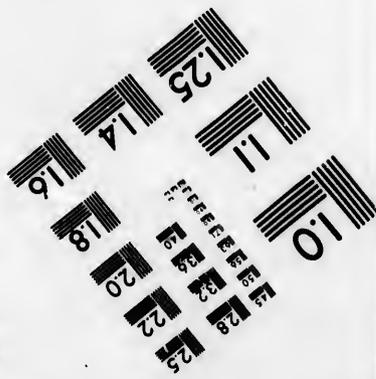
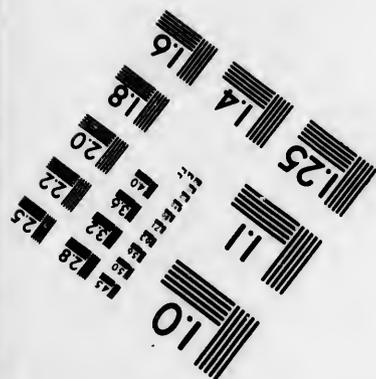
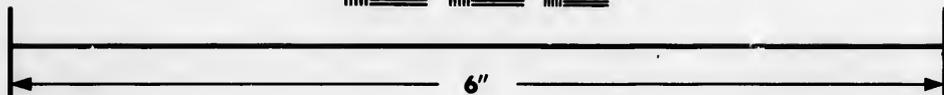
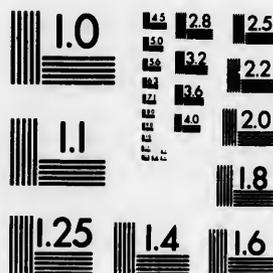


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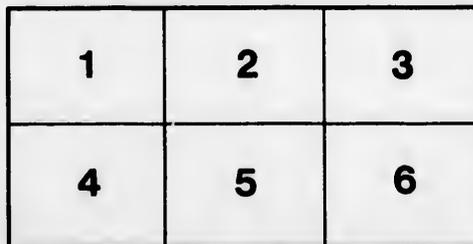
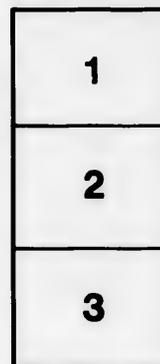
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THE ARGUMENTS

IN FAVOR OF

THE INTERNATIONAL

SUBMARINE TELEGRAPH,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

PREPARED BY RICHARD SUTTON, REPORTER..

**WASHINGTON:
PRINTED AT THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE OFFICE.
1857.**

THE SENATE

REPORT

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INTERNATIONAL SUBMARINE TELEGRAPH.

ON Tuesday, the 23d day of December, 1856, Mr. SEWARD submitted a resolution to the Senate, and it was unanimously adopted, requesting the President of the United States to communicate to the Senate such information as he might have concerning the present condition and the prospects of a proposed plan for connecting by submarine wires the magnetic telegraph lines on this continent and Europe. The President in reply, on the 7th of January, 1857, transmitted to the Senate a report from the Secretary of State, which was referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

On the 9th of January, Mr. SEWARD obtained leave to introduce a bill (S. No. 493) to expedite telegraphic communication for the use of the Government in foreign intercourse; which was read twice, and referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads; and on the 13th of January, it was reported back by Mr. COLLAMER without amendment. On the 21st of January, the Senate proceeded to its consideration.

The bill provides that the Secretary of State, in the discretion and under the direction of the President of the United States, may contract with any competent person, persons, or association, for the aid of the United States in laying down a submarine cable to connect existing telegraphs between the coast of Newfoundland and the coast of Ireland, and for the use of such submarine communication when established, by the Government of the United States, on such terms and conditions as shall seem to the President just and reasonable. It is, however, provided that the Government of Great Britain shall, before or at the same time, enter into a like contract for those purposes with the same person, persons, or association, and upon terms of exact equality with those stipulated by the United States; and that the tariff of prices for the use of such submarine communication by the public shall be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States and the Government of Great Britain, or its authorized agent. The United States is to enjoy the use of this submarine tele-

graph communication for a period of fifty years, on the same terms and conditions which shall be stipulated in favor of the Government of Great Britain, in a contract to be entered into.

At the request of Mr. COLLAMER, the documents transmitted to the Senate by the President of the United States, in response to Mr. SEWARD's resolution of the 23d of December, were read, as follows:

To the Senate of the United States:

In compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 23d instant, requesting the President to communicate "to the Senate, if not incompatible with the public interest, such information as he may have concerning the present condition and prospects of a proposed plan for connecting, by submarine wires, the magnetic telegraphic lines on this continent and Europe," I transmit the accompanying report from the Secretary of State.

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

WASHINGTON, December 29, 1856.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, December 26, 1856.

The Secretary of State, to whom was referred the resolution of the Senate of the 23d instant, requesting the President "to communicate to the Senate, if not incompatible with the public interest, such information as he may have concerning the present condition and prospects of a proposed plan for connecting, by submarine wires, the magnetic telegraph lines on this continent and Europe," has the honor to lay before the President a copy of a letter of the 15th instant, which he has also referred to this Department, addressed to him by the president and directors of the New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraph Company.

W. L. MARCY.

To the President of the United States.

OFFICE OF THE NEW YORK, NEWFOUNDLAND,
AND LONDON TELEGRAPH COMPANY,
NEW YORK, December 15, 1856.

SIR: The undersigned, directors of the New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraph Company, have the

honor to inform you that contracts have been made for the manufacture of the submarine telegraphic cable to connect the continents of Europe and America; and that it is expected to have the line between New York and London open for business by the 4th of July, 1857. A communication to this effect having been laid before the Lords Commissioners of her Britannic Majesty's Treasury, elicited a reply, of which we have now the honor to submit to you an official copy, just received by the United States mail steamship Atlantic, from Cyrus W. Field, Esq., vice president of this company. As the work has been prosecuted thus far with American capital, aided by the efforts of your Administration to ascertain the feasibility of the enterprise, it is the earnest desire of the directors to secure to the Government of the United States equal privileges with those stipulated for by the British Government. To this desire the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury have acceded in the most liberal spirit, by providing "That the British Government shall have a priority in the conveyance of their messages over all others, subject to the exception only of the Government of the United States, in the event of their entering into an arrangement with the telegraph company similar in principle to that of the British Government, in which case the messages of the two Governments shall have priority in the order in which they arrive at the stations." In view of the great international interests of this Government, and the constant recurrence of grave questions, in the solution of which time will be an essential element, we cannot doubt that the reservation made in favor of the United States will be deemed of great importance. We therefore hasten to communicate the facts in question, and to request, in view of the fact that the present Congress will soon terminate its existence, and that the cable will be laid, if no accident prevents, before the new Congress commences its session, that you will take such action in the premises as you may deem the interests of this Government to require.

The company will enter into a contract with the Government of the United States on the same terms and conditions as it has made with the British Government; such a contract will, we suppose, fall within the provisions of the Constitution in regard to postal arrangements, of which this is only a new and improved form.

We have the honor, also, to call your attention to the second proviso in the letter of the Lords Commissioners, to the following effect:

"Her Majesty's Government engages to furnish the aid of ships to make what soundings may still be considered needful, or to verify those already taken, and favorably to consider any request that may be made to furnish aid by their vessels in laying down the cable."

We are informed that no private steamships now built are adapted to laying a cable of such dimensions as is proposed to be used, but that the war steamers recently finished by our Government are arranged to the very best advantage for this purpose.

To avoid failure in laying the cable, it is desirable to use every precaution, and we therefore have the honor to request that you will make such recommendation to Congress as will secure authority to detail a steamship for this purpose, so that the glory of accomplishing what has been justly styled "the crowning enterprise of the age" may be divided between the greatest and freest Governments on the face of the globe.

With great respect, we have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servants,

PETER COOPER,
President.
M. O. ROBERTS,
MOSES TAYLOR,
WILSON G. HUNT,
Directors.

The President of the United States.

TREASURY CHAMBERS, November 20, 1856.

SIR: Having laid before the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury your letter of the 13th ultimo, addressed to the Earl of Clarendon, requesting, on behalf of the New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraph Company, certain privileges and protection in regard to the line of telegraph which it is proposed to establish between Newfoundland and Ireland, I am directed by their lordships to acquaint you that they are prepared to enter into a contract with the said telegraph company, based upon the following conditions, viz:

1. It is understood that the capital required to lay down the line will be (£350,000) three hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

2. Her Majesty's Government engage to furnish the aid of ships to take what soundings may still be considered needful, or to verify those already taken, and favorably to consider any request that may be made to furnish aid by their vessels in laying down the cable.

