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POETRY.

THE HERITAGE.

BY JAMES RUSSEL LOWELL.

The rich man's son inherits lands,
And piles of brick, and stone, and gold,
And he inherits soft, white hands,
And tender flesh that fears the cold,
Nor dares to wear a garment old;
A heritage, it seems to me,
One would not care to hold in fee.

The rich man's son inherits cares;
The bank may break, the factory burn,
Some breath may burst his bubble shares,
And soft, white hands would hardly earn
A living that would suit his turn;
A heritage, it seems to me,
One would not care to hold in fee.

What does the poor man's son inherit?
Stout muscles and a sinewy heart,
A hardy frame, a hardier spirit;
King of two hands, he does his part
In every useful toil and art;
A heritage, it seems to me,
A king might wish to hold in fee.

What does the poor man's son inherit?
Wishes o'erjoyed with humble things,
A rank adjudged by toil-worn merit,
Content that from employment springs,
A heart that in his labor sings;
A heritage, it seems to me,
A king might wish to hold in fee.

What does the poor man's son inherit?
A patience learned by being poor,
Courage, if sorrow come, to bear it,
A fellow-being that is sure
To make the outcast bless his door;
A heritage, it seems to me,
A king might wish to hold in fee.

O, rich man's son, there is a toil
That with all others level stands;
Large charity doth never soil,
But only whitens soft white hands;
This is the best crop from thy lands;
A heritage, it seems to me,
Worth being rich to hold in fee.

Oh, poor man's son, scorn not thy state,
There is worse weariness than thine,
In merely being rich and great;
Work only makes the soul to shine,
And makes rest fragrant and benign:
A heritage, it seems to me,
Worth being poor to hold in fee.

Both heirs to some six feet of sod,
Are equals in the earth at last;
Both children of the same dear GOD;
Prove title to your heirship vast
By record of a well filled past;
A heritage, it seem to me,
Well worth a life to hold in fee.

GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania:

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—The first and most important duty that devolves upon the Legislature, will be to examine into the financial embarrassments of the State, and to make suitable provision for the discharge of her liabilities. The entire amount of the funded debt of the State is $39,085,000 40. This debt is re-imbursable as follows:

In the year 1841,	$55,922 60
" 1844,	62 500 00
" 1846,	3,586,342 08
" 1847,	72,335 05
" 1850,	1,000,000 00
" 1853,	2,000,000 00
" 1854,	3,000,000 00
" 1856,	2,783 161 88
" 1858,	7,070,661 44
" 1859,	1,250 000 00
" 1860,	2,653,680 00
" 1861,	120,000 00
" 1862,	2,266,400 00
" 1863,	200,000 00
" 1864,	3,385,076 66
" 1865,	1,829,600 00
" 1868,	2,524 000 00
" 1870,	1,946,215 65
Loan payable at the expiration of certain bank charters,	569,503 50
	$36,469,398 87
Interest due 1st August, 1842, for which certificates of stock were issued, redeemable in 1843,	866,925 53
Interest due 1st February, 1843, redeemable in 1846,	873,908 00
Interest due 1st August, 1843, redeemable in 1846,	873,908 00
	$39,084,000 40

Upon this debt the annual interest to be paid amounts to $1,941,827 23, to wit:

Permanent loan at 6 per cent.,	$1,946,944 33
" loans at 5 per cent.,	32,689,189 86
" loan at 4½ per cent.,	200,000 00
Relief notes at 1 per cent.,	1,467,628 68
do. at 6 per cent.	171,636 00
Arrears of interest due to our loan holders in August, 1842, and February and August, 1843, at 6 per cent,	2,614,601 53
	$39,084,000 40

There is also due to Domestic Creditors, on certificates issued by the Auditor General, the sum of $206,461 09.

For the interest annually accruing, and for the temporary debts and liabilities of the State, provision should be immediately made. The resources of the State are abundant, and all that is required is the right disposition, and a judicious and proper selection of the mode in which these resources are to be rendered available.

The amount of taxes levied and paid into the State Treasury, under existing tax laws, was as follows: In the year 1841, the amount levied was [illegible]—there was paid into the Treasury during that year, [illegible] [illegible] year was $550,913 47—the amount paid in the same year, was $486,835 85. In 1843, the amount levied cannot be ascertained with accuracy, in consequence of failures on the part of the County Commissioners in several counties to make returns to the proper office; but, making an estimate from the best data that can be obtained, it will not fall short of $945,000 00. The tax paid into the Treasury the past year, was $553,911 38. The assessment for the ensuing year may be fairly estimated at what it amounted to the past year, provided the Legislatnre repeal the proviso to the 16th section of the Act of 27th July, 1842, entitled "An Act to provide for the ordinary expenses of the Government—payment of the interest upon the State debt," &c., which limits the assessment of the increased tax to one year. Unless provision be immediately made for continuing the assessment and collection of that tax, our financial difficulties must be increased, and the consequences be most disastrous to our State credit.

