States power is conferred upon congress by the constitution to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy. This power has been three times exercised; by act of April 4, 1800, repealed Dec. 19, 1803; by act of Aug. 19, 1841, repealed in 1843; and by act of March 2, 1867, now in force. The present act embraces within its provisions not traders only, but "any person residing within the jurisdiction of the United States," and owing debts to the amount of more than three hundred dollars provable under it. It contains what are called voluntary provisions, under which an insolvent debtor may himself be the petitioner for his discharge, and involuntary provisions, under which the creditors become petitioners when they believe an act of bankruptcy has been committed. No debt created by the fraud or embezzlement of the bankrupt, or by his defalcation as a public officer, or while acting in any fiduciary capacity, is barred by a certificate of discharge issued under the act. Original jurisdiction of the proceedings is possessed by the United States district courts, but registers in bankruptcy are appointed, by whom the major part of the business is transacted; but contested issues are adjourned by the registers for hearing in court, and the debtor who disputes the allegations of the creditors against him may demand trial by jury. See the Treatise of Avery and Hobbs on this law. And for decisions under it, see digest of cases in bankruptcy in the American Law Review for April, 1869, and subsequent numbers.

(3) See *Belton v. Hodges*, 9 Bing. 365; *O'Brien v. Currie*, 3 C. and P. 283; *Stevens v. Jackson*, 4 Camp. 164. But an infant may probably apply under the voluntary provisions of the United States law. See *Matter of Book*, 3 McLean, 317. And a married woman doubtless may, if resident where the law permits her to transact business in her own name: see *Marshall v. Rutton*, 8 T. R. 545; or, if the wife of a transported convict. *Ex parte Franks*, 7 Bing. 762.

(4) The acts of bankruptcy enumerated in the act of congress of March 2, 1867, are as follows (sec. 39):

bankrupt is "a trader, who secretes himself, or does certain other acts, tending to defraud his creditors." We have hitherto been employed in explaining the former part of this description, "a trader;" let me now attend to the latter, "who secretes himself, or does certain other acts tending to defraud his creditors." And, in general, whenever such a trader, as is before described, hath endeavoured to avoid his creditors, or evade their just demands, this hath been declared by the legislature to be an act of bankruptcy, upon which a commission may be sued out. For, in this extrajudicial method of proceeding, which is allowed merely for the benefit of commerce, the law is extremely watchful to detect a man whose circumstances are declining, in the first instance, or at least as early as possible; that the creditors may receive as large a proportion of their debts as may be; and that a man may not go on wantonly wasting his substance, and then claim the benefit of the statutes, when he has nothing left to distribute.

To learn what the particular acts of bankruptcy are, which render a man a bankrupt, we must consult the several statutes, and the resolutions formed by the courts thereon. *Among these may therefore be reckoned: [*478]
 1. Departing from the realm, whereby a man withdraws himself from the jurisdiction and coercion of the law, with intent to defraud his creditors. (z)
 2. Departing from his own house, with intent to secrete himself, and avoid his creditors. (a)
 3. Keeping in his own house, privately, so as not to be seen or spoken with by his creditors, except for just and necessary cause; which is likewise construed to be an intention to defraud his creditors, by avoiding the process of the law. (b)
 4. Procuring or suffering himself willingly to be arrested, or outlawed, or imprisoned, without just and lawful cause; which is likewise deemed an attempt to defraud his creditors. (c)
 5. Procuring his money, goods, chattels, and effects, to be attached or sequestered by any legal process; which is another plain and direct endeavour to disappoint his creditors of their security. (d)
 6. Making any fraudulent conveyance to a friend, or secret trustee of his lands, tenements, goods or chattels; which is an act of the same suspicious nature with the last. (e)
 7. Procuring any protection, not being himself privileged by parliament, in order to screen his person from arrests; which also is an endeavour to elude the justice of the law. (f)
 8. Endeavouring or desiring, by any petition to the king, or bill exhibited in any of the king's courts against any creditors, to compel them to take less than their just debts; or to procrastinate the time of payment originally contracted for; which are an acknowledgment of either his poverty or his knavery. (g)
 9. Lying in prison for two months or more, upon arrest or other detention for debt, without finding bail

(z) Stat. 13 Eliz. c. 7.
 (d) Stat. 1 Jac. I, c. 15.

(a) *Ibid.* 1 Jac. I, c. 15.
 (e) *Ibid.*

(b) Stat. 13 Eliz. c. 7.
 (f) Stat. 21 Jac. I, c. 19.

(c) *Ibid.* 1 Jac. I, c. 15.
 (g) *Ibid.*

1. Departing from the state, territory or district of which the person is an inhabitant, with intent to defraud his creditors:

2. Remaining absent when abroad with the like intent:

3. Concealing himself to avoid the service of legal process for the recovery of any debt provable under the act:

4. Concealing or removing property to avoid legal process:

5. Making an assignment, gift, sale, conveyance or transfer of his estate, property, rights or credits, with intent to delay, hinder or defraud creditors:

6. Being under arrest for a period of seven days on an execution upon a debt provable under the act, and for more than one hundred dollars:

7. Being actually imprisoned for more than seven days in a civil suit founded on contract, for one hundred dollars or upwards:

8. Making any payment, gift, grant, sale, conveyance or transfer of money or other property, estate, rights or credits, or giving any warrant to confess judgment, or procuring or suffering his property to be taken on legal process, while bankrupt or insolvent, or in contemplation of bankruptcy or insolvency, with intent to give a preference to one or more of his creditors, or to persons liable for him as sureties or otherwise, or with intent, by such disposition of his property, to defeat or delay the operation of the act:

9. A banker, broker, merchant, trader, manufacturer or miner fraudulently stopping or suspending, and not resuming payment of his commercial paper within a period of fourteen days.

in order to obtain his liberty. (*h*) For the inability to procure bail, argues a strong deficiency in his credit, owing either to his suspected poverty, or ill character; and his neglect to do it, if able, can arise only from a fraudulent intention; in either of which cases, it is high time for his creditors to look to [**479*] themselves, *and compel a distribution of his effects. 10. Escaping from prison after an arrest for a just debt of 100*l.* or upwards. (*i*) For, no man would break prison, that was able and desirous to procure bail; which brings it within the reason of the last case. 11. Neglecting to make satisfaction for any just debt to the amount of 100*l.* within two months after service of legal process for such debt, upon any trader having privilege of parliament. (*k*)

These are the several acts of bankruptcy, expressly defined by the statutes relating to this title: which being so numerous, and the whole law of bankrupts being an innovation on the common law, our courts of justice have been tender of extending or multiplying acts of bankruptcy by any construction or implication. And, therefore, Sir John Holt held, (*l*) that a man's removing his goods privately to prevent their being seized in execution, was no act of bankruptcy. For, the statutes mention only fraudulent gifts to third persons, and procuring them to be seized by sham process in order to defraud creditors: but this, though a palpable fraud, yet falling within neither of those cases, cannot be adjudged an act of bankruptcy. So, also, it has been determined expressly, that a banker's stopping or refusing payment is no act of bankruptcy; for it is not within the description of any of the statutes, and there may be good reasons for his so doing, as suspicion of forgery, and the like: and if, in consequence of such refusal, he is arrested, and puts in bail, still it is no act of bankruptcy: (*m*) but, if he goes to prison, and lies there two months, then, and not before, he is become a bankrupt.

We have seen *who* may be a bankrupt, and what *acts* will make him so: let us next consider,

3. The *proceedings* on a commission of bankrupt; so far as they affect the [**480*] bankrupt himself. And these depend entirely *on the several statutes of bankruptcy; all which I shall endeavour to blend together, and digest into a concise, methodical order.

And, first, there must be a *petition* to the lord chancellor by one creditor to the amount of 100*l.* or by two to the amount of 150*l.*, or by three or more to the amount of 200*l.*, (*5*) which debt must be proved by *affidavit*: (*n*) upon which he grants a *commission* to such discreet persons as to him shall seem good, who are then styled commissioners of bankrupt. (*o*) The petitioners, to prevent malicious applications, must be bound in a security of 200*l.* to make the party amends in case they do not prove him a bankrupt. And if, on the other hand, they receive any money or effects from the bankrupt, as a recompense for suing out the commission, so as to receive more than their ratable dividends of the bankrupt's estate, they forfeit not only what they shall have so received, but their whole debt. These provisions are made, as well to secure persons in good credit from being damnified by malicious petitions, as to prevent knavish combinations between the creditors and bankrupt, in order to obtain the benefit of a commission. When the commission is awarded and issued, the commissioners are to meet, at their own expense, and to take an oath for the due execution of their commission, and to be allowed a sum not exceeding 20*s.* *per diem* each, at every sitting. And no commission of bankrupt shall abate, or be void, upon any demise of the crown. (*p*)

When the commissioners have received their commission, they are first to receive proof of the person's being a trader, and having committed some act of bankruptcy; and then to declare him a bankrupt, if proved so; and to give notice thereof in the Gazette, and at the same time to appoint three meetings. At one of these meetings an election must be made of assignees, or persons to whom the bankrupt's estate shall be assigned, and in whom it shall be vested

(*h*) *Ibid.*(*i*) *Ibid.*(*k*) Stat. 4 Geo. III, c. 33.(*l*) Lord Raym. 725.(*m*) 7 Mod. 139.(*n*) Stat. 5 Geo. II, c. 30.(*o*) 3 Stat. 13 Eliz. c. 7.(*p*) Stat. 5 Geo. II, c. 30.

for the benefit of the creditors; which assignees are to be chosen by the major *part, in value, of the creditors who shall then have proved their debts: [*48I] but may be originally appointed by the commissioners, and afterwards [approved or rejected by the creditors: but no creditor shall be admitted to vote in the choice of assignees, whose debt on the balance of accounts does not amount to 10*l*. And at the third meeting, at farthest, which must be on the forty-second day after the advertisement in the gazette (unless the time be enlarged by the lord chancellor), the bankrupt, upon notice also personally served upon him, or left at his usual place of abode, must surrender himself personally to the commissioners: which surrender (if voluntary) protects him from all arrests till his final examination is past: and he must thenceforth in all respects conform to the directions of the statutes of bankruptcy; or, in default of either surrender or conformity, shall be guilty of felony without benefit of clergy, and shall suffer death, and his goods and estate shall be distributed among his creditors. (q) (5)

In case the bankrupt absconds, or is likely to run away, between the time of the commission issued, and the last day of surrender, he may by warrant from any judge or justice of the peace be apprehended and committed to the county gaol, in order to be forthcoming to the commissioners; who are also empowered immediately to grant a warrant for seizing his goods and papers. (r)

When the bankrupt appears, the commissioners are to examine him touching all matters relating to his trade and effects. (6) They may also summon before them and examine the bankrupt's wife, (s) and any other person whatsoever, as to all matters relating to the bankrupt's affairs. And in case any of them shall refuse to answer, or shall not answer fully to any lawful question, or shall refuse to subscribe such their examination, the commissioners may commit them to prison without bail, till they submit themselves and make and sign a full answer; the commissioners specifying in their warrant of commitment the question so refused to be answered. And any gaoler permitting such person to escape or go out of prison shall forfeit 500*l*. to the creditors. (t)

*The bankrupt, upon this examination, is bound, upon pain of death, (7) to make a full discovery of all his estate and effects, as well in expectancy as possession, and how he has disposed of the same; together with all books and writings relating thereto: and is to deliver up all in his own power to the commissioners (except the necessary apparel of himself, his wife, and his children); or, in case he conceals or embezzles any effects to the amount of 20*l*., or withholds any books or writings, with intent to defraud his creditors, he shall be guilty of felony without benefit of clergy; and his goods and estates shall

(q) Stat. 5 Geo. II, c. 30.

(r) Stat. 5 Geo. II, c. 30.

(s) Stat. 21 Jac. I, c. 19.

(t) Stat. 5 Geo. II, c. 30.

(5) The acts for which a bankrupt is criminally punishable under the act of congress of March 2, 1867, are the secreting or concealing property belonging to his estate; concealing, destroying, altering, &c., books, papers, &c., with fraudulent intent; making gifts, payments, &c., with the like intent; spending any part of his estate in gaming; fraudulent omission of property from the schedule; failing to disclose knowledge of fraudulent claims against the estate; attempting to account for any of his property by fictitious losses or expenses; obtaining fraudulent credit within three months before commencement of the proceedings, and with intent to defraud creditors; making disposition of property bought on credit and not paid for, otherwise than by *bona fide* transactions in the ordinary way of his trade, within three months before the commencement of proceedings. Sec. 44. The maximum punishment that may be inflicted is three month's imprisonment with or without hard labor.

(6) [A creditor attending to prove his debt before the commissioners, or a solicitor attending a bankrupt petition, is entitled to the same privilege of exemption from arrest, not only whilst in actual attendance before the court, but *eundo et redeundo*, *bona fide*, therefrom. List's Case, 2 Ves. and Bea. 374; *Ex parte* Bryant, 1 Mad. 49; Gascoygne's Case, 14 Ves. 183; Castle's Case, 16 id. 412. And any person attending under a summons of the commissioners will be equally protected, *Ex parte* King, 7 Ves. 312, both from arrest and subsequent detainers lodged against him. *Sidgior v. Birch*, 9 Ves. 69.]

(7) Under the act of congress of March 2, 1867, the bankrupt who neglects or refuses to obey any order of the court is punishable as for contempt of court. Sec. 26. The barbarous punishments mentioned in the text were long since abolished in England.

be divided among his creditors. (*u*) And unless it shall appear that his inability to pay his debts arose from some casual loss, he may, upon conviction, by indictment, of such gross misconduct and negligence, be set upon the pillory for two hours, and have one of his ears nailed to the same and cut off. (*v*)

After the time allowed to the bankrupt for such discovery is expired, any other person voluntarily discovering any part of his estate, before unknown to the assignees, shall be entitled to *five per cent* out of the effects so discovered, and such farther reward as the assignees and commissioners shall think proper. And any trustee wilfully concealing the estate of any bankrupt, after the expiration of the two and forty days, shall forfeit 100*l.*, and double the value of the estate concealed, to the creditors. (*w*)

Hitherto, every thing is in favour of the creditors; and the law seems to be pretty rigid and severe against the bankrupt; but, in case he proves honest, it makes him full amends for all this rigour and severity. For, if the bankrupt hath made an ingenuous discovery (of the truth and sufficiency of which there remains no reason to doubt), and hath conformed in all points to the directions of the law; and if, in consequence thereof, the creditors, or four parts in five of them in number and value (but none of them creditors for less than 20*l.*), will sign a certificate to that purport, the commissioners are then to authenticate such certificate under their hands and seals, and to transmit it to the Lord Chancellor; and he, or two of the judges whom he shall appoint, on oath [*483] *made by the bankrupt, that such certificate was obtained without fraud, may allow the same; or disallow it, upon cause shown by any of the creditors of the bankrupt. (*x*) (8)

If no cause be shown to the contrary, the certificate is allowed of course; and then the bankrupt is entitled to a decent and reasonable allowance out of his effects, for his future support and maintenance, and to put him in a way of honest industry. This allowance is also in proportion to his former good behaviour, in the early discovery of the decline of his affairs, and thereby giving his creditors a larger dividend. For, if his effects will not pay one-half of his debts, or ten shillings in the pound, he is left to the discretion of the commissioners and assignees, to have a competent sum allowed him, not exceeding *three per cent*; but if they pay ten shillings in the pound, he is to be allowed *five per cent*; if twelve shillings and six-pence, then *seven and a half per cent*; and if fifteen shillings in the pound, then the bankrupt shall be allowed *ten per cent*; provided that such allowance do not, in the first case, exceed 200*l.*, in the second, 250*l.*, and in the third, 300*l.* (*y*) (9)

(*u*) Stat. 5 Geo. II, c. 30. By the laws of Naples, all fraudulent bankrupts, particularly such as do not surrender themselves within four days, are punished with death; also all who conceal the effects of a bankrupt, or set up a pretended debt to defraud his creditors. (Mod. Un. Hist. xxviii, 320.)

(*v*) Stat. 21. Jac. I, c. 19.

(*w*) Stat. 5 Geo. II, c. 30.

(*x*) Stat. 5 Geo. II, c. 30.

(*y*) Stat. 5 Geo. II, c. 30. By the Roman law of cession, if the debtor acquired any considerable property subsequent to the giving up of his all, it was liable to the demands of his creditors. (Ff. 42, 3. 4.) But this did not extend to such allowance as was left to him on the score of compassion for the maintenance of himself and family. *Si quid misericordie causa ei fuerit relictum, puta menstruum vel annum alimentorum nomine, non oportet propter hoc bona ejus iterato venundari: nec enim fraudandus est alimentis cottidianis.* (Ibid. l. 6.)

(8) No such certificate from creditors is required under the act of congress, to entitle the bankrupt to his discharge; but it is granted, as a matter of course, unless he has been guilty of some act forbidden by the statute, or of some fraud upon creditors, or lost property by gaming, or suffered waste or destruction to his estate, &c. But in cases commenced a year after the act went into operation, no discharge is granted, unless the assets pay fifty per cent of the debts, or a majority in number and value of the creditors assent; and in cases of second bankruptcy no discharge is granted, unless the assets pay seventy per cent, or unless three-fourths in value of the creditors assent, or unless the debts owing at the time of the previous bankruptcy have been paid or released. Secs. 29 and 30.

(9) The act of congress of March 2, 1867, saves to the bankrupt his necessary household furniture, and other articles designated by the assignee, with reference to the family, condition and circumstances of the bankrupt, not exceeding in value \$500, the wearing apparel of himself and family, the uniform, arms or equipments of any one who is or has been a soldier in the militia or army, and any other property that is or may be exempt from levy by the laws of the United States, or as would be exempt by the laws of the state in force in the year 1864. And all such exempt property is excepted from the operation of the assignment which is made by the court, or by the register in bankruptcy, of the bankrupt's effects. Sec. 14.

Beside this allowance, he has also an indemnity granted him, of being free and discharged forever from all debts owing by him at the time he became a bankrupt; even though judgment shall have been obtained against him, and he lies in prison upon execution for such debts; and for that, among other purposes, all proceedings on commissions of bankrupt are, on petition, to be entered of record, as a perpetual bar against actions to be commenced on this account: though, in general, the production of the certificate, properly allowed, shall be sufficient evidence of all previous proceedings. (z) Thus, *the bankrupt [*484] becomes a clear man again: and, by the assistance of his allowance and his own industry, may become a useful member of the commonwealth; which is the rather to be expected, as he cannot be entitled to these benefits, unless his failures have been owing to misfortunes, rather than to misconduct and extravagance.

For no allowance or idemnity shall be given to a bankrupt, unless his certificate be signed and allowed, as before mentioned; and also, if any creditor produces a fictitious debt, and the bankrupt does not make discovery of it, but suffers the fair creditors to be imposed upon, he loses all title to these advantages. (a) Neither can he claim them if he has given with any of his children above 100%. for a marriage portion, unless he had at that time sufficient left to pay all his debts; or if he has lost at any one time 5%, or in the whole, 100%, within a twelvemonth before he became bankrupt, by any manner of gaming or wagering whatsoever: or within the same time has lost the value of 100% by stock-jobbing. (10) Also to prevent the too common practice of frequent and fraudulent or careless breaking, a mark is set upon such as have been once cleared by a commission of bankrupt, or have compounded with their creditors, or have been delivered by an act of insolvency: which is an occasional act, fre-

(z) Stat. 5. Geo. II, c. 30.

(a) Stat. 24 Geo. II, c. 57.

(10) The act of congress of March 2, 1867, s. 29, provides that "No discharge shall be granted, or, if granted, shall be valid, if the bankrupt has willfully sworn falsely in his affidavit annexed to his petition, schedule or inventory, or upon any examination in the course of the proceedings in bankruptcy, in relation to any material fact concerning his estate or his debts, or to any other material fact; or if he has concealed any part of his estate or effects, or any books or writings relating thereto, or if he has been guilty of any fraud or negligence in the care, custody or delivery to the assignee of the property belonging to him at the time of the presentation of his petition and inventory, excepting such property as he is permitted to retain under the provisions of this act, or if he has caused, permitted or suffered any loss, waste or destruction thereof; or if, within four months before the commencement of such proceedings, he has procured his lands, goods, moneys or chattels to be attached, sequestered or seized on execution; or if, since the passage of this act, he has destroyed, mutilated, altered or falsified any of his books, documents, papers, writings or securities, or has made or been privy to the making of any false or fraudulent entry in any book of account or other document, with intent to defraud his creditors; or has removed, or caused to be removed, any part of his property from the district, with intent to defraud his creditors; or if he has given any fraudulent preference contrary to the provisions of this act, or made any fraudulent payment, gift, transfer, conveyance or assignment of any part of his property, or has lost any part thereof in gaming, or has admitted a false or fictitious debt against his estate, or if, having knowledge that any person has proved such false or fictitious debt, he has not disclosed the same to his assignee within one month after such knowledge; or if, being a merchant or tradesman, he has not, subsequently to the passage of this act, kept proper books of account; or if he, or any person in his behalf, has procured the assent of any creditor to the discharge, or influenced the action of any creditor at any stage of the proceedings by any pecuniary consideration or obligation; or if he has, in contemplation of becoming bankrupt, made any pledge, payment, transfer, assignment or conveyance of any part of his property, directly or indirectly, absolutely or conditionally, for the purpose of preferring any creditor or person having a claim against him or who is or may be under liability for him, or for the purpose of preventing the property from coming into the hands of the assignee, or of being distributed under this act in satisfaction of his debts; or if he has been convicted of any misdemeanor under this act, or has been guilty of any fraud whatever, contrary to the true intent of this act: and before any discharge is granted, the bankrupt shall take and subscribe an oath to the effect that he has not done, suffered, or been privy to, any act, matter or thing specified in this act as a ground for withholding such discharge, or as invalidating such discharge if granted."

