Journal of the Senate

FIRST REGULAR SESSION SECOND EXTRA SESSION

THIRD DAY - FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 2025

The Senate met pursuant to adjournment.

Senator Bean in the Chair.

The Reverend Stephen George offered the following prayer:

"Be strong and courageous. Do not be afraid; do not be discouraged, for the Lord your God will be with you wherever you go." (Joshua 1:9 NIV)

Almighty God, we pause this morning to thank You for Your promise that You are always with us. As we face the trials of this day, grant us the strength and courage to stand firm in our convictions, and the grace to encourage others towards You in a way that exemplifies Your Son, Jesus Christ. It's in His Name that we pray, Amen.

The Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag was recited.

A quorum being established, the Senate proceeded with its business.

Photographers from Getty Images, Gray Media, KMBC, KOMU 8, KRCG-TV, KSHB 41 News, Nexstar Media, Spectrum News, St. Louis Post Dispatch, and St. Louis Public Radio were given permission to take pictures in the Senate Chamber.

The following Senators were present during the day's proceedings:

Present—S	Senators						
Bean	Beck	Black	Brattin	Brown (16)	Brown (26)	Burger	
Carter	Cierpiot	Coleman	Crawford	Fitzwater	Gregory (15)	Gregory (21)	
Henderson	Hough	Hudson	Lewis	Luetkemeyer	May	McCreery	
Moon	Mosley	Nicola	Nurrenbern	O'Laughlin	Schnelting	Schroer	
Trent	Washington	Webber	Williams—32				
Absent Senetars None							

Absent—Senators—None

Absent with leave—Senators Roberts—2 Bernskoetter

Vacancies-None

RESOLUTIONS

Senator Moon offered Senate Resolution No. 7, regarding Kerry Mattingly, Exeter, which was adopted.

Senator Luetkemeyer offered Senate Resolution No. 8, regarding the Platte City Lions Club, Platte City, which was adopted.

Senator Crawford offered Senate Resolution No. 9, regarding the Daughters of the American Revolution, which was adopted.

Senator Burger offered Senate Resolution No. 10, regarding Saint Fracis Healthcare System, Cape Girardeau.

REPORTS OF STANDING COMMITTEES

On behalf of Senator Bernskoetter, Chair of the Committee on Fiscal Oversight, Senator Black submitted the following report:

Madam President: Your Committee on Fiscal Oversight, to which was referred **HCS** for **HJR 3**, begs leave to report that it has considered the same and recommends that the joint resolution do pass.

HOUSE BILLS ON THIRD READING

/s/ Travis Fitzwater

Senator Black moved that **HB 1** be taken up for 3rd reading and final passage.

Senator Crawford assumed the Chair.

Senator Bean assumed the Chair.

Senator Hudson assumed the Chair.

Senator Trent assumed the Chair.

Senator Bean assumed the Chair.

Senator Black submitted the following privileged motion:

Motion for the Previous Question – Pursuant to Rule 84 of the Missouri Senate:

Shall the Main question be now put?

Signed:

/s/ Nick Schroer

/ _S /	Adam Schnelting	/ _S /	Jill Carter
/ _S /	Brad Hudson	/ _S /	Jamie Burger
/ _S /	Rick Brattin	/ _S /	Mike Henderson
/ _S /	Ben Brown	/ _S /	Jason Bean
/ _S /	Rusty Black	/ _S /	Cindy O'Laughlin
/ _S /	Curtis Trent	/ _S /	Sandy Crawford
/ _S /	Tony Luetkemeyer	/ _S /	Kurtis Gregory
/ _S /	David Gregory	/ _S /	Mike Cierpiot

The motion to move the previous question was adopted by the following vote:

YEAS—Senators

Bean Brattin Brown (16) Brown (26) Burger Carter Crawford Fitzwater Gregory (15) Gregory (21) Henderson Cierpiot Coleman Hudson Luetkemeyer Nicola O'Laughlin Schnelting Schroer Trent-21

NAYS—Senators

Beck Hough Lewis May McCreery Moon Mosley

Nurrenbern Washington Webber Williams—11

Absent—Senators—None

Absent with leave—Senators Bernskoetter Roberts—2

Vacancies-None

HB 1, introduced by Representative Deaton, entitled:

An Act to repeal sections 128.345, 128.346, and 128.348, RSMo, and to enact in lieu thereof twelve new sections relating to the composition of congressional districts.

Was taken up by Senator Black.

Senator Black moved that **HB 1** be read the 3rd time and finally passed.

Senator Black submitted the following privileged motion:

Motion for the Previous Question – Pursuant to Rule 84 of the Missouri Senate:

Shall the Main question be now put?