3. The British Government, from the time of the completion of the line, and so long as it shall continue in working order, undertakes to pay at the rate of (£14,000) fourteen thousand pounds a year, being at the rate of four per cent. on the assumed capital, as a fixed remuneration for the work done on behalf of the Government, in the conveyance outward and homeward of their messages. This payment to continue until the net profits of the company are equal to a dividend of six pounds per cent., when the payment shall be reduced to (£10,000) ten thousand pounds a year, for a period of twenty-five years.

It is, however, understood that if the Government messages in any year shall, at the usual tariff rate charged to the public, amount to a larger sum, such additional payment shall be made as is equivalent thereto.

4. That the British Government shall have a priority in the conveyance of their messages over all others, subject to the exception only of the Government of the United States, in the event of their entering into an arrangement with the telegraph company similar in principle to that of the British Government, in which case the messages of the two Governments shall have priority in the order in which they arrive at the stations.

5. That the tariff of charges shall be fixed with the consent of the Treasury, and shall not be increased, without such consent being obtained, as long as this contract lasts.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES WILSON.

CYRUS W. FIELD, Esq., 37 Jermyn street.

Mr. HUNTER suggested that the bill would be more satisfactory if the amount to be expended by the President were limited.

Mr. COLLAMER replied: The bill expressly provides that the President shall be limited to the

terms which proposition British Treasury the cost of limit of the expenditure that percent It is stipulated Treasury, the messages at the price exceed £14, the excess price stipulated Government which that

Mr. RUM by the Government that Government ships in lay not exceed when complete to the per cent. upon require propose to Government stipulations and in those shall have the want to use the United was doubt Government equally with the line, and

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terms which the British Government make. The proposition of the Lords Commissioners of the British Treasury is to pay a certain per cent. on the cost of the work, amounting to £14,000. The grant is limited so as not to exceed four per cent. of the expense of laying the telegraph down; and that percentage is calculated to amount to £14,000. It is stipulated by the Commissioners of the Treasury, that if the British Government send messages over the line in any one year which, at the price charged to the community, would exceed £14,000, they are to make allowance for the excess. The President is not to exceed the price stipulated in the contract made by the British Government, and we are to have all the rights which that Government may possess.

Mr. RUSK said: A proposition was submitted by the company, asking for the aid of the British Government, and an answer was received from that Government agreeing to furnish the aid of ships in laying down the wire, and to pay a sum not exceeding £14,000 for the use of the work when completed. In other words, they will secure to the company an amount equal to four per cent. upon what they said would be the capital required to complete the work. Then we propose to do precisely what the British Government has done. They have made certain stipulations as to having the use of the telegraph; and in those stipulations they provide that they shall have the preference over every one that may want to use the line, except the Government of the United States. This leaves an opening, and was doubtless intended to do so, to permit the Government of the United States to contribute equally with the British Government in aiding the line, and then having an equal use of it.

In the first place, I think there is no danger of the contract being changed by the British Government, especially when it has been based on a proposition made by the parties, and accepted by the British Government. They would not be likely to change it without consulting the Government of the United States, because they seem to desire that the Government of the United States should be put on precisely the same footing with themselves. The bill puts the two Governments exactly on the same footing; and it places the whole power in regard to this contract, on our part, in the hands of the President. It is an experiment, and a very important experiment. The amount which it is likely to take from the Treasury of the United States will be only \$70,000 a year.

Mr. SEWARD. If this is to be the most serious opposition to the bill, I can remove all objection to it by proposing amendments calculated to meet the objection. It is only a matter of detail; and if the honorable chairman will allow me, I will read the amendments I propose to offer to remove the objection. The first is: after the words "just and reasonable," in the eleventh line, to insert:

Not exceeding \$70,000 per annum, until the net profits of such person or persons or association shall be equal to a dividend of six per cent. per annum, and then not exceeding \$50,000 per annum for twenty-five years.

This amendment brings it down to the proposition already made. I propose, also, a further amendment at the close of the bill:

Provided further, That the contract so to be made by the British Government shall not be different from that already proposed by that Government to the New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraph Company.

This amendment narrows the bill down to the very proposition now made by the British Government. Details were avoided in the framing of the bill. Take these two amendments together, and they remove all the objections to the bill which have thus far been made.

Mr. RUSK. I was going to say that the bill proposes, in its present shape, only \$70,000 a year for a very important experiment, about which it is unnecessary for me to speak to the Senate. Every one can see that it is of great importance. With a reasonable probability of success in an enterprise of this description, calculated to produce such beneficial results, I should be willing to vote \$200,000.

I shall vote against the amendments proposed by the Senator from New York, because I apprehend no danger from the bill in its present shape.

As the papers which have been read show, this is an experiment. A portion of the ships of the United States are to be used in it. The British Government propose to furnish ships for laying down the cable; and we, I take it for granted, will do the same thing.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I regret that the Senator from Texas cannot vote for the amendments of the Senator from New York. If the amendments should be adopted, the proposition will be precisely what the Senator from Texas understands it to be without the amendments. What, then, is the objection to their adoption? As the bill now stands, it is liable to the objection which has been made of uncertainty as to the amount of our obligation.

For one, I am willing to agree to the proposition to pay a sum not exceeding \$70,000 a year for the services which this telegraphic company propose to render our Government under the circumstances; but I prefer to specify on the face of the bill the extent of our obligations.

Mr. SEWARD. I think, if the Senator from Texas will reconsider his opinion, he will find that we do not probably impair the probability of getting this great enterprise accomplished by adopting the amendments I have proposed. I wish to remark that the wire required to be laid down is already made. The whole enterprise has heretofore been conducted with American capital. On the 4th of July next, if this bill shall pass, there will be, for all practical purposes, an electric girdle around the world. All that is wanted is to pass this bill. All that this bill proposes is just what the British Government has agreed to do. It is proposed to use the vessels belonging to the United States Navy, and the British Government has agreed to lend vessels belonging to the British navy, for the purpose of laying the wire. The reason for this requisition is, that there is not, in the commercial marine of either country, such steam vessels as are adapted

to spinning out this wire along the bottom of the Atlantic ocean:

Further: the British Government agrees to pay, provided we will agree to pay, a sum not exceeding £14,000 sterling, which, at \$4 80 to the pound, is something less than \$70,000 a year, for the use of the telegraphic wire. The bill proposes that we pay the same sum for the like use. These payments to continue until the persons laying the wire shall, by the tariff to be agreed upon by the two countries, secure profits equal to six per cent. per annum; and then the annual payments to be made for the use of the wire by each Government are to be reduced to £10,000, or something less than \$50,000 a year.

With respect to the suggestions made by the honorable Senator from Virginia, I have framed two amendments which will exactly limit this bill to the proposition which has been made by the British Government to the company, and which the company have not accepted, because they wait for the action of this Government, but which they are prepared to accept, provided we make the same contract with them. If we do not make this contract, the British Government will have the priority of messages, and we will have to pay according to the tariff they establish. If we make this contract, each party will have priority accordingly as its messages arrive first at the office of the telegraph company. Will the honorable Senator from Texas waive his objection to the amendments?

Mr. RUSK. I do not care particularly whether the amendments be adopted or not; but I shall vote against them.

The amendments were agreed to.

Mr. HUNTER. There is another matter which seems to me to require some safeguards. Both the termini of this telegraphic line are in the British dominions. What security are we to have that in time of war we shall have the use of the telegraph as well as the British Government?

Mr. SEWARD. It appears not to have been contemplated by the British Government—and I hope they proceeded rationally when they made this proposition to this telegraphic company—that there would ever be any interruption of the amicable relations between the two countries. Therefore nothing was proposed in their contract for the contingency of war. When this question first came up that difficulty presented itself to my mind, and I suggested to the telegraphic company that it ought to be the subject of a treaty between the United States and Great Britain. I sent them to the President of the United States and the Secretary of State for the purpose of seeing whether the whole matter could not be regulated by a treaty which would secure provision for the contingency of war; but such negotiations and other difficulties would protract the whole affair until after the 4th of July, which is after this session. The papers were returned to the Senate without any notice of the question now raised, concerning the contingency of war, or, indeed, any other, by the President; and now the question arises, what shall be done?