As to impeaching the discharge, see the treatise of Avery and Hobbs, and of Gazzam on the Bankrupt Law, and the digest of cases in bankruptcy in American Law Review.

quently passed by the legislature: whereby all persons whatsoever, who are either in too low a way of dealing to become bankrupts, or, not being in a mercantile state of life, are not included within the laws of bankruptcy, are discharged from all suits and imprisonment, upon delivering up all their estate and effects to their creditors upon oath, at the sessions or assizes; in which case their perjury or fraud is usually, as in case of bankrupts, punished with death. Persons who have been once cleared by any of these methods, and afterwards become bankrupts again, unless they pay full *fifteen shillings [*485] in the pound, are only thereby indemnified as to the confinement of their bodies; but any future estate they shall acquire remains liable to their creditors, excepting their necessary apparel, household goods, and the tools and implements of their trades. (b)

Thus much for the proceedings on a commission of bankrupt, so far as they affect a bankrupt himself personally. Let us next consider,

4. How such proceedings affect or transfer the *estate and property* of the bankrupt. The method whereby a *real* estate, in lands, tenements, and hereditaments, may be transferred by bankruptcy, was shown under its proper head in a former chapter. (c) At present, therefore, we are only to consider the transfer of things *personal* by this operation of law.

By virtue of the statutes before mentioned, (d) all the personal estate and effects of the bankrupt are considered as vested by the act of bankruptcy, in the future assignees of his commissioners, whether they be goods in actual *possession*, or debts, contracts, and other choses in *action*: and the commissioners by their warrant may cause any house or tenement of the bankrupt to be broke open, in order to enter upon and seize the same. And when the assignees are chosen or approved by the creditors, the commissioners are to assign every thing over to them; and the property of every part of the estate is thereby as fully vested in them, as it was in the bankrupt himself, and they have the same remedies to recover it. (e)

The property vested in the assignees is the whole that the bankrupt had in himself, at the time he committed the first act of bankruptcy, or that has been vested in him since, before his debts are satisfied or agreed for. Therefore, it is usually said, that once a bankrupt, and always a bankrupt; by which is meant, [*486] that a plain, direct act of bankruptcy once *committed cannot be purged, or explained away by any subsequent conduct, as a dubious equivocal act may be; (f) but that, if a commission is afterwards awarded, the commission and the property of the assignees shall have a relation, or reference, back to the first and original act of bankruptcy. (g) Insomuch that all transactions of the bankrupt are from that time absolutely null and void, either with regard to the alienation of his property, or the receipt of his debts from such as are privy to his bankruptcy; for they are no longer his property, or his debts, but those of the future assignees. And if an execution be sued out, but not served and executed on the bankrupt's effects, till after the act of bankruptcy, it is void as against the assignees. But the king is not bound by this fictitious relation, nor is within the statutes of bankrupts; (h) for if, after the act of bankruptcy committed, and before the assignment of his effects, an extent issues for the debt of the crown, the goods are bound thereby. (i) In France, this doctrine of relation is carried to a very great length; for there, every act of a merchant, for ten days *precedent* to the act of bankruptcy, is presumed to be fraudulent, and is therefore void. (k) But with us the law stands upon a more reasonable footing: for as these acts of bankruptcy may sometimes be secret to all but a few, and it would be prejudicial to trade to carry this notion to its utmost length, it is provided by statute 19 Geo. II, c. 32, that no money paid by a bankrupt to a *bona fide* or real creditor, in a course of trade, even after an act of bankruptcy done, shall be liable to be refunded. Nor, by statute 1 Jac. I, c. 15, shall any debtor of a bankrupt, that pays him his debt, without knowing of his

(b) Stat. 5 Geo. II, c. 30.

(c) Page 255.

(d) Stat. 1 Jac. I, c. 15. 19 Jac. I, c. 12.

(e) 12 Mod. 324.

(f) Salk. 110.

(g) 4 Burr. 32.

(h) 1 Atk. 202.

(i) Viner Abr. tit. *Creditor & Bankrupt*, 104.

(k) Sp. L. b. 29, c. 16.

bankruptcy, be liable to account for it again; the intention of this relative power being only to reach fraudulent transactions, and not to distress the fair trader. (11)

The assignees may pursue any *legal* method of recovering this property so vested in them, by their own authority; but *cannot commence a suit in [*487] *equity*, nor compound any debts owing to the bankrupt, nor refer any matters to arbitration, without the consent of the creditors, or the major part of them in value, at a meeting to be held in pursuance of notice in the Gazette. (l) (12)

When they have got in all the effects they can reasonably hope for, and reduced them to ready money, the assignees must, after four and within twelve months after the commission issued, give one-and-twenty days' notice to the creditors of a meeting for a dividend or distribution; at which time they must produce their accounts, and verify them upon oath, if required. And then the commissioners shall direct a dividend to be made, at so much in the pound, to all creditors who have before proved, or shall then prove, their debts. This dividend must be made equally, and in a ratable proportion, to all the creditors, according to the *quantity* of their debts; no regard being had to the *quality* of them. Mortgages, indeed, for which the creditor has a real security in his own hands, are entirely safe; for the commission of bankrupt reaches only the equity of redemption. (m) So are also personal debts, where the creditor has a chattel in his hands, as a pledge or pawn for the payment, or has taken the debtor's lands or goods in execution. And, upon the equity of the statute 8 Ann. c. 14 (which directs, that upon all executions of goods being on any premises demised to a tenant, one year's rent, and no more, shall, if due, be paid to the landlord), it hath also been held, that, under a commission of bankrupt, which is in the nature of a statute execution, the landlord shall be allowed his arrears of rent to the same amount, in preference to other creditors, even though he hath neglected to distrain, while the goods remained on the premises; which he is otherwise entitled to do for his entire rent, be the *quantum* what it may. (n) But, otherwise judgments and recognizances (both which are debts of record, and therefore at other times have a priority), and also bonds and obligations by deed or special instrument (which are called debts by specialty, and are usually the next *in order), these are all put on a level with [*488] debts by mere simple contract, and all paid *pari passu*. (o) Nay, so far [*488] is this matter carried, that, by the express provision of the statutes, (p) debts not due at the time of the dividend made, as bonds or notes of hand payable at a future day certain, shall be proved and paid equally with the rest, (q) allowing a discount or drawback in proportion. And insurances, and obligations upon bottomry or *respondentia bona fide* made by the bankrupt, though forfeited after the commission is awarded, shall be looked upon in the same light as debts contracted before any act of bankruptcy. (r) (13)

(l) Stat. 5 Geo. II, c. 30.

(m) Finch. Rep. 466.

(n) 1 Atk. 103, 104.

(o) Stat. 21 Jac. I, c. 19.

(p) Stat. 7 Geo. I, c. 31.

(q) Lord Raym. 1549.

Stra. 1211.

(r) Stat. 19 Geo. II, c. 32.

(11) By the act of congress of March 2, 1867, the assignment conveys to the assignee all the estate of the bankrupt, with his deeds, books and papers relating thereto, and the assignment relates back to the commencement of the proceedings, but dissolves all attachments of any of the property made on mesne process within four months previous to the commencement of the proceedings. Property conveyed by a debtor, in fraud of creditors, will pass by the assignment. Sec. 14.

(12) Under the English statutes authority for these purposes is obtained by the assignee from the court. And under the act of congress of 1864 the assignee may submit matters to arbitration by leave of the court. Sec. 17.

(13) Under the bankruptcy laws of the United States the following demands are preferred:

1. The fees, costs, &c., of the proceedings.
2. All demands owing to the United States.
3. All demands owing to the state in which the proceedings are had.
4. Wages due to any operative, clerk or house servant to an amount not exceeding fifty

Within eighteen months after the commission issued, a second and final dividend shall be made, unless all the effects were exhausted by the first. (s) And if any surplus remains, after selling his estates and paying every creditor his full debt, it shall be restored to the bankrupt. (t) This is a case which sometimes happens to men in trade, who involuntarily, or at least unwarily, commit acts of bankruptcy by absconding and the like, while their effects are more than sufficient to pay their creditors. And, if any suspicious or malevolent creditor will take the advantage of such acts, and sue out a commission, the bankrupt has no remedy, but must quietly submit to the effects of his own imprudence; except that, upon satisfaction made to all the creditors, the commission may be *superseded*. (u) This case may also happen, when a knave is desirous of defrauding his creditors, and is compelled by a commission to do them that justice, which otherwise he wanted to evade. And, therefore, though the usual rule is that all interest on debts carrying interest shall cease from the time of issuing the commission, yet, in case of a surplus left after payment of every debt, such interest shall again revive, and be chargeable on the bankrupt, (w) or his representatives.

CHAPTER XXXII.

OF TITLE BY TESTAMENT, AND ADMINISTRATION.

THERE yet remain to be examined, in the present chapter, two other methods of acquiring personal estates, viz.: by *testament* and *administration*. And these I propose to consider in one and the same view; they being in their nature so connected and blended together, as makes it impossible to treat of them distinctly, without manifest tautology and repetition.

XI, XII. In the pursuit, then, of this joint-subject, I shall, first, inquire into the original and antiquity of testaments and administrations; shall, secondly, show who is capable of making a last will and testament; shall, thirdly, consider the nature of a testament and its incidents; shall, fourthly, show what an executor and administrator are, and how they are to be appointed; and, lastly, shall select some few of the general heads of the office and duty of executors and administrators.

First, as to the *original* of testaments and administrations. We have more than once observed, that when property came to be vested in individuals by the right of occupancy, it became necessary for the peace of society, that this occupancy should be continued, not only in the present possessor, but in those persons to whom he should think proper to transfer it; which introduced the [*490] doctrine and practice of alienations, *gifts and contracts. But these precautions would be very short and imperfect, if they were confined to the life only of the occupier; for then, upon his death, all his goods would again become common, and create an infinite variety of strife and confusion. The law of very many societies has therefore given to the proprietor a right of continuing his property after his death, in such persons as he shall name; and, in defect of such appointment or nomination, or where no nomination is permitted, the law of every society has directed the goods to be vested in certain

(s) Stat. 5 Geo. II, c. 30.

(t) Stat. 13 Eliz. c. 7.

(u) 2 Ch. Cas. 144.

(w) 1 Atk. 244.

dollars, for labor performed within six months next preceding the first publication of the notice of proceedings in bankruptcy.

5. All other debts, which by the laws of the United States are or may be entitled to priority, in like manner as if the act had not passed. Sec. 28.

Other demands are paid ratably, except that specific liens are not disturbed or divested, unless where created in contemplation of bankruptcy, or in fraud of the law.

particular individuals, exclusive of all other persons. (a) The former method of acquiring personal property, according to the express directions of the deceased, we call a *testament*: the latter, which is also according to the will of the deceased, not expressed, indeed, but presumed by the law, (b) we call in England an *administration*; being the same which the civil lawyers term a succession *ab intestato*, and which answers to the descent or inheritance of real estates.

Testaments are of very high antiquity. We find them in use among the ancient Hebrews; though I hardly think the example usually given (c) of Abraham's complaining (d) that, unless he had some children of his body, his steward, Eliezer of Damascus, would be his heir, is quite conclusive to show that he had made him so by *will*. And, indeed a learned writer (e) has adduced this very passage to prove, that in the patriarchal age, on failure of children, or kindred, the servants born under their master's roof succeeded to the inheritance as heirs-at-law. (f) But (to omit what Eusebius and others have related of Noah's testament, made in *writing* and witnessed under his *seal*, whereby he disposed of the whole world) (g) I apprehend that a much more authentic instance of the early use of testaments may be found in the sacred writings, (h) wherein Jacob bequeaths to his son Joseph a portion of his *inheritance double to that [*491] of his brethren: which will we find carried into execution many hundred years afterwards, when the posterity of Joseph were divided into two distinct tribes, those of Ephraim and Manasseh, and had two several inheritances assigned them; whereas the descendants of each of the other patriarchs formed only one single tribe, and had only one lot of inheritance. Solon was the first legislator that introduced wills into Athens; (i) but in many other parts of Greece they were totally discountenanced. (k) In Rome they were unknown till the laws of the twelve tables were compiled, (l) which first gave the right of bequeathing: (m) and, among the northern nations, particularly among the Germans, (n) testaments were not received into use. And this variety may serve to evince, that the right of making wills and disposing of property after death, is merely a creature of the civil state; (o) which has permitted it in some countries and denied it in others: and, even where it is permitted by law, it is subjected to different formalities and restrictions in almost every nation under heaven. (o)

With us in England, this power of bequeathing is coeval with the first rudiments of the law: for we have no traces or memorials of any time when it did not exist. Mention is made of intestacy, in the old law before the conquest, as being merely accidental; and the distribution of the intestate's estate, after payment of the lord's heriot, is then directed to go according to the established law. "*Sive quis incuria, sive morte repentina, fuerit intestatus mortuus, dominus tamen nullam rerum suarum partem (præter eam quæ jure debetur heredi nomine) sibi assumito. Verum possessiones uxori, liberis, et cognatione proximis, pro suo cuique jure, distribuantur.*" (p) But we are not to imagine, that this power of bequeathing extended originally to *all* a man's personal estate. On the contrary, Glanvil will inform us, (q) that by the common law, *as [*492] it stood in the reign of Henry the Second, a man's goods were to be divided into three equal parts: of which one went to his heirs or lineal descendants, another to his wife, and the third was at his own disposal: or, if he died without a wife, he might then dispose of one moiety, and the other went to his children; and so *e converso*, if he had no children, the wife was entitled to one moiety, and he might bequeath the other; but, if he died without either wife or issue, the

(a) Puff. L. of N. b. 4. c. 10.

(b) *Ibid.* b. 4. c. 11.

(c) Barbeyr. Puff. 4. 10. 4. Godolph. Orph. Leg. i. 1.

(d) Gen. c. 15.

(e) Taylor's Elem. Civ. Law, 517.

(f) See page 12.

(g) Selden, de succo. Ebr. c. 24.

(h) Gen. c. 48.

(i) Plutarch. in vita Solon.

(k) Pott. Antiq. l. 4. c. 15.

(l) Inst. 2. 22. 1.

(m) Tacit. de mor. Germ. 21.

(n) See page 13.

(o) Sp. L. b. 27. c. 1. Vinnius in Inst. l. 2. tit. 10.

(p) LL. Canut. c. 68.

(q) L. 2. c. 5.

(1) Mr. Chitty questions this quoting of Vinnius. lib. 2, tit. 10, and the commentary thereon by Heineccius. See also Maine's Ancient Law, ch. VI.

whole was at his own disposal. (r) The shares of the wife and children were called their *reasonable* parts; and the writ *de rationabili parte bonorum* was given to recover them. (s)

This continued to be the law of the land at the time of *magna carta*, which provides that the king's debts shall first of all be levied, and then the residue of the goods shall go to the executor to perform the will of the deceased; and, if nothing be owing to the crown, "*omnia catalla cedant defuncto; salvo uxori ipsius et pueris suis rationabilibus partibus suis.*" (t) In the reign of King Edward the Third, this right of the wife and children was still held to be the universal or common law; (u) though frequently pleaded as the local custom of Berks, Devon, and other counties: (w) and Sir Henry Finch lays it down expressly, (x) in the reign of Charles the First, to be the general law of the land. But this law is at present altered by imperceptible degrees, and the deceased may now, by will, bequeath the whole of his goods and chattels; though we cannot trace out when first this alteration began. Indeed Sir Edward Coke (y) [*493] is of opinion, that this never was *the general law, but only obtained, in particular places, by special custom: and to establish that doctrine, he relies on a passage in Bracton, which, in truth, when compared with the context, makes directly against his opinion. For Bracton (z) lays down the doctrine of the reasonable part to be the common law; but mentions that as a particular exception, which Sir Edward Coke has hastily cited for the general rule. And Glanvil, *magna carta*, Fleta, the year-books, Fitzherbert, and Finch, do all agree with Bracton, that this right to the *pars rationabilis* was by the common law: which also continues to this day to be the general law of our sister kingdom of Scotland. (a) To which we may add, that whatever may have been the custom of later years in many parts of the kingdom, or however it was introduced in derogation of the old common law, the ancient method continued in use in the province of York, the principality of Wales, and in the city of London, till very modern times: when in order to favor the power of bequeathing, and to reduce the whole kingdom to the same standard, three statutes have been provided: the one 4 and 5 W. and M. c. 2, explained by 2 and 3 Ann. c. 5, for the province of York; another 7 and 8 Wm. III, c. 38, for Wales; and a third, 11 Geo. I, c. 18, for London: whereby it is enacted, that persons within those districts, and liable to those customs, may (if they think proper) dispose of *all* their personal estates by will; and the claims of the widow, children, and other relations, to the contrary, are totally barred. Thus is the old common law now utterly abolished throughout all the kingdom of England, and a man may devise the whole of his chattels as freely as he formerly could his third part or moiety. In disposing of which, he was bound by the custom of many places (as was stated in a former chapter) (b) to remember his lord and the church, by leaving them his two best chattels, which was the original of heriots and mortuaries; and afterwards he was left at his own liberty, to bequeath the remainder as he pleased.

[*494] *In case a person made no disposition of such of his goods as were testable, whether that were only part or the whole of them he was, and is, said to die intestate; and in such cases it is said, that by the old law the king was entitled to seize upon his goods, as the *parens patriæ*, and general trustee of the kingdom. (c) This prerogative the king continued to exercise for some time by his own ministers of justice; and probably in the county court where matters of all kinds were determined: and it was granted as a franchise to many lords of manors, and others, who have to this day a prescriptive right

(r) Bracton, l. 2, c. 26. Flet. l. 2, c. 57.

(s) F. N. B. 122.

(t) 9 Hen. III. c. 18.

(u) A widow brought an action of detinue against her husband's executors, *quod cum per consuetudinem totius regni Angliæ hactenus usitatam et approbatam uxores debent et solent a temporibus, &c., habere suam rationabilem partem bonorum maritorum suorum: ita videlicet, quod si nullos habuerint liberos, tunc medietatem; et si habuerint, tunc tertiam partem, &c.*, and that her husband died worth 200,000 marks, without issue had between them; and thereupon she claimed the moiety. Some exceptions were taken to the pleadings and the fact of the husband's dying without issue was denied; but the rule of law, as stated in the writ, seems to have been universally allowed. (M 30 Edw. III, 25.) And a similar case occurs in H. 17 Edw. III, 9.

(w) Reg. Brev. 142. Co. Litt. 178.

(x) Law, 175.

(y) 2 Inst. 31.

(z) l. 2, c. 28, § 2.

(a) Dalrymp. of Feud. Property, 145.

(b) Page 428.

(c) 9 Rep. 33.

to grant administration to their intestate tenants and suitors, in their own courts baron, and other courts, or to have their wills there proved, in case they made any disposition. (*d*) Afterwards, the crown, in favour of the church, invested the prelates with this branch of the prerogative; which was done, saith Perkins, (*e*) because it was intended by the law, that spiritual men are of better conscience than laymen, and that they had more knowledge what things would conduce to the benefit of the soul of the deceased. The goods, therefore, of intestates were given to the ordinary by the crown; and he might seize them, and keep them without wasting, and also might give, aliene, or sell them at his will, and dispose of the money *in pios usus*: and, if he did otherwise, he broke the confidence which the law reposed in him. (*f*) So that, properly, the whole interest and power which were granted to the ordinary, were only those of being the king's almoner within his diocese; in trust to distribute the intestate's goods in charity to the poor, or in such superstitious uses as the mistaken zeal of the times had denominated pious. (*g*) And, as he had thus the disposition of intestates' effects, the probate of wills of course followed: for it was thought just and natural, that the will of the deceased should be proved to the satisfaction of the prelate, whose right of distributing his chattels for the good of his soul was effectually superseded thereby.

*The goods of the intestate being thus vested in the ordinary upon [*495] the most solemn and conscientious trust, the reverend prelates were, therefore, not accountable to any, but to God and themselves, for their conduct. (*h*) But even in Fleta's time it was complained (*i*) "*quod ordinarii, hujusmodi bona nomine ecclesiæ occupantis nullam vel saltem indebitam faciunt distributionem.*" And to what length of iniquity this abuse was carried, most evidently appears from a gloss of Pope Innocent IV, (*k*) written about the year 1250; wherein he lays it down for established canon law, that "*in Britannia tertia pars bonorum decedentium ab intestato in opus ecclesiæ et pauperum dispensanda est.*" Thus, the popish clergy took to themselves (*l*) (under the name of the church and poor) the whole residue of the deceased's estate; after the *partes rationabiles*, or two-thirds, of the wife and children were deducted; without paying even his lawful debts, or other charges thereon. For which reason it was enacted by the statute of Westm. 2, (*m*) that the ordinary shall be bound to pay the debts of the intestate so far as his goods will extend, in the same manner that executors were bound in case the deceased had left a will: a use more truly pious, than any *requiem*, or mass for his soul. This was the first check given to that exorbitant power, which the law had entrusted with ordinaries. But, though they were now made liable to the creditors of the intestate for their just and lawful demands; yet the *residuum*, after payment of debts, remained still in their hands, to be applied to whatever purposes the conscience of the ordinary should approve. The flagrant abuses of which power occasioned the legislature again to interpose, in order to prevent the ordinaries from keeping any longer the administration in their own hands, or those of their immediate *dependents: [*496] and therefore the statute 31 Edw. III, c. 11, provides, that, in case of intestacy, the ordinary shall depute the nearest and most lawful friends of the deceased to administer his goods; which administrators are put upon the same footing, with regard to suits and to accounting, as executors appointed by will. This is the original of administrators, as they at present stand; who are only the officers of the ordinary, appointed by him in pursuance of this statute, which singles out the *next and most lawful friend* of the intestate; who is interpreted (*n*) to be the *next of blood* that is under no legal disabilities. The statute 21 Hen. VIII, c. 5, enlarges a little more the power of the ecclesiastical judge; and permits him to grant administration *either* to the widow, *or* the next of kin, *or* to both of them, at his own discretion; and where two or more persons are in the

(*d*) *Ibid.* 37.(*e*) § 486.(*f*) Finch, Law, 173, 174.(*g*) Plowd. 277.(*h*) Plowd. 277.(*i*) l. 2, c. 57, § 10.(*k*) In Decretal, l. 5, c. 42.