Signed:

/s/ Nick Schroer /s/ David Gregory

/s/ Adam Schnelting /s/ Travis Fitzwater

/s/ Brad Hudson /s/ Jill Carter

/s/ Rick Brattin /s/ Mike Henderson

/s/ Ben Brown /s/ Jason Bean

/s/ Rusty Black /s/ Jamie Burger

/s/ Curtis Trent /s/ Sandy Crawford

/s/ Tony Luetkemeyer /s/ Kurtis Gregory

/s/ Cindy O'Laughlin /s/ Mike Cierpiot

The motion to move the previous question was adopted by the following vote:

YEAS—Senators

Black Brattin Brown (16) Carter Bean Brown (26) Burger Cierpiot Coleman Crawford Fitzwater Gregory (15) Gregory (21) Henderson Hudson Luetkemeyer Nicola O'Laughlin Schnelting Schroer Trent—21

NAYS-Senators

Beck Hough Lewis May McCreery Moon Mosley

Nurrenbern Washington Webber Williams—11

Absent—Senators—None

Absent with leave—Senators
Bernskoetter Roberts—2

Vacancies-None

On motion of Senator Black, **HB 1** was read the 3rd time and finally passed by the following vote:

YEAS-Senators

Bean Brattin Brown (16) Brown (26) Burger Carter Cierpiot Coleman Crawford Fitzwater Gregory (15) Gregory (21) Henderson Hudson Luetkemeyer Nicola O'Laughlin Schnelting Schroer Trent-21

NAYS—Senators

Beck Hough Lewis May McCreery Moon Mosley

Nurrenbern Washington Webber Williams—11

Absent-Senators-None

Absent with leave—Senators Bernskoetter Roberts—2

Vacancies-None

The President declared the bill passed.

Senator Black moved that the title to the bill be agreed to.

Senator Beck rose to object.

Senator Black submitted the following privileged motion:

Motion for the Previous Question – Pursuant to Rule 84 of the Missouri Senate:

Shall the Main question be now put?

Signed:

/s/ Nick Schroer /s/ Travis Fitzwater

/s/ Adam Schnelting /s/ Jill Carter

/s/ Brad Hudson /s/ Jamie Burger

/s/ Rick Brattin /s/ Mike Henderson

/s/ Ben Brown /s/ Jason Bean

/s/ Rusty Black /s/ Cindy O'Laughlin

/s/ Curtis Trent /s/ Sandy Crawford

/s/ Tony Luetkemeyer /s/ Kurtis Gregory

/s/ David Gregory /s/ Mike Cierpiot

The motion to move the previous question was adopted by the following vote:

YEAS—Senators

Bean Black Brattin Brown (16) Brown (26) Burger Carter Cierpiot Coleman Crawford Fitzwater Gregory (15) Gregory (21) Henderson Hudson Luetkemeyer Nicola O'Laughlin Schnelting Schroer Trent-21

NAYS—Senators

Beck Hough Lewis May McCreery Moon Mosley

Nurrenbern Washington Webber Williams—11

Absent—Senators—None

Absent with leave—Senators
Bernskoetter Roberts—2

Vacancies-None

On motion of Senator Black, title to the bill was agreed to.

Senator Black moved that the vote by which the bill passed be reconsidered.

Senator Luetkemeyer moved that motion lay on the table, which motion prevailed.

Senator Hudson moved that HCS for HJR 3 be taken up for 3rd reading and final passage.

Senator Hudson offered the following privileged motion:

Motion for the Previous Question – Pursuant to Rule 84 of the Missouri Senate:

Shall the Main question be now put?

Signed:

/s/ Rick Brattin /s/ Mike Henderson

/s/ Nick Schroer /s/ David Gregory

/s/ Adam Schnelting /s/ Travis Fitzwater

/s/ Cindy O'Laughlin /s/ Ben Brown

/s/ Jill Carter /s/ Jason Bean

/s/ Sandy Crawford /s/ Mary Elizabeth Coleman

/s/ Jamie Burger /s/ Rusty Black

/s/ Brad Hudson /s/ Kurtis Gregory

/s/ Curtis Trent /s/ Tony Luetkemeyer

The motion to move the previous question was adopted by the following vote:

YEAS—Senators

Bean Black Brattin Brown (26) Burger Carter Coleman Crawford Fitzwater Gregory (15) Gregory (21) Henderson Hudson Luetkemeyer Schroer Trent-19 Nicola O'Laughlin Schnelting

NAYS-Senators

Beck Brown (16) Cierpiot Hough Lewis May McCreery Moon Mosley Nurrenbern Washington Webber Williams—13

Absent—Senators—None

Absent with leave—Senators Bernskoetter Roberts—2

Vacancies-None

HCS for HJR 3, entitled:

Joint Resolution submitting to the qualified voters of Missouri an amendment to Article III of the Constitution of Missouri, by adopting one new section relating to ballot measures, with penalty provisions.