That the two termini are both in the British dominions is true; but it is equally true that there

is no other terminus on this continent where it is practicable to make that communication except in the British dominions. We have no dominions on the other side of the Atlantic ocean. There is no other route known on which the telegraphic wire could be drawn through the ocean so as to find a proper resting-place or anchorage except this. The distance on this route is seventeen hundred miles. It is not even known that the telegraphic wire will carry the fluid with sufficient strength to communicate across those seventeen hundred miles. That is yet a scientific experiment, and the company are prepared to make it.

In regard to war, all the danger there is is this: There is a hazard of war at some future time, and I have to say, whatever arrangements we might make, war would break them up—at least, war would probably break them up. There can be no stipulation of treaty that would save us the benefit desired. The probability is, if we ever get into a war with Great Britain—which I hope may never happen—we shall then have to strike for one of the two terminations, if not both, in order to secure to ourselves the benefit of it. In the mean time, if this intercourse shall be suspended, in such case certainly we shall not have to pay for it after war is declared. According to the theory of the bill, the British Government will have to pay the whole expense, and we shall be as well off as now.

A delay would throw the matter over another year, and delay the whole system. My own hope is, that after the telegraphic wire is once laid, there will be no more war between the United States and Great Britain. I think it will result, after some years—some centuries, perhaps, or half centuries—in reducing the expense of diplomatic intercourse, as well as preventing war. I believe that whenever such a connection as this shall be made, we diminish the chances of war, and diminish them in such a degree that it is not necessary to take them into consideration at the present moment.

I have only one other word on that subject, and that is, that the use of this telegraph in time of war, if it should come, is a proper subject for treaty. The spirit manifested between the two countries is such as to make it not less probable than desirable, on the one part as the other, that it can be regulated by treaty after this bill shall have passed.

Let us see where we are? What shall we gain by refusing to enter into this agreement? If we do not make it, the British Government has only to add £10,000 sterling more annually, and they have the whole monopoly of this wire, without any stipulation whatever—not only in war but in peace. If we make this contract with the company, we at least secure the benefit of it in time of peace, and we postpone and delay the dangers of war. If there shall ever be war, it would abrogate all treaties that can be made in regard to this subject, unless it be true, as the honorable Senator from Virginia thinks, that treaties can be made which will be regarded as obligatory by nations in time of war. If so, we have all the advantages in time of peace, for the purpose of

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making such treaties hereafter, without the least reason to infer that there would be any reluctance on the part of the British Government to enter into that negotiation with us, if we should desire to do so. In the mean time, the delay would protract and endanger the completion of this enterprise, and throw it back. The wire is ready, except that a national vessel is wanted for the purpose of laying it. It involves no expense—no contribution on the part of the United States. The British Government, if it had such a disposition as the honorable Senator supposes, would certainly have proposed to monopolize all this telegraphic line, instead of proposing to divide it.

Mr. HALE. It seems to me that the war spirit and the contingencies of war are brought in a little too often upon matters of legislation which have no necessary connection with them. If we are to be governed by considerations of that sort, they would paralyze all improvement; they would stop the great appropriations for commerce; they would at once neutralize that policy which sets our ocean steamers afloat. Nobody pretends that the intercourse which is kept up between Great Britain and this country by our ocean steamers would be continued in time of war; nor the communication with France or other nations.

If we are deterred for that reason, we shall be pursuing a policy that will paralyze improvements on those parts of the coast which lie contiguous to the lakes. The city of Detroit will have to be abandoned, beautiful and progressive as it is, because in time of war the mansions of her citizens there lie within the range of British guns.

What will the suspension bridge at Niagara be good for in a time of war? If the British cut off their end of it, our end will not be worth much. I believe that among the things which will bind us together in peace, this telegraphic wire will be one of the most potent. It will bind the two countries together literally with cords of iron that will hold us in the bonds of peace. I am not one of those who are to hesitate about this if it is demonstrated, and I believe it is, that it will be useful and valuable in peace, subservient to the great cause of the advancement of civilization and the diffusion of information. I repudiate entirely the policy which refuses to adopt it, because in time of war it may be interrupted. Such a policy as that would drive us back to a state of barbarism. It would destroy the spirit of progress; it would retard improvement; it would paralyze all the advances which are making us a more civilized, and a more informed and a better people than the one which preceded us.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am willing to vote for this bill as a peace measure, as a commercial measure—but not as a war measure; and when war comes, let us rely on our power and ability to take this end of the wire, and keep it. In that view of the case, I have no trouble in voting for the bill as modified on the motion of the Senator from New York.

Mr. RUSK. A short time ago it was regarded as impracticable to lay down a line of telegraph across the ocean. At that time everybody supposed it would be a matter of vast importance, politically,

socially, and commercially, to be able to transmit in a few minutes the intelligence which we receive from Europe which now requires from ten days to two weeks for its transmission. Some experiments have been made in laying down a telegraphic wire under the water, and it has been found to work well. Enterprising American citizens started the idea for the purpose of shortening the time for the reception of various kinds of information, political, social, and commercial, which is transmitted between this country and Europe. They made an experiment which convinced them that it was practicable to lay down a wire across the ocean. They got together and raised the money that has been spent, and have gone on and astonished the public mind with the rapidity of their movements. These American citizens applied to the British Government for aid in this business. The British Government came forward at once and extended aid.

Now, sir, the aid which is asked from the Government of the United States will place us precisely on an equal footing with England in this enterprise, which I regard as the great enterprise of the age. This is not the only submarine telegraph that is going to be located. It would be difficult for us now to tell where they will not be put. The British Government made this proposition, and our own citizens come back and ask us to take an equal share in the experiment, and in the benefits and profits, if we make it a matter of dollars and cents. If we have no intercourse with foreign nations—if it is not a matter of importance for us to know anything of the political affairs of foreign countries, then we have no interest as a Government in it. If it is not important for us, we have been pursuing a foolish course, for we are spending a great sum of money in sustaining a large diplomatic corps at different places to obtain political information for the use of our Government.

The advantages of this work will be mutual, and they must be mutual, between the United States and Great Britain. It is impossible for one nation at this age to get a great advantage over another in means of communication, because, when a communication is made, it will be open to the intelligence and enterprise and capital of all. If I were inquiring into the advantages to result from this measure, I should be at a loss to find any branch of industry that would not be benefited by it. I should be at a loss to find any portion of the community that would not, more or less, feel the benefit of a communication between this country and Europe which would occupy but a few moments. If I were to select any particular section of the country that would be more benefited than another, I would select the very section from which the honorable Senator from Georgia and myself come. We have very large commercial intercourse with the European Powers, especially with England. It is the general impression (and I think very well founded) of practical and experienced men, that rapid transportation of intelligence in commercial matters is of very great importance. It is a saving of labor and a saving of capital. If you can transmit intelligence rapidly, it puts all the advantages of a

new state of the market at the disposition of all those whom it can reach. What enters more largely than any other thing into our commerce with the world? Cotton. The section of country from which the honorable Senator and myself come, exports upwards of \$100,000,000 worth of cotton every year; and I do not know of any article of commerce or production in regard to which rapid intelligence from the place of its consumption and the market where it is sold, is of greater importance than to the cotton grower.

On the 23d of January the debate was resumed.

Mr. SEWARD said, in regard to some objection made by Mr. PUGH: So far as any national rights are at hazard, or are involved in this question, they naturally would fall under the supervision of the President of the United States, who has charge of the foreign relations of the country. If he shall deem it necessary to protect any interest of the United States in peace or war he will be able to do so; and this bill, when it becomes a law, reposes the whole duty to be performed by it in the President and in his discretion, and is not mandatory on him at all. If, therefore, the President shall think the public interest requires to be protected, it is to be presumed he will not enter into this contract until a treaty has been made for that purpose.