It will be seen from the foregoing statement, that nearly a million of dollars, arising from taxation, remains unpaid; and there is no authority vested in the Executive, by law, to enforce its collection. I have repeatedly recommended to the Legislature, the adoption of some legal method of compelling County Commissioners, Collectors and Treasurers, to perform their duties—but, thus far, no legislation has been had upon the subject. In the present defective state of the law, every temptation is held out to delinquents to persevere in setting at naught its injunctions.—Permit me again to call the attention of the Legislature to this subject, and to express the hope that this evil will be remedied.

The whole receipts from our public improvements, beyond the payment for repairs, and the expenses of their charge and management, during the past fiscal year, amount to $482,657 34.

The current expenses of government, including the permanent appropriation to Common Schools and other purposes, may be estimated at about $750,000 00. The resources of the State, independent of taxation, and the receipts from the public improvements, at about $400,000 00. From an examination of all these receipts and liabilities of the State, supposing the tax levied under existing laws, to be punctually collected and paid over, there would be an annual deficit of about $850,000 00, independent of the balance due to the Domestic Creditors; for the punctual payment of all which, the State is bound by every obligation of faith and honor. After a most careful consideration of the subject, I have been unable to devise any other mode of meeting this responsibility than that of augmented taxation.

I took occasion in my annual message transmitted to the Legislature on the 8th of January, 1840, to speak upon this subject in the following pointed and unequivocal words. I beg leave to quote them, because I have reiterated, in every annual message to the Legislature since, substantially the same sentiments; and I desire the people of Pennsylvania, and the whole world, to know, if there be ground to charge remissness of duty, to whom the fault is to be justly attributed:

"In expressing my own opinion in favor of a resort to taxation, I do it with no inconsiderable degree of reluctance; but it must be obvious to every citizen of the Commonwealth, that his house, his farm, and his property, are all pledged, beyond possibility of release, to the ultimate payment of the State debt, and the interest thereon accruing, agreeably to the stipulation with the loan holders. Nor is this the worst view of our situation. The State has been actually compounding, for years past, from a million to a million and a half of interest, annually; and the question is now submitted, whether we are thus to continue adding, half yearly, this enormous amount of interest to the principal of our State debt, and continue in this pusillanimous course of policy, from year to year, of shuffling off the evil day, and entailing this frightful legacy on posterity.—It is a reproach on the people of Pennsylvania to suppose they can be longer kept in the dark, in regard to the situation in which we find them. All they want to know, to ensure a ready compliance with this indispensible call upon their patriotism is, to know the necessity of the measure.—The experience of more than half a century, fortifies me in the belief, that the good sense of the people of this great Commonwealth, is rarely appealed to in vain. In assuming the responsibility of recommending this measure, I am fully sensible of what is to be encountered, and aware of the consequences that are to follow; and if, in this expression of the honest convictions of my own mind, and the fearless discharge of the duties incumbent on me, I shall not be borne out by my fellow citizens, I shall at least have the consolation to know, that I have done that which I conscientiously believe to be right; and which I think will bear the reflection of after years. The time for evasion is gone; the public mind has been too long fed with miserable expedients. The time for action is at hand. Our country expects every man to do his duty, and he that has not nerve enough for the crisis, should give place to those better fitted for the emergency. Neither the present Legislature, nor myself, had anything to do with contracting this debt—it is fixed on us by those who have gone before us; and the same rule of prudence and sound policy, that would govern the conduct of a private individual, holds equally good in the case of the Commonwealth, under this state of things. The private individual would tax his industry and his property, to the utmost, to pay off a debt, and the interest upon it that was consuming the avails of his industry and his substance—so, also, it seems to me, should the representatives of a wise and judicious people. Taxation would pay the interest—it would eventually continue a sinking fund for payment of the principal of the State debt, and should be continued till the income of the public improvements would render longer taxation unnecessary. [illegible] spirit to disarm it of its perils. Coming, as you do, from all quarters of the State, and possessing a more intimate knowledge of the circumstances and wants of the people than I can, I most cheerfully surrender this important subject to you, satisfied that prudence and justice will direct your action upon it."

