

Mr. FLORENCE. I hope the election will not be postponed. This subject has now been in contention for several weeks, preventing legislation, while the public creditors have been clamoring at our doors; and here we are, doing nothing but squabbling for spoils.

Mr. BARKSDALE. I should like to have the absentees called again. I understand the gentleman from New York [Mr. HUMPHREY] to state that he would pair off with Mr. KUNKEL. With that understanding, I withdraw all objection to proceeding with the vote for Printer. I do not desire to prevent it.

The SPEAKER. Does the Chair understand the motion to postpone to be insisted on?

Mr. BURNETT. I withdraw it, on condition that the absent members on this side of the House shall be paired off.

Mr. ADAMS, of Kentucky. I hope my colleague will not withdraw the motion to postpone. I want to hear the "irrepressible conflict" in the Senate.

Mr. BARKSDALE. Mr. KUNKEL is absent. Will any gentleman on the opposite side pair with him?

Mr. GROW. Mr. CLARK B. COCHRANE is at home. We will pair him with Mr. KUNKEL.

Mr. BARKSDALE. That would not be fair. Mr. COCHRANE has not been here for two months.

Mr. GROW. Neither was Mr. STALLWORTH here when he was paired.

Mr. BARKSDALE. Gentlemen on that side of the House are very well aware that it would not be fair to pair Mr. KUNKEL, who has been here the whole session, with Mr. COCHRANE, who has been absent for the last two months.

Mr. GROW. Just as fair as to pair off Mr. SCRANTON, who was here, with Mr. STALLWORTH, who had not been here at all.

Mr. BARKSDALE. We are willing that Mr. COCHRANE should be paired off with Mr. BROWN, of Kentucky. [Laughter.]

Mr. PHELPS. It is apparent, Mr. Speaker, that we can make no progress to-day with the election of Printer. I suggest that we postpone the election till to-morrow. [Cries of "No!" "No!" from the Republican benches.]

Mr. BARKSDALE. Then, I understand that Mr. HUMPHREY pairs with Mr. KUNKEL.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Yes; if Mr. KUNKEL be not already paired.

Mr. TOMPKINS stated that Mr. MOORE, of Kentucky, was paired off with Mr. WOOD.

Mr. BARKSDALE. It strikes me there ought to be an understanding on the subject before we proceed to a vote. I desire to ask whether any gentleman is absent on either side, who is not paired?

The SPEAKER. The Chair understands that there are no absentees unpaired, except Mr. CLARK B. COCHRANE.

Mr. PHELPS. I hope the Clerk will read over the list of absentees, stating with what gentleman they are paired, as far as the Clerk may know.

The list of absentees and statement of pairs was read.

SEVENTEENTH VOTE FOR PRINTER.

The tellers (Messrs. PETTIT, QUARLES, FLORENCE, and JOHN G. DAVIS) having resumed their places, the House proceeded to vote *viva voce* the seventeenth time for Printer, with the following result: Whole number of votes cast, 180; necessary to a choice, 91; of which—

Mr. Ford received.....	87
Mr. Glosbrenner.....	78
Mr. Seaton.....	9
Mr. Ball.....	3
Mr. Winton.....	2
Mr. Ritchie.....	1

So there was no choice.

The following is the vote in detail:

For Mr. Ford—Messrs. Charles F. Adams, Aldrich, Alley, William C. Anderson, Babbitt, Bingham, Blair, Blake, Brayton, Buffinton, Burlingame, Burnham, Butterfield, Campbell, Carey, Carter, Case, Colfax, Corwin, Covode, Curtis, Dawes, Dunn, Edgerton, Edwards, Elliot, Ely, Farnsworth, Foster, French, Gooch, Graham, Grow, Gurley, Haie, Hall, Helmick, Hickman, Hutclins, Irvine, Francis W. Kellogg, William Kellogg, Kilgore, Killinger, DeWitt C. Leach, Lee, Loomis, Lovejoy, Marston, McKean, McKnight, McPherson, Millward, Moorhead, Morrill, Edward Joy Morris, Morse, Pettit, Porter, Pottie, Rice, Christopher Robinson, Royce, Schwartz, Sedgwick, Sherman, Somes, Spaulding, Spinner, Stanton, William Stewart, Tappan, Thayer, Theaker, Tompkins, Trimble, Verree, Waldron, Walton, Cadwalader C. Washburn, Ellihu B.