Mr. BENJAMIN said: The sum of money that this Government proposes to give for the use of this telegraph will amount, in the twenty-five years, to something between £300,000 and £400,000. Now, if this be a matter of such immense importance to Great Britain—if this be the golden opportunity—and if, indeed, her control of this line be such a powerful engine, whether in war or in peace, is it not most extraordinary that she proposes to us a full share in its benefits and in its control, and allows to our Government equal rights with herself in the transmission of communications for the sum of about £300,000, to be paid in annual installments through twenty-five years? It is obvious that this is not looked upon by the British Government in the light in which the Senator from Ohio views it. It is obvious that, if this be indeed a very important instrumentality in behalf of Great Britain for the conduct of her commerce, the government of her possessions, or the efficient action of her troops in time of war, the £300,000 expended upon it are but as a drop in the bucket when compared with the immense resources of that empire. I think, therefore, we may as well discard from our consideration of this subject all these visions about the immense importance of the governmental aid in this matter, to be rendered under the provisions of this bill.

Again, sir, it has been suggested that there is a question of constitutional power. If we have a right to hire a warehouse at Port Mahon, in the Mediterranean, for storing naval stores, have we not a right to hire a company to carry our messages? Does this bill propose the construction of a line of telegraph by the Government? Does it propose the appropriation of money out of the Federal Treasury for any purpose not anticipated by the Constitution? Not at all, sir. A company comes here and tells us, "If you will

pay us so much per annum for such a service for such a length of time, we will perform that service for you; it is one in which your Government is interested; if you will not give us that pay for that service, we may or we may not be able hereafter to render it upon terms which we shall have the power to exact; but if you will not make that contract now in advance, we, our side, will not bind ourselves; you must abide the issue of the enterprise, and be subject to such exactions as we please to impose if you want to use the work."

That is all; and I should as soon think of questioning the constitutional power of the Government to pay freight to a vessel for carrying its mail bags across the ocean, as to pay a telegraphic company a certain sum per annum for conveying its messages by the use of the electric telegraph. We are not engaging in any enterprise authority for which is not committed to us by the Constitution. We do not propose to join in constructing this work; but deeming it in advance a work of great public importance and interest, not only to the Government, but to the people of the United States, we say to the men engaged in a private enterprise, that if they will embark in this enterprise, we will hire their services in advance at a fixed rate. It is by the allotment of this offer of something of extra pay that they will be induced to hazard their own fortunes in an enterprise which, if successful, will bring fruits to them; if unsuccessful, will entail no losses upon us, for we are to pay nothing until they begin to carry our messages.

Now, if there be no objection on the constitutional ground, and if the advantages of this telegraphic wire, as a war measure, have been so much exaggerated, as I am inclined to think they have been, what earthly objection can be made to this appropriation? Observe, Mr. President, that this is our position: Great Britain holds the two termini of this line. She holds it; and can appropriate it exclusively, whenever she pleases, to the use of her own Government and her own citizens. She has appropriated to it a certain amount of aid; and if it were as important an element in time of peace or war as gentlemen make it out to be, and as I am inclined to think it is, it would be perfectly within the power of that Government to control its use forever. It need not come offering to us to neutralize its undoubted possessions, and give us equal advantages with itself and its citizens for the miserable pittance of £350,000 sterling, to be paid to a private company, many of whom are themselves American citizens. So far from pursuing this niggardly and unwise policy, the British Government, having the whole matter in its own hands, has said with great liberality—with credible good feeling towards this country: "We will not take advantage of this exclusive control; we will give money freely to aid this private company in this great enterprise; and we will go further—we will recognize the recent testimonial of good feeling that has been sent to us by our brethren across the Atlantic, and we will repay that testimonial of good feeling sent to us by a tender to them of that which is infinitely more

valuable—they have to us as a grace sacrifice of a lively possession, the spirit of servative of much to ch we all do by

Now, sir, the result? shall have to with the Government has It uses the pleasures, for eluded from with the c you that, e influence ar will, after th agree to ca Government they are an will be ind an opportu cation on t If we give quire equal rights—our communi cal whole coun we can see some patr Britain may future time

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valuable—ininitely more important than what they have done for Great Britain." Ours, sir, was a graceful act of generosity; here is a great sacrifice of national advantages which she exclusively possesses, and which she tenders to us in the spirit of amity—in a spirit which will be preservative of that peace which we all profess so much to cherish, but which, I am much afraid, we all do but too little to preserve.

Now, sir, without this bargain, what will be the result? This line will be laid; and after it shall have been laid, by the terms of the contract with the Government of Great Britain, that Government has the precedence with all its dispatches. It uses the telegraph as it pleases, and how it pleases, for governmental purposes. We are excluded from it; or if we hereafter make a bargain with the company, after the line is done, think you that, controlled as they will be by British influence and by British interests, that company will, after they have succeeded in this enterprise, agree to carry the messages of this people and Government for less than they now offer, when they are anxious for our aid, of which then they will be independent? Never, sir, shall we have an opportunity of making use of this communication on the same advantageous terms as now. If we give equal aid with Great Britain, we acquire equal control; our Government has equal rights—our citizens have equal power to use this communication for the common interests of the whole country. Shall we give up all this when we can secure it for so small a pittance, upon some paltry jealousy of the use which Great Britain may make of this communication at some future time in some possible contingency of war.

Mr. President, let us not always be thinking of war; let us be using means to preserve peace. The amount that would be expended by this Government in six months' war with Great Britain, would far exceed everything that we shall have to pay for the use of this telegraphic line for the entire twenty-five years of the contract; and do you not believe that this instrumentality will be sufficiently efficient to bind together the peace, the commerce, and the interests of the two countries, so as even to defer a war for six months or twelve months, if one should ever become inevitable, beyond the period at which it would otherwise occur? If it does that, it will in six or eight or nine months repay the expenditures of twenty-five years, during all which time we shall have had our Government dispatches conveyed gratis, and our people entitled to the same use of the line during peace as the citizens of Great Britain.

Sir, when I reflect on this subject, I shudder to think of the advantages which the English public, the English commerce, and the English Government will have over ours if we reject this proposition. It was very well said yesterday by the Senator from Texas, that in all the bargains of this great bargaining and commercial country, British subjects will have the advantage of ten days more recent information than the citizens of the United States. It is now in Great Britain's power to effect this end. It is now in her power to monopolize this communication. If we held it, should we not be disposed to monopolize

it? From what I have heard in the Senate on this subject, my judgment is that we should be, or many of us would be, in favor of monopolizing it; and yet, without price, without condition, upon a footing of perfect equality, Great Britain says to this Government, "Come forward; join us in giving the same aid to this great enterprise that we ourselves are ready to give, and your Government and your people may take advantage of it, though we own the two shores on each side of the Atlantic at the sole point on earth where those two shores can be combined and united together by telegraphic communication." That is tendered to us unconditionally; and gentlemen say they will not take it because Great Britain, if we should ever have a war hereafter, might refuse us in time of war all these benefits which she is offering to us in time of peace. I must confess, Mr. President, that this argument appears to me to be very strange. She can hold all. She offers us a fair share of everything while peace shall last. We all profess to be desirous of peace. We all suppose peace will be enduring—not forever; I do not believe in the arrival of the Utopian age; but we all profess to believe that peace will be enduring; and shall we cut off our Government and our people from the use of this communication for, perhaps, generations to come, upon the fear, or the pretext of the fear, that some day Great Britain may use it in time of war? Once again, sir, I say, if she wants it for war she will put it there at her own expense. It is not three hundred thousand pounds or four hundred thousand pounds that will arrest her. If, on the contrary, this be useful to commerce—useful in an eminent degree—useful for the preservation of peace, then I confess I feel some pride that my country should aid in establishing it. I confess I feel a glow of something like pride that I belong to the great human family when I see these triumphs of science, by which mind is brought into instant communication with mind across the intervening oceans, which, to our unenlightened forefathers, seemed placed there by Providence as an eternal barrier to communication between man and man. Now, sir, we speak from minute to minute. Scarcely can a gun be fired in war on the European shore ere its echoes will reverberate among our own mountains, and be heard by every citizen in the land. All this is a triumph of science—of American genius, and I for one feel proud of it, and feel desirous of sustaining and promoting it.

Mr. RUSK. Men of enterprise, men of intelligence and skill, originated the idea of establishing a submarine telegraph between this continent and Ireland. They organized a company, and have had, I believe, from our ships, a great many soundings to ascertain the practicability of laying down this wire. Then an American citizen, Cyrus W. Field, goes to the English Government, and asks them what they will do in aid of this work. He is a resident of New York. The British Government entertain a proposition from an American citizen, and offer to do certain things:

"Her Majesty's Government engage to furnish the aid of ships to take what soundings may still be considered needful, or to verify those already taken; and favorably to

consider any request that may be made to furnish aid by their vessels in laying down the cable."

