

D.397
#136
10/70

9.720

2x

THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

SPEECH

OF

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Delivered in the Senate of the United States, December 21, 1858.

Mr. PRESIDENT: I am very glad to see these numerous propositions of so many fixed and certain routes for a Pacific railroad. I hope that every proposition of that character which is in reserve may speedily be submitted. Their presentation will open the way to a candid consideration of the few remarks which it is my purpose to make in support of this bill; remarks designed, not to show that the road which probably will be made under the bill will be made upon the best, or the most convenient, or the cheapest route, or that the system which the committee have adopted, and submitted to the Senate in their bill, is the best system, and one the most satisfactory to all parties which can be devised, but to show that it is impossible for the Congress of the United States, representing, as they do, confederated States and communities distant from each other, and maintaining systems of commerce and agriculture and manufactures so diverse, to agree and determine upon any one route, or the full details of any one system, to the exclusion of all others.

I have little occasion to appeal to the Senators from California, the only community on the Pacific coast which as yet is represented in the Congress of the United States. I have observed always, in the State to which I belong, that the memory of the Netherlands is held in the tenderest affection by the descendants of the first colonists. On the other hand, when I travelled in Holland, I was unable to find even one lingering tradition there of the settlement of the New Netherlands. It is ever so. The affection of the emigrant for his native land is always stronger than the concern of the fatherland for its exiles in foreign countries. The Senators from California are convinced and committed, and are earnest enough in support of a Pacific railroad. It is only necessary to convince the

Senators from the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains. It is only on this side of the mountains that the snow and ice of indifference and prejudice remain to be removed.

I shall pass rapidly over the details of the bill. No Senator has shown—I think no Senator can show—any objection against the propositions for settling the route, which are contained in the bill reported by the committee, which has not been already anticipated there. No one can show, I think, as no one has shown, an objection against the plan adopted and recommended by the committee for the construction of the road, which has not been anticipated there, which I myself have not anticipated and surrendered there. This bill is not my bill. The route upon which the road will probably be made under it is uncertain. It cannot now be ascertained. My own apprehensions are, that it will cause a road to be built in a latitude further south than I should prefer; but, on the other hand, I know, or at least I think I am authorized to say, that members of the committee, as well informed on the subject and as shrewd and sagacious as I, opposed the bill in committee, because they believed that under it the road would probably be made on a route more northern than they could approve. If I were authorized and empowered to provide for the construction of the Pacific railroad, I should begin in a very northern latitude, and I should extend the road directly across the continent, in continuation of the northwestern track of emigration which has been pursued from the time when the navigation of the New York canals and the great lakes was opened until now, when we find population already gathered and clustering upon the western shores of Lake Superior. If I were authorized to provide the system upon which it should be built, I would discard and reject at once

all pretence of the employment of companies or associations, which, in my judgment, are but shams when engaged by the Government of the United States to construct a great national work. I regard such associations as bodies which will have no blood, no nerves, no sinews—in short, no power, no life, but what they will derive from the vigor and strength of the Government of the United States. I would discard, utterly and entirely, the policy of giving public lands to railroad companies, to be sold in the shambles to speculators, to raise means to carry on this great national work. I would directly employ the capital and the credit of the United States, increasing the revenues of the United States from commerce, for the purpose of defraying the cost, and establishing, at the same time, a sinking fund which should, within a reasonable time, absorb the public debt thus created. And I would surrender the public lands in the vicinity of the road to actual settlers for cultivation, so as to secure the speediest possible production of revenue from it.

But, Mr. President, all these views have been overruled in the committee, as have been all the proposed other or different plans or methods of determining the route; and they have been overruled upon a due consideration of all our objections. This bill has been reported by a majority of the committee, with whom I agree to accept it, not as the best possible bill, but as that one which will come nearest to our own systems and views. The only alternatives were either one less acceptable to those with whom I suppose myself to be acting, or no bill for a Pacific railroad at all. If any one inquire why I submitted to be overruled, I answer, it was because I think that it is time for deliberation to end, and for action to begin. In other words, I am in earnest in desiring to see a Pacific railroad built.