(*l*) The proportion given to the priest and to other pious uses, was different in different countries. In the archdeaconry of Richmond in Yorkshire, this proportion was settled by a papal bulle. A. D. 1254 *Regist. honoris de Richm.* 101). and was observed till abolished by the statute 26 Hen. VIII, c. 15.

(*m*) 13 Edw. I, c. 19.(*n*) 9 Rep. 39.

same degree of kindred, gives the ordinary his election to accept which ever he pleases.

Upon this footing stands the general law of administrations at this day. (2) I shall, in the further progress of this chapter, mention a few more particulars, with regard to who may, and who may not, be administrator; and what he is bound to do when he has taken this charge upon him; what has been hitherto remarked only serving to show the original and gradual progress of testaments and administrations; in what manner the latter was first of all vested in the bishops by the royal indulgence; and how it was afterwards, by authority of parliament, taken from them in effect, by obliging them to commit all their power to particular persons nominated expressly by the law.

I proceed now, *secondly*, to inquire who may, or may not, make a testament; or what persons are absolutely obliged by law to die intestate. And this law (*o*) is entirely prohibitory; for, regularly, every person hath full power and liberty to make a will, that is not under some special prohibition by law or custom; [*497] which prohibitions are principally upon three *accounts: for want of sufficient discretion; for want of sufficient liberty and free will; and on account of their criminal conduct.

1. In the first species are to be reckoned infants, under the age of fourteen if males, and twelve if females; which is the rule of the civil law. (*p*) (3) For, though some of our common lawyers have held that an infant of any age (even four years old) might make a testament, (*q*) and others have denied that under eighteen he is capable, (*r*) yet, as the ecclesiastical court is the judge of every testator's capacity, this case must be governed by the rules of the ecclesiastical law. So that no objection can be admitted to the will of an infant of fourteen, merely for want of age; but, if the testator was not of sufficient discretion, whether at the age of fourteen or four-and-twenty, that will overthrow his testament. Madmen, or otherwise *non compotes*, idiots or natural fools, persons grown childish by reason of old age or distemper, such as have their senses besotted with drunkenness; (4) all these are incapable, by reason of mental disability, to make any will so long as such disability lasts. To this class also

(*o*) Godolph. Orph. Leg. p. 1, c. 7. Rep. 74.

(*q*) Perkins, § 508.

(*p*) Godolph. p. 1, c. 8. Wentw. 212. 2 Vern. 104, 469. Gilb. Co. Litt. 89.

(2) The probate act of 1857, 20 and 21 Vic. c. 77, abolished the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts to grant probate of wills and letters of administration, and established a new court, called the court of probate, to exercise this authority. The new court, however, is not to entertain suits for legacies, or for distribution; this being left to the court of chancery.

(3) By the wills act of 1 Vic. c. 26, no will is valid made by any person under the age of twenty-one years.

In several of the United States wills may be made at an earlier age, and in some a distinction is made between wills of real and personal estate. The subject is regulated by statutes in all the states.

(4) Upon the subject of mental competency in general, the reader will consult the treatises on medical jurisprudence, wills and contracts.

Old age of itself, even though combined with disease, is no disqualification to execute a will, where the person retains sufficient memory and understanding to have a general knowledge of his property, and of the persons who are or should be the objects of his bounty. It is not essential that the mind should be wholly unimpaired, and capable of enlarged business transactions and contracts; justice requires only that there should be a strength of mind equal to the purpose to which it is to be applied. The power to dispose of his property is frequently the chief protection which one in extreme old age possesses against abuse and outrage; and the testamentary dispositions of this class of persons ought to be treated with great tenderness and liberality. See *Harrison v. Rowan*, 3 Wash. 580; *Hathorn v. King*, 8 Mass. 371; *Watson v. Watson*, 2 B. Monr. 74; *Dornick v. Reichenback*, 10 S. and R. 84; *McDaniels' Will*, 2 J. J. Marsh. 331; *Delafield v. Parish*, 25 N. Y. 9.

The fact that one is under intoxicating liquor at the time of making a will will not avoid it, unless where the intoxication has proceeded to the extent of depriving him of consciousness of what he is doing. *Starret v. Douglas*, 2 Yeates, 48; *Temple v. Temple*, 1 Hen. and Munf. 476; *Harper's Will*, 4 Bibb, 244; *Peck v. Carey*, 27 N. Y. 9. But either extreme old age or any degree of drunkenness is always an important circumstance to be taken into consideration in connection with any circumstances tending to show that fraud has been practiced or undue influence exerted in procuring the will.

may be referred such persons as are *born* deaf, blind, and dumb; who, as they have always wanted the common inlets of understanding, are incapable of having *animum testandi*, and their testaments are therefore void. (5)

2. Such persons as are intestable for want of liberty or freedom of will, are, by the civil law, of various kinds; as prisoners, captives, and the like. (s) But the law of England does not make such persons absolutely intestable; but only leaves it to the discretion of the court to judge, upon the consideration of their particular circumstances of duress, whether or no such person could be supposed to have *liberum animum testandi*. And, with regard to feme-coverts, our law differs still more materially from the civil. Among the Romans there was no distinction; a married woman was as capable of bequeathing as a feme-sole. (t) But with us a *married woman is not only utterly incapable of devising *lands*, being excepted out of the statute of wills, 34 and 35 Hen. VIII, [*498] c. 5, but also she is incapable of making a testament of *chattels*, without the license of her husband. For all her personal chattels are absolutely his; and he may dispose of her chattels real, or shall have them to himself if he survives her: it would be therefore extremely inconsistent, to give her a power of defeating that provision of the law, by bequeathing those chattels to another. (u) Yet by her husband's license she may make a testament; (v) and the husband, upon marriage, frequently covenants with her friends to allow her that license; but such license is more properly his assent; for, unless it be given to the particular will in question, it will not be a complete testament, even though the husband beforehand hath given her permission to make a will. (w) Yet it shall be sufficient to repel the husband from his general right of administering his wife's effects; and administration shall be granted to her appointee, with such testamentary paper annexed. (x) So that, in reality, the woman makes no will at all, but only something like a will; (y) operating in the nature of an appointment, the execution of which the husband, by his bond, agreement, or covenant, is bound to allow. A distinction similar to which we meet with in the civil law. For though a son who was *in potestate parentis* could not by any means make a formal and legal testament, even though his father permitted it, (z) yet he might, with the like permission of his father, make what was called a *donatio mortis causa*. (a) The queen consort is an exception to this general rule, for she may dispose of her chattels by will, without the consent of her lord: (b) and any feme-covert may make her will of goods, which are in her possession *in auter droit*, as executrix or administratrix; for these can never be the property of the husband: (c) and, if she has any pin-money or separate maintenance, it is said she may dispose of her savings thereout *by testament, without the control of her husband. (d) But, if a feme-sole makes her will, and afterwards marries, such subsequent marriage is esteemed a revocation in law, and entirely vacates the will. (e) (6)

3. Persons incapable of making testaments, on account of their criminal conduct, are, in the first place, all traitors and felons, from the time of conviction; for then their goods and chattels are no longer at their own disposal, but forfeited to the king. Neither can a *felo de se* make a will of goods and chattels, for they are forfeited by the act and manner of his death; but he may make a devise of his lands, for they are not subjected to any forfeiture. (f) (7) Outlaws

(s) Godolph. p. 1, c. 9.

(t) *Eff.* 81, 1, 77.

(u) 4 Rep. 51.

(v) *Dr. & St. d.* 1, c. 7.

(w) *Bro. Abr. tit. Devise*, 34. *Stra.* 591.

(x) *The King v. Bettesworth*, T. 13 Geo. II, B. R.

(y) *Cro. Car.* 376. 1 Mod. 211.

(z) *Eff.* 28, 1, 6.

(a) *Eff.* 39, 6, 25.

(b) *Co. Litt.* 133.

(c) *Godolph.* 1, 10.

(d) *Pre. Chan.* 44.

(e) 4 Rep. 60. 2 P. Wms. 624.

(f) *Plowd.* 261.

(5) This notion is now exploded. See *Reynolds v. Reynolds*, 1 Speers, 256; *Weir v. Fitzgerald*, 2 Bradf. Sur. R. 42; *Redf. on Wills*, 53-58.

(6) The tendency is very strong in the United States to remove all the disabilities which coverture imposes to the disposition of property, whether by will or otherwise, and in some of the states this is already done.

(7) Lands were never forfeited without an attainder by due course of law, and now attainders do not extend to the corruption of blood.

also, though it be for debt, are incapable of making a will, so long as the outlawry subsists, for their goods and chattels are forfeited during that time. (*g*) As for persons guilty of other crimes, short of felony, who are by the civil law precluded from making testaments, (as usurers, libelers, and others of a worse stamp), by the common law their testaments may be good. (*h*) And in general the rule is, and has been so, at least ever since Glanvil's time, (*i*) *quod libera sit cujuscunque ultima voluntas*.

Let us next, *thirdly*, consider what this last will and testament is, which almost every one is thus at liberty to make; or, what are the nature and incidents of a testament. Testaments, both Justinian (*j*) and Sir Edward Coke (*k*) agree to be so called, because they are *testatio mentis*: an etymon which seems to savour too much of the conceit; it being plainly a substantive derived from the verb *testari*, in like manner as *juramentum*, *incrementum*, and others, from other verbs. The definition of the old Roman lawyers is much better than their etymology; "*voluntatis nostræ justa sententia de eo, quod quis post mortem suam fieri velit*:" (*l*) which may be thus rendered into English, "the legal declaration of a man's intentions, *which he wills to be performed after his [*500] death." It is called *sententia*, to denote the circumspection and prudence with which it is supposed to be made; it is *voluntatis nostræ sententia* because its efficacy depends on its declaring the testator's intention, whence in England it is emphatically styled his *will*: it is *justa sententia*; that is, drawn, attested, and published, with all due solemnities and forms of law; it is *de eo, quod quis post mortem suam fieri velit*, because a testament is of no force till after the death of the testator.

These testaments are divided into two sorts: *written* and *verbal* or *nuncupative*; of which the former is committed to writing, the latter depends merely upon oral evidence, being declared by the testator in *extremis* before a sufficient number of witnesses, and afterwards reduced to writing. A codicil, *codicillus*, a little book or writing, is a supplement to a will, or an addition made by the testator and annexed to, and to be taken as part of, a testament; being for its explanation, or alteration, or to make some addition to, or else some subtraction from, the former dispositions of the testator. (*m*) This may also be either written or nuncupative.

But, as *nuncupative* wills and codicils (which were formerly more in use than at present, when the art of writing is become more universal) are liable to great impositions, and may occasion many perjuries, the statute of frauds, 29 Car. II. c. 3, hath laid them under many restrictions; except when made by mariners at sea, and soldiers in actual service. As to all other persons, it enacts: 1. That no written will shall be revoked or altered by a subsequent nuncupative one, except the same be in the lifetime of the testator reduced to writing, and read over to him, and approved; and unless the same be proved to have been so done by the oaths of three witnesses at the least: who, by statute 4 and 5 Ann. c. 16, must be such as are admissible upon trials at common law. 2. That no nuncupative will shall in anywise be good, where the estate bequeathed exceeds 30*l.*, unless proved by three such witnesses, present at the making thereof (the Roman law requiring seven), (*n*) and unless they or some of them were specially [*501] required to bear *witness thereto by the testator himself; and unless it was made in his last sickness, in his own habitation or dwelling-house, or where he had been previously resident ten days at the least, except he be surprised with sickness on a journey, or from home, and dies without returning to his dwelling. 3. That no nuncupative will shall be proved by the witnesses after six months from the making, unless it were put in writing within six days. Nor shall it be proved till fourteen days after the death of the testator, nor till process hath first issued to call in the widow, or next of kin, to contest it, if they think proper. Thus hath the legislature provided against any frauds in setting up nuncupative wills, by so numerous a train of requisites,

(*g*) Fitz. Abr. tit. *Descent*, 16.

(*k*) 1 Inst. 111, 322.

(*h*) Godolph. p. 1, c. 12.

(*i*) *Fy.* 23, 1, 1.

(*j*) 1, 7, c. 5.

(*m*) Godolph. p. 1, c. 1, § 3.

(*n*) Inst. 2, 10, 14.

that the thing itself has fallen into disuse; (8) and is hardly ever heard of, but in the only instance where favor ought to be shown to it, when the testator is surprised by sudden and violent sickness. The testamentary words must be spoken with an intent to bequeath, not any loose, idle discourse in his illness; for he must require the by-standers to bear witness of such his intention: the will must be made at home, or among his family or friends, unless by unavoidable accidents; to prevent impositions from strangers: it must be in his *last* sickness; for, if he recovers he may alter his dispositions, and has time to make a written will: it must not be proved at too long a distance from the testator's death, lest the words should escape the memory of the witnesses; nor yet too hastily and without notice, lest the family of the testator should be put to inconvenience, or surprised.

As to *written* wills, they need not any witness of their publication. I speak not here of devises of lands, which are quite of a different nature; being conveyances by statute, unknown to the feudal or common law, and not under the same jurisdiction as personal testaments. But a testament of chattels written in the testator's own hand, though it has neither his name nor seal to it, nor witnesses present at its publication, is good; provided sufficient proof can be had that it is his handwriting. (o) And though *written in another [*502] man's hand, and never signed by the testator, yet, if proved to be according to his instructions and approved by him, it hath been held a good testament of the personal estate. (p) Yet it is the safer and more prudent way, and leaves less in the breast of the ecclesiastical judge, if it be signed or sealed by the testator, and published in the presence of witnesses: which last was always required in the time of Bracton; (q) or, rather, he in this respect has implicitly copied the rule of the civil law. (9)

(o) Godolph. p. 1, c. 21. Gilb. Rep. 260.

(p) Comyns, 452, 453, 454.

(q) J. 2, c. 26.

(8) [Nuncupative wills are not favorites with courts of probate, though, if duly proved, they are equally entitled to be pronounced for with written wills. Much more, however, is requisite to the due proof of a nuncupative will than of a written one, in several particulars. In the first place, the provisions of the statute of frauds must be *strictly* complied with, to entitle any nuncupative will to probate. Consequently, the absence of due proof of any one of these (that enjoining the *rogatio testium*, or calling upon persons to bear witness of the act, for instance: *Bennett v. Jackson*, 1 Phillim. 191; *Parsons v. Miller*, id. 195, is fatal, at once, to a case of this species. But, added to this, and independent of the statute of frauds, the *factum* of a nuncupative will requires to be proved by evidence more strict and stringent than that of a written one, in every single particular. This is requisite in consideration of the facilities with which frauds in setting up nuncupative wills are obviously attended; facilities which absolutely require to be counteracted by courts insisting on the strictest proof as to the *facta* of such wills. The testamentary capacity of the deceased, and the *animus testandi* at the time of the alleged nuncupation, must appear by the clearest and most undisputable testimony. Above all, it must plainly result from the evidence, that the instrument propounded contains a true substance and import, at least, of the alleged nuncupation; and consequently that it embodies the deceased's *real* testamentary intentions. *Leman v. Bonsall*, 1 Addams, 389.

The statute of frauds is imperative, that a nuncupative will must be proved by the oaths of three witnesses; therefore, supposing no more than three witnesses were present at the making of such will, the death of any one of them, before such proof has been formally made, will render the nuncupative will void; however clear and unsuspected the evidence of the two surviving witnesses to the transaction may be: *Phillips v. the Parish of St. Clement's Danes*, 1 Eq. Ca. Ab. 404; though at law, the execution of a written will is usually proved by calling *one* of the subscribing witnesses; and notwithstanding it is the general rule of equity to examine *all* the subscribing witnesses, this rule does not apply when any of the witnesses are dead, or cannot be discovered, or brought within the jurisdiction.]

The power to make a nuncupative will is very much restricted in the United States, being confined generally to soldiers in service and sailors upon a voyage, who are allowed to dispose of personal estate in this manner, but usually to the extent of a few hundred dollars only. As to the hazards attending the authority to make such wills, see *Prince v. Hazleton*, 20 Johns. 502. In England now, the right to make a nuncupative will is restricted to soldiers and mariners. See statute 1 Vic. c. 26, § 9 and 12.

(9) Witnesses are generally required to all wills in the United States, though the number varies; in some three being requisite, and in others two only. And the wills act of 1 Vic. c. 26, requires wills of either real or personal estate to be attested by and subscribed by two or more witnesses. Sec. 9.

No testament is of any effect till after the death of the testator. "*Nam omne testamentum morte consummatum est: et voluntas testatoris est ambulatoria usque ad mortem.*" (r) (10) And therefore, if there be many testaments, the last overthrows all the former: (s) but the republication of a former will revokes one of a later date, and establishes the first again. (t) (11)

Hence it follows, that testaments may be avoided three ways: 1. If made by a person labouring under any of the incapacities before mentioned: 2. By making another testament of a later date: and, 3. By cancelling or revoking it. For, though I make a last will and testament irrevocable in the strongest words, yet I am at liberty to revoke it: because my own act or words cannot alter the disposition of law, so as to make that irrevocable which is in its own nature revocable. (u) For this, saith Lord Bacon, (w) would be for a man to deprive himself of that, which of all other things is most incident to human condition; and that is, alteration or repentance. It hath also been held, that, without an express revocation, if a man, who hath made his will, afterwards marries and hath a child, this is a presumptive or implied revocation of his former will, which he made in a state of celibacy. (x) (12) The Romans were also wont to set aside testaments as being *inofficiosa*, deficient in natural duty, if they disinherited or totally passed by (without assigning a true and sufficient reason) (y) any of the children of the testator. (z) But, if the child had any legacy, though ever so small, it was a proof that the testator had not lost his memory or his reason, which otherwise the law presumed; but was then supposed to have acted thus for some substantial cause: and in such case no *querela inofficiosi testamenti* was allowed. Hence probably hath arisen that groundless vulgar error, of the necessity of leaving the heir a shilling, or some other express legacy, in order to disinherit him effectually: whereas the law of England makes no such constrained suppositions of forgetfulness or insanity; and therefore, though the heir or next of kin be totally omitted, it admits no *querela inofficiosi*, to set aside such a testament. (13)

We are next to consider, *fourthly*, what is an executor, and what an administrator; and how they are both to be appointed.

An executor is he to whom another man commits by will the execution of that his last will and testament. And all persons are capable of being executors, that are capable of making wills, and many others besides; as feme-coverts (14) and infants; nay, even infants unborn, or *in ventre sa mere*, may

(r) Co. Litt. 112.

(s) Litt. § 168.

Perk. 478.

(t) Perk. 479.

(u) 8 Rep. 82.

(w) Elem. c. 12.

(z) Lord Raym. 441.

1 F. Wms. 204.

(y) See book I, ch. 16.

(z) Inst. 2, 18, 1.

(10) [This, Lord Loughborough observed, was the most general maxim he knew: *Matthews v. Warner*, 4 Ves. 210: it is essential to every testamentary instrument, that it may be altered even in *articulo mortis*: *Baleh v. Symes*, 1 Turn. and Russ. 92; irrevocability would destroy its essence as a last will. *Hobson v. Blackburn*, 1 Addams, 278; *Reid v. Shergold*, 10 Ves. 379.]

(11) [Republication of a will makes the will speak as of the time of such republication. *Long v. Aldred*, 3 Addams, 51; *Goodtitle v. Meredith*, 2 Mau. and Sel. 14. If a man by a second will revokes a former, but keeps the first undestroyed, and afterwards destroy the second; whether the first will is thereby revived, has been much questioned: the result seems to be, that no general and invariable rule prevails upon the subject, but it must depend upon the intention of the testator, as that is to be collected from the circumstances of each particular case.]

(12) Now by the wills act of 1 Vic. c. 26, § 18, every will made since 1837, by man or woman, is revoked by his or her marriage, excepting only certain wills executed under a power of appointment.

(13) [Courts of probate, however, look with much greater jealousy at, and require more stringent evidence in support of, an inofficious testament than one which is consonant with the testator's duties, and with natural feeling. *Brogden v. Brown*, 2 Addams, 449; *Dew v. Clerk*, 3 id. 207.]

