

116TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

# S. 4382

To direct the Joint Committee on the Library to replace the bust of Roger Brooke Taney in the Old Supreme Court Chamber of the Capitol with a bust of Thurgood Marshall to be obtained by the Joint Committee on the Library and to remove certain statues from areas of the Capitol which are accessible to the public, to remove all statues of individuals who voluntarily served the Confederate States of America from display in the Capitol, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 30, 2020

Mr. CARDIN (for himself, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, and Mr. BOOKER) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration

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## A BILL

To direct the Joint Committee on the Library to replace the bust of Roger Brooke Taney in the Old Supreme Court Chamber of the Capitol with a bust of Thurgood Marshall to be obtained by the Joint Committee on the Library and to remove certain statues from areas of the Capitol which are accessible to the public, to remove all statues of individuals who voluntarily served the Confederate States of America from display in the Capitol, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

1 **SECTION 1. REPLACEMENT OF BUST OF ROGER BROOKE**  
2 **TANEY WITH BUST OF THURGOOD MAR-**  
3 **SHALL.**

4 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

5 (1) While sitting in the Capitol, the Supreme  
6 Court issued the infamous *Dred Scott v. Sandford*  
7 decision on March 6, 1857. Written by Chief Justice  
8 Roger Brooke Taney, whose bust sits inside the en-  
9 trance to the Old Supreme Court Chamber in the  
10 Capitol, this opinion declared that African Ameri-  
11 cans were not citizens of the United States and  
12 could not sue in Federal courts. This decision fur-  
13 ther declared that Congress did not have the author-  
14 ity to prohibit slavery in the territories.

15 (2) Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney’s author-  
16 ship of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, the effects of which  
17 would only be overturned years later by the ratifica-  
18 tion of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the  
19 Constitution of the United States, renders a bust of  
20 his likeness unsuitable for the honor of display to  
21 the many visitors to the Capitol.

22 (3) As Frederick Douglass said of this decision  
23 in May 1857, “This infamous decision of the Slave-  
24 holding wing of the Supreme Court maintains that  
25 slaves are within the contemplation of the Constitu-  
26 tion of the United States, property; that slaves are

1 property in the same sense that horses, sheep, and  
2 swine are property; that the old doctrine that slavery  
3 is a creature of local law is false; that the right of  
4 the slaveholder to his slave does not depend upon  
5 the local law, but is secured wherever the Constitu-  
6 tion of the United States extends; that Congress has  
7 no right to prohibit slavery anywhere; that slavery  
8 may go in safety anywhere under the star-spangled  
9 banner; that colored persons of African descent have  
10 no rights that white men are bound to respect; that  
11 colored men of African descent are not and cannot  
12 be citizens of the United States.”.

13 (4) While the removal of Chief Justice Roger  
14 Brooke Taney’s bust from the Capitol does not re-  
15 lieve the Congress of the historical wrongs it com-  
16 mitted to protect the institution of slavery, it ex-  
17 presses Congress’s recognition of one of the most no-  
18 torious wrongs to have ever taken place in one of its  
19 rooms, that of Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney’s  
20 *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision.

21 (b) REMOVAL OF BUST OF ROGER BROOKE  
22 TANNEY.—Not later than 45 days after the date of enact-  
23 ment of this Act, the Joint Committee on the Library shall  
24 remove the bust of Roger Brooke Taney that is in the Old  
25 Supreme Court Chamber of the Capitol.

1 (c) REPLACEMENT WITH BUST OF THURGOOD MAR-  
2 SHALL.—

3 (1) OBTAINING BUST.—Not later than 2 years  
4 after the date of enactment of this Act, the Joint  
5 Committee on the Library shall enter into an agree-  
6 ment to obtain a bust of Thurgood Marshall, under  
7 such terms and conditions as the Joint Committee  
8 considers appropriate consistent with applicable law.

9 (2) PLACEMENT.—The Joint Committee on the  
10 Library shall place the bust obtained under para-  
11 graph (1) in the location in the Old Supreme Court  
12 Chamber of the Capitol where the bust of Roger  
13 Brooke Taney was located prior to removal under  
14 subsection (b).

15 **SEC. 2. REMOVAL OF CERTAIN STATUES AND BUST.**

16 (a) REMOVAL.—Not later than 45 days after the date  
17 of the enactment of this Act, the Joint Committee on the  
18 Library shall remove the statue of Charles Brantley  
19 Aycock, the statue of John Caldwell Calhoun, the statue  
20 of James Paul Clarke, and the bust of John Cabell Breck-  
21 inridge from any area of the Capitol which is accessible  
22 to the public.