It is not denied that it will be of important benefit to commerce. The Senator from Virginia admits that it will be a matter of great importance to the commerce of the country; and yet he says we ought not to incur this large expenditure of sending a ship to make a few soundings, and help to lay down the cable, because it is an expense for the benefit of commerce! My opinion is that it will be of more benefit to our commerce than to that of Great Britain. We have sent out ships to make explorations and observations in the Red Sea and in South America. We sent one or two expensive expeditions to Japan, and published at great cost some elegant books narrating their exploits. What object had we there but to extend our commerce? The expense even in ships alone, in that instance, was at the rate of twenty to one here, but no cry of economy was then raised. I come now to the money portion:

"The British Government, from the time of the completion of the line, and so long as it shall continue in working order, undertake to pay at the rate of £14,000 a year."

The line must be completed before any payment can be made, and the payment is only to be continued as long as the line is in working order. That is the whole of the great assault on the Treasury.

I am not disposed to consume the time of the Senate; nor am I inclined to talk to grave Senators about the importance of this experiment, which I regard as the experiment of the age, in bringing nations nearer together, and doing away with the causes which exist for disagreement and war, and extending commerce, by which civilized nations exist. I will not undertake to talk to those who know as well as, and perhaps better than I do, of the vast advantages which may result from this telegraph. At all events, the money is not to be paid unless the experiment is successful. The ships may be sent there to assist in laying the cable. I think that is better than to keep them rotting at the navy-yards with the officers frolicking on shore.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I do not regard this as a war measure in any sense of the word. It is essentially a peace measure—a commercial measure, so far as its advantages are concerned; and I am disposed to look upon it purely in that light. I believe its tendency will be to cultivate better feelings between the two countries. I believe the closer it brings us together, the more it will obliterate those prejudices which certainly do exist to a considerable extent between the two nations.

Our policy is essentially a policy of peace. We want peace with the whole world, above all other considerations. There never has been a time in the history of this Republic, when peace was more essential to our prosperity, to our advancement, and to our progress, than it is now. We have made great progress in time of peace—an almost inconceivable progress since the last war with Great Britain. Twenty-five years more of peace will put us far in advance of any other nation on earth. Upon examining the memorial of this company to the President of the United

States, I find that they ask for the use of but one ship. They want one British steamer to start from the coast of Ireland with the wire westward, and one American steamer to start with the wire eastward; and when the two ships meet, they are to fasten the wire together, and let it drop, and the work is done.

What injury is this to the United States in a pecuniary point of view, or in any other respect? Will it cost anything to furnish the use of one of our steamships? They are idle; we have no practical use for them at present. They are in commission. They have their coal on board, and their full armament. They will be rendering no service to us if they are not engaged in this work. Why not allow the use of one of our steamships to transport this wire from the coast of Newfoundland to the center of the ocean, where they are to meet the British ship? If there was nothing more than a question of national pride involved, I would gladly furnish the use of an American ship for that purpose. England tenders one of her national vessels, and why should we not tender one also? It costs England nothing, and it costs us nothing.

But American citizens have commenced this enterprise. The honor and the glory of the achievement, if successful, will be due to American genius and American daring. Why should the American Government be so parsimonious—I do not know that that is the proper word, for it costs nothing—why should we be actuated by so illiberal a spirit as to refuse the use of one of our steamships to convey the wire, when it does not cost one farthing to the Treasury of the United States? We did furnish more—indefinitely more than that, to help to take the soundings across this very line for the benefit of commerce. We thought it was a matter of honor and credit to this Government to be engaged in the great scientific work of determining the depth of the ocean, and the tracks of vessels across it, in order to save life and expedite the transportation of persons and property. Why not use one ship for this purpose?

Then the only remaining expense to the United States is \$70,000 a year, that we are to furnish for the transmission of intelligence over this line. If you look into this proposition you will find that the expenditure is to begin when the line is in operation. Our compensation is to be the same that the British Government make. We are not to pay a dollar of money for laying down the wire. We are not to contribute a dollar to the establishment of the telegraph; but we are to pay for the intelligence that we cause to be transmitted over it after it shall be in operation. The proposition is this:

"The British Government, from the time of the completion of the line, and so long as it shall continue in working order, undertakes to pay at the rate of (£14,000) fourteen thousand pounds a year."

We do not undertake to pay a dollar unless the enterprise is successful. Suppose they go on and lay down this wire, and it proves unsuccessful: what responsibility do we incur? What loss have we occasioned? Nothing, except the use

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United States in any other respect? Is the use of one steamship idle; we have no other. They are in coal on board, and will be rendering no service if not engaged in this work. The cost of our steamships on the coast of New England, where they were there was nothing but pride involved, the expense of an American steamship and tenders one of which should we not have had nothing, and

commenced this in the glory of the United States due to American pride. Why should we be penurious—I do not mean the word, for it costs nothing, for it is illiberal to be so illiberal as one of our countrymen when it does not cost anything of the United States—infinitely more so in soundings across the ocean. We have honor and credit to be gained in the great science of the ocean, and it is, in order to transportation of passengers one ship for

expense to the United States we are to furnish service over this line. You will find when the line is laid it is to be the same. We are not laying down the wire a dollar to the United States but we are to pay for it to be transmitted to the United States. The proposition

at the time of the completion of working the line (£14,000) fourteen

dollar unless the expense they go on and the expense unsuccessful? What loss is there? What loss is there, except the use

of one steamship in transporting the wire from the American coast to the center of the ocean, where it is to meet a British ship, and the wires are to be attached to each other, and the communication made complete. If it works well, we then incur the responsibility of paying \$70,000 a year for the use of the telegraph by this Government. This is all there is of it; and when the profits of the company shall equal six per cent. on the cost, we are to pay only \$50,000 a year.

I think we gain more than that even in the saving of mail service. It is now a matter of vast importance that our mail steamers should go across the ocean in the shortest possible time. Our vast pecuniary interests depend upon the earliest possible intelligence. When this wire shall be in operation what difference will it make whether the vessels take ten days, or twelve days, in crossing the ocean with the mail bags, when your commercial intelligence is going through each day and each hour? If you have a friend on the other side of the ocean, you can communicate with him in a few hours, if not in a few minutes. If you have any business transactions, you can conduct them as well without the mail as with it. It therefore dispenses with that stern necessity of saving a few hours in the transmission of the mails. I need not spend the time of the Senate to prove that probably one half of the expense of transporting the mails across the ocean is occasioned by the effort to save five or six hours or one day's time in a voyage. You can get your mails carried for half price if you will allow the vessels to take two days more in the voyage. It is for the speed that you pay the bounty. The high bounty is for the greatest possible speed.

When I look into this proposition, I cannot receive on what ground objections to it rest. I cast out of view entirely the war argument; I look upon it solely as a peace, as a commercial, and as a business measure. In that point of view I believe the Government will obtain more service for the amount of money, than by any other contract that we have ever made, or now can make, for the transmission of intelligence. It is a mail operation. It is a Post Office arrangement. It is for the transmission of intelligence, and that is what I understand to be the function of the Post Office Department. I hold it, therefore, to be as legitimately within the proper powers of the Government, as the employing of a stage coach, or a steam car, or a ship, to transport the mails, either to foreign countries or to different portions of our own country.

Is the amount to be paid too much? Clearly not. I will venture now the assertion, that every Senator on this floor was astonished at the small amount of money asked for to accomplish this great object. I had supposed it was going to occasion an expense of several hundreds of thousands of dollars a year instead of \$70,000. I look upon it as a wise and economical measure, as one coming properly within the conceded powers of this Government, and involving no latitudinous or wide construction in order to find the authority of the Government for the measure.

Mr. SEWARD. There was an American

citizen who, in the year 1770, or thereabout, indicated to this country, to Great Britain, and to the world, the use of the lightning for the purposes of communication of intelligence, and that was Dr. Franklin. I am sure that there is not only no member of the Senate, but no American citizen, however humble, who would be willing to have struck out from the achievements of American invention this great discovery of the lightning as an agent for the uses of human society.