(14) [But a *feme-coverte* should not be allowed to act as an executrix or administratrix, without the assent of her husband: for, as he would be answerable for her acts in either of those capacities, he ought not to be exposed to this responsibility, unless by his own concurrence. See 1 Anders. 117, case 164. It might be equally injurious to the legatees, creditors, or next of kin, of a testator, or intestate, if a married woman were allowed to act as

be made executors. (a) But no infant can act as such till the age of seventeen years; till which time administration must be granted to some other, *durante minore ætate*. (b) (15) In like manner as it may be granted *durante absentia*, or *pendente lite*; when the executor is out of the realm, (c) or when a suit is commenced in the ecclesiastical court touching the validity of the will. (d) This appointment of an executor is essential to the making of a will: (e) and it may be performed either by express words, or such as strongly imply the same. (16) But if the testator makes an incomplete will, without naming any executors, or if he names incapable persons, or if the executors named refuse to act: in any of these cases the ordinary must *grant administration *cum testamento annexo* (f) to some other person; and then the duty of the administrator, as also when he is constituted only *durante minore ætate*, &c., of another, is very little different from that of an executor. And this was law so early as the reign of Henry II; when Glanvil (g) informs us, that "*testamentum executorum esse debent ii, quos testator ad hoc elegerit, et quibus curam ipse comiserit; si vero testator nullos ad hoc nominaverit, possunt propinqui et consanguinei ipsius defuncti ad id faciendum se ingerere.*"

But if the deceased died wholly intestate, without making either will or executors, then general letters of administration must be granted by the ordinary to such administrator as the statutes of Edward the Third and Henry the Eighth, before mentioned, direct. In consequence of which we may observe: 1. That the ordinary is compellable to grant administration of the goods and chattels of the wife, to the husband, or his representatives: (h) and of the husband's effects, to the widow, or next of kin; but he may grant it to either, or both, at his discretion. (i) 2. That, among the kindred, those are to be preferred that are the nearest in degree to the intestate; but, of persons in equal degree, the ordinary may take which he pleases. (k) 3. That this *nearness* or propinquity of degree shall be reckoned according to the computation of the civilians; (l) and not of the canonists, which the law of England adopts in the descent of real estates: (m) because, in the civil computation, the intestate himself is the *terminus*, a quo the several degrees are numbered; and not the common ancestor, according to the rule of the canonists. And, therefore, in the first place the children, or (on failure of children) the parents of the deceased, are entitled to the administration; both which are indeed in the first degree; but *with us (n) the children are allowed the preference. (o) Then [*505] follow brothers, (p) grandfathers, (q) uncles or nephews, (r) (and the females of each class respectively,) and lastly, cousins. 4. The half-blood is admitted to the administration as well as the whole; for they are of the kindred of the intestate, and only excluded from inheritances of land upon feudal reasons. Therefore, the brother of the half-blood shall exclude the uncle of the

(a) West. Symb. p. 1. § 635.

(b) Went. Off. Ex. c. 18.

(c) 1 Lutw. 342.

(d) 2 P. Wms. 539. 540.

(e) Went. c. 1. Plowd. 281.

(f) 1 Roll. Abr. 907. Comb. 20.

(g) l. 7, c. 6.

(h) Cro. Car. 103.

(i) Stat. 29 Car II. c. 3. 1 P. Wms. 381.

(j) Salk. 86. Stra. 532.

(k) See page 496.

(l) Prec. Chanc. 593.

(m) See pages 203, 207, 224.

(n) Godolph. p. 2. c. 34, § 1. 2 Vern. 125.

(o) In Germany there was a long dispute whether a man's children should inherit his effects during the life of their grandfather; which depends (as we shall see hereafter) on the same principles as the granting of administrations. At last it was agreed at the diet of Arensburg, about the middle of the tenth century, that the point should be decided by combat. Accordingly, an equal number of champions being chosen on both sides, those of the children obtained the victory, and so the law was established in their favour, that the issue of a person deceased shall be entitled to his goods and chattels in preference to his parents. (Mod. Un. Hist. xxix. 28.)

(p) Harris in Nov. 118, c. 2.

(q) Prec. Chan. 527. 1 P. Wms. 41.

(r) Atk. 455.

executrix, or administratrix, when her husband was not amenable to the courts of this country; for, if she should waste the assets, the parties interested would have no remedy, as the husband must be joined in any action brought against her in respect of such transactions. Taylor v. Allen, 2 Atk. 213.]

See Barber v. Bush, 7 Mass. 510; Palmer v. Oakley, 2 Doug. Mich. 433; Edmundson v. Roberts, 1 How. Miss. 322.

(15) But no such grant is necessary where there are two executors, one of whom is of full age. See Foxwist v. Tremain, 1 Mod. 47.

(16) See Pickering v. Towers, Ambler. 364.

whole blood: (*s*) and the ordinary may grant administration to the sister of the half, or the brother of the whole blood, at his own discretion. (*t*) 5. If none of the kindred will take out administration, a creditor may, by custom, do it. (*u*) 6. If the executor refuses, or dies intestate, the administration may be granted to the residuary legatee, in exclusion of the next of kin. (*w*) 7. And, lastly, the ordinary may, in defect of all these, commit administration, (as he might have done (*x*) before the statute of Edward III,) to such discreet person as he approves of; or may grant him letters *ad colligendum bona defuncti*, which neither makes him executor nor administrator; his only business being to keep the goods in his safe custody, (*y*) and to do other acts for the benefit of such as are entitled to the property of the deceased. (*z*) If a bastard, who has no kindred, being *nullius filius*, or any one else that has no kindred, dies intestate, and without wife or child, it formerly hath been held (*a*) that the ordinary might seize his goods and dispose of them *in pios usus*. But the usual course now is for [*506] some one to procure letters *patent, or other authority from the king: and then the ordinary of course grants administration to such appointee of the crown. (*b*)

The interest vested in the executor by the will of the deceased may be continued and kept alive by the will of the same executor: (17) so that the executor of A's executor is to all intents and purposes the executor and representative of A himself; (*c*) but the executor of A's administrator, or the administrator of A's executor, is not the representative of A. (*d*) For the power of an executor is founded upon the special confidence and actual appointment of the deceased; and such executor is therefore allowed to transmit that power to another, in whom he has equal confidence; but the administrator of A is merely the officer of the ordinary, prescribed to him by act of parliament, in whom the deceased has reposed no trust at all: and therefore, on the death of that officer, it results back to the ordinary to appoint another. And, with regard to the administrator of A's executor, he has clearly no privity or relation to A; being only commissioned to administer the effects of the intestate executor, and not of the original testator. Wherefore, in both these cases, and whenever the course of representation from executor to executor is interrupted by any one administration, it is necessary for the ordinary to commit administration afresh, *of the goods* of the deceased *not* administered by the former executor or administrator. And this administrator *de bonis non* is the only legal representative of the deceased in matters of personal property. (*e*) But he may, as well as an original administrator, have only a *limited* or *special* administration committed to his care, viz.: of certain specific effects, such as a term of years, and the like; the rest being committed to others. (*f*)

[*507] *Having thus shown what is, and who may be, an executor or administrator, I proceed now, *fifthly* and lastly, to inquire into some few of the principal points of their office and duty. These in general are very much the same in both executors and administrators; excepting, first, that the executor is bound to perform a will, which an administrator is not, unless where a testament is annexed to his administration, and then he differs still from an executor; and, secondly, that an executor may do many acts before he proves the will, (*g*) (18)

(*s*) 1 Ventr. 425.

(*t*) Aleyn. 36. Styl. 74.

(*u*) Salk. 33.

(*w*) 1 Sid. 281. 1 Ventr. 219.

(*x*) Plowd. 278.

(*y*) Wentw. ch. 14.

(*z*) 2 Inst. 398.

(*a*) Salk. 37.

(*b*) 3 P. Wms. 33.

(*c*) Stat. 25 Edw. III, st. 5, c. 5. 1 Leon. 275.

(*d*) Bro. Abr. tit. *Administrator*, 7.

(*e*) Styl. 225.

(*f*) 1 Roll. Abr. 905. Godolph. p. 2, c. 30. Salk. 36.

(*g*) Wentw. ch. 3.

(17) This, it is apprehended, is not generally true in the United States, but, on the other hand, on the death of an executor, administration *de bonis non* with the will annexed must be granted.

(18) [Before he proves the will, he may lawfully perform most acts incident to the office: *Wankford v. Wankford*, 1 Salk. 301; he does not derive his title under the probate, but under the will; the probate is only *evidence* of his right: *Smith v. Milles*, 1 T. R. 480; it is true, that, in order to assert completely his claims in a court of justice, he must produce the copy of the will, certified under the seal of the ordinary; but it is not necessary he should be in possession

but an administrator may do nothing (19) till letters of administration are issued; for the former derives his power from the will and not from the probate, (*h*) the latter owes his entirely to the appointment of the ordinary. If a stranger takes upon him to act as executor, without any just authority (as by intermeddling with the goods of the deceased, (*i*) and many other transactions), (*k*) he is called in law an executor of his own wrong (*de son tort*), (20) and is liable to all the trouble of an executorship, without any of the profits or advantages: but merely doing acts of necessity or humanity, as locking up the goods, or burying the corpse of the deceased, will not amount to such an intermeddling as will charge a man as executor of his own wrong. (*l*) Such a one cannot bring an action himself in right of the deceased, (*m*) (21) but actions may be brought against him. And in all actions by creditors against such an officious intruder, he shall be named an executor, generally; (*n*) for the most obvious conclusion which strangers can form from his conduct is, that he hath a will of the deceased, wherein he is named executor, but hath not yet taken probate thereof. (*o*) He is chargeable with the debts of the deceased, so far as assets come to his hands; (*p*) and, as against creditors in general, shall be allowed all payments made to any other creditor in the same or a superior degree, (*q*) *himself only excepted. (*r*) And though, as against the [*508] rightful executor or administrator, he cannot plead such payment, yet it shall be allowed him in mitigation of damages; (*s*) unless, perhaps, upon a deficiency of assets, whereby the rightful executor may be prevented from satisfying his own debt. (*t*) (22) But let us now see what are the power and duty of a rightful executor or administrator.

1. He must *bury* the deceased in a manner suitable to the estate which he leaves behind him. Necessary funeral expenses are allowed, previous to all other debts and charges; but if the executor or administrator be extravagant, it is a species of *devastation* or waste of the substance of the deceased, and shall

(*h*) Comyns. 151. (*i*) 5 Rep. 33, 34. (*k*) Wentw. ch. 14. Stat. 43 Eliz. c. 8. (*l*) Dyer, 166.
 (*m*) Bro. Abr. t. *Administrator*, 8. (*n*) 5 Rep. 31. (*o*) 12 Mod. 471. (*p*) Dyer, 166.
 (*q*) 1 Chan. Cas. 33. (*r*) 5 Rep. 30. Moor, 527. (*s*) 12 Mod. 441, 471. (*t*) Wentw. ch. 14.

of this evidence of his right at the time he commences an action at law, as executor; it will be in due time, if he obtain it before he declares in such action (see the last note): so, if he file a bill in equity, in the same character, a probate obtained at any time before the hearing of the cause will sustain the suit. *Humphreys v. Humphreys*, 3 P. Wms. 351.] See also *Seabrook v. Williams*, 3 McCord, 371; *Dawes v. Boylston*, 9 Mass. 337; *Shirley v. Healds*, 34 N. H. 407; *Rand v. Hubbard*, 4 Met. 256. The title of an administrator, however, so far as may be necessary to prevent injustice and protect the interest of the estate, will relate back to the death of the intestate. See *Foster v. Bates*, 12 M. and W. 333; *Welchman v. Sturgis*, 13 Q. B. 552. The practical difference between the two cases is not therefore very important.

(19) [A person who takes upon himself to interfere with the effects of a party deceased, or, at all events, to dispose thereof, or apply them to his own use, will, by such interference, constitute himself an executor *de son tort*, as stated in the text: and see *Edwards v. Harben*, 2 T. R. 597; but Lord Hardwicke held, that, although a person entitled to administration could not, before administration actually granted to him, commence an action at law (see the last note, as to an executor who has not obtained probate), he might be allowed to file a bill in equity, as administrator, and that such bill would be sustained by an administration subsequently taken out. *Fell v. Lutwidge*, Barnard. Ch. Rep. 320; S. C., 2 Atk. 120.]

(20) [Whether a man has or has not rendered himself liable to be treated as an executor *de son tort*, is not a question to be left to a jury; but is a conclusion of law to be drawn by the court before which that question is raised. *Padget v. Priest*, 2 T. R. 99.]

(21) [But, if a person entitled to letters of administration is opposed in the ecclesiastical court, and does any acts *pendente lite* to make himself executor *de son tort*, those acts will be purged by his afterwards obtaining letters of administration. *Curtis v. Vernon*, 3 T. R. 590. It is held, that the least intermeddling with the effects of the intestate, even milking cows, or taking a dog, will constitute an executor *de son tort*. Dy. 166. An executor of his own wrong will be liable to an action, unless he has delivered over the goods of the intestate to the rightful administrator before the action is brought against him. And he cannot retain the intestate's property in discharge of his own debt, although it is a debt of a superior degree. 3 T. R. 590; 2 id. 100.]

(22) The law on this subject is practically obsolete in the United States. See Redf. on Wills, 13, note.

only be prejudicial to himself, and not to the creditors or legatees of the deceased. (*u*)

2. The executor, or the administrator *durante minore ætate*, or *durante absentia*, or *cum testamento annexo*, must prove the will of the deceased: which is done either in *common form*, which is only upon his own oath before the ordinary, or his surrogate; or *per testes*, in more solemn form of law, in case the validity of the will be disputed. (*w*) When the will is so proved, the original must be deposited in the registry of the ordinary; and a copy thereof in parchment is made out under the seal of the ordinary, and delivered to the executor or administrator, together with a certificate of its having been proved before him: all which together is usually styled the *probate*. In defect of any will, the person entitled to be administrator must also, at this period, take out letters of administration under the seal of the ordinary; whereby an executorial power to collect and administer, that is, dispose of the goods of the deceased, is vested in him: and he must, by statute 22 and 23 Car. II, c. 10, enter into a bond with sureties, faithfully to execute his trust. If all the goods of the deceased lie [*509] within the same jurisdiction, a probate before the *ordinary, or an administration, granted by him, are the only proper ones: but if the deceased had *bona notabilia*, or chattels to the value of a *hundred shillings*, in two distinct dioceses or jurisdictions, then the will must be proved, or administration taken out before the metropolitan of the province, by way of special prerogative; (*x*) whence the courts where the validity of such wills is tried, and the offices where they are registered, are called the prerogative courts, and the prerogative offices, of the provinces of Canterbury and York. Lyndewode, who flourished in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and was official to Archbishop Chichele, interprets these hundred shillings to signify *solidos legalis*; of which he tells us, seventy-two amounted to a pound of gold, which in his time was valued at fifty nobles, or 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* He therefore, computes (*y*) that the hundred shillings, which constituted *bona notabilia*, were then equal in current money to 23*l.* 3*s.* 0 1-4*d.* This will account for what is said in our ancient books, that *bona notabilia* in the diocese of London, (*z*) and indeed everywhere else, (*a*) were of the value of ten pounds by *composition*: for if we pursue the calculations of Lyndewode to their full extent, and consider that a pound of gold is now almost equal in value to an hundred and fifty nobles, we shall extend the present amount of *bona notabilia* to nearly 70*l.* But the makers of the canons of 1603, understood this ancient rule to be meant of the shillings current in the reign of James I, and have, therefore, directed (*b*) that *five pounds* shall, for the future, be the standard of *bona notabilia*, so as to make the probate fall within the archiepiscopal prerogative. Which prerogative (properly understood) is grounded upon this reasonable foundation: that, as the bishops were themselves originally the administrators to all intestates in their own diocese, and as the present administrators are, in effect, no other than their officers or substitutes, it was impossible for the bishops, or those who acted under them, to collect any goods of the deceased, other than such as lay within their [*510] *own dioceses, beyond which their episcopal authority extends not. But it would be extremely troublesome, if as many administrations were to be granted, as there are dioceses within which the deceased had *bona notabilia*; besides the uncertainty which creditors and legatees would be at, in case different administrators were appointed, to ascertain the fund out of which their demands are to be paid. A prerogative is, therefore, very prudently vested in the metropolitan of each province, to make in such cases one administration serve for all. This accounts very satisfactorily for the reason of taking out administration to intestates that have large and diffusive property, in the prerogative court: and the probate of wills naturally follows, as was before observed, the power of granting administrations; in order to satisfy the ordinary that

(*u*) Salk. 196. Godolph. p. 2, c. 26. § 2.

(*w*) Godolph. p. 1, c. 20. § 4.

(*x*) 4 Inst. 335.

(*y*) Provinc. l. 3, t. 13, c. 4*tem. v. centum.*, § c., *statutum v. laicis*.

(*z*) 4 Inst. 335. Godolph. p. 2, c. 22.

(*a*) Plowd. 281.

(*b*) Cau. 92.

the deceased has in a legal manner, by appointing his own executor, excluded him and his officers from the privilege of administering the effects.

3. The executor or administrator is to make an *inventory* (*c*) of all the goods and chattels, whether in possession or action, of the deceased; which he is to deliver in to the ordinary upon oath, if thereunto lawfully required. (23)

4. He is to *collect* all the goods and chattels so inventoried; and to that end he has very large powers and interests conferred on him by law; being the representative of the deceased, (*d*) and having the same property in his goods as the principal had when living, and the same remedies to recover them. And if there be two or more executors, a sale or release by one of them shall be good against all the rest; (*e*) but in case of administrators it is otherwise. (*f*) (24) Whatever is so recovered, that is of a salable nature and may be converted into ready money, is called *assets* in the hands of the executor or administrator; (*g*) that is sufficient or enough (from the French *assez*) to make him chargeable to a creditor or legatee, so far as such goods and chattels extend. *Whatever [*511] assets so come to his hands he may convert into ready money, to answer the demands that may be made upon him: which is the next thing to be considered: for,

5. The executor or administrator must *pay* the *debts* of the deceased. In payment of debts he must observe the rules of priority; otherwise, on deficiency of assets, if he pays those of a lower degree first, he must answer those of a higher out of his own estate. And, first, he may pay all funeral charges, and the expense of proving the will, and the like. Secondly, debts due to the king on record or specialty. (*h*) Thirdly, such debts as are by particular statutes to be preferred to all others: as the forfeitures for not burying in woolen, (*i*) money due upon poor rates, (*k*) for letters to the post-office, (*l*) and some others. Fourthly, debts of record; as judgments, docketed according to the statute 4 and 5 W. and M. c. 20, statutes and recognizances. (*m*) (25) Fifthly, debts due on special contracts; as for rent (for which the lessor has often a better remedy in his own hands by distraining), or upon bonds, covenants, and the like, under seal. (*n*) Lastly, debts on simple contracts, viz.: upon notes unsealed and verbal promises. (26) Among these simple contracts, servants' wages are by some (*o*) with reason preferred to any other: and so stood the

(*c*) Stat. 21 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

(*d*) Co. Litt. 209.

(*e*) Dyer, 23.

(*f*) 1 Atk. 460.

(*g*) See page 244.

(*h*) 1 And. 129.

(*i*) Stat. 30 Car. II. c. 3.

(*k*) Stat. 17 Geo. II. c. 38.

(*l*) Stat. 9 Ann. c. 10.

(*m*) 4 Rep. 60.

Cro. Car. 353.

(*n*) Wentw. ch. 12.

(*o*) 1 Roll. Abr. 927.

(23) [The ecclesiastical courts do not compel all executors to give an inventory; and always inquire into the interest of a party who requires one; but, even a probable or contingent interest will justify a party in calling for an inventory; and, in such cases, that which is by law required generally, must be enforced. There is only one case in which it could be refused; that is, if a creditor had brought a suit in chancery for a discovery of assets; there, the ecclesiastical court might say, the party should not proceed in both courts. Phillips v. Bignell, 1 Phillim. 240; Myddleton v. Rushout, id. 247.]

(24) No such distinction is any longer recognized, but each administrator possesses the power of all. See 2 Redf. on Wills, 206.

(25) [A final decree for payment of a debt, or other personal demand, is equal to a judgment. Gray v. Chiswell, 9 Ves. 125; Goate v. Fryer, 2 Cox, 202. Courts of equity will not restrain proceedings at law by creditors, who are seeking in that way to obtain payment by executors, until there is a decree for carrying the trusts of the will into execution, under a bill filed by other creditors. Rush v. Higgs, 4 Ves. 643; Martin v. Martin, 1 Ves. Sen. 213. But, from the moment a final decree to that effect is made, it is considered as a judgment in favor of all the creditors; and there the court of equity could not execute its own decree, if it permitted the course of payment to be altered by a subsequent judgment of a court of law. Largan v. Bowen, 1 Sch. and Lef. 299; Paxton v. Douglas, 8 Ves. 521. Between decrees and judgments, the right to priority of payment is determined by their *real* priority of date.]

(26) The order of payment of debts is not uniform in the United States, but generally all claims are placed upon an equal footing except those for the expenses of administration, expenses of the last sickness, and demands owing the general government and entitled to priority under its laws.

And by the recent English statute, 32 and 33 Vic. c. 46, all the contract debts of the deceased, whether existing by specialty or by simple contract, are to be treated as of equal degree.

ancient law, according to Bracton (*p*) and Fleta, (*q*) who reckon among the first debts to be paid, *servitia servientium et stipendia famulorum*. Among debts of equal degree, the executor or administrator is allowed to pay himself first, by retaining in his hands so much as his debt amounts to. (*r*) But an executor of his own wrong is not allowed to retain: for that would tend to encourage creditors to strive who should first take possession of the goods of the deceased; and would besides be taking advantage of his own wrong, which is contrary to [*512] the rule of law. (*s*) If a *creditor constitutes his debtor his executor, this is a release or discharge of the debt, whether the executor acts or not; (*t*) provided there be assets sufficient to pay the testator's debts: for though this discharge of the debt shall take place of all legacies, (27) yet it were unfair to defraud the testator's creditors of their just debts by a release which is absolutely voluntary. (*u*) Also, (28) if no suit is commenced against him, the executor may pay any one creditor in equal degree his whole debt, though he has

(*p*) 1. 2. c. 28.(*q*) 1. 2. c. 56. § 10.(*r*) 10 Mod. 496. See book III, p. 18.(*s*) 5 Rep. 80.(*t*) Plowd. 184. Salk. 399.(*u*) Salk. 303. 1 Roll. Abr. 921.

(27) [Such is, certainly, the rule at common law; and it has been questioned, formerly, whether it did not hold in equity: *Brown v. Selwin*, Ca. temp. Talb. 242; but it seems to have been long esteemed the better opinion that a debt due from a testator's executor is general assets for payment of the testator's legacies: *Phillips v. Phillips*, 2 Freem. 11; and that, in such cases, though the action of law is gone, the duty remains; which may be sued for either in equity or in the spiritual court: *Flud v. Rumsey*, Yelv. 150; *Hudson v. Hudson*, 1 Atk. 461; Lord Thurlow (in *Casey v. Goodinge*, 3 Br. 111) and Sir William Grant (in *Berry v. Usher*, 11 Ves. 90), treated this as a point perfectly settled. And Lord Erskine (in *Simmons v. Gutteridge*, 13 Ves. 264), said, a debt due by an executor to the estate of his testator is assets, but he cannot sue himself; and the consequence seems necessary, that, in all cases, under the usual decree against an executor, an interrogatory ought to be pointed to the inquiry, whether he has assets in his hands arising from a debt due by himself: and any legatee has a right to exhibit such an interrogatory, if it has been omitted in drawing up the decree to account.