If I have not made myself clear in regard to this impossibility of fixing a route in debate here, I think I shall be able to do so by a single further remark. The Congress of the United States contains Representatives who may be distributed in several classes—first, those who would vote for a Pacific railroad, anywhere; a second class, who would vote for a railroad, if it was not carried upon a route entirely distant and remote from the States which they represented; and a third class, who will not vote for a railroad at all anywhere, to be made in any way, and under any circumstances. Since we concluded in the committee that no one route could be determined on in debate, it only remained to find some plan for the selection of a route independently of our own direct action.

The proposition which was adopted provides that the President of the United States shall be furnished with means to contract virtually for the building of a Pacific railroad, starting at a point on the western line of the organized States of the Union, that is the Missouri river, the western border of the State of Missouri, at some point between the Big Sioux and the Kansas rivers, and thence to proceed to San Francisco, in the State of California, by the most eligible route, regard being had to feasibility, shortness, and

economy. It is possible that the confidence thus to be reposed in the Executive might be abused; but there is a guaranty for his trust being executed wisely and justly, in the fact that the bill provides an appeal to the interests of capitalists to ascertain the most eligible route, reference being had to feasibility, shortness, and economy. The western terminus of the road must, at all events, and immediately, be at San Francisco; not that it will be the only terminus of all the Pacific railroads which shall be hereafter built; not that it is in our power to bind up fate, and compel the population upon the whole extent of the Pacific coast to pay tribute forever to San Francisco, but that San Francisco occupies, at this time, the position of the centre of commerce on the Pacific coast of this continent, and that civilization is further advanced and more completed and perfected in the State of California, and in that portion of it which communicates with San Francisco, than it is in any more northern or more southern region on that coast. A railroad to the Pacific ocean would be practically incomplete, which should traverse the continent and stop at San Diego in the south, or at Guaymas, on the Gulf of California, or at Puget Sound. Although it may be practically wise to build the road to Vancouver's Island, or to Puget Sound, still, when it has been brought there, commerce, and the interests of the Government, would require it to be continued to San Francisco. Therefore, a majority of the committee supposed it was safe and proper to require that the road should be built to that point. What remained, then, was to approximate to a terminus on the western border of the Atlantic States; and leaving the margin of a short distance of three hundred miles between the Kansas and Big Sioux rivers, we thought a point might be taken from which connections might be made from Chicago, from St. Paul, from St. Louis, from Memphis, from New Orleans, and from Texas. In this way, while it might be supposed that the interests of trade, as already established, had determined one or several terminations on the Atlantic coast—Portland, if you please, or Boston, or New York, or Philadelphia, or Charleston, or New Orleans, or all of them—the only question left was a practical one, namely: where, on the western borders of the existing Atlantic States, these several ports could most naturally and easily and conveniently be connected with the route across the continent which would be most eligible, because it was the most feasible, the shortest, and the one requiring the least expense.

Senators on all sides now raise the question, whether the road, if starting at a point between the Big Sioux and the Kansas rivers, and seeking San Francisco, will go northerly enough, or whether it will go sufficiently far south, or whether it will take the central route, or the Albuquerque route. All that matter is left to be ascertained by the surest and best test, and that is the test of the skill and science and economy of the contractors who shall engage to build the road. What has already occurred here has been sufficient to show, that although it is possible that a ma-

majority of those who favor the construction of a railroad to the Pacific may not agree upon this system or plan of ascertaining where it shall be located, yet a majority cannot be gathered together to vote for the northern, or Governor Stevens's, route, because everybody south of that route would be inclined to vote against it. So, if you take a central route, those on the north and those on the south may be expected to combine to vote against it; and if you take the Texas route, there will be a strong opposition on the part of all those who think that its effect would be to carry the emigration of the country and the progress of civilization further south than is consistent with the interests of the States which they represent. I make these allusions, not for the purpose of showing that the details which this bill adopts are the best, but for the purpose of showing that they are the best upon which I suppose a majority of Congress can be brought to agree.