The suggestion made by that distinguished and illustrious American was followed up some fifty years afterwards by another suggestion and another indication from another American, and that was Mr. Samuel F. B. Morse, who indicated to the American Government the means by which the lightning could be made to write, and by which the telegraphic wires could be made to supply the place of wind and steam for carrying intelligence.

We have followed out these suggestions of these eminent Americans hitherto, and I am sure at a very small cost. The Government of the United States appropriated \$40,000 to test the practicability of Morse's suggestion; the \$40,000 thus expended established its practicability and its use. Now, there is no person on the face of the globe who can measure the price at which, if a reasonable man, he would be willing to strike from the world the use of the magnetic telegraph as a means of communication between different portions of the same country. This great invention is now to be brought into its further wider and broader use—the use by the general society of nations, international use, the use of the society of mankind. Its benefits are large—just in proportion to the extent and scope of its operation. They are not merely benefits to the Government, but they are benefits to the citizens and subjects of all nations and of all States. I think there is not living in the State of South Carolina, or Tennessee, or Kentucky, or Virginia, a man who would be willing to have the use of the telegraph dispensed with or overthrown in reducing the cost of exchange of his particular products to the markets of the United States. I think so because of the celerity with which communication of the state of demand and supply in a distant market affects the value of the article in the hands of the producer, and reduces by so much the cost of the agencies employed in its sale. Precisely the same thing which thus happens at home must necessarily happen when you apply it to more remote markets in other parts of the world.

I might enlarge further on this subject, but I forbear to do so, because I know that at some future time I shall come across the record of what I have said to-day. I know that then what I have said to-day, by way of anticipation, will fall so far short of the reality of the benefits which individuals, States, and nations will have derived from this great enterprise, that I shall not reflect upon it without disappointment and mortification.

Mr. TOUCEY. No one has made an objection that there is any want of constitutional power, nor that this is not a legitimate object for our

Government. Every objection which has been made resolves itself into one of expediency; and upon that of course there may be a variety of opinions. It is true that the termini of this telegraphic line will be within the dominions of Great Britain exclusively. It is true that withholding this appropriation on the part of our Government will not put an end to this telegraphic communication, provided it be practicable. It will be established; it will go into operation; and it will be a tremendous instrument in the hands of some one to affect the most vital interests of this country. It will put into the hands of those who have the exclusive control of it ten days' information in advance of all the community, with regard to the markets of the European world. When I say that, I say everything that can be said to convey to the mind the vast importance of this communication, if it shall be successful. Then what is the question here? It is simply a question whether we, now that we have an opportunity, shall, by the appropriation of \$70,000 per annum, be placed upon a footing of perfect equality with the Government of Great Britain, within whose dominions will be the two termini of this line; and whether our citizens shall have an equal advantage and an equal right with the subjects of Great Britain, or any other country in the world? Can there be two opinions on that point? Is it possible that the appropriation called for by this bill can be placed by any one who looks at the vast interests that may be involved, into the opposite scale, to weigh down the merits of this bill?

The object of this appropriation is to communicate instantaneously with England by our Government, and very briefly, or at least in a short period, with all the Governments of Europe, certainly in time of peace, and possibly, and probably, in time of war. It is moreover to secure to the commerce, the agriculture, and every other interest of this country, an instantaneous communication with the whole civilized world on the other continent. Now, how is it possible that there can be any diversity of opinion with regard to the expediency of such a measure? If it be constitutional, if it be to promote a legitimate object under the charge of this Government, (and that it is no one doubts,) if the appropriation be a small one, and be connected with interests of such vast magnitude, I am at a loss to discover how any gentleman can be opposed to this bill. I shall vote for it cheerfully.

Mr. BAYARD. I cannot, for my own part, appreciate the objections taken to this measure on the part of those who consider that it involves the interests of this country in the event of a war. It is a proposition springing from a private company, on the face of the papers, who have proposed to the Government of Great Britain to aid them in the construction of a yet untried project of establishing a submarine telegraph between the British possessions in North America and England proper. It is, of course, a hazardous undertaking. There is no certainty in it; and it is not unnatural, under these circumstances, that individuals should desire to see at least on what terms they are to stand with the Government of

the two countries most deeply interested, in the event of the success of their enterprise. Their proposition, in the first place, asks nothing unless the enterprise succeeds, except that the Government will take the soundings, or verify the soundings already taken, and in the event of these soundings proving the former ones to be accurate, that they will suffer their vessels to be employed in laying down this telegraphic wire. That is the proposition. The British Government have accepted it only to a limited extent. They agree, not in a contract, but in their acceptance, that they will enter into a contract for the purpose of affording aid in verifying the soundings, and will give a favorable consideration to a proposition to afford such aid as the Government may see fit in laying down the wire. The expense, therefore, will be very trivial in this respect to our country by entering into a similar engagement.

If this were a war measure — if it looked to war, or was connected with war as a consequent in the eye of the Government of Great Britain, does any gentleman suppose that Government would, for a consideration of \$70,000 additional, which is the amount of expenditure here, or even \$700,000 additional, pause for a moment in securing the control of a measure which looked to its interests in the event of war? If it is of such formidable moment to her in the event of war, and would throw us into such an inequality in a contest of that kind, is it possible to suppose that Great Britain, having the termini of the line in her own dominions, would not at once, if she looked to it in that point of view, secure to herself the control of this formidable engine for purposes of offense in war? In my judgment it is not so looked to; and I think gentlemen exaggerate the importance of this telegraph in the supposable event of war taking place between Great Britain and the United States, although I admit unhesitatingly that its construction would tend to the prevention of the probability of a war of that kind. I think it must be so viewed by the Government of Great Britain; but I am at a loss to perceive to what great extent she could avail herself of its advantages after war had commenced. Be that as it may, however, it is very certain that the telegraph will be made, if it is practicable, whether we pass this bill, and enter into this arrangement securing us the right that we secure to ourselves by it, or not. If it is made without our aid, are we not in the same condition? Do gentlemen suppose that an expense of \$70,000 a year will prevent the making of this telegraph if Great Britain considers it important to her interests in peace and war? She pays now \$900,000 a year for the transportation of the mails between the United States and England. Do you suppose \$70,000 a year is a sum which will make her pause if, on consideration, she presumes it will be of great benefit to her in the event of war, or even in peace?

I hold it to be certain that this telegraph wire, if practicable, will be laid, whether we consent to it or not. Are we not better off — is it not a fair arrangement to us if it secures to our Government, as a Government, means of communication with our agents in Europe during time of

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peace, although all means are cut off in the event of war? Are the terms asked too great? There is nothing asked in the first instance except the ordinary use of the vessels of the Navy. You can comply with that with only a trivial expense; and it is only in the event of the service being successful that you are to pay \$70,000, if the proceeds of the company do not amount to six per cent.; and if they do, you are only to pay \$50,000. That is all you are to pay for the exclusive right, in connection with the Government of Great Britain, of the prior transmission of intelligence that may be deemed important by your agents in Europe, or by your Government here to your agents there, to the exclusion of the public at large.

Is not that of immense importance to the Government of this country? Is it not of sufficient importance to justify an expenditure of \$50,000 a year? In my judgment it would justify an expenditure of five times the sum rather than undergo the disadvantages which you would be placed under by excluding yourselves from this right, which is all the right granted to Great Britain, and which the Government of Great Britain, when the proposition was made, at once accepted? I confess I think the terms of their acceptance are in a spirit of entire liberality to this country, securing as they do to this Government, as well as to the Government of Great Britain, equal rights throughout. I see no cause for jealousy here. I see no cause in this case, whatever there may have been in others, to impute to the Government of Great Britain a desire to take any advantage from the construction of this submarine telegraph. The terms are offered, and the answers are before you. After saying what she is willing to pay, she stipulates (and these are the only things material to us) that the British Government is to have priority in the conveyance of messages over all others, except the Government of the United States; and that as between her and the Government of the United States, the rule is to be, the message, when received, shall be first transmitted.