Some writers have, indeed, thought that the appointment of a debtor to be the executor of his creditor ought to be considered in the light of a specific bequest or legacy to the debtor: see Hargrave's note 1 to Co. Litt. 264, b; yet, even if this really were so, it would be difficult to maintain the executor's right of retainer as against other legatees: see *post*, p. 512; but Lord Holt in *Wankford v. Wankford*, 1 Salk. 306, said, "When the obligee makes the obligor his executor, though it is a discharge of the action, yet the debt is assets: and the making him executor does not amount to a legacy, but to payment and a release. If H be bound to J. S. in a bond of 100*l.*, and then J. S. makes H his executor; H has actually received so much money, and is answerable for it, and if he does not administer so much, it is a devastavit."

(28) [It is not enough that a suit has been commenced: *Sorrell v. Carpenter*, 2 P. Wms. 483; there must have been a decree for payment of debts, or an executor will be at liberty to give a preference among creditors of equal degree. *Maltby v. Russell*, 2 Sim. and Stu. 228; *Perry v. Phillips*, 10 Ves. 39; and see *ante*, p. 511, note 33. But if an executor who has, in any way, notice of an outstanding bond, or other specialty affecting his testator's assets confesses a judgment in an action brought for a simple contract debt, should judgment be afterwards given against him on the bond, he will be obliged, however insufficient the assets, to satisfy both the judgments: for, to the debt on simple contract, he might have pleaded the demand of a higher nature. An executor must not, by negligence or collusion, defeat specialty creditors of his testator, by confessing judgments on simple contract debts, of which he had notice. *Sawyer v. Mercer*, 1 T. R. 690; *Davis v. Monkhouse*, Fitz. Gib. 77; *Britton v. Bathurst*, 3 Lev. 115. And where the testator's debt was a debt upon record, or established by a judgment or decree, the executor will be held to have had sufficient constructive notice thereof, and it will be immaterial whether he had actual notice or not. If he has paid any debts of inferior degree, he will be answerable as for a devastavit. *Littleton v. Hibbins*, Cro. Eliz. 793; *Searle v. Lane*, 2 Freem. 104; S. C. 2 Vern. 37.

The personal estate of a testator is the primary fund for payment of his debts and legacies; and it will not be enough for the personal representative to show that the real estate is charged therewith; he must satisfactorily show that the personal estate is discharged: *Tower v. Lord Rous*, 18 Ves. 138; *Boote v. Blundell*, 19 id. 518; *Watson v. Brickwood*, 9 id. 454; *Barnewall v. Lord Cowder*, 3 Mad. 456; still, where such an intention is plainly made out, it will prevail: *Greene v. Greene*, 4 Mad. 157; *Burton v. Knowlton*, 3 Ves. 108; and parties entitled, by descent or devise, to real estate, cannot claim to have the incumbrance thereon discharged out of their ancestor's or deviser's personal estate, so as to interfere with specific, or even with general legatees; *Bishop v. Sharpe*, 2 Freem. 278; *Tipping v. Tipping*, 1 P. Wms. 730; *O'Neale v. Meade*, id. 694; *Davis v. Gardiner*, 2 id. 190; *Rider v. Wager*, id. 335; and a

nothing left for the rest: for, without a suit commenced, the executor has no legal notice of the debt. (w) (29)

6. When the debts are all discharged, the *legacies* claim the next regard; which are to be paid by the executor so far as his assets will extend; but he may not give himself the preference herein, as in the case of debts. (x)

A legacy is a bequest, or gift, of goods and chattels by testament; and the person to whom it was given is styled the legatee: which every person is capable of being, unless particularly disabled by the common law or statutes, as traitors, papists, (30) and some others. This bequest transfers an inchoate property to the legatee; but the legacy is not perfect without the assent of the executor: for if I have a *general* or *pecuniary* legacy of 100*l.*, or a *specific* one of a piece of plate, I cannot in either case take it without the consent of the executor. (y) For in him all the chattels are vested; (31) and it is his business first of all to

(w) Dyer. 32. 2 Leon. 60.

(x) 2 Vern. 434. 2 P. Wms. 25.

(y) Co. Litt. 111. Aleyn, 39.

fortiori, they could not maintain such a claim, when it would go to disappoint creditors. Lutkins v. Leigh, Ca. temp. Talb. 54; Goree v. Marsh, 2 Freem. 113.

When the owner of an estate has, himself, subjected it to a mortgage debt, and dies, his personal estate is first applicable to the discharge of his covenant for payment of that debt: Robinson v. Gee, 1 Ves. sen. 252; and the case would be the same even although the mortgagor had entered into no such personal covenant, provided he received the money. King v. King, 3 P. Wms. 360; Cope v. Cope, 2 Salk. 449. The mere form of devising a mortgaged estate *subject to the incumbrance thereon* (but without expressly exonerating the other funds from liability in respect thereof), will not affect the question as to the application of assets in discharge of the debt; those words convey no more than would be implied if they had not been used. Serle v. St. Eloy, 2 P. Wms. 386; Bootle v. Blundell, 19 Ves. 523. This rule, however, does not apply where the mortgage debt was not contracted by the testator, and whose personal estate, consequently, was never augmented by the borrowed money: for such a construction would be to make the personal estate of one man answerable for the debt of another. Evelyn v. Evelyn, 2 P. Wms. 664; Earl of Tankerville v. Fawcett, 1 Cox, 239; Basset v. Percival, 1 Cox, 270; Parsons v. Freeman, Amb. 115; Tweddel v. Tweddel, 2 Br. 154. But any one may, of course, so act as to make his personal assets liable to the discharge of debts contracted by another. Woods v. Huntingford, 3 Ves. 132.

Though a court of equity cannot prevent a creditor from coming upon the personal estate of his deceased debtor, in respect of a debt which might be demanded out of his real estate; still the other creditors will have an equity to charge the real estate for so much as, by that means, is taken out of the personal estate. Colchester v. Lord Stamford, 2 Freem. 124; Grise v. Goodwin, id. 265. And if a bill has been filed for administration of the assets, should it appear that a specialty creditor has been paid out of the personal estate, it is not necessary to file another bill for the purpose of marshalling the assets; but the court will, without being called on, give the requisite directions. Gibbs v. Ougier, 12 Ves. 416.]

(29) What has already been stated may be here repeated, that under the existing English statutes, real estate, whether freehold or copyhold, is equitable assets for the payment of simple contract debts.

(30) [This ground of disability no longer disgraces the statute book.]

(31) [It has been much questioned, whether it was not the intention of the legislature, that a specific devise of stock in the public funds should be considered in the nature of a parliamentary appointment, and not want the assent of the executor: Pearson v. The Bank of England, 2 Cox, 179; though a different practical construction has been put on the statute creating government annuities: Bank of England v. Lunn, 15 Ves. 578; and it must now be taken to be the law, that stock, like all other personal property, is assets in the hands of the executor. The consequence necessarily follows that it must vest in the executor, and till he assents the legatee has no right to the legacy. Franklin v. The Bank of England, 1 Russ. 597; Bank of England v. Moffat, 3 Br. 262.]

The assent of the executor is equally necessary whether a legacy be specific or merely pecuniary: Flanders v. Clarke, 3 Atk. 510; Abney v. Miller, 2 Atk. 598; a court of equity, indeed, will compel the executor to deliver the specific article devised: Northey v. Northey, 2 Atk. 77; but, as a general rule, no action at law can be maintained for a legacy, Deeks v. Strutt, 5 T. R. 692, or for a distributive share under an intestacy. Jones v. Tanner, 7 Barn. and Cress. 544. It was held, however, in Doe v. Guy, 3 East, 123, to be clear from all the authorities, that the interest in any specific thing bequeathed vests, at law, in the legatee, upon the assent of the executor: and, therefore, that whenever an executor has given assent (expressly, and not merely by implication), to a specific legacy, should he subsequently withhold it, the legatee may maintain an action at law for the recovery of the interest so vested in him. If a deficiency of assets to pay creditors were afterwards to appear, the court of chancery would have power to interfere, and make the legatee refund, in the proportion required.]

see whether there is a sufficient fund left to pay the debts of the testator: the rule of equity being, that a man must be just, before he is permitted to be generous; or, as Bracton expresses the sense of our ancient law, (z) "*de bonis defuncti primo deducenda sunt ea quæ sunt necessitatis, et postea quæ sunt utilitatis, et ultimo quæ sunt voluntatis.*" And in case of a deficiency of assets, all the *general* legacies must abate proportionably, in order to pay the debts; [*513] *but a *specific* legacy (of a piece of plate, a horse, or the like) is not to abate at all, or allow any thing by way of abatement, unless there be not sufficient without it. (a) (32) Upon the same principle, if the legatees had been paid their legacies, they are afterwards bound to refund a ratable part, in case debts come in, more than sufficient to exhaust the *residuum* after the legacies paid. (b) And this law is as old as Bracton and Fleta, who tell us, (c) "*si plura sint debita, vel plus legatum fuerit, ad quæ catalla defuncti non sufficiant, fiat ubique defalcatio, excepto regis privilegio.*"

If a legatee dies before the testator, the legacy is a *lost* or *lapsed* legacy and shall sink into the *residuum*. (33) And if a *contingent* legacy be left to any one, as *when* he attains, or *if* he attains, the age of twenty-one, and he dies before that time, it is a *lapsed* legacy. (d) (34) But a legacy to one, *to be paid*

(z) l. 2, c. 26.

(a) 2 Vern. 111.

(b) *Ibid.* 205.

(c) Bract. l. 2, c. 26. Flet. l. 2, c. 57, § 11.

(d) Dyer, 59. 1 Eq. Cas. Abr. 295.

(32) [A specific legacy is an immediate gift of any fund bequeathed, with all its produce; and is therefore an exception to the general rule, that a legacy does not carry interest till the end of a year after the testator's death: *Raven v. Waite*, 1 Swanst. 557; *Barrington v. Tristram*, 6 Ves. 349; and, though the payment of a principal fund, bequeathed to an infant, may depend on his attaining his majority, yet, the interest accrued from the death of the testator, may belong to the legatee, notwithstanding he does not live to take any thing in the principal. *Deane v. Test*, 9 Ves. 153.]

The criterion of a specific legacy is, that it is liable to *ademption*; that when the thing bequeathed is once gone, in the testator's life time, it is absolutely lost to the legatee. *Parrott v. Worsfield*, 1 Jac. and Walk. 601. When, therefore, a testator has bequeathed a legacy of certain stock in the public funds, or of a particular debt, so described as to render the bequest, in either case, specific; if that stock should be afterwards sold out by the testator, or if that debt should, in his life time, be paid or cancelled, the legacy would be *adeemed*. *Ashburner v. McGuire*, 2 Br. 109. And it appears that there is no distinction between a voluntary and a compulsory payment to the testator, as to the question of *ademption*. *Innes v. Johnson*, 4 Ves. 574. The idea of proceeding on the *animus adimendi*, (though supported by plausible reasoning), was found to introduce a degree of confusion into the decisions on the subject, and to afford no precise rule. *Stanley v. Potter*, 2 Cox, 182; *Humphreys v. Humphreys*, 2 id. 185. It seems, therefore, now established that, whenever the testator has himself received, or otherwise disposed of the subject of gift, the principle of *ademption* is, that the thing given no longer exists: and if, after a particular debt given by will had been received by the testator, it could be demanded by the legatee, that would be converting it into a pecuniary, instead of a specific legacy. *Fryer v. Morris*, 9 Ves. 363; *Barker v. Raynor*, 5 Mad. 217. Where, indeed, the identical *corpus* is not given: *Selwood v. Mildmay*, 3 Ves. 310; where the legacy is not specific, but what is termed in the civil law a *demonstrative* legacy—that is, a general pecuniary legacy, with a particular security pointed out as a convenient mode of payment; there, although such security may be called in, or fail, the legacy will not be *adeemed*. *Gillanne v. Adderley*, 15 Ves. 389; *Sibley v. Perry*, 7 id. 529; *Kirby v. Potter*, 4 id. 751; *Le Grice v. Finch*, 3 Meriv. 52; *Fowler v. Willoughby*, 2 Sim. and Stu. 358; but, when it is once settled that a legacy is specific, the only safe and clear way, it has been judicially said, is to adhere to the plain rule—that there is an end of a specific gift, if the specific thing do not exist at the testator's death. *Barker v. Rayner*, 5 Mad. 217; S. C. on appeal, 2 Russ. 125.

Courts of equity are always anxious to hold a legacy to be pecuniary, rather than specific, where the intention of the testator is at all doubtful. *Chaworth v. Beech*, 4 Ves. 566; *Innes v. Johnson*, id. 573; *Kirby v. Potter*, id. 752; *Sibley v. Perry*, 7 id. 529; *Webster v. Hale*, 8 id. 413.]

There may be cases, also, where general legacies do not abate; as where they are founded upon some valid consideration, such as a release of dower, or a discharge of a debt. See what is said in *Duncan v. Alt*, 3 Penn. 382; *Williamson v. Williamson*, 6 Paige, 298; *Hubbard v. Hubbard*, 6 Met. 50.

(33) But by statute 1 Vic. c. 26, sec. 33, a gift to a child or other descendant does not lapse if issue of the legatee survives the testator, but takes effect as if the legatee had died immediately after the testator, unless a contrary intention appears by the will.

(34) [A legacy may be so given, as that the legatee shall be entitled to the interest or produce thereof, from the time of the testator's death to his own, although such legatee may not live long enough to entitle himself to the principal. *Deane v. Test*, 9 Ves. 153, as cited in note 32.]

when he attains the age of twenty-one years, is a *vested* legacy; an interest which commences *in presenti*, although it be *solvendum in futuro*; and if the legatee dies before that age, his representatives shall receive it out of the testator's personal estate at the same time that it would have become payable, in case the legatee had lived. (35) This distinction is borrowed from the civil law; (e) and its adoption in our courts is not so much owing to its intrinsic equity, as to its having been before adopted by the ecclesiastical courts. For, since the chancery has a concurrent jurisdiction with them, in regard to the recovery of legacies, it was reasonable that there should be a conformity in their determinations; and that the subject should have the same measure of justice in whatever court he sued. (f) But, if such legacies be charged upon a real estate, in both cases they shall lapse for the benefit of the heir, (g) (36) for, with regard to devises affecting lands, the ecclesiastical court hath no concurrent jurisdiction. (37) And in case of a vested legacy, due immediately, and charged on land or money in the funds, which yield an immediate profit,* interest shall be payable thereon from the testator's death; (38) but if charged only on the [*514]

(e) *Ff.* 35, l. 1 & 2.(f) 1 *Eq. Cas.* Abr. 205.(g) 2 *P. Wms.* 601.

But where a bequest is made to a legatee, "at the age of twenty-one," or any other specified age; or, "if he attains such age:" this is such a description of the person who is to take, that if the legatee do not sustain the character at that time, the legacy will fail: the time when it is to be paid is attached to the legacy itself, and the condition precedent prevents the legacy from vesting. *Parsons v. Parsons*, 5 *Ves.* 582; *Sansbury v. Read*, 12 *id.* 78; *Errington v. Chapman*, *id.* 24. But if the legacy be to an infant, "payable at twenty-one," the legacy is held to be vested, the description of the legatee is satisfied, and the other part of the direction refers to the payment only. This distinction (as stated in the text) is borrowed from the civil law, but is adopted as to personal legacies only, not as to bequests charged upon real estate; and it has been spoken of in many cases, as a rule neither to be extended nor approved. *Dawson v. Killett*, 1 *Br.* 123; *Duke of Chandos v. Talbot*, 2 *P. Wms.* 613; *Mackell v. Winter*, 3 *Ves.* 543; *Bolger v. Mackell*, 5 *id.* 509; *Hansom v. Graham*, 6 *id.* 245.]

The tendency of the decisions clearly is in the direction of holding all legacies vested where that can be done without too great violence to the language of the will. See *Hansom v. Graham*, 6 *Ves.* 239; *Lane v. Goudge*, 9 *id.* 225; *Dodson v. Hay*, 3 *Br. C. C.* 404; *Wilson v. Mount*, 19 *Beav.* 292; *Leeming v. Sherratt*, 2 *Hare*, 14.

(35) [But it seems, if the testator's personal representatives were to be accountable for interest, and the delay of payment, as to the principal, was only directed with reference to the minority of the legatee, his executor or administrator may claim the legacy forthwith, provided a year has elapsed since the death of the original testator. *Crickett v. Dolby*, 3 *Ves.* 13; *Cloberry v. Lampen*, 2 *Freem.* 25; *Anonym.* *id.* 64; *Anonym.* 2 *Vern.* 199; *Green v. Pigot*, 1 *Br.* 105; *Ponnereau v. Ponnereau*, 1 *Ves. sen.* 119. But, a small yearly sum directed to be paid for the maintenance of the infant legatee, will not be deemed equivalent, for the purpose of vesting a legacy, to a direction that interest should be paid on the legacy. *Chester v. Painter*, 2 *P. Wms.* 328; *Hansom v. Graham*, 6 *Ves.* 249; *Roden v. Smith*, *Ambl.* 588. If a bequest, however, be made to an infant, "at his age of twenty-one years, and, if he die before that age, then over to another;" in such case, the legatee over does not claim under the infant, but the bequest over to him is a distinct substantive bequest, and is to be paid on the death of the infant under twenty-one. *Laundry v. Williams*, 2 *P. Wms.* 480; *Crickett v. Dolby*, 3 *Ves.* 16.]

(36) By the wills act of 1 *Vic. c.* 26, § 25, unless a contrary intention appears by the will, such real estate or interest therein as shall be comprised in a lapsed devise, or in a devise which fails as being contrary to law, or otherwise incapable of taking effect, shall be included in the residuary devise, if any, contained in the will.

(37) [Where legacies are charged upon land, or if the gift at all savors of the *reality*, the trusts must be carried into execution with analogy to the common law. *Scott v. Tyler*, 2 *Dick.* 719; *Long v. Ricketts*, 2 *Sim. and Stu.* 183. And the general rule of common law is, that legacies, or portions, charged on lands, do not vest till the time of payment comes. *Harvey v. Aston*, 1 *Atk.* 378, 379; *S. C. Willes*, 91; *Harrison v. Naylor*, 2 *Cox*, 248. But a testator may make a legacy vested and transmissible, though charged on a real estate, and payable at a future time, provided he distinctly expresses himself to that effect, or the context of the will affords a plain implication that such was his intention. See *Lowther v. Condon*, 2 *Atk.* 128; *Dawson v. Killett*, 1 *Br.* 123; *Godwin v. Munday*, *id.* 194; *Smith v. Partridge*, *Ambl.* 267; *Sherman v. Collins*, 3 *Atk.* 320.]

(38) [The old authorities are in conformity with the text, and hold, that, where a fund, of whatever nature, upon which a testator has charged legacies, is carrying interest, there interest shall be payable upon the legacies, from the time of the testator's death. But that is exploded now by every day's practice. Though a testator may have left no other property

personal estate, which cannot be immediately got in, it shall carry interest only from the end of the year after the death of the testator. (*h*) (39)

Besides these formal legacies, contained in a man's will and testament, there is also permitted another death-bed disposition of property; which is called a

(A) 2 P. Wms. 26, 27.

than money in the funds, interest upon the pecuniary legacies he has charged thereon is now never given till the end of a year after his death. *Gibson v. Bott*, 7 Ves. 97. The rule is different with respect to legacies charged on land. Whether the reason assigned for this distinction in the text, and in *Maxwell v. Wettenhall*, 1 P. Wms. 25, be the true one, has been doubted: a fund, consisting of personalty, may be "yielding immediate profits," as well as lands, but, it is obvious that the reason of the rule as to the commencement of interest upon legacies given out of personal estate, which is a rule adopted merely for convenience (*Garthshore v. Chalie*, 10 Ves. 13; *Wood v. Penoyre*, 13 id. 333), cannot apply to the case of legacies not dependent on the getting in of the personal estate, and charged upon lands only; in such case, interest, it has been said, must be chargeable from the death of the testator, or not at all. *Pearson v. Pearson*, 1 Sch. and Lef. 11; *Spurway v. Glynn*, 9 Ves. 483; *Shirt v. Westby*, 16 id. 396.]