Mr. President, we are met on this occasion, as we always have been, with the argument that the construction of a Pacific railroad is impossible. That objection has been raised here annually for eight years, and so often as the subject of a Pacific railroad has been renewed; but it comes now in a modified form. Now, it is said that it is impossible to make the road within any reasonable limits of expense, and within any reasonable and convenient period of time. It has been already demonstrated, by actual surveys, that this road can be made at an expense varying from \$95,000,000 to \$125,000,000, on any one of, I think, five several routes; and that, if the requisite energy shall be exercised, it can be built within a period of ten or fifteen years.

But it is said the road will cost a hundred or more millions, and will be worthless when it is made, because it will not be self-sustaining—that it will be a burden upon the Treasury of \$10,000,000 a year. It does not lie in my way to dispute or gainsay these specifications of the old objection of impracticability, as now modified. I grant you, sir, that railroads cannot be made anywhere without great cost, and especially if they are made through mountain passes and over sterile plains, in a region absolutely uninhabited, or inhabited only by savages. I grant, moreover, that railroads do not often pay dividends, and seldom or never pay dividends when they are constructed through a region in which society has yet to be called into existence. I admit the truth of these objections, when stated with any moderate limitations; but this admission does not at all settle the question of economy. We have fallen into the habit of regarding that road alone as feasible which could be made by commerce, and sustained by commerce, because that has been our experience, and the experience of older nations. A road is undertaken in Russia, in Germany, in France, in England, in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, everywhere in settled and civilized States, for commercial purposes only, or chiefly. It is undertaken upon the ground that the profits of traffic upon it will pay for its construction and its management. It is a very wise

policy on the part of the Government of the United States to employ, for postal and military purposes, roads in those States which are made by commerce, and for commercial uses. But it by no means follows, and it is a great error to infer, that commerce will make and sustain railroads everywhere, adapted to the purposes of the Government, or that the Government of the United States has no need for a railroad across the continent, because commerce will not make and will not sustain it when made.

The error, Mr. President, lies in supposing that the road is to be built exclusively or chiefly for commercial purposes, and that the test of its expediency is an exigency of commerce. This road for the present, perhaps for a long future, is to be chiefly a political road—a road which will have three purposes: the first, the conveyance of the mails of the United States, thus making it a postal road; second, the conveyance of the armies and the military and naval stores of the United States to the interior of the continent, and across the continent to the Pacific States; third, the introduction and establishment of society in the recesses of the continent. Independent of the great central, desolate, dreary region which intervenes between us and the Pacific coast, we have already exploded the ancient theory that the mails of the United States can be maintained by commerce alone; we are actually maintaining postal communication, as a political necessity, over eastern portions of the United States, and upon the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, at a cost greatly exceeding the revenues derived from the postal service itself. A postal railroad across the continent, within our own dominion, would stand on the same footing with our present overland wagon road, or our steamship lines between New York and San Francisco. But this is a very small element in the question. Other great elements are the maintaining of peace, and order, and authority, over the savage tribes in the interior of this continent; and, if need be, which God forefend, hereafter the maintenance of authority and of peace and of law in Territories organized within that region; and, still further, the protection of the American communities which are growing up on the Pacific coast from the Gulf of California to the boundary of British Oregon, as well as the security of those communities against danger in such foreign wars as our whole political system contemplates as possible; and, lastly, there is the object of consolidating the Union between those States and the Atlantic States.