Washburne, Israel Washburn, Wells, Wilson, Windom, Woodruff, and Mr. Speaker.

For Mr. Glosbrenner—Messrs. Allen, Thomas L. Anderson, Ashmore, Avery, Barksdale, Barr, Barrett, Bocoek, Bouligny, Branch, Burnett, John B. Clark, Clopton, Cobb, John Cochrane, Cooper, Cox, James Craig, Burton Craige, Crawford, Curry, Davidson, John G. Davis, De Jarnette, Edmundson, English, Florence, Gartrell, Hamilton, John T. Harris, Hawkins, Hill, Holman, Houston, Howard, Hughes, Jackson, Jenkins, Jones, Landrum, James M. Leach, Leake, Logan, Love, Mallory, Charles D. Martin, Elbert S. Martin, Maynard, McQueen, McRae, Miles, Sydenham Moore, Nelson, Noell, Pendleton, Peyton, Phelps, Pugh, Quarles, Reagan, James C. Robinson, Ruffin, Scott, Sickles, Simms, Singleton, William Smith, William N. H. Smith, Stallworth, Stevenson, Taylor, Thomas, Underwood, Vallandigham, Vance, Whiteley, Winslow, and Wright.

For Mr. Seaton—Messrs. Green Adams, Boteler, Brabson, Briggs, Bristow, Gilmer, Hatton, Stokes, and Webster.

For Mr. Ball—Messrs. H. Winton Davis, Etheridge, and Perry.

For Mr. Winton—Messrs. Adrain and Reynolds.

For Mr. Ritchie—Mr. Millson.

During the vote, Mr. BOYCE stated that he had paired off with Mr. OLIN for to-day.

Mr. CLEMENS stated that he was paired off with Mr. STEVENS, of Pennsylvania; if he had been able to vote, he would have voted for Mr. Glosbrenner.

Mr. JUNKIN stated that he had paired off with Mr. MONTGOMERY.

Mr. MCKEAN stated that after this ballot, he had paired off for the day with Mr. COX.

Mr. CASE stated that after this vote, he had paired off for the day with Mr. DAVIDSON.

Mr. WILSON stated that after this vote, he had paired off with Mr. CURRY.

The result of the vote having been announced, Mr. PHELPS moved to postpone the election of Printer until Monday next.

Mr. CURTIS. I ask leave now to submit the resolution of inquiry which I offered this morning.

Mr. BURNETT. I do not know what the resolution is; but I insist upon a vote on the motion of the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. PHELPS. My motion is to postpone the election until one o'clock on Monday next.

Several MEMBERS. Let us take another vote.

Mr. MILES. Will the gentleman yield to me for a moment, to allow me to withdraw some papers from the files of the House?

Mr. PHELPS. That can be done under the rules at the Clerk's desk.

Mr. MILES. I think not.

Mr. PHELPS. It is done every day.

Mr. SHERMAN. I move as an amendment to the motion of the gentleman from Missouri, that the election of Printer be postponed until to-morrow at two o'clock. That will be after the morning hour.

The question was taken on Mr. SHERMAN'S motion; and it was agreed to.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Mr. SHERMAN. I move that the rules be suspended, and the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

The question was taken; and the motion was agreed to.

The House accordingly resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. WASHBURNE, of Illinois, in the chair.)