(39) [As a legacy, for the payment of which no other period is assigned by the will (*Anonym.* 2 Freem. 207), is not *due* till the end of a year after the testator's death: *Hearle v. Greenbank*, 3 Atk. 716; and as interest can only be claimed for non-payment of a demand actually due; it is an undisputed general rule, that although a legacy vests (where no special intention to the contrary appears) at the testator's death (*Garthshore v. Chalie*, 10 Ves. 13), it does not begin to carry interest till a year afterwards, unless it be charged solely on lands. (See the last note.) That general rule, however, has exceptions. *Raven v. Waite*, 1 Swanst. 557; *Beckford v. Tobin*, 1 Ves. Sen. 310; a specific bequest of a *corpus* passes an immediate gift of the fund, with all its produce, from the death of the testator. *Kirby v. Potter*, 4 Ves. 751; *Barrington v. Tristram*, 6 id. 349. Another exception arises when a legacy is given to an infant by a parent, or by a benefactor, who has put himself *in loco parentis*; in such case, the necessary support of the infant may require immediate payment of interest. *Lowndes v. Lowndes*, 15 Ves. 304; *Heath v. Perry*, 3 Atk. 102; *Mitchell v. Bower*, 3 Ves. 237. It must, however, be observed, this latter exception operates only when the child is otherwise unprovided for; when a father gives a legacy to a child, it will carry interest from the death of the testator, as a maintenance for the child, where no other fund is applicable for such maintenance: *Carew v. Askew*, 1 Cox, 244; *Harvey v. Harvey*, 2 P. Wms. 22; but where other means of support are provided for the child, then the legacy will not carry interest from an earlier period than it would in the case of a bequest to a perfect stranger. *Wynch v. Wynch*, 1 Cox, 435; *Ellis v. Ellis*, 1 Sch. and Lef. 5; *Tyrrel v. Tyrrel*, 4 Ves. 5. And the general rule as to non-payment of interest upon a legacy, before such legacy becomes due, must not be broken in upon by an exception in favor of an *adult* legatee, however nearly related to the testator: *Raven v. Waite*, 1 Swanst. 558; nor as illegitimate children are no more, in legal contemplation, than strangers (*Lowndes v. Lowndes*, 15 Ves. 304), will interest be allowed, by way of maintenance for such legatees: (*Perry v. Whitehead*, 6 Ves. 547), unless it can be satisfactorily collected from the will that the testator intended to give interest. *Beckford v. Tobin*, 1 Ves. Sen. 310; *Ellis v. Ellis*, 1 Sch. and Lef. 6; *Newman v. Bateson*, 3 Swanst. 690. Even in the case of a grandchild, an executor must not take upon himself to pay interest upon a legacy by way of maintenance, when that is not expressly provided by the will; for, though a court of equity will struggle in favor of the grandchild: (*Crickett v. Dolby*, 3 id. 12; *Collis v. Blackburn*, 9 Ves. 470), yet it seems, there must be something more than the mere gift of a legacy, something indicating that the testator put himself *in loco parentis*, to justify a court in decreeing interest for a grandchild's maintenance. *Perry v. Whitehead*, 6 Ves. 547; *Rawlins v. Goldtrap*, 5 id. 443; *Hill v. Hill*, 3 Ves. and Bea. 186. But of course, even when a legacy to a grandchild will never become due unless he attains his majority, still, maintenance may be allowed for his support during his infancy, provided the parties to whom the legacy is given over in case of the infant's death are competent, and willing, to consent. *Cavendish v. Mercer*, 5 Ves. 195, in note. Under any other circumstances, when a legacy to infants is not given absolutely, and in all events, but is either not to vest till a given period, or is subject to being divested by certain contingencies, upon the occurrence of which it is given over: *Errington v. Chapman*, 12 Ves. 25; if the words of the will do not authorize the application of interest to the maintenance of the infant legatees, a court of equity never goes further than to say that, if it can collect before it, all the individuals who may be entitled to the fund, so as to make each a compensation for taking from him part, it will grant an allowance for maintenance: *Erratt v. Barlow*, 14 Ves. 203; *Marshall v. Holloway*, 2 Swanst. 436; *Ex parte Whitehead*, 2 Younge and Jerb. 249; or, where there is no gift over, and all the children of a family are to take equally, there, although other children may possibly come *in esse* after the order made, yet, all the children, born or to be born, will be held to have a common interest; and therefore, the interest of the fund, as far as it may be requisite, will be applicable for maintenance. *Fairman v. Green*, 10 Ves. 48; *Greenwell v. Greenwell*, 5 id. 199; *Errat v. Barlow*, 14 id. 205; *Haley v. Bannister*, 4 Mad.

donation *causa mortis*. And that is, when a person in his last sickness, apprehending his dissolution near, delivers or causes to be delivered to another the possession of any personal goods (under which have been included bonds, and bills drawn by the deceased upon his banker,) to keep in case of his decease. This gift, if the donor dies, needs not the assent of his executor: yet it shall not prevail against creditors; and is accompanied with this implied trust, that, if the donor lives, the property thereof shall revert to himself, being only given in contemplation of death, or *mortis causa*. (i) (40) This method of donation

(i) Prec. Chanc. 269. 1 P. Wms. 406, 441. 3 P. Wms. 357.

280. But, if the will contain *successive limitations*, under which persons of another family, and not in being, may become entitled; it is not sufficient that all parties presumptively entitled, then living, are before the court; for none of the living may be the parties who, eventually, may become entitled to the property. In such a case, an order for interest by way of maintenance might be, in effect, to give to one person the property of another. *Marshall v. Holloway*, 2 Swanst. 436; *Ex parte Kebble*, 11 Ves. 606.

No exception is to be made, in favor of the testator's wife, to the general rule that a pecuniary legacy does not bear interest before the time when the principal ought to be paid, unless a distinct intention to give interest from an earlier period can be fairly collected from the testator's will. *Stent v. Robinson*, 12 Ves. 461; *Lowndes v. Lowndes*, 15 id. 304; *Raven v. Waite*, 1 Swanst. 559.]

(40) A *donatio causa mortis* is a gift of personal chattels made by a person with a view to his own death, and conditioned to take effect only on the donor's death by his existing disorder. *Smith v. Kittridge*, 21 Vt. 245; *Wells v. Tucker*, 3 Binn. 370; *Raymond v. Sellick*, 10 Conn. 480; *Smith v. Downey*, 3 Ired. Eq. 268; *Knott v. Hogan*, 4 Met. Ky. 99. The gift is therefore defeated if the donor survives the disorder. It has many of the properties of a legacy: it may be revoked at any time; it is lost if the donor survives the donee, and it is liable to the donor's debts in case of deficiency of assets. *Jones v. Selby*, Prec. in Ch. 303; *Tate v. Hilbert*, 2 Ves. 120; *Walter v. Hodge*, 2 Swanst. 98; *Miller v. Miller*, 3 P. Wms. 357; *Wells v. Tucker*, 3 Binn. 370; *Grant v. Tucker*, 18 Ala. 27; *Jones v. Brown*, 34 N. H. 439; *Huntington v. Gilmore*, 14 Barb. 244. But it does not require to be probated as a will. *Ward v. Turner*, 2 Ves. Sen. 435. There must be a delivery of the chattels by the donor in his lifetime; and this delivery ought to be an actual delivery into the hands of the donee, or as near such a delivery as the circumstances render practicable. *Bowers v. Hurd*, 10 Mass. 427; *McDowell v. Murdock*, 1 Nott and McC. 239; *Miller v. Jeffress*, 4 Grat. 479; *Harris v. Clark*, 3 N. Y. 93; *Cutting v. Gilman*, 41 N. H. 147; *Lewis v. Walker*, 8 Humph. 508; *Michener v. Dale*, 23 Penn. St. 59. A previous and continued possession, or an after-acquired possession by the donee will not generally be sufficient. *Gough v. Findon*, 7 Exch. 48; *Miller v. Jeffress* 4 Grat. 479; *Dole v. Lincoln*, 31 Me. 422. Delivery to a third person for the donee is a good delivery: *Contant v. Schuyler*, 1 Paige, 316; *Sessions v. Moseley*, 4 Cush. 87; *Dresser v. Dresser*, 46 Me. 48; *Jones v. Deyer*, 16 Ala. 221; and such delivery may be made to one in trust for another. *Dresser v. Dresser*, 46 Me. 48; *Kemper v. Kemper*, 1 Duv. Ky. 401. It is doubtful if a written instrument of transfer which is delivered is sufficient as a substitute for actual delivery of the chattels, but in *Powell v. Leonard*, 9 Fla. 359, a deed of a mother and children, slaves, was sustained as a good gift of all, where the mother was present at the time and the usual words of delivery were spoken, though the children were absent and not delivered. Negotiable securities may be the subject of this species of gift: *Bradley v. Hunt*, 5 Gill and J. 58; *Holley v. Adams*, 16 Vt. 206; *Grover v. Grover*, 24 Pick. 261; *Harris v. Clark*, 3 N. Y. 93; *Bedell v. Carll*, 33 N. Y. 581; and so it seems, may a bond, or any other written contract of a third person: *Brown v. Brown*, 18 Conn. 410; *Meach v. Meach*, 24 Vt. 591; *Parish v. Stone*, 14 Pick. 198; *Waring v. Edmonds*, 11 Md. 424; *Sessions v. Moseley*, 4 Cush. 87; *Bonneman v. Sidlinger*, 21 Me. 185; but not the donor's own note or other executory promise: *Holley v. Adams*, 16 Vt. 206; *Copp v. Sawyer*, 6 N. H. 386; *Thompson v. Dorsey*, 4 Md. Ch. Dec. 145; *Parish v. Stone*, 14 Conn. 198; *Michener v. Dale*, 23 Penn. St. 59; *Harris v. Clark*, 3 N. Y. 93; *Smith v. Kittridge*, 21 Vt. 238; *Dole v. Lincoln*, 31 Me. 422; *Flint v. Pattee*, 33 N. H. 520; nor his order on a third person, or his check on a bank, which remains unaccepted at his death. See *Nat. Bank v. Williams*, 13 Mich. 282; *Brown v. Moore*, 3 Head. 671; *Ashbrook v. Ryon*, 2 Bush, 228. A life insurance policy may be the subject of this gift: *Witt v. Amis*, 1 El. B. and S. 109; and so may a certificate of stock: *Alerton v. Lang*, 10 Bosw. 362; though this has been doubted. *Pennington v. Gittings's Ex'r*, 2 Gill and J. 208. The gift may be made by wife to husband and husband to wife; *Caldwell v. Renfrew*, 33 Vt. 213; but if by law the wife cannot make a will except with the consent of the husband, the power to make this gift is subject to the same limitation. *Jones v. Brown*, 34 N. H. 439. Resumption of possession by the donor revokes the gift. *Bunn v. Markham*, 7 Taunt. 232; *S. C.* 2 Marsh. 539. The same dangers attend these gifts as attend nuncupative wills, and they are not favored in the law. *Westerloo v. De Witt*, 35 Barb. 215. If made upon condition, *e. g.*, that the gift shall be all the donee shall have from the donor's property—they must be accepted subject to the condition. *Currie v. Steele*, 2 Sandf. 542.

might have subsisted in a state of nature, being always accompanied with delivery of actual possession; (*k*) and so far differs from a testamentary disposition: but seems to have been handed to us from the civil lawyers, (*l*) who themselves borrowed it from the Greeks. (*m*)

7. When all the debts and particular legacies are discharged, the surplus or *residuum* must be paid to the residuary legatee, if any be appointed by the will; and if there be none, it was long a settled notion that it devolved to the executor's own use, by virtue of his executorship. (*n*) But whatever ground there might have been formerly for this opinion, it seems now to be understood (*o*) with this restriction; that although where the executor has no legacy at all, the *residuum* shall in general be his own, yet wherever there is sufficient *on the [*515] face of a will (by means of a competent legacy or otherwise,) to imply that the testator intended his executor should *not* have the residue, the undivided surplus of the estate shall go to the next of kin, (*41*) the executor then standing upon exactly the same footing as an administrator, concerning whom, indeed, there formerly was much debate, (*p*) whether or no he could be compelled to make any distribution of the intestate's estate. For, though (after the administration was taken in effect from the ordinary, and transferred to the relations of the deceased) the spiritual court endeavoured to compel a distribution, and took bonds of the administrator for that purpose, they were prohibited by the temporal courts, and the bonds declared void at law. (*q*) And the right of the husband not only to administer, but also to enjoy exclusively, the effects of his deceased wife, depends still on this doctrine of the common law: the statute of frauds declaring only, that the statute of distributions does not extend to this case. But now these controversies are quite at an end; for, by the statute 22 and 23 Car. II, c. 10, explained by 29 id. c. 30, it is enacted, that the surplusage of intestates' estates, (except of *femes-covert*, which are left as at common law), (*r*) shall, after the expiration of one full year from the death of the intestate, be distributed in the following manner: One-third shall go to the widow of the intestate, and the residue in equal proportions to his children, or, if dead, to their representatives; that is, their lineal descendants: if there are no children or legal representatives subsisting, then a moiety shall go to the widow, and a moiety to the next of kindred in equal degree and their representatives: if no widow, the whole shall go to the children: if neither widow nor children, the whole shall be distributed among the next of kin in equal degree and their representatives: but no representatives are admitted, among collaterals, farther than the children of the intestate's brothers and sisters. (*s*) The next of kindred, here referred to, are to be investigated by the same rules of consanguinity, as those who are entitled to letters of administration; of [*516] whom we have sufficiently spoken. (*t*) *And therefore by this statute the mother as well as the father, succeeded to all the personal effects of their children, who died intestate and without wife or issue; in exclusion of the other sons and daughters, the brothers and sisters of the deceased. And so the law still remains with respect to the father; but by statute 1 Jac. II, c. 17, if the father be dead, and any of the children die intestate without wife or issue,

(*k*) Law of Forfeiture, 16.

(*l*) Inst. 2. 7. 1. ff. 1. 39. t. 6.

(*m*) There is a very complete *donatio mortis causa*, in the *Odyssey*, b. 17, v. 78, made by Telemachus to his friend *Piræus*; and another by *Hercules* in the *Alcestes* of *Euripides*, v. 1020.

(*n*) *Perkins*, 525.

(*o*) *Proc. Chanc.* 323. 1 P. Wms. 7, 544. 2 P. Wms. 338. 3 P. Wms. 43, 194. *Stra.* 559. *Lawson v. Lawson*, Dom. Proc. 28 Apr. 1777.

(*p*) *Godolph.* p. 2, c. 32.

(*q*) 1 Lev. 233. *Cart.* 125. 2 P. Wms. 447. (*r*) Stat. 29 Car. II, c. 3, § 25.

(*s*) *Raym.* 496. *Lord Raym.* 571.

(*t*) *Page* 504.

(41) But the rule is now otherwise under statutes 11 Geo. IV, and 1 William IV, c. 40, which enacts that executors shall be deemed by courts of equity to be trustees for the persons who would be entitled under the statutes of distributions, in respect of any residue not expressly disposed of by any testator's will, unless it shall appear by the will, or a codicil thereto, that the persons appointed executors were intended to take such residue beneficially.

in the lifetime of the mother, she and each of the remaining children, or their representatives, shall divide his effects in equal portions. (42)

It is obvious to observe, how near a resemblance this statute of distributions bears to our ancient English law, *de rationabili parte bonorum*; spoken of at the beginning of this chapter; (*u*) and which Sir Edward Coke (*w*) himself, though he doubted the generality of its restraint on the power of devising by will, held to be universally binding (in point of conscience at least) upon the administrator or executor, in the case of either a total or partial intestacy. It also bears some resemblance to the Roman law of succession *ab intestato* (*x*) which, and because the act was also penned by an eminent civilian, (*y*) has occasioned a notion that the parliament of England copied it from the Roman prætor: though, indeed, it is little more than a restoration, with some refinements and regulations, of our old constitutional law; which prevailed as an established right and custom from the time of King Canute downwards, many centuries before Justinian's laws were known or heard of in the western parts of Europe. So, likewise, there is another part of the statute of distributions, where directions are given that no child of the intestate (except his heir-at-law) on whom he settled in his lifetime any estate in lands, or pecuniary portion, equal to the distributive shares of the other children, shall have any part of the surplusage with their *brothers and sisters; but, if the estates [**517*] so given them, by way of advancement, are not quite equivalent to the other shares, the children so advanced shall now have so much as will make them equal. This just and equitable provision hath been also said to be derived from the *collatio bonorum* of the imperial law: (*z*) which it certainly resembles in some points, though it differs widely in others. But it may not be amiss to observe, that with regard to goods and chattels, this is part of the ancient custom of London, of the province of York, and of our sister kingdom of Scotland; and, with regard to lands descending in coparcenary, that it hath always been, and still is, the common law of England, under the name of *hotchpot*. (*a*) (43)

(*u*) Page 492.

(*w*) 2 Inst. 33. See 1 P. Wms. 8.

(*x*) The general rule of such successions was this: 1. The children or lineal descendants in equal portions. 2. On failure of these, the parents or lineal ascendants, and with them the brethren or sisters of the whole blood; or, if the parents were dead, all the brethren and sisters, together with the representatives of a brother or sister deceased. 3. The next collateral relations in equal degree. 4. The husband or wife of the deceased. (*Ff.* 38, 15, 1. Nov. 118, c. 1, 2, 3, 127, c. 1.)

(*y*) Sir Walter. Lord Raym. 574.

(*z*) *Ff.* 37, 6, 1.

(*a*) See ch. 12, page 191.

(42) [The next of kin, who are to have the benefit of the statute of distributions, must be ascertained according to the computation of the civil law, including the relations both on the paternal and maternal sides.

And when the relations are thus found who are distant from the intestate by an equal number of degrees, they will share the personal property equally, although they are relations to the intestate of very different denominations, and perhaps not relations to each other. There is only one exception to this rule, viz.: where the nearest relations are a grandfather or grandmother, and brothers or sisters, although all these are related in the second degree, yet the former shall not participate with the latter; for which singular exception it does not appear that any good reason can be given. 3 Atk. 762. No difference is made between the whole and half blood in the distribution of intestate personal property.]

(43) An advancement is a giving by a parent to a child by anticipation, the whole or some part of what it is supposed the child will be entitled to on the death of the parent. *Osgood v. Breed's Heirs*, 17 Mass. 358; *Jackson v. Matsdorf*, 11 Johns. 91; *Dillman v. Cox*, 23 Ind. 442. Whether a gift is to be regarded an absolute gift or an advancement must depend upon the intent of the donor at the time it is made: *Meeker v. Meeker*, 16 Conn. 387; *Sherwood v. Smith*, 23 id. 521; *Nesmith v. Dinsmore*, 17 N. H. 515; *Bay v. Cook*, 31 Ill. 345; *Kingsbury's Appeal*, 44 Penn. St. 460; and this intent is generally to be arrived at by what took place at the time, or by a charge made by the parent against the child, or by some writing given to the parent by the child; and in some of the states written evidence is required by statute. In the absence of any inflexible rule by statute, and of evidence showing a contrary intent, a purchase by a parent in the name of the child, or a gift of property to the child not by way of support or education merely, is presumed to be intended as an advancement. *Hatch v. Straight*, 3 Conn. 34; *Dillman v. Cox*, 23 Ind. 440; *Murphy v. Nathans*, 46 Penn. St. 508; *Parks v. Parks*, 19 Md. 323; *Bay v. Cook*, 31 Ill. 336; *Autrey v. Autrey's Adminis.* 37 Ala. 614; *Merrill v. Rhodes*, id. 449; *Johnson v. Hoyle*, 3 Head. 56. If the parent die intestate, the advancement must be brought

Before I quit this subject I must, however, acknowledge that the doctrine and limits of representation laid down in the statute of distributions, seem to have been principally borrowed from the civil law: whereby it will sometimes happen, that personal estates are divided *per capita*, and sometimes *per stirpes*; whereas the common law knows no other rule of succession but that *per stirpes* only. (*b*) They are divided *per capita*, to every man an equal share, when all the claimants claim in their own rights, as in equal degree of kindred, and not *jure representationis*, in the right of another person. As, if the next of kin be the intestate's three brothers, A B and C; here his effects are divided into three equal portions, and distributed *per capita*, one to each: but, if one of these brothers, A, had been dead, leaving three children, and another, B, leaving two; then the distribution must have been *per stirpes*: viz.: one-third to A's three children, another third to B's two children, and the remaining third to C. the surviving brother; yet, if C had also been dead, without issue, then A's and B's five children, being all in equal degree to the intestate, would take in their own rights *per capita*, viz.; each of them one-fifth part. (*c*)

The statute of distributions expressly excepts and reserves the customs of the city of London, of the province of York, *and of all other places having [*518] peculiar customs of distributing intestates' effects. So that, though in those places the restraint of devising is removed by the statutes formerly mentioned, (*d*) their ancient customs remain in full force, with respect to the estates of intestates. I shall, therefore, conclude this chapter, and with it the present book, with a few remarks on those customs.

In the first place we may observe, that, in the city of London, (*e*) and province of York, (*f*) as well as in the kingdom of Scotland, (*g*) and probably also in Wales, (concerning which there is little to be gathered but from the statute 7 and 8 Wm. III. c. 38,) the effects of the intestate, after payment of his debts, are in general divided according to the ancient universal doctrine of the *pars rationabilis*. If the deceased leaves a widow and children, his substance (deducting for the widow her apparel and the furniture of her bed-chamber, which in London is called the *widow's chamber*) is divided into three parts; one of which belongs to the widow, another to the children, and the third to the administrator: if only a widow, or only children, they shall respectively, in either case, take one moiety, and the administrator the other; (*h*) if neither widow nor child, the administrator shall have the whole. (*i*) And this portion, or *dead man's part*, the administrator was wont to apply to his own use, (*k*) till the statute 1 Jac. II. c. 17, declared that the same should be subject to the statute of distributions. So that if a man dies worth 1,800*l.* personal estate, leaving a widow and two children, this estate shall be divided into eighteen parts; whereof the widow shall have eight, six by the custom and two by the statute; and each of the children five, three by the custom and two by the statute: if he leaves a widow and one child, she shall still have eight parts, as before; and the child shall have ten, six by the custom and four by the statute: if he leaves a

(b) See ch. 14, page 217.

(c) Prec. Chanc. 54.

(d) Page 493.

(e) Lord Raym. 1329.

(f) 2 Burn. Eccl. Law. 746.

(g) *Ibid.* 782.

(h) 1 P. Wms. 341. Salk. 246.

(i) 2 Show. 175.