Was taken up.

Senator Hudson moved that HCS for HJR 3 be read the 3rd time and finally passed.

Senator Hudson offered the following privileged motion:

Motion for the Previous Question – Pursuant to Rule 84 of the Missouri Senate:

Shall the Main question be now put?

Signed:

/s/ Rick Brattin /s/ Mike Henderson

/s/ Adam Schnelting /s/ David Gregory

/s/ Nick Schroer /s/ Travis Fitzwater

/s/ Cindy O'Laughlin /s/ Ben Brown

/s/ Jill Carter /s/ Jason Bean

/s/ Jamie Burger /s/ Mary Elizabeth Coleman

/s/ Sandy Crawford /s/ Rusty Black

/s/ Brad Hudson /s/ Kurtis Gregory

/s/ Curtis Trent /s/ Tony Luetkemeyer

The motion to move the previous question was adopted by the following vote:

YEAS—Senators

Bean Black Brattin Brown (26) Burger Carter Coleman Crawford Fitzwater Gregory (15) Gregory (21) Henderson Hudson Luetkemeyer Nicola O'Laughlin Schnelting Schroer Trent-19

NAYS—Senators

Beck Cierpiot Hough Lewis May McCreery Moon Mosley Nurrenbern Washington Webber Williams—12

Absent—Senator Brown (16)—1

Absent with leave—Senators Bernskoetter Roberts—2

Vacancies-None

On motion of Senator Hudson, HCS for HJR 3 was read the 3rd time and finally passed by the following vote:

YEAS—Senators

Brattin Brown (16) Brown (26) Carter Bean Black Burger Coleman Crawford Fitzwater Henderson Cierpiot Gregory (15) Gregory (21) Trent—21 Hudson Luetkemeyer Nicola O'Laughlin Schnelting Schroer

NAYS—Senators

Beck Hough Lewis May McCreery Moon Mosley

Nurrenbern Washington Webber Williams—11

Absent—Senators—None

Absent with leave—Senators Bernskoetter Roberts—2

Vacancies-None

The President declared the bill passed.

Senator Hudson moved that title to the joint resolution be agreed to.

Senator Beck rose to object.

Senator Hudson offered the following privileged motion:

Motion for the Previous Question – Pursuant to Rule 84 of the Missouri Senate:

Shall the Main question be now put?

Signed:

/s/ Rick Brattin /s/ Mike Henderson

/s/ Adam Schnelting /s/ David Gregory

/s/ Nick Schroer /s/ Travis Fitzwater

/s/ Cindy O'Laughlin /s/ Ben Brown

/s/ Jill Carter /s/ Jason Bean

/s/ Sandy Crawford /s/ Mary Elizabeth Coleman

/s/ Jamie Burger /s/ Rusty Black

/s/ Brad Hudson /s/ Kurtis Gregory

/s/ Curtis Trent /s/ Tony Luetkemeyer

The motion to move the previous question was adopted by the following vote:

YEAS—Senators

Bean Black Brattin Brown (26) Burger Carter Coleman Crawford Fitzwater Gregory (15) Gregory (21) Henderson Hudson Luetkemeyer O'Laughlin Schnelting Schroer Trent-19 Nicola

NAYS-Senators

Beck Cierpiot Hough Lewis May McCreery Moon

Mosley Nurrenbern Washington Webber Williams—12

Absent—Senator Brown (16)—1

Absent with leave—Senators Bernskoetter Roberts—2

Vacancies-None

On motion of Senator Hudson, title to joint resolution was agreed to.

Senator Hudson moved that the vote by which the joint resolution passed be reconsidered.

Senator Luetkemeyer moved that motion lay on the table, which motion prevailed.

SIGNING OF BILLS

The President Pro Tem announced that all other business would be suspended and **HB 1**, having passed both branches of the General Assembly, would be read at length by the Secretary, and, the objection notwithstanding, the bill would be signed by the President Pro Tem to the end that it may become law. The bill was so read by the Secretary and signed by the President Pro Tem.

OBJECTIONS

Senator Beck submitted the following:

September 12, 2025

Kristina Martin Secretary of the Senate 201 W. Capitol Avenue Jefferson City, MO 65101

CONSTITUTIONAL OBJECTION TO HB 1

Congressional redistricting is governed by Article III, Section 45 of the Missouri Constitution, which states: "When the number of representatives to which the state is entitled in the House of the Congress of the United States under the census of 1950 and each census thereafter is certified to the governor, the general assembly shall by law divide the state into districts corresponding with the number of representatives to which it is entitled..."