The CHAIRMAN. When the committee rose it had under consideration resolutions of reference to the President's message. On that question, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. REAGAN] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. REAGAN. Mr. Chairman, I avail myself of the general range of debate, in Committee of the Whole on the President's message, to discuss some topics which concern the whole nation. And, as I cannot expect to occupy the attention of the committee soon again under our rules, I shall have to try to discuss a greater number of questions than may be conveniently considered or clearly presented in one speech.

In the course of my remarks on the 4th of March last, when speaking of the purpose, and, I may add, of the determination of the Republican party to prevent the further extension of slavery in the Territories, I assumed that the Territories acquired since the formation of the Constitution, being acquired by the common blood and common treasure of all the people of all the States, were, as a logical and legal necessity, upon every principle of reason and right, the common property of all the people of all the States; or, to use another

form of expression, that territory acquired by the mutual and joint efforts of all the people of the thirty-three States of the Union is, upon every principle of reason and fair dealing, the common property of all those who acquired it. I also assumed that the Federal Government was the agent and trustee of the people of these States, holding, regulating, and disposing of this common territory for their common and mutual benefit. And when the title to parcels of this territory passes out of this trustee, the Federal Government, to purchasers or settlers, it is always for a consideration which inures to the common good of all the people. The great and paramount object is to furnish homes for the people on easy terms. And when I say homes for the people I mean, of course, homes for the people of any and every part of the Union; and not that the territory acquired by the people of the thirty-three States is acquired for the benefit of the seventeen free States to the exclusion of the people of the fifteen slaveholding States, any more than when the public lands are sold, the purchase money should go into the hands of the people of the seventeen free States instead of into the Federal Treasury, as the means of the whole people.

If I am correct in this, and I presume no one can doubt that I am, I ask if any act of Congress which would divert the proceeds of the sales of these lands from the common Treasury, and apply them to the exclusive use of the people of the seventeen free States, would not be clearly unconstitutional? And if this question be answered in the affirmative, then I ask if any act of Congress which would limit the right of settlement on these lands to the people of the seventeen free States, to the exclusion of the people of the fifteen slave States, would not be equally unconstitutional? And if this question be answered in the affirmative, then I ask if any act of Congress which would exclude any given number of the people from a right of settlement secured to the remainder of them, would not also be unconstitutional? And if this question be answered in the affirmative, would not any act of Congress which should impose onerous and burdensome disabilities on the people of the slaveholding States, affecting their right to settle in the Territories, or creating a legal condition, express or implied, which should not apply to the people of the free States, and requiring a compliance with it to enable them to settle in the Territories, be also clearly unconstitutional? And if this be answered in the affirmative, I ask, if Congress or a Territorial Legislature should pass an act abolishing slavery in any of the Territories, if such an act would not impose upon every slaveholder, as a condition of his right to settle in any such Territory, the necessity of selling or freeing his slaves? And if this question be answered in the affirmative, would it not follow, as an inevitable and logical consequence, that such an act would be unconstitutional and void?

I beg to be understood as not putting these propositions for any purpose of controversy, but solely for the purpose of drawing out and establishing, by fair statement and logical deduction, the fact that neither Congress nor the Territorial Legislatures have the power to abolish slavery in the Territories.

It is admitted by the Republicans that they have no power over the subject of slavery in the States. And if it can be shown that they have no power over the subject in the Territories, while in a territorial condition, then the country will judge whether they are excusable for a longer continuance of their unlawful, irritating, and dangerous agitation of this question, and whether they should longer insist on an unconstitutional restriction on the rights of their fellow-citizens, which, if carried out, would brand the people of fifteen States with inequality of rights under a Constitution which recognizes them as equals, and thus drive them to degradation and dishonor in the Union, or independence, equality, and self-respect out of it.

I do not propose now to reply to the declamation we so often hear in this Hall on the abstract question of freedom; but may submit a word of inquiry as to what freedom is, as applied to the people of the United States, composed as they are of two races, with capacities so different, that what to one is liberty would to the other be unbridled anarchy and licentiousness; and will call attention to the fact, that those who engage in this fugitive declamation about freedom, and