Mr. MALLORY. It seems to be conceded on all hands that there is no constitutional objection to the passage of this bill, and the arguments against it have resolved themselves into considerations of expediency solely. We may differ as to the expediency of passing the bill; and I have therefore noted, with a great deal of care, the objections taken in the debate on the point of expediency. I noticed particularly those from the chairman of the Committee on Finance, [Mr. HUNTER,] which were characteristic of the position he occupies before the Senate as chairman of that committee. I will briefly notice these objections, to show how slight they are, and how immediately they vanish on investigation. The first was the great consideration of the cable parting in laying down the wire. I understand the Government is not liable if the parties do not succeed in the enterprise. The second was, that we shall pay more than our dispatches are worth. Who knows it? Who knows what the dispatches will be worth? Contingencies may arise in the history of this country when a single dispatch may be worth \$5,000 a word, or ten times that sum. Another objection, one made by the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, [Mr. BETLER,] was,

that this was simply a mail service under the surveillance of Great Britain. That is not tenable. The authority given in the bill to the President to contract with the parties includes the power of contracting on conditions; and we must suppose he would be recreant to his duty if he were not to contract that all dispatches by, or to the Government of the United States, should pass through its confidential agents alone. The system would not only be worse than useless, but it would be a great injury to us if your communications were to pass through any other than our own confidential agents; and as a matter of course the President would so contract. I had drawn up an amendment for that purpose; but when I saw that there was in the bill ample power for the President to do that, I refrained from offering it.

If we decline the proposition made to us by this company, what is to preclude Great Britain from acquiring the right of exercising a surveillance over both termini of the line? And in the exercise of this power, implying a knowledge of every dispatch sent over it, we can readily perceive the blighting influence she might at pleasure exercise upon our public affairs. Sir, I understand that my friend the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, speaking of it as a war measure, said that the interests of the two countries will preserve peace, and no device of this kind will save us from the perils of war. I concede that, but this is one of those measures which multiply the interests of the country, which bring the cotton-planters of his State within twenty-four hours of the great markets of Europe. It will take the profits heretofore shared by the cotton speculators of Europe, and place them at the door of the cotton-planter. He at all times during his growing crop will have power to know what his crop is worth in the markets of Liverpool, which govern the markets of the entire world.

As a war measure this project cannot be considered. War will put an end, as a matter of course, to all these relations. The project conceived by the Senator from Ohio of neutralizing one portion of the American continent was, I presume, introduced for the simple purpose of killing the bill; but certainly not with any idea that Great Britain would ever consent to neutralize any portion of Newfoundland, or the other side of the continent, for our accommodation in the event of war. She has, in a recent postal treaty with France, stipulated expressly that each party shall have one mail steamer across the Channel, which shall not be molested or interrupted during war; but I know of no similar concession that she has ever made, and certainly she never would make one of this kind.

My friend from Illinois spoke of fishing this cable up. He has not probably looked to the details of the soundings made by our own seamen, and to the effect that this wire will sink some foot or more—we cannot tell certainly—beneath the surface of the bottom of the ocean. The idea of fishing in between seventeen hundred and fifty and nineteen hundred fathoms of water, with an anchor, for this chain, is novel and untenable.

American genius, sir, has discovered or practically devised the means, as I conceive, of belting the world instantaneously—of sending the

principles of American freedom, in the language of Shakspeare, around the globe. In this attempt to unite two continents, we are gravely debating whether we will accept the boon or not, for it is a voluntary one! The trifling sum of money is so small that scarcely a Senator here objects to it as a money consideration at all. That does not enter into our calculations. If there be anything said on the subject, it is surprise that we are to get the advantages, as we suppose them to be, for so small a sum of money. I shall vote for the bill.

At the conclusion of the debate the bill was passed, as follows:

A bill to expedite telegraphic communication for the uses of the Government in its foreign intercourse.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of State, in the discretion and under the direction of the President of the United States, may contract with any competent person, persons, or association, for the aid of the United States in laying down a submarine cable, to connect existing telegraphs between the coast of Newfoundland and the coast of Ireland, and for the use of such submarine communication, when established, by the Government of the United States, on such terms and conditions as shall seem to the President just and reasonable, not exceeding \$70,000 per annum, until the net profits of such person, or persons, or association, shall be equal to a dividend of six per cent. per annum, and then not exceeding \$50,000 per annum for twenty-five years: *Provided*, That the Government of Great Britain shall, before or at the same time, enter into a like contract for those purposes with the same person, persons, or association, and upon terms of exact equality with those stipulated by the United States: *And provided*, That the tariff of prices for the use of such submarine communication by the public shall be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States and the Government of Great Britain, or its authorized agents: *Provided further*, That the United States and the citizens thereof shall enjoy the use of the said submarine telegraph communication for a period of fifty years, on the same terms and conditions which shall be stipulated in favor of the Government of Great Britain, and the subjects thereof, in the contract so to be entered into by such person, persons, or association, with that Government: *Provided further*, That the contract so to be made by the British Government shall not be different from that already proposed by that Government to the New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraph Company, except such provisions as may be necessary to secure to each Government the transmission of its own messages by its own agents.

APPENDIX.

The following correspondence is as interesting as it is pertinent in this connection:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, December 30, 1856.

Sir: The submarine communication which now excites so much attention, both in the Congress of the United States and the country, will, I perceive by the map of the survey, terminate on this side the Atlantic in the British possessions, i. e. in Newfoundland.

Will you do me the favor, at your earliest convenience, to answer the following questions, to wit:

Is there a point, under our flag, which would answer for the western terminus?

If not, what are the obstructions?

What influence would it have in a military point of view?

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. C. CHAFFEE.

Lieutenant MAURY, United States Navy.

U. S. N. OBSERVATORY AND HYDROG. OFFICE.
WASHINGTON, December 31, 1856.

SIR: I have received your note of the 30th instant, making certain inquiries in relation to the submarine telegraph of the Atlantic, and wishing to know what are the obstructions which prevent the western end of the wire from being brought straight across the sea to our own shores.

The difficulties are manifold, and, in the present state of the telegraphic art, they may be considered insuperable.

The shortest telegraphic distance between the British Islands and the United States, without touching English soil by the way, is, in round numbers, three thousand miles, and the lightning has never yet been made to bear a message through a continuous wire of such a length. Here, therefore, is an obstruction.

The distance from the Western Islands to the nearest port on our shores is about equal to the distance between Newfoundland and Ireland; and the distance between the Irish coast and the Western Islands is about fifteen hundred miles. Therefore, with a relay on the Western Islands, a line from Ireland, via those Islands, to our own shores, is electrically practicable.

But a wire by that route would have to cross the Atlantic at its deepest part, and then the Portuguese Government, as well as the English, would have control of the line; so that, in a military, commercial, or political point of view, nothing would be gained by underrunning the Atlantic with the telegraphic wires by that route. Moreover, that route would lead the wire across a volcanic region. These constitute obstructions that, in the present state of our knowledge, are fatal to such a route.

The only practicable route for a submarine telegraph between the United States and England appears to be along the "plateau" of the Atlantic, whereon it is proposed to lay the wire that is now in process of construction.

But suppose a line were to be constructed by American enterprise from the British shores, submarine, all the way to one of our sea-port towns: *cui bono?* In time of peace the line along the "plateau" would, by reason of its great advantages, take all the business; and in war the British authorities need but cut the American cord, or take charge of its office at the other end, to render the whole line inoperative or perfectly useless to us.

It cannot but be regarded by every wise and good man as a fortunate circumstance that this great enterprise of the sub-Atlantic telegraph is the joint work of England and America. This circumstance ought of itself to serve as a guarantee to the world that in case of war—should war unhappily ever be waged between these two nations—that that cord is never to be broken, or to be used otherwise than freely and fairly alike by the two nations, their citizens and subjects.

We have just seen the great nations of Europe emerging from the horrors of a fierce and bloody war; and yet, to their honor and the glory of the age be it said, that that strife, vengeful though it was, was not savage enough to break a single line of telegraphic wire. The lightning ran to and fro with messages between St. Petersburg and the capitals of France and England, as it now

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does. And in case of war with this country, after that electric cord is stretched by the joint means and enterprise of the two people upon the quiet bottom of the deep sea, neither of the two Governments would dare take that cord, and, in the face of the Christian States and people of the age, convert it into a military engine, to be turned against its joint owners and partners.

Our fellow-citizens who contrived, planned, and brought forward this noble work, are too sagacious and patriotic not to have perceived that, lying as it does wholly within the control of a foreign Power, that Power, were it a nation of Goths and Vandals, might turn the path they were about to make for the lightning along the bed of the ocean against their own country in war; but they knew the people on the other side, and trusted to higher and nobler sentiments. The British Government interfere with the free use of that cable even in war! The spirit of the age is against such an act, and no State within the pale of Christendom, much less that great English nation of noble people, would dare to do such a thing. Her people and rulers would not if they could; they could not if they would. We might as well think of tearing up now, in peace, the railways between Canada and the States, or of abrogating the steam-engine because it may be turned against us in war.