(k) 2 Freem. 85. 1 Vern. 133.

into *hotchpot*, by which is understood that it must be accounted for as a part of the estate, in order that when an equal division is made the donee shall receive his share only, including the advancement. *Grattan v. Grattan*, 18 Ill. 170; *Thompson v. Carmichael*, 3 Sandf. Ch. 120; *Brewton v. Brewton*, 30 Geo. 416; *Greene's Exr. v. Speer*, 37 Ala. 532. And in case the parent dies testate, the advancement may be taken into account in satisfaction, wholly or in part, of a legacy, if such be the direction of the will. *Hall v. Davis*, 3 Pick. 450; *Manning v. Manning*, 12 Rich. Eq. 410; *Langdon v. Astor's Exr.* 16 N. Y. 9. When brought into *hotchpot*, the child is charged with the value of the property at the time the advancement was made. *Bemis v. Stearns*, 16 Mass. 200; *Osgood v. Breed*, 17 id. 356; *Stearns v. Stearns*, 1 Pick. 157; *Grattan v. Grattan*, 18 Ill. 170; *Towles v. Roundtree*, 10 Fla. 299; *Jackson v. Matsdorf*, 11 Johns. 91.

As a general thing this subject will now be found regulated by statute. See *Barton v. Rice*, 22 Pick. 508; *Porter v. Porter*, 51 Me. 376.

widow and no child, the widow shall have three-fourths of the whole, two by the custom and one by the *statute; and the remaining fourth shall go by [*519] the statute to the next of kin. It is also to be observed, that, if the wife be provided for by a jointure before marriage, in bar of her customary part, it puts her in a state of non-entity, with regard to the custom only; (*l*) but she shall be entitled to her share of the dead man's part under the statute of distributions, unless barred by special agreement. (*m*) And if any of the children are advanced by the father, in his lifetime, with any sum of money (not amounting to their full proportionable part), they shall bring that portion into hotchpot with the rest of the brothers and sisters, but not with the widow, (44) before they are entitled to any benefit under the custom: (*n*) but, if they are fully advanced, the custom entitles them to no further dividend. (*o*)

Thus far in the main the customs of London and of York agree; but besides certain other less material variations, there are two principal points in which they considerably differ. One is, that in London the share of the children (or orphanage part) is not fully vested in them till the age of twenty-one, before which they cannot dispose of it by testament: (*p*) and, if they die under that age, whether sole or married, their share shall survive to the other children; but after the age of twenty-one, it is free from any orphanage custom, and, in case of intestacy, shall fall under the statute of distributions. (*q*) The other that in the province of York, the heir at common law, who inherits any land either in fee or in tail, is excluded from any filial portion or reasonable part. (*r*) But, notwithstanding these provincial variations, the customs appear to be substantially one and the same. And, as a similar policy formerly prevailed in every part of the island, we may fairly conclude the whole to be of British original; or, if derived from the Roman law of successions, to have been drawn from that fountain much earlier than the time of Justinian, from whose constitutions in many points * (particularly in the advantages given to the widow) it very [*520] considerably differs; though it is not improbable that the resemblances which yet remain may be owing to the Roman usages; introduced in the time of Claudius Cæsar, who established a colony in Britain to instruct the natives in legal knowledge; (*s*) inculcated and diffused by Papinian, who presided at York as *præfectus prætorio*, under the Emperors Severus and Caracalla: (*t*) and continued by his successors till the final departure of the Romans in the beginning of the fifth century after Christ.

(*l*) 2 Vern. 665. 3 P. Wms. 16.

(*m*) 1 Vern. 15. 2 Chan. Rep. 252.

(*n*) 2 Freem. 279. 1 Eq. Cas. Abr. 155. 2 P. Wms. 525.

(*o*) 2 P. Wms. 527.

(*p*) 2 Vern. 558.

(*q*) Prec. Chanc. 537.

(*r*) 2 Burn. 754.

(*s*) Tacit. Annal. l. 12, c. 32.

(*t*) Selden, in Fletam, cap. 4, § 3.

(44) [Advances which an intestate has made to any of his children, are *never* brought into hotchpot for the benefit of his widow: *Kircudbright v. Kircudbright*, 8 Ves. 64; but solely with a view to equality as amongst the children: *Gibbons v. Caunt*, 4 Ves. 847; and in cases arising upon the custom of London, the effect of the full advancement of one child is merely to remove that child out of the way, and to increase the shares of the others. *Folkes v. Western*, 9 Ves. 460. So, when a settlement bars, or makes a composition for, the wife's customary share, that share, if the husband die intestate, will be distributable as if he had left no wife: *Knipe v. Thornton*, 2 Eden, 121; *Morris v. Burrows*, 2 Atk. 629; *Read v. Snell*, id. 644; and will not go to increase what is called "the dead man's part:" *Medcalf v. Ives*, 1 Atk. 63; to a distributive share of which the widow would be entitled, notwithstanding she had compounded for her customary part: *Whithill v. Phelps*, Prec. in Ch. 328; unless the expressed, or clearly implied, intention was, that she should be barred as well of her share of the dead man's part, as of her share by the custom. *Benson v. Bellasis*, 1 Vern. 16. A jointure in bar of *dower*, without saying more, will be no bar of a widow's claim to a customary share of personal estate; for *dower* affects lands only, and land is wholly out of the custom. *Babington v. Greenwood*, 1 P. Wms. 531.]

APPENDIX.

No. I.

VETUS CARTA FEOFFAMENTI.

SCIENT presents et futuri, quod ego Willielmus, filius Willielmi de Segenho, dedi, concessi, et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi, Johanni quondam filio Johannis de Saleford, pro quandam summa pecunie quam michi debet pre manibus, unam acram terre mee arabilis, jacentem in campo de Saleford, juxta terram quondam Richardi de la Mere: *Habendam et Tenendam* totam predictam acram terre, cum omnibus ejus pertinentiis, prefato Johanni, et heredibus suis, et suis assignatis, de capitalibus dominis feodi: *Reddendo* et faciendo annuatim eisdem dominis capitalibus servitia inde debita et consueta: *Et* ego predictus Willielmus, et heredes mei, et mei assignati, totam predictam acram terre, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, predicto Johanni de Saleford, et heredibus suis et suis assignatis, contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. *In cujus rei testimonium* huic presenti carte sigillum meum apposui: *Hii* testibus, Nigello de Saleford, Johanne de Seybroke, Radulpho clerico de Saleford, Johanne molendario de eadem villa, et aliis. *Data* apud Saleford die Veneris proximo ante festum sancte Margarete virginis, anno regni regis EDWARDI filii regis EDWARDI sexto.

Premises.

Habendum and Tenendum.

Reddendum.

Warranty.

Conclusion.

(L. S.)

MEMORANDUM, quod die et anno infrascriptis plena et pacifica seisin aacre infraspacificate, cum pertinentiis, data et deliberata fuit per infranominatum Willielmum de Segenho infranominato Johanni de Saleford, in propriis personis suis, secundum tenorem et effectum carte infrascripte, in presentia Nigelli de Saleford, Johannis de Seybroke et aliorum.

Livery of seisin endorsed.

No. II.

No. II.

A MODERN CONVEYANCE BY LEASE AND RELEASE.

SECT. 1. LEASE OR BARGAIN AND SALE, FOR A YEAR.

THIS INDENTURE, made the third day of September, in the twenty-first year of the reign of our sovereign lord GEORGE the Second, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven, between Abraham Barker, of Dale Hall, in the county of Norfolk, esquire, and Cecilia his wife, of the one part, and David Edwards, of Lincoln's Inn, in the county of Middlesex, esquire, and Francis Golding, of the city of Norwich, clerk, of the other part, witnesseth: that the said Abraham Barker and Cecilia his wife, in consideration of five shillings of lawful money of Great Britain, to them in hand paid by the said David Edwards and Francis Golding, at, or before, the ensailing and delivery of these presents, (the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged), and for other good causes and considerations, them the said Abraham Barker and Cecilia his wife, hereunto specially moving, have bargained and sold, and by these presents do, and each of them doth, bargain and sell, unto the said David Edwards and Francis Golding, their executors, administrators, and assigns, *All* that, the capital messuage, called Dale Hall, in the parish of Dale, in the said county of Norfolk, wherein the said Abraham Barker and Cecilia his wife now dwell, and all those their lands in the said parish of Dale, called or known by the name of Wilson's farm, containing by estimation five hundred and forty acres, be the same more or less, together with all and singular houses, dove-houses, barns, buildings, yards, gardens, orchards, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, feedings, commons, woods, underwoods, ways, waters, watercourses,

Premises.

Parties.

Consideration.
Bargain and sale.

Parcels.

No. II.	fishings, privileges, profits, easements, commodities, advantages, emoluments, hereditaments, and appurtenances whatever to the said capital messuage and farm belonging or appertaining, or with the same used or enjoyed, or accepted, reputed, taken, or known, as part, parcel, or member thereof, or as belonging to the same, or any part thereof; and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, yearly and other rents, issues, and profits thereof, and of every part and parcel thereof: <i>To have and to hold</i> the said capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and all and singular other the premises hereinbefore mentioned, or intended to be bargained and sold, and every part and parcel thereof, with their and every of their rights, members, and appurtenances, unto the said David Edwards and Francis Golding, their executors, administrators, and assigns, from the day next before the day of the date of these presents, for, and during, and unto the full end and term of, one whole year from thence next ensuing, and fully to be complete and ended: <i>Yielding</i> and paying, therefor, unto the said Abraham Barker, and Cecilia his wife, and their heirs and assigns, the yearly rent of one pepper-corn at the expiration of the said term, if the same shall be lawfully demanded: <i>To the intent</i> and purpose that, by virtue of these presents, and of the statute for transferring uses into possession, the said David Edwards and Francis Golding may be in actual possession of the premises, and be thereby enabled to take and accept a grant and release of the freehold, reversion, and inheritance of the same premises, and of every part and parcel thereof, to them, their heirs and assigns; to the uses and upon the trusts, thereof to be declared by another indenture, intended to bear date the next day after the date hereof. <i>In witness</i> whereof, the parties to these presents their hands and seals have subscribed and set, the day and year first above written.	
Habendum.		
Reddendum.		
Intent.		
Conclusion.		
	Sealed and delivered, being first duly stamped, in the presence of George Carter, William Browne.	Abraham Barker, (L. S.) Cecilia Barker, (L. S.) David Edwards, (L. S.) Francis Golding. (L. S.)

SECT. 2. DEED OF RELEASE.

<i>Premises.</i>	<p>THIS INDENTURE of five parts, made the fourth day of September, in the twenty-first year of the reign of our sovereign lord GEORGE the Second, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven, between Abraham Barker, of Dale Hall, in the county of Norfolk, esquire, and Cecilia his wife, of the first part; David Edwards, of Lincoln's Inn, in the county of Middlesex, esquire, executor of the last will and testament of Lewis Edwards, of Cowbridge, in the county of Glamorgan, gentleman, his late father, deceased, and Francis Golding, of the city of Norwich, clerk, of the second part; Charles Browne, of Enstone, in the county of Oxford, gentleman, and Richard More, of the city of Bristol, merchant, of the third part; John Barker, esquire, son and heir apparent of the said Abraham Barker, of the fourth part; and Katherine Edwards, spinster, one of the sisters of the said David Edwards, of the fifth part. <i>Whereas</i> a marriage is intended, by the permission of God, to be shortly had and solemnized between the said John Barker and Katherine Edwards: <i>Now this Indenture witnesseth</i>, that in consideration of the said intended marriage, and the sum of five thousand pounds, of good and lawful money of Great Britain, to the said Abraham Barker, (by and with the consent and agreement of the said John Barker and Katherine Edwards, testified by their being parties to, and their sealing and delivery of, these presents), by the said David Edwards in hand paid, at or before the ensealing and delivery hereof, being the marriage portion of the said Katherine Edwards, bequeathed to her by the last will and testament of the said Lewis Edwards, her late father, deceased; the receipt and payment whereof the said Abraham Barker doth hereby acknowledge, and thereof, and of every part and parcel thereof, they the said Abraham Barker, John Barker, and Katherine Edwards, do, and each of them doth, release, acquit, and discharge the said David Edwards, his executors and administrators, forever by these presents: and for providing a competent jointure and provision of maintenance for the said Katherine Edwards, in case she shall, after the said intended marriage had, survive and overlive the said John Barker, her intended husband: and for settling and assuring the capital messuage, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, hereinafter mentioned, unto such uses, and upon such trusts, as are hereinafter expressed and declared: and for and in consideration of the sum of five shillings, of lawful money of Great Britain, to the said Abraham Barker and Cecilia his wife, in hand paid by the said David Edwards and Francis Golding, and of ten shillings of like lawful money to them also in hand paid by the said Charles Brown and Richard More, at or before the ensealing and delivery hereof, (the several</p>
<i>Parties.</i>	
<i>Recital.</i>	
<i>Consideration.</i>	

receipts whereof are hereby respectively acknowledged,) they the said Abraham Barker and Cecilia his wife, *have*, and each of them hath, granted, bargained, sold, released, and confirmed, and by these presents do, and each of them doth, grant, bargain, sell, release, and confirm unto the said David Edwards and Francis Golding, their heirs and assigns, *All* that, the capital messuage called Dale Hall, in the parish of Dale, in the said county of Norfolk, wherein the said Abraham Barker and Cecilia his wife now dwell, and all those their lands in the said parish of Dale, called or known by the name of Wilson's farm, containing by estimation five hundred and forty acres, be the same more or less, together with all and singular houses, dove-houses, barns, buildings, stables, yards, gardens, orchards, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, feedings, commons, woods, underwoods, ways, waters, watercourses, fishings, privileges, profits, easements, commodities, advantages, emoluments, hereditaments, and appurtenances whatsoever to the said capital messuage and farm belonging or appertaining, or with the same used or enjoyed, or accepted, reputed, taken, or known, as part, parcel, or member thereof, or as belonging to the same or any part thereof: (all which said premises are now in the actual possession of the said David Edwards and Francis Golding, by virtue of a bargain and sale to them thereof made by the said Abraham Barker and Cecilia his wife, for one whole year, in consideration of five shillings to them paid by the said David Edwards and Francis Golding, in and by one indenture, bearing date the day next before the day of the date hereof, and by force of the statute for transferring uses into possession;) and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, yearly and other rents, issues and profits thereof, and every part and parcel thereof, and also all the estate, right, title, interest, trust, property, claim, and demand whatsoever, both at law and in equity, of them the said Abraham Barker and Cecilia his wife, in, to, or out of the said capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and premises: *to have and to hold* the said capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and all and singular other the premises hereinbefore mentioned to be hereby granted and released, with their and every of their appurtenances unto the said David Edwards and Francis Golding, their heirs and assigns, to such uses, upon such trusts, and to and for such intents and purposes, as are hereinafter mentioned, expressed, and declared, of and concerning the same: that is to say, to the use and behoof of the said Abraham Barker and Cecilia his wife, according to their several and respective estates and interests therein, at the time of, or immediately before, the execution of these presents, until the solemnization of the said intended marriage: and from and after the solemnization thereof, to the use and behoof of the said John Barker, for and during the term of his natural life; without impeachment of or for any manner of waste: and from and after the determination of that estate, then to the use of the said David Edwards and Francis Golding, and their heirs, during the life of the said John Barker, upon trust to support and preserve the contingent uses and estates hereinafter limited from being defeated and destroyed, and for that purpose to make entries, or bring actions, as the case shall require; but, nevertheless, to permit and suffer the said John Barker, and his assigns, during his life, to receive and take the rents and profits thereof, and of every part thereof, to and for his and their own use and benefit: and from and after the decease of the said John Barker, then to the use and behoof of the said Katherine Edwards, his intended wife, for and during the term of her natural life, for her jointure, and in lieu, bar, and satisfaction of her dower and thirds at common law, which she can or may have or claim, of, in, to, or out of, all and every, or any, of the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whereof or wherein the said John Barker now is, or at any time or times hereafter during the coverture between them shall be, seised of any estate of freehold or inheritance; and from and after the decease of the said Katherine Edwards, or other sooner determination of the said estate, then to the use and behoof of the said Charles Browne and Richard More, their executors, administrators, and assigns, for and during and unto the full end and term of five hundred years from thence next ensuing, and fully to be complete and ended, without impeachment of waste: upon such trusts nevertheless, and to and for such intents and purposes, and under and subject to such provisos and agreements, as are hereinafter mentioned, expressed, and declared of and concerning the same: and from and after the end, expiration, or other sooner determination of the said term of five hundred years, and subject thereunto, to the use and behoof of the first son of the said John Barker on the body of the said Katherine Edwards his intended wife to be begotten, and of the heirs of the body of such first son lawfully issuing: and for default of such issue, then to the use and behoof of the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and of all and every other the son and sons of the said John Barker on the body of the said Katherine Edwards his intended wife to be begotten, severally, successively, and in remainder, one after another, as they

No. II.

Release.

Parcel.

Mention of bargain and sale.

Habendum.

To the use of the grantors till marriage.

Then of the husband for life, *sans* waste:

Remainder to trustees to preserve contingent remainders.

Remainder to the wife for life, for her jointure, in bar of dower:

Remainder to other trustees for a term, upon trusts after mentioned:

Remainder to the first and other sons of the marriage in tail:

No. II.	
Remainder to the daughters,	<p>and every of them shall be in seniority of age, and priority of birth, and of the several and respective heirs of the body and bodies of all and every such son and sons lawfully issuing; the elder of such sons, and the heirs of his body issuing, being always to be preferred and to take before the younger of such sons, and the heirs of his or their body or bodies issuing: and for default of such issue, then to the use and behoof of all and every the daughter and daughters of the said John Barker on the body of the said Katherine Edwards his intended wife to be begotten, to be equally divided between them (if more than one), share and share alike, as tenants in common and not as joint-tenants, and of the several and respective heirs of the body and bodies of all and every such daughter and daughters lawfully issuing: and for default of such issue, then to the use and behoof of the heirs of the body of him the said John Barker lawfully issuing: and for default of such heirs, then to the use and behoof of the said Cecilia, the wife of the said Abraham Barker, and of her heirs and assigns forever. And as to, for, and concerning the term of five hundred years herein before limited to the said Charles Browne and Richard More, their executors, administrators, and assigns, as aforesaid, it is hereby declared and agreed by and between all the said parties to these presents, that the same is so limited to them upon the trusts, and to and for the intents and purposes, and under and subject to the provisos and agreements, hereinafter mentioned, expressed, and declared, of and concerning the same: that is to say, in case there shall be an eldest or only son and one or more other child or children of the said John Barker on the body of the said Katherine his intended wife to be begotten, then upon trust that they, the said Charles Browne and Richard More, their executors, administrators, and assigns, by sale or mortgage of the said term of five hundred years, or by such other ways and means as they or the survivor of them, or the executors or administrators of such survivor, shall think fit, shall and do raise and levy, or borrow and take up at interest, the sum of four thousand pounds of lawful money of Great Britain, for the portion or portions of such other child or children (besides the eldest or only son) as aforesaid, to be equally divided between them (if more than one) share and share alike; the portion or portions of such of them as shall be a son or sons to be paid at his or their respective age or ages of twenty-one years; and the portion or portions of such of them as shall be a daughter or daughters to be paid at her or their respective age or ages of twenty-one years, or day or days of marriage, which shall first happen. And upon this further trust, that in the mean time and until the same portions shall become payable as aforesaid, the said Charles Browne and Richard More, their executors, administrators, and assigns, shall and do, by and out of the rents, issues, and profits of the premises aforesaid, raise and levy such competent yearly sum and sums of money for the maintenance and education of such child or children, as shall not exceed in the whole the interest of their respective portions after the rate of four pounds in the hundred yearly. Provided always, that in case any of the same children shall happen to die before his, her or their portions shall become payable as aforesaid, then the portion or portions of such of them so dying shall go and be paid unto and be equally divided among the survivor or survivors of them, when and at such time as the original portion or portions of such surviving child or children shall become payable as aforesaid. <i>Provided</i> also, that, in case there shall be no such child or children of the said John Barker on the body of the said Katherine his intended wife begotten, besides an eldest or only son; or in case all and every such child or children shall happen to die before all or any of their said portions shall become due and payable as aforesaid; or in case the said portions, and also such maintenance as aforesaid, shall by the said Charles Browne and Richard More, their executors, administrators, or assigns, be raised and levied by any of the ways and means in that behalf aforementioned; or in case the same by such person or persons as shall for the time being be next in reversion or remainder of the same premises expectant upon the said term of five hundred years, shall be paid, or well and duly secured to be paid, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents; then and in any of the said cases, and at all times thenceforth, the said term of five hundred years, or so much thereof as shall remain unsold or undisposed of for the purposes aforesaid, shall cease, determine, and be utterly void to all intents and purposes, any thing herein contained to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding. <i>Provided</i> also, and it is hereby further declared and agreed by and between all the said parties to these presents, that in case the said Abraham Barker or Cecilia his wife, at any time during their lives, or the life of the survivor of them, with the approbation of the said David Edwards and Francis Golding, or the survivor of them, or the executors and administrators of such survivor, shall settle, convey, and assure other lands and tenements of an estate of inheritance in fee-simple, in possession, in some convenient place or places within the realm of England, of equal or better value</p>
as tenants in common, in tail: Remainder to the husband in tail:	
Remainder to the husband's mother in fee. The trusts of the term declared;	
to raise portions for younger children,	
payable at certain times,	
with maintenance at the rate of four per cent.	
and benefit of survivorship.	
If no such child,	
or if all die,	
or if the portions be raised,	
or paid,	
or secured by the person next in remainder; the residue of the term to cease.	
Condition, that the uses and estates hereby granted shall be void, on settling other lands of equal value in recompense.	