These are political objects, and it is seen at once that the commercial uses of the road are entirely incidental. For one, Mr. President, I believe that if there had been a Pacific railroad, there would have been none of those recent disturbances and alarms in Utah, which have cost us so many millions; there would have been none of those fearful and distracting incursions of the Indian tribes on our infant settlements in Oregon and Washington. If there had been a Pacific railroad, there would have been a more rapid increase of the population and strength and wealth and vigor of the new States upon

the Pacific coast—California and Oregon. The emigrant goes for a song from the Atlantic States to the borders of civilization beyond the Mississippi. Fifteen, twenty, or fifty dollars, pay the expense of the emigrant from Boston unto what we are yet accustomed to call the Far West, and a sum not greater than that, pays the expense of the emigrant from Europe to this country; but the emigrant from the Atlantic coast, or from any of the internal Atlantic States, or from Europe, lays out a small estate in reaching the settlements on the Pacific, which it will be fortunate for him if he is able to replace by the labor of many years after his arrival there.

If, Mr. President, it be said that there is no need of the display of the Government in those regions until society shall have been organized there, and shall have developed commerce, which will furnish and maintain the desired communications, then I answer, that that is a question which was foreclosed ten years ago. It was settled and determined when the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was executed. The United States then solemnly undertook and committed itself to its own people and to the world, to discharge the responsibility of establishing and maintaining civilization and government across the Rocky Mountains and the snowy mountains, and the deep ravines and the sterile plains which intervene between their summits. This Government, in fact, has never been able for a moment to get away from the sense and conviction and pressure of that obligation. What are all our experiences of treaties with Great Britain and with the Central American States, for the route across the Isthmus of Panama, for the route across Nicaragua, for the route through Honduras, to say nothing of our surveys of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Darien? What have all these negotiations meant? What mean all the conflicts and embarrassments which attend them, and which are perpetually increasing? What means our controversy about the filibuster system, about the Monroe doctrine, about M. Belz's interoceanic ship canal? What are all these together but the betrayal of the conviction of the United States of the necessity of having routes across this continent by which to maintain order and government within our unorganized territories, and to secure the safety and prosperity of our new States on the Pacific?

For one, sir, I believe that society will never be permanently organized and maintained in peace in the interior of the continent, I believe that authority will not be maintained there successfully, and I believe even that union will not be perfected between the East and the West, until we shall have completed this bond of connection, this great instrument of political discipline, if you please so to call it, which it ought to have been the first task of the Government of the United States to provide, on the organization of society there under our Constitution. So believing, the question of \$50,000,000, or \$100,000,000 expense, or of \$10,000,000 a year in maintaining the system, in my judgment, sinks into insignificance. It is necessary; and since it is necessary, there is an end of the argument. It stands, I repeat, upon the same

footing as your postal system; precisely upon the same foundation as your navy and your army; and if you are to dispense with either, if you are to cut down the expenses of either, my sober judgment is, that retrenchment should lay its hand upon the armed forces and the naval establishment of the United States, while a liberal and fostering care should be extended to the commencement and prosecution of this great enterprise.

Mr. President, I do not know how long we can go on floundering in the way we have done for the last eight years, disputing with the Republic of New Granada to-day, disputing to-morrow with the Republic of Nicaragua, unable to repress incursions of our own citizens upon Central America, in danger perpetually of conflict with France and England, for want of this great improvement; but I am sure of one thing: that, loyal as the people of the Pacific coast are, that loyalty has its limits, and it is founded in reason, and not in blind partiality or affection. This community, so distant from us, so separated from us, growing up by itself in a state of isolation on the Pacific coast, and as near to-day to the great communities of Western Europe and to Asia, practically, as it is to us, cannot be retained in political connection with us by a mere written bond, a contract in writing; but it must be maintained by the exercise of the spirit of the Union, which is equality—equality between the States; equality between the communities constituting the States; that political equality which, making due allowances for physical barriers that cannot be surmounted, yields and affords to agriculture, to mining, to manufactures, and to commerce, throughout every part of this great empire, equal facilities and advantages. Every Senator can answer for himself whether the Pacific coast enjoys this equality of privileges and advantages consistently with the obligations of the Government, so long as it is held aloof and isolated. Let us not deceive ourselves. There is no destiny that secures, and will, in despite of our own errors, vices, or crimes, perpetuate this inestimable Union. On the other hand, the fates are always assiduously engaged in weaving an inevitable web for indolent and improvident States.