When Captain Cook was on his voyage of discovery, France and England were at war. The King of France was requested not to let his armed cruisers destroy the records of that expedition in case any of them should fall in with it. You recollect the noble reply: "I war not against science;" and forthwith every French man-of-war had orders to treat Cook as a friend, should they fall in with him; and assist, not interrupt him, in the object of his cruise. To this day the memory of that King is held in more esteem for that act and sentiment than for any other act of his reign.

A little more than three years ago, at the maritime conference of Brussels, where the principal nations of the world assembled in the persons of their representatives to devise a uniform plan of physical research at sea, and to report the best form for the abstract log to be used on board ship for marking the observations upon its winds and currents, those functionaries alluded to this sentiment of the French Monarch, and appealed each to his own Government to order that, in case of war, this abstract log should also be regarded as a sacred thing. It is made so. The armed cruisers of the various nations that are coöperating in this system of research are required to touch that record with none but friendly hands.

This submarine telegraphic line is an achievement which this very system of research has had something to do in bringing about; and is it likely that it will or can be monopolized by any Power for war purposes? Fairly and clearly it may be considered as the joint property of those nations who are operating as coworkers and joint collaborators in that beautiful system of physical research by which a way for the lightning has been discovered under the sea and across the ocean.

This system of research, it has been proclaimed over and over again, was not undertaken for the exclusive advantage of any one people or nation,

but for the benefit of commerce, the advancement of science, and for the benefit and improvement of the whole human family; and with this understanding the nations of Europe entered into it.

Being joint owners and equal participators in such a great enterprise as this, we may with propriety, under these circumstances, demand a fair participation in all its advantages.

But suppose we should stand aloof, and that the enterprise now on foot should be abandoned by our citizens and Government, and then suppose war to come; in less than six months after its declaration, the British Government could, on its own account, have a wire stretched along this telegraphic plateau between Newfoundland and Ireland.

You do not desire me in your note to consider the christianizing, political, social, and peace-preserving influences which this fascicle of copper threads, when once stretched upon the bed of the ocean, is to have, and therefore I do not offer any of the views which present themselves from such a stand-point. This much, however, I may say: submarine telegraphy is in its infancy, but it is in the act of making the stride of a full-grown giant; and no problem can to my mind be more satisfactorily demonstrated than is the practicability of readily, and almost without risk, laying the wire from land to land upon this "telegraphic plateau" of the Atlantic.

Respectfully, &c.

M. F. MAURY.

Hon. C. C. CHAFFEE,

House of Representatives, Washington.

LONDON, FIVE O'CLOCK, A. M.,
 October 3, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: As the electrician of the New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraph Company, it is with the highest gratification that I have to apprise you of the result of our experiments of this morning upon a single continuous conductor of more than two thousand miles in extent, a distance you will perceive sufficient to cross the Atlantic ocean, from Newfoundland to Ireland.

The admirable arrangements made at the Magnetic Telegraph Office in Old Broad street, for connecting ten subterranean gutta-percha insulated conductors, of over two hundred miles each, so as to give one continuous length of more than two thousand miles during the hours of the night, when the telegraph is not commercially employed, furnished us the means of conclusively settling, by actual experiment, the question of the practicability as well as the practicality of telegraphing through our proposed Atlantic cable.

This result had been thrown into some doubt by the discovery, more than two years since, of certain phenomena upon subterranean and submarine conductors, and had attracted the attention of electricians, particularly of that most eminent philosopher Professor Faraday, and that clear-sighted investigator of electrical phenomena Dr. Whitehouse; and one of these phenomena, to wit: the perceptible retardation of the electric current, threatened to perplex our operations, and required careful investigation before we could pronounce with certainty the commercial practicability of the Ocean Telegraph.

I am most happy to inform you that, as a crowning result of a long series of experimental investigation and inductive reasoning upon this subject, the experiments under the direction of Dr. Whitehouse and Mr. Bright, which I witnessed this morning,—in which the induction coils and receiving magnets, as modified by these gentlemen, were made to actuate one of my recording instruments,—have most satisfactorily resolved all doubts of the practicability as well as practicality of operating the telegraph from Newfoundland to Ireland.

Although we telegraphed signals at the rate of 210, 241, and, according to the count at one time, even of 270 per minute upon my telegraphic register, (which speed, you will perceive, is at a rate commercially advantageous,) these results were accomplished notwithstanding many disadvantages in our arrangements of a temporary and local character—disadvantages which will not occur in the use of our submarine cable.

Having passed the whole night with my active and agreeable collaborators, Dr. Whitehouse and Mr. Bright, without sleep, you will excuse the hurried and brief character of this note, which I could not refrain from sending you, since our experiments this morning settle the scientific and commercial points of our enterprise satisfactorily.

With respect and esteem, your obedient servant,
SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.

To CYRUS W. FIELD, Esq., Vice President of the New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraph Company, 37 Jernyn street, St. James's street.

LONDON, October 10, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: After having given the deepest consideration to the subject of our successful experiments the other night, when we signalled clearly and rapidly through an unbroken circuit of subterranean conducting wire, over two thousand miles in length, I sit down to give you the result of my reflections and calculations.

There can be no question but that, with a cable containing a single conducting wire, of a size not exceeding that through which we worked, and with equal insulation, it would be easy to telegraph from Ireland to Newfoundland at a speed of at least from eight to ten words per minute; nay, more: the varying rates of speed at which we worked, depending as they did upon differences in the arrangement of the apparatus employed, do of themselves prove that even a higher rate than this is attainable. Take it, however, at ten words in the minute, and allowing ten words for name and address, we can safely calculate upon the transmission of a twenty-word message in three minutes;

Twenty such messages in the hour;

Four hundred and eighty in the twenty-four hours, or fourteen thousand four hundred words per day.

Such are the capabilities of a single wire cable fairly and moderately computed.

It is, however, evident to me, that by improvements in the arrangement of the signals

themselves, aided by the adoption of a code or system constructed upon the principles of the best nautical code, as suggested by Dr. Whitehouse, we may at least double the speed in the transmission of our messages.

As to the structure of the cable itself, the last specimen which I examined with you seemed to combine so admirably the necessary qualities of strength, flexibility, and lightness, with perfect insulation, that I can no longer have any misgivings about the ease and safety with which it will be submerged.

In one word, the doubts are resolved, the difficulties overcome, success is within our reach, and the great feat of the century must shortly be accomplished.

I would urge you, if the manufacture can be completed within the time, (and all things are possible now,) to press forward the good work, and not to lose the chance of laying it during the ensuing summer.

Before the close of the present month, I hope to be again landed safely on the other side of the water, and I full well know, that on all hands the inquiries of most interest with which I shall be met, will be about the Ocean Telegraph.

Much as I have enjoyed my European trip this year, it would enhance the gratification which I have derived from it more than I can describe to you, if on my return to America I could be the first bearer to my friends of the welcome intelligence that the great work had been begun, by the commencement of the manufacture of the cable to connect Ireland with the line of the New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraph Company, now so successfully completed to St. John's.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.

To CYRUS W. FIELD, Esq., Vice President of the New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraph Company.

January 27, 1857. The following dispatch was received here this morning. When it is considered that the difference in time between St. John's, Newfoundland, and this city is little over one hour, and that the message was, owing to the use of different instruments, and the working of separate electric circuits, rewritten no less than six times, the fact that it was received just one hour before it was sent, may be understood; and show the wonderful expedition in the transmission of intelligence from this to Europe when the Atlantic line is completed:

ST. JOHN'S, (N. F.), TUESDAY, 11 a. m., January 27.

CYRUS W. FIELD, National Hotel, Washington:

I think you will approve of the reasons in favor of Trinity Bay for the landing of the Atlantic cable.

A. SHEA.

P. S. This message was received at the House Printing Telegraph office, Washington, D. C., at ten o'clock a. m.

J. L. ELLIOTT, Operator.

The distance from St. John's to Washington is nineteen hundred and sixty miles by the route of the telegraph.