No. II.

than the said capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and premises, hereby granted and released, and in lieu and recompense thereof, unto and for such and the like uses, intents and purposes, and upon such and the like trusts, as the said capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and premises are hereby settled and assured unto and upon, then and in such case, and at all times from thenceforth, all and every the use and uses, trust and trusts, estate and estates hereinbefore limited, expressed, and declared of or concerning the same, shall cease, determine, and be utterly void to all intents and purposes; and the same capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and premises, shall from thenceforth remain and be to and for the only proper use and behoof of the said Abraham Barker or Cecilia his wife, or the survivor of them, so settling, conveying, and assuring such other lands and tenements as aforesaid, and of his or her heirs and assigns forever; and to and for no other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever; any thing herein contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. And, for the considerations aforesaid, and for barring all estates-tail, and all remainders or reversions thereupon expectant or depending, if any be now subsisting and unbarred or otherwise undetermined, of and in the said capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and premises, hereby granted and released, or mentioned to be hereby granted and released, or any of them, or any part thereof, the said Abraham Barker for himself and the said Cecilia his wife, his and her heirs, executors, and administrators, and the said John Barker for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, do, and each of them doth, respectively, covenant, promise, and grant, to and with the said David Edwards and Francis Golding, their heirs, executors, and administrators, by these presents, that they, the said Abraham Barker and Cecilia his wife, and John Barker, shall and will, at the costs and charges of the said Abraham Barker, before the end of Michaelmas term next ensuing the date hereof, acknowledge and levy, before his majesty's justices of the court of common pleas at Westminster, one or more fine or fines, *sur cognizance de droit, come ceo, &c.*, with proclamations according to the form of the statutes in that case made and provided, and the usual course of fines in such cases accustomed, unto the said David Edwards, and his heirs, of the said capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and premises, by such apt and convenient names, quantities, qualities, number of acres and other descriptions to ascertain the same, as shall be thought meet; which said fine or fines, so as aforesaid, or in any other manner, levied and acknowledged, or to be levied and acknowledged, shall be and enure, and shall be adjudged, deemed, construed, and taken, and so are and were meant and intended, to be and enure, and are hereby declared by all the said parties to these presents to be and enure, to the use and behoof of the said David Edwards, and his heirs and assigns; to the intent and purpose that the said David Edwards may, by virtue of the said fine or fines so covenanted and agreed to be levied as aforesaid, be and become perfect tenant of the freehold of the said capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and all other the premises, to the end that one or more good and perfect common recovery or recoveries may be thereof had and suffered, in such manner as is hereinafter for that purpose mentioned. And it is hereby declared and agreed by and between all the said parties to these presents, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Francis Golding, at the costs and charges of the said Abraham Barker, before the end of Michaelmas term next, ensuing the date hereof, to sue forth and prosecute out of his majesty's high court of chancery, one or more writ or writs of entry, *sur disseisin en le post*, returnable before his majesty's justices of the court of common pleas at Westminster, thereby demanding by apt and convenient names, quantities, qualities, number of acres, and other descriptions, the said capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and premises, against the said David Edwards; to which said writ, or writs, of entry he the said David Edwards shall appear *gratis*, either in his own proper person, or by his attorney thereto lawfully authorized, and vouch over to warranty the said Abraham Barker and Cecilia his wife, and John Barker; who shall also *gratis* appear in their proper persons, or by their attorney or attornies, thereto lawfully authorized, and enter into the warranty, and vouch over to warranty the common vouchee of the same court; who shall appear, and after imparlance shall make default: so as judgment shall and may be thereupon had and given for the said Francis Golding, to recover the said capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and premises, against the said David Edwards, and for him to recover in value against the said Abraham Barker and Cecilia his wife, and John Barker, and for them to recover in value against the said common vouchee, and that execution shall and may be thereupon awarded and had accordingly, and all and every other act and thing be done and executed, needful and requisite for the suffering and perfecting of such common recovery or recoveries, with vouchers as aforesaid. And it is hereby further declared to enure and agreed, by and between all the said parties to these presents, that

Covenant to
levy a fine:In order to
make a tenant
to the practice,
that a recovery
may be suffered:

No. II.

to the preceding uses in this deed.

Other covenants; for quiet enjoyment,

free from incumbrances,

and for further assurance.

Power of revocation.

immediately from and after the suffering and perfecting of the said recovery or recoveries, so as aforesaid, or in any other manner or at any other time or times, suffered or to be suffered, as well these presents and the assurance hereby made, and the said fine or fines so covenanted to be levied as aforesaid, as also the said recovery or recoveries, and also all and every other fine or fines, recovery and recoveries, conveyances, and assurances in the law whatsoever heretofore had, made, levied, suffered, or executed, or hereafter to be had, made, levied, suffered, or executed, of the said capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and premises, or any of them, or any part thereof, by and between the said parties to these presents, or any of them, or whereunto they or any of them are or shall be parties or privies, shall be and enure, and shall be adjudged, deemed, construed and taken, and so are and were meant and intended, to be and enure, and the recoveror or recoverors in the said recovery or recoveries named or to be named, and his or their heirs, shall stand and be seised of the said capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments and premises, and of every part and parcel thereof, to the uses, upon the trusts, and to and for the intents and purposes, and under and subject to the provisoes, limitations, and agreements, hereinbefore mentioned, expressed and declared, of and concerning the same. And the said Abraham Barker, party hereunto, doth hereby, for himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, further covenant, promise, grant and agree to and with the said David Edwards and Francis Golding, their heirs, executors, and administrators, in manner and form following; that is to say, that the said capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments and premises, shall, and may at all times hereafter, remain, continue, and be, to and for the uses and purposes, upon the trusts, and under and subject to the provisoes, limitations and agreements, hereinbefore mentioned, expressed, and declared, of and concerning the same; and shall and may be peaceably and quietly had, held, and enjoyed accordingly, without any lawful let or interruption of or by the said Abraham Barker or Cecilia, his wife, parties hereunto, his or her heirs or assigns, or of or by any other person or persons lawfully claiming or to claim from, by, or under, or in trust for, him, her, them or any of them; or from, by, or under his or her ancestors, or any of them; and shall so remain, continue, and be, free and clear, and freely and clearly acquitted, exonerated and discharged, or otherwise by the said Abraham Barker or Cecilia, his wife, parties hereunto, his or her heirs, executors, or administrators, well and sufficiently saved, defended, kept harmless and indemnified, of, from, and against all former and other gifts, grants, bargains, sales, leases, mortgages, estates, titles, troubles, charges and incumbrances, whatsoever, had, made, done, committed, occasioned or suffered, or to be had, made, done, committed, occasioned or suffered, by the said Abraham Barker or Cecilia, his wife, or by his or her ancestors, or any of them, or by his, her, their, or any of their, act, means, assent, consent or procurement: And moreover, that he the said Abraham Barker and Cecilia, his wife, parties hereunto, and his or her heirs, and all other persons having, or lawfully claiming, or which shall or may have, or lawfully claim, any estate, right, title, trust or interest, at law or in equity, of, in, to, or out of, the said capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments and premises, or any of them, or any part thereof, by or under or in trust for him, her, them, or any of them, or by or under his or her ancestors or any of them, shall and will, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, upon every reasonable request, and at the costs and charges of the said David Edwards and Francis Golding, or either of them, their or either of their heirs, executors, or administrators, make, do and execute, or cause to be made, done and executed, all such further and other lawful and reasonable acts, deeds, conveyances and assurances in the law whatsoever, for the further, better, more perfect, and absolute granting, conveying, settling and assuring of the same capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments and premises, to and for the uses and purposes, upon the trusts, and under and subject to the provisoes, limitations and agreements, hereinbefore mentioned, expressed and declared, of and concerning the same, as by the said David Edwards and Francis Golding, or either of them, their or either of their heirs, executors or administrators, or their or any of their counsel learned in the law, shall be reasonably advised, devised or required: so as such further assurances contain in them no further or other warranty or covenants than against the person or persons, his, her, or their heirs, who shall make or do the same; and so as the party or parties who shall be requested to make such further assurances, be not compelled or compellable, for making or doing thereof, to go and travel above five miles from his, her, or their then respective dwellings or places of abode. *Provided lastly*, and it is hereby further declared and agreed by and between all the parties to these presents, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Abraham Barker and Cecilia his wife, John Barker and Katherine his intended wife, and David Edwards, at any time or

times hereafter, during their joint lives, by any writing or writings under their respective hands and seals, and attested by two or more credible witnesses, to revoke, make void, alter or change all and every or any the use and uses, estate and estates, herein and hereby before limited and declared, or mentioned or intended to be limited and declared, of and in the capital messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments and premises aforesaid, or of or in any part or parcel thereof, and to declare new and other uses of the same, or any part or parcel thereof, any thing herein contained to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding. *In witness* whereof the parties to these presents their hands and seals have subscribed and set, the day and year first above written.

No. II.

Sealed and delivered, being first
duly stamped, in the pres-
ence of
George Carter.
William Browne.

Abraham Barker. (L. S.)
Cecilia Barker. (L. S.)
David Edwards. (L. S.)
Francis Golding. (L. S.)
Charles Browne. (L. S.)
Richard More. (L. S.)
John Barker. (L. S.)
Katherine Edwards. (L. S.)

Conclusion.

No. III.

No. III.

AN OBLIGATION, OR BOND, WITH CONDITION FOR THE PAYMENT OF MONEY.

KNOW ALL MEN by these presents, that I, David Edwards, of Lincoln's Inn, in the county of Middlesex, esquire, am held and firmly bound to Abraham Barker, of Dale Hall in the county of Norfolk, esquire, in ten thousand pounds of lawful money of Great Britain, to be paid to the said Abraham Barker, or his certain attorney, executors, administrators or assigns; for which payment well and truly to be made, I bind myself, my heirs, executors and administrators, firmly by these presents, sealed with my seal. Dated the fourth day of September, in the twenty-first year of the reign of our sovereign lord George the Second, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven.

The condition of this obligation is such, that if the above-bounden David Edwards, his heirs, executors, or administrators, do and shall well and truly pay, or cause to be paid, unto the above named Abraham Barker, his executors, administrators, or assigns, the full sum of five thousand pounds of lawful British money, with lawful interest for the same, on the fourth day of March next ensuing the date of the above written obligation, then this obligation shall be void and of none effect, or else shall be and remain in full force and virtue.

Sealed and delivered, being first
duly stamped, in the pres-
ence of
George Carter.
William Browne.

David Edwards. (L. S.)

No. IV.

No. IV.

A FINE OF LANDS SUR COGNIZANCE DE DROIT, COME CEO, &c.

SECT. 1. WRIT OF COVENANT, OR PRÆCIPUE.

GEORGE the Second, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, and so forth, to the sheriff of Norfolk, greeting. *Command* Abraham Barker, esquire, and Cecilia his wife, and John Barker, esquire, that justly and without delay they perform to David Edwards, esquire, the covenant made between them of two messuages, two gardens, three hundred acres of land, one hundred acres of meadow, two hundred acres of pasture, and fifty acres of wood, with the appurtenances, in Dale; and unless they shall so do, and if the said David shall give you security of prosecuting his claim, then summon by good summoners the said Abraham, Cecilia, and John, that they appear before our justices at Westminster, from the day of St. Michael in one month, to show wherefore they have not done it: and have you there the summoners, and this writ. *Witness* ourself at Westminster, the ninth day of October, in the twenty-first year of our reign.

Pledges of } John Doe.
prosecution. } Richard Roe.

Summoners of the
within-named A- } John Den.
braham, Cecilia, } Richard Fen.
and John.

Sheriff's re-
turn.

No. IV.

SECT. 2. THE LICENSE TO AGREE.

Norfolk, } DAVID EDWARDS, esquire, gives to the lord the king ten marks,
to wit. } for license to agree with Abraham Barker, esquire, of a plea
of covenant of two messuages, two gardens, three hundred acres of land, one
hundred acres of meadow, two hundred acres of pasture, and fifty acres of wood,
with the appurtenances, in Dale.

SECT. 3. THE CONCORD.

AND the agreement is such, to wit, that the aforesaid Abraham, Cecilia, and John have acknowledged the aforesaid tenements, with the appurtenances, to be the right of him the said David, as those which the said David hath of the gift of the aforesaid Abraham, Cecilia, and John; and those they have remised and quitted claim, from them and their heirs, to the aforesaid David, and his heirs, forever. And further, the same Abraham, Cecilia, and John, have granted, for themselves and their heirs, that they will warrant to the aforesaid David, and his heirs, the aforesaid tenements, with the appurtenances, against all men, forever. And for this recognition, remise, quit-claim, warranty, fine, and agreement, the said David hath given to the said Abraham, Cecilia, and John, two hundred pounds sterling.

SECT. 4. THE NOTE OR ABSTRACT.

Norfolk, } BETWEEN David Edwards, esquire, complainant, and Abra-
to wit. } ham Barker, esquire, and Cecilia his wife, and John Barker,
esquire, deforciant, of two messuages, two gardens, three hundred acres of
land, one hundred acres of meadow, two hundred acres of pasture, and fifty
acres of wood, with the appurtenances, in Dale, whereupon a plea of covenant
was summoned between them: to wit, that the said Abraham, Cecilia, and John,
have acknowledged the aforesaid tenements, with the appurtenances, to be the
right of him the said David, as those which the said David hath of the gift of
the aforesaid Abraham, Cecilia, and John; and those they have remised and
quitted claim, from them and their heirs, to the aforesaid David and his heirs,
forever. And further, the said Abraham, Cecilia, and John, have granted for
themselves, and their heirs, that they will warrant to the aforesaid David, and his
heirs, the aforesaid tenements, with the appurtenances, against all men, forever.
And for this recognition, remise, quit-claim, warranty, fine, and agreement, the
said David hath given to the said Abraham, Cecilia, and John, two hundred pounds
sterling.

SECT. 5. THE FOOT, CHIROGRAPH, OR INDENTURES OF THE FINE.

Norfolk, } THIS IS THE FINAL AGREEMENT, made in the court of the lord,
to wit. } the king, at Westminster, from the day of Saint Michael in one
month, in the twenty-first year of the reign of the lord George the Second, by
the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland king, defender of the
faith, and so forth, before John Willes, Thomas Abney, Thomas Burnet, and
Thomas Birch, justices, and other faithful subjects of the lord the king then
there present, between David Edwards, esquire, complainant, and Abraham Bar-
ker, esquire, and Cecilia his wife, and John Barker, esquire, deforciant, of two
messuages, two gardens, three hundred acres of land, one hundred acres of
meadow, two hundred acres of pasture, and fifty acres of wood, with the appur-
tenances, in Dale, whereupon a plea of covenant was summoned between them
in the said court; to-wit, that the aforesaid Abraham, Cecilia, and John, have
acknowledged the aforesaid tenements, with the appurtenances, to be the right
of him the said David, as those which the said David hath of the gift of the
aforesaid Abraham, Cecilia, and John; and those they have remised and quitted
claim, from them and their heirs, to the aforesaid David, and his heirs, forever.
And further, the same Abraham, Cecilia, and John, have granted for them-
selves and their heirs, that they will warrant to the aforesaid David and his
heirs, the aforesaid tenements, with the appurtenances, against all men, forever.
And for this recognition, remise, quit-claim, warranty, fine, and agreement, the
said David hath given to the said Abraham, Cecilia, and John, two hundred pounds
sterling.

SECT. 6. PROCLAMATIONS, INDORSED UPON THE FINE, ACCORDING TO THE STATUTES.

THE FIRST proclamation was made the sixteenth day of November, in the term
of Saint Michael, in the twenty-first year of the king within-written.

The second proclamation was made the fourth day of February, in the term of Saint Hilary, in the twenty-first year of the king within-written.

The third proclamation was made the thirteenth day of May, in the term of Easter, in the twenty-first year of the king within-written.

The fourth proclamation was made the twenty-eighth day of June, in the term of the holy Trinity, in the twenty-second year of the king within-written.

No. IV.

No. V.

No. V.

A COMMON RECOVERY OF LANDS WITH* DOUBLE VOUCHER.

SECT. 1. WRIT OF ENTRY SUR DISSEISIN IN THE POST, OR PRÆCIPE.

GEORGE the Second, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, and so forth, to the sheriff of Norfolk, greeting. *Command* David Edwards, esquire, that, justly and without delay, he render to Francis Golding, clerk, two messuages, two gardens, three hundred acres of land, one hundred acres of meadow, two hundred acres of pasture, and fifty acres of wood, with the appurtenances, in Dale, which he claims to be his right and inheritance, and into which the said David hath not entry, unless after the disseisin, which Hugh Hunt thereof unjustly, and without judgment, hath made to the aforesaid Francis, within thirty years now last past, as he saith, and whereupon he complains that the aforesaid David deforceth him. And unless he shall so do, and if the said Francis shall give you security of prosecuting his claim, then summon by good summoners the said David, that he appear before our justices at Westminster on the octave of Saint Martin, to show wherefore he hath not done it: and have you there the summoners, and this writ. *Witness* ourself at Westminster, the twenty-ninth day of October, in the twenty-first year of our reign.

Pledges of } John Doe.
prosecution. } Richard Roe.

Summoners of the } John Den.
within named David. } Richard Fen. Sheriff's re-
turn.

SECT. 2. EXEMPLIFICATION OF THE RECOVERY ROLL.

GEORGE the Second, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, and so forth, to all to whom these our present letters shall come, greeting. *Know ye*, that among the pleas of land enrolled at Westminster, before Sir John Willes, knight, and his fellows, our justices of the bench, of the term of Saint Michael, in the twenty-first year of our reign, upon the fifty-second roll, it is thus contained: *Entry* returnable on the octave of St. Martin. *Norfolk*, to wit: Francis Golding, clerk, in his proper person, demandeth against David Edwards, esquire, two messuages, two gardens, three hundred acres of land, one hundred acres of meadow, two hundred acres of pasture, and fifty acres of wood, with the appurtenances, in Dale, as his right and inheritance, and into which the said David hath not entry, unless after the disseisin which Hugh Hunt thereof unjustly, and without judgment, hath made to the aforesaid Francis, within thirty years now last past. And whereupon he saith, that he himself was seised of the tenements aforesaid, with the appurtenances, in his demesne as of fee and right, in time of peace, in the time of the lord the king that now is, by taking the profits thereof to the value [of six shillings and eight pence, and more, in rents, corn, and grass]: and into which [the said David hath not entry, unless as aforesaid]: and thereupon he bringeth suit [and good proof.] And the said David, in his proper person, comes and defendeth his right, when [and where it shall behove him], and thereupon voucheth to warranty "John Barker, esquire, who is present here in court in his proper person, and the tenements aforesaid, with the appurtenances, to him freely warranteth [and prays that the said Francis may count against him]. And hereupon the said Francis demandeth against the said John, tenant by his own warranty, the tenements aforesaid, with the appurtenances, in form aforesaid, &c. And whereupon he saith, that he himself was seised of the tenements aforesaid, with the appurtenances, in his demesne as of fee and right, in time of peace, in the time of the lord the king that now is, by taking the profits thereof to the value, &c.

Return.
Demand against
the tenant.

Count.
Esplees.

Defence of the
tenant.
Voucher.
"Warranty.

"Demand
"against the
"vouchee.
"Count.

*Note, that, if the recovery be had with single voucher, the parts marked "thus" in section 2 are omitted.

† The clauses between hooks are no otherwise expressed in the record than by an &c.

No. V.	And into which, &c. And thereupon he bringeth suit, &c. And the aforesaid
"Defence of "the vouches.	John, tenant by his own warranty, defends his right, when, &c., and thereupon
"Second "voucher.	he further voucheth to warranty" Jacob Moreland; who is present here in
Warranty.	court in his proper person, and the tenements aforesaid, with the appurtenances,
Demand against the common vouches.	to him freely warranteth, &c. And hereupon the said Francis demandeth against
Count.	the said Jacob, tenant by his own warranty, the tenements aforesaid, with the
Defence of the common vouches.	appurtenances, in form aforesaid, &c. And whereupon he saith, that he him-
Plea, <i>vel dis-</i> <i>seisin.</i>	self was seised of the tenements aforesaid, with the appurtenances, in his
Imparlance.	demesne as of fee and right, in time of peace, in the time of the lord the
Default of the common vouches.	king that now is, by taking the profits thereof to the value, &c. And into
Judgment for the demandant.	which, &c. And thereupon he bringeth suit, &c. And the aforesaid Jacob,
Recovery in value.	tenant by his own warranty, defends his right, when, &c. And saith that
Amercement.	the aforesaid Hugh did not disseise the aforesaid Francis of the tenements
Award of the writ of seisin, and return.	aforesaid, as the aforesaid Francis by his writ and count aforesaid above doth
Exemplification continued.	suppose: and of this he puts himself upon the country. And the afore-
Teste.	said Francis thereupon craveth leave to imparl; and he hath it. And after-
	wards the aforesaid Francis cometh again here into court, in this same term
	in his proper person, and the aforesaid Jacob, though solemnly called, cometh
	not again, but hath departed in contempt of the court, and maketh default.
	Therefore it is considered, that the aforesaid Francis do recover his seisin against
	the aforesaid David of the tenements aforesaid, with the appurtenances: and
	that the said David have of the land of the aforesaid "John to the value
	[of the tenements aforesaid]: and further, that the said John have of the
	land of the said "Jacob to the value [of the tenements aforesaid.] And the
	said Jacob in mercy. And hereupon the said Francis prays a writ of the lord
	the king, to be directed to the sheriff of the county aforesaid, to cause him to
	have full seisin of the tenements aforesaid, with the appurtenances: and it is
	granted unto him, returnable here without delay. Afterwards, that is to say,
	the twenty-eighth day of November, in this same term, here cometh the said
	Francis in his proper person; and the sheriff, namely, Sir Charles Thompson,
	knight, now sendeth, that he, by virtue of the writ aforesaid to him directed, on
	the twenty-fourth day of the same month, did cause the said Francis to have
	full seisin of the tenements aforesaid, with the appurtenances, as he was com-
	manded. All and singular which premises, at the request of the said Francis,
	by the tenor of these presents, we have held good to be exemplified. In testi-
	mony whereof we have caused our seal, appointed for sealing writs in the
	bench aforesaid, to be affixed to these presents. Witness Sir John Willes, knight,
	at Westminster, the twenty-eighth day of November, in the twenty-first year of
	our reign.

COOKE

END OF VOL. I.