23 (b) STORAGE OF STATUES.—The Architect of the  
24 Capitol shall keep any statue and bust removed under sub-  
25 section (a) in storage until the Architect and the State

1 which provided the statue or bust arrange for the return  
2 of the statue or bust to the State.

3 **SEC. 3. REQUIREMENTS AND REMOVAL PROCEDURES FOR**  
4 **STATUES IN NATIONAL STATUARY HALL.**

5 (a) REQUIREMENTS.—Section 1814 of the Revised  
6 Statutes (2 U.S.C. 2131) is amended by inserting “(other  
7 than persons who served as an officer or voluntarily served  
8 in any other position in the Confederate States of America  
9 or in the military forces or government of a State while  
10 the State was in rebellion against the United States)”  
11 after “military services”.

12 (b) STATUE REMOVAL PROCEDURES.—

13 (1) IN GENERAL.—

14 (A) IDENTIFICATION BY ARCHITECT OF  
15 THE CAPITOL.—The Architect of the Capitol  
16 shall identify all statues on display in the Cap-  
17 itol that do not meet the requirements of sec-  
18 tion 1814 of the Revised Statutes (2 U.S.C.  
19 2131), as amended by subsection (a).

20 (B) REMOVAL BY JOINT COMMITTEE ON  
21 THE LIBRARY.—The Joint Committee on the  
22 Library shall arrange for the removal of each  
23 statue identified by the Architect of the Capitol  
24 under subparagraph (A) from the Capitol by

1 not later than 120 days after the date of enact-  
2 ment of this Act.

3 (2) REMOVAL AND RETURN OF STATUES.—

4 (A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subpara-  
5 graph (C), the Architect of the Capitol shall ar-  
6 range to transfer and deliver any statue that is  
7 removed under this subsection to the Smithso-  
8 nian Institution.

9 (B) STORAGE OR DISPLAY OF STATUES.—

10 The Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Insti-  
11 tution shall follow the policies and procedures  
12 of the Smithsonian Institution, as in effect on  
13 the day before the date of enactment of this  
14 Act, regarding the storage and display of any  
15 statue transferred under subparagraph (A).

16 (C) STATE REQUESTS.—A statue provided  
17 for display by a State that is removed under  
18 this subsection shall be returned to the State,  
19 and the ownership of the statue transferred to  
20 the State, if the State so requests and agrees  
21 to pay any costs related to the transportation of  
22 the statue to the State.

23 (3) REPLACEMENT OF STATUES.—A State that  
24 has a statue removed under this subsection shall be  
25 able to replace such statue in accordance with the

1 requirements and procedures of section 1814 of the  
2 Revised Statutes (2 U.S.C. 2131) and section 311 of  
3 the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 2001 (2  
4 U.S.C. 2132).

5 (4) AUTHORIZATION AND APPROPRIATIONS.—

6 (A) IN GENERAL.—There are appropriated  
7 for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2021,  
8 out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise  
9 appropriated, \$5,000,000 to carry out this sec-  
10 tion, including the costs related to the removal,  
11 transfer, security, storage, and display of the  
12 statues described in paragraph (1)(A), of  
13 which—

14 (i) \$2,000,000 shall be made available  
15 to the Architect of the Capitol; and

16 (ii) \$3,000,000 shall be made avail-  
17 able to the Smithsonian Institution.

18 (B) AVAILABILITY.—Amounts appro-  
19 priated under subparagraph (A) shall remain  
20 available until expended.

21 **SEC. 4. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**

22 In addition to the amounts appropriated under sec-  
23 tion 3(b)(4), there are authorized to be appropriated such  
24 sums as may be necessary to carry out this Act, and any

1 amounts so appropriated shall remain available until ex-  
2 pended.

3 **SEC. 5. DETERMINATION OF BUDGETARY EFFECTS.**

4       The budgetary effects of this Act, for the purpose of  
5 complying with the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010,  
6 shall be determined by reference to the latest statement  
7 titled “Budgetary Effects of PAYGO Legislation” for this  
8 Act, submitted for printing in the Congressional Record  
9 by the Chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, pro-  
10 vided that such statement has been submitted prior to the  
11 vote on passage.

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