Ambition, Mr. President, is not exclusively a plant of Eastern growth. It springs up and is as vigorous on the Pacific as upon the Atlantic; and our Pacific States will, if they are not allowed to connect themselves directly and intimately with the Eastern States, do just exactly what the older Atlantic States did. They will colonize their own coast of the continent, and set up for themselves. It is only a question of time, if there be no change of policy. They can be no more loyal to us and entertain no more affection for us than our forefathers cherished towards the country from which they emigrated to this continent. Then, I think, the Pacific railroad involves this question: whether this capital, endeared to us by so many attractions, and exciting so much pride and promise and expectation, shall, by the improvement of facilities for intercourse, commerce, and communication, between us and the Pacific coast, remain the capital of the whole United States of America; or whether it shall dwarf and sink, and

become the capital of the United States of Atlantic America only; and Mexico, invested as it is with so many ancient and heroic traditions already, shall become a rival capital—the capital of the Pacific States of America.

Mr. President, I shall not willingly lose my way in debates about the constitutional power of the Government of the United States to construct this road. For myself, I understand the Constitution of the United States to have been made “to establish justice, to maintain domestic tranquillity, and to secure the blessing of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity.” Believing, as I do, that justice cannot be maintained, tranquillity preserved, or the blessings of liberty secured, under the Constitution, to this whole American people, divided as it is into two communities, isolated and separated from each other, I am in no frame of mind to indulge in that sharp political criticism which, killing the spirit while it saves the letter, seeks to render the Constitution of the United States, and the Union which it establishes, a powerless, spiritless, lifeless thing. Since it is necessary for peace, since it is necessary for order, for safety, for liberty, and for union, I can, without scrutinizing the provisions of that instrument too closely, find in it ample ground for my support of this great measure. But all will agree that, in cases of immediate danger, or in case of such remote danger as exacts precaution, it is allowed by the Constitution of the United States to Congress to make post roads in the Territories of the United States, and military roads within the same Territories. That concession is all that this occasion demands.

Mr. President, I hope I may be excused for appealing to the Senate of the United States to remember that we are now a people of thirty millions, and that we are increasing at the rate of a million a year—not a million of slaves, or drones, or a million of subjects of ignorant and besotted castes, but a million, practically, of free, vigorous, enlightened, intelligent, emulous, ambitious men. Sir, activity is the law of a community so strong, vigorous, and prosperous. I mean activity beyond the mere daily occupation in domestic trades and professions, in mining and in agriculture, and in manufactures and commerce—an activity which constitutes the exterior life, if I may so call it, of a State, and which forces it on some career of improvement or aggrandizement; that political activity which, carrying one nation forward after another, or many along together, constitutes what we recognise as the world’s progress, or the advance of civilization. Political activity is a law of nations. Of all the enlightened States which have existed in modern or in ancient times, there has been no one which has failed to obey this law. What was the colonization of the United States but the exercise of this activity by the British nation; what the colonization of the provinces lying to our north, including the western bank of the Mississippi, by France? Sir, Great Britain, within the last two hundred years, has, in obedience to this law of political activity, extended her empire in vast circles around the globe. France, in obedience

to the same law, has disturbed and convulsed the nations of the earth for two hundred years, and made her language the conventional language of the world. In obedience to the same law, Spain, lethargic as she was, discovered the one half of the globe; and Portugal, even less developed, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, as a civilized State, rescued from oblivion the other half. History is only a record of this political activity of nations.