Article III, Section 45 has existed, unaltered, since the Constitution was adopted in 1945. The plain language of Article III, Section 45 mandates that the General Assembly draw new congressional districts every ten years, when the census is certified to the Governor. Under the plain language of Article III, Section 45, congressional redistricting may only occur in the period immediately following the certification of the census to the governor and may not occur again until the next census is completed and certified.

In <u>Pearson v. Koster</u>, the Missouri Supreme Court directly addressed the timing aspect of congressional redistricting, stating: "Article III, Section 45...was triggered when the results of the 2010 United States Census revealed that...Missouri would lose one member of its delegation... It is the responsibility of the Missouri General Assembly to draw new congressional election districts. The new districts will take effect for the 2012 election and remain in place for the next decade or until a Census shows that the districts should change."

The analysis above necessarily flows from the plain language of Article III, Section 45. The General Assembly is only authorized to draw new congressional districts when the census is certified to the governor, which only occurs once every ten years. The temporal limitation in Article III, Section 45 prohibits the General Assembly from enacting more than one map after the census data is released, but before new data is released.

Proponents of purely politically motivated mid-decade redistricting argue that the lack of express language prohibiting mid-decade redistricting means the General Assembly may redistrict whenever it sees fit. If the authors of the 1945 Constitution had wanted to grant the General Assembly authority to redraw congressional lines "from time to time," they would have included such authority. Instead the language they used is clear that congressional redistricting may only occur when new census data is available.

Article III, Section 45 specifies when congressional redistricting may take place. To hold otherwise would grant the General Assembly plenary power to engage in the legislative act of redistricting whenever it pleased. The only possible purpose of inserting this timing component is to establish that it is the sole time when such power may be exercised, meaning the timing for the General Assembly to draw congressional districts is limited.

Other states have interpreted provisions similar to Article III, Section 45 of the Missouri Constitution to prohibit mid-decade redistricting. In 2003, the Supreme Court of Colorado held in <u>Salazar v. Davidson</u> that its similarly worded constitutional provisions did not permit mid-decade congressional redistricting. Like Article III, Section 45 of the Missouri Constitution, the Constitution of Colorado states that its legislature shall redistrict when "a new apportionment shall be made by Congress" and the court ruled that there is no language empowering the General Assembly to redistrict more frequently or at any other time.

The plain language of the Missouri Constitution and the Missouri Supreme Court's precedent make clear that mid-decade congressional redistricting is prohibited. Any attempt at mid-decade congressional redistricting will draw substantial legal challenges which will succeed and invalidate this ill-conceived, politically motivated attempt to re-draw Congressional maps.

Further, Article III, Section 20, of the Missouri Constitution requires a quorum for either legislative body to "conduct business." The Missouri House, when First Reading and Second Reading this bill, did not meet this requirement. A quorum was not present. Article III, Section 21 of the Missouri Constitution requires every bill be read by title on three different days in each house of the General Assembly before it can pass and become a law. Complying with this provision certainly constitutes "conducting business."

Further, the Missouri Senate violated its own rules multiple times in its haste to pass this unconstitutional Gerrymandered Congressional map. One such example occurred on Wednesday, September 10, 2025. Before the Senate had adopted any rules governing the body for the Extra Session, the majority employed a provision, the previous question, to force a vote, despite the fact that no rules containing the authority to move the previous question had been adopted. When Senator Webber made a point of order on this subject, the Pro Tem ruled that the US Senate Rules were the rules temporarily governing the body, for which there was no reason or logic. Even if utilizing the US Senate rules at the beginning of the session is correct, (it is not), the US Senate Rules would not authorize a previous question motion since the US Senate Rules do not contain a previous question provision. Another example of the Missouri Senate violating its own rules occurred on September 11, 2025, when the minority was denied the ability to appeal an incorrect ruling of the chair, despite the fact that Rule 10 (of the majority's "new" rules) explicitly states that "all rulings on points of order shall be subject to an appeal to the senate."

For the reasons listed above, and many others, I object to this unconstitutional legislation.

Senate Minority Leader,



The President Pro Tem announced that all other business would be suspended and **HCS** for **HJR 3**, having passed both branches of the General Assembly, would be read at length by the Secretary, and if no objections be made, the joint resolution would be signed by the President Pro Tem to the end that it may become law. No objections being made, the joint resolution was so read by the Secretary and signed by the President Pro Tem.

On motion of Senator Luetkemeyer, the Senate adjourned sine die, pursuant to the Constitution.

DAVID WASINGER

Lieutenant Governor

KRISTINA MARTIN

Secretary of the Senate