CONGRESSIONAL.

The United States Senate.

DEBATE ON THE RECONSTRUCTION RESOLUTIONS.

Speeches of Messrs. Sumner, Fessenden and Howard.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Homestead Lands in the South

CONTINUANCE OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

The Discussion of the Tax Bill.

RELATIVE TO THE INCOME TAX.

Evening Session of the House.

SENATE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 23, 1866.

Petitions.

Mr. MORGAN (N. Y.) presented the petition of shove manufacturers for a reduction of tax on their business. Referred to the Finance Committee.

Mr. COWAN (Pa.) presented a petition for increased tariff, which was referred to the Finance Committee.

Mr. NORTON called up the bill to authorize the Winona and St. Peter's Railroad Company to construct a bridge across the Mississippi river, which was discussed until one o'clock.

The Reconstruction Resolution.

Mr. HOWARD moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the reconstruction resolution recently passed by the House.

Speech of Senator Sumner.

Mr. SUMNER—The question as I take it, is of proceeding to the consideration of that resolution. Of course, that does not involve the merits of the question, and I shall not speak of them. I know not that I shall be able to do so any part in this debate, but I cannot allow the resolution to be taken up without expressing my individual opinion that it would be better, if its consideration were postponed still longer. I believe, sir, that the country has gained much by the postponement that has already taken place. In a former occasion I stated that we were able to have a better proposition at the end of April than we have had at the end of March, and I believe now that we are able to present better propositions just as the weeks proceed; and we shall be better prepared for this question next week than this week, and the week after better than now.

Here is a vast mass of testimony which has been taken. It has been laid in driblets, if I may so express myself, before the Congress and the country, and never gathered together as a whole. It has never been analyzed. No conclusions have been drawn from that testimony; and yet I take it that that testimony was brought together for some purpose, doubtless to enlighten Congress and the country; and yet Congress is now asked to proceed without an opportunity of considering that testimony in any mature form. I think, sir, it is a mistake that we are asked to proceed under such circumstances. I think, sir, that delay for the arrangement of that testimony, to the end that it may be presented in proper form for our consideration, would be wisdom. I think, sir, it would be the highest statesmanship. I think that after the consideration of that testimony we shall be better prepared to decide what is the true sense and use of what we ought to do, but of what we can do. For instance, here is a very considerable question which we shall be called upon to discuss as to the extent to which certain persons shall be excluded from the right of suffrage.

I doubt not that the Senate is better prepared to discuss that question this week than last week, and I am sure it will be better prepared to discuss it next week than now, and my reason is that the evidence on that subject is daily accumulating. It so happened that I heard, early last evening, very important testimony from a gentleman in whom I have every confidence, just from the South in regard to public opinion there, especially among those who have recently been in rebellion, all tending to show the necessity of some regulation as requirements on our part. I say such evidence is constantly accumulating, and I wish that Congress may have the benefit of all the evidence, that what we do may be well done. The question is presented, sir, whether we shall proceed on the principle of inclusion or exclusion. The Senate from Nevada (Mr. Nye) clearly adopts the principle of exclusion without inclusion.

In other words, sir, they would exclude certain States, but would not include certain loyal persons, whose misfortune it is that they were born with a skin not entirely white. For myself, it seems to me we should adopt something of both principles, the principle of inclusion and the principle of exclusion. I do not think that the Senate is at this moment so well instructed on that point as it will be. I do not necessarily underrate the decision of that very great question. It is one of the great questions ever presented in the history of our country, or any country. It should be approached carefully and solemnly, with assistance that we have before us all the testimony, all the facts, everything that by any possibility can shed any light upon it. Have we all this? I doubt it, sir. But I content myself now with simply reserving my own individual case as affected, as it seems to me something like precipitation, with which this measure is ushered to the ground.

Senator Fessenden's Speech.

Mr. FESSENDEN said he did not know that he had any right to take any part in the discussion, but he begged leave to say that he differed entirely from the honorable Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Sumner, as to the propriety of proceeding with it at the present time. The matter had been under consideration a very long time, and if the Senator from Massachusetts had not, informed of the action of the committee, the matter had been taken it was his own fault, because it not only had the testimony printed and published in the newspapers, but it had been published in numbers, under the direction of the Senate, and laid upon the tables of Senators. He (Mr. Fessenden) agreed with Mr. Sumner in one thing and that was that the time that was gained by the delay already had. The Senate would remember that a short time ago it was pushed very hard in all the newspapers to bring about action. It was necessary, however, to take testimony, and that testimony had been taken, and has had a most beneficial effect in informing the country and satisfying the public mind.

The matter had been better understood in consequence of the course which had been adopted by the committee from necessity, because they was unable to come to a conclusion without this testimony. As to the taking more testimony, as suggested by Mr. Sumner, the committee felt that some time must be had in order to get what money would close, otherwise it might continue till the first session. The matter had been fixed, and the testimony had been closed, and the committee thought it had gone far enough. It was now in the session. The House had passed the resolution some two weeks ago.

It had been delayed in the Senate longer than it would have been but for circumstances to which it was not worth while to allude. He (Mr. Fessenden) had thought it well, after the resolution had passed the House, that it should be printed in order to give time for reflection, and that some day should be fixed for taking it up. That had been done. It appeared that public opinion was very apt to change on this subject, but that was only reasonable why the Senate should not proceed to its best judgment. The probability was that Congress would adjourn between the first and the middle of July, and that was essential to proceed immediately to the consideration of the question.

Mr. SUMNER said he did not wish to be understood as making any formal opposition to proceeding with the measure. He had expressed an individual opinion, which he felt very seriously. It could not help it he might be in error. It was probable he was in error but he thought otherwise. And why was it that we were had satisfied himself simply by making the declaration.

Mr. HENDRICKS wished to inquire of Mr. Sumner to what time he would propose to put the adjournment of this question? He hoped the Senate would adjourn at seven o'clock this day. He hoped Mr. Sumner would not postpone for a short time, he (Mr. Hendricks) would not, but for a month, and he could not agree to a postponement beyond the middle of June.

Mr. SUMNER said he did not think the business of the Senate would be much advanced by that course. He believed it would adjourn before the latter part of July. He believed this great question of reconstruction ought to be reserved as the last serious and considerable subject for discussion previous to adjournment. He thought it might be taken up during the last half of June, something like a month from now. He believed that at that time the Senate would be better prepared to act upon it than it would now, and