How can this national activity of the American people be repressed, if it be wise to repress it? It never has been repressed. On the contrary, it has always had free scope. Our rescue of the dominion over so much of the continent from Spain, France, and England, as we now enjoy, has been only the exercise of that activity. We have rescued enough for present uses, and for improvement for a considerable period in the future. What is to be done? This activity will not be repressed. Let me say now, that it will henceforth manifest itself either in a pacific form, in the form of peaceful enterprise, or in a martial form. One form or the other it must necessarily assume. It is for us to determine whether it shall be a pacific or a military one. If any think that it can be repressed or conjured into peace by words, what they see going on in Central America, and in Sonora, and Chihuahua, ought to satisfy them that Young America is not to be held in a state of rest by fastening green withes upon his limbs.

Now, sir, I am not to say, for the first time here, that if there is a choice, I am for securing a peaceful direction of the activity of the nation. Peaceful activity is safer; it is cheaper; it is surer; it saves all the elements of national strength and national power, and increases them. War is desolating; and even the best advantages which it confers are obtained at the cost of the distraction of large and precious energies of the human race. Besides, history teaches us nothing, if it does not teach us that a chronic national passion for war is incompatible with the maintenance of our free republican institutions. If I were asked why it is that the British race here is republican, and yet monarchical in Europe, I should answer, it is because there it affects war; here it cherishes peace.

If we are to have a peaceful exercise of the national activity, it must be confined at home. War necessarily attends it, or results from its labors, when it passes our own boundaries. It is subject to the popular sympathies and affections when exercised at home. What other domestic ambition have we? what other employment? What other field is there at home for exercise of our activity, but the improvement of the resources of wealth, of strength, and of power, which lie in the great regions which we have lately added to our empire? The Pacific railroad will give peaceful employment to this activity for a considerable period; perhaps, sir, throughout your life as well as mine. It will be within our own borders; it will be altogether subject to our own laws; it will bring us into collision with no foreign State. You may safely build this railroad, at a cost of \$100,000,000,

and employ one hundred thousand men a year in the construction of it, and have peace with all nations; but, sir, you cannot send a steamship on a voyage from New York to San Juan, without incurring some risk of foreign war.

Mr. President, if we are to secure the exercise of this activity peaceably and at home, and in an enterprise like this of the Pacific road, it devolves upon Congress to direct it. It is a political enterprise, and must be controlled, directed, and sustained, by some power. It is incapable of self-direction. Individuals cannot direct it; commerce will not do it; the States have become sedentary forces; and the Federal Government, the common Government of all the States, which alone is responsible for this great work, and alone possesses the power and can control the means, must secure to the public activity the needful direction to attain that end.

My words are intended, Mr. President, rather to bring together, if possible, the friends and supporters of this measure, than to win new friends to its behalf. I have only one other thought to express. Every Senator may naturally desire, that when he shall retire from public life, he shall leave behind him some monument of his patriotism, of his wisdom, and

of his devotion to the interests of his country and to civilization. I can conceive of no monument which would be at once so imposing and so lasting as a single vote cast in favor of this great enterprise, emphatically the enterprise of our country and of our age. It was pleasant to me the other day to see, that when we came upon questions of political relations towards those very distant countries, China and Japan, there were peace, harmony, and agreement, in the Senate of the United States. It seems to me now that this great tract of unoccupied lands, waste, desolate, stretching away between us and the Pacific coast, is so distant from the North, so distant from the South, so separated from us, so isolated, so new and strange to us all, that we can meet there as in a common field, leaving all our jealousies and contentions behind us, and improve it for the common benefit of our posterity, and for the welfare and happiness of the human race. Whoever shall come into that field, in that spirit, will entitle himself to the praise which the Roman historian gave to that statesman whom, above all others, he honored and loved: "He was moderate in acting for himself; but, when acting for the Commonwealth, was dignified and effective."

WASHINGTON, D. C.
BUELL & BLANCHARD, PRINTERS.
1858.