I used strong terms in speaking to the Legislature on this subject at that time, because it was an hour of darkness, uncertainty and alarm. The explosion of the Banks, the paralysis of the business energies of the country, and the murmurings of those whose ambition seeks no higher aim than that of finding fault, were all calculated to deter even honest men from faithfully performing their duty. So far as I was concerned, I was resolved that both my opinions, and my course, should be openly avowed and clearly understood.—Four years have now elapsed; time has been given to the excited to become calm, to the timid to become self-possessed, and for factious partizans to see the error of their way. I look back with pleasure on my course, because, as I had no doubt from the beginning, I have been triumphantly sustained by the honest yeomanry of Pennsylvania. They have borne, without repining, every burthen that was necessary to maintain the honor of the State, and they are ready to endure yet greater sacrifices, if they be necessary, for the same cause.

It has of late been fashionable, in certain quarters, to denounce Pennsylvania, and cite her, as an example in point, to sanction the reproach which has been attempted to be cast upon the American people, of seeking to carry into practical operation the scheme of repudiating their public debts. Those who have circulated and believed this calumny, betrayed a degree of ignorance, both of the character of our people, and of the course of her legislation, which is truly surprising. On every occasion, the liability of the State has been frankly avowed, both by her Executive and Legislative Departments; and although the recommendations of the Executive, to make provision for the payment of her interest, have not been adopted to the fullest extent, yet the Legislature has passed laws imposing a tax, amounting the last year to a little less than a million of dollars, and this has been acceded to by the people, without a murmur from any source entitled to a moment's consideration. The failure to pay the interest has not resulted from a want of disposition to do so, on the part of the citizens of Pennsylvania, but from the general disasters which have overwhelmed and crippled her, in common with almost every other government in the commercial world. We are regaining our energies, and recovering from the embarrassments by which we have unfortunately been surrounded. A very few years will enable us to retrieve all that we have lost, and to wipe from our escutcheon every blot with which unexpected misfortune has tarnished it. Whatever the interested or disposed may have asserted to the contrary, there is not an honest citizen of Pennsylvania who does not feel the proud consciousness that her faith and integrity can be held up to the world unsullied.

The valuation of the real and personal property owned by the citizens of the State, ascertained by reference to the valuation as taxed for county purposes, amounts to about four hundred and sixty millions of dollars. The average of the rate of this valuation is, no doubt, considerably below the actual value of the property of the State.

Among the receipts at the Treasury during the last year, there were from tolls, exclusive of Motive Power

	$755,155 39
Auction duties	59,661 78
Tax on collateral inheritances	22,337 05
Dividends on Bridge, Turnpike and Navigation Stocks	19,161 29
Escheats	1,010 00
	$857,325 51
To which add the State Tax received,	553,911 38
	$1,411,236 89

This income, derived from the above sources, was specially appropriated to the payment of the interest on our public debt; and on the faith of the State's adherence to its solemn engagements, those from whom the money was obtained were doubtless induced to make the loan. But, by the resolution passed 7th April, 1842, and the acts passed 27th July, 1842, and 8th April, 1843, those funds were applied to other and different purposes, from what was deemed, by the Legislature, an imperative necessity induced by the monetary embarrassments to which I have already adverted.

It is thus shown that about three and a half per cent. of the interest could have been paid the past year, but for this subsequent legislation; and that the above sum of $857,325 51, together with a tax of less than three mills on the assessed value of the real and personal estate of the citizens of the Commonwealth, would pay the interest on the public debt, beyond all doubt, and place Pennsylvania on that proud eminence which the true character of her people, and the resources she possesses, designed her to occupy. But to satisfy the people of the propriety of this increase of tax, assurance should be given that it would be applied to the payment of the interest on the State debt, to the exclusion of every other object.

There has been one objection made against taxation under the present state of things, which appears to be founded in justice, and that is, the manifest unfairness and inequality of the rates of assessment in the different counties. I annex to this message a table showing the assessments in the various counties of the Commonwealth, an examination of which, will at once disclose the evils that ought to be remedied.

Most of our laws on the subject of taxes and revenue require revision and amendment. Those relating to collateral inheritances, retailers and dealers in merchandise, auctions and auctioneers, and brokers, require revision and modification to prevent evasions. Indeed there is good reason to believe the revenue from these sources might be doubled. [illegible] of the matter [illegible] when the proceeds derived from each are considered.

The tax necessary for the payment of the interest on our State debt, it has long been apparent to me, should be apportioned among the several counties of the State, and a liberal discount or drawback allowed for prompt collections and payment into the Treasury. The members of the Legislature, coming, as they do, from the several counties, and each watchful of the rights and interests of his immediate constituents, would certainly compose a board every way competent to make that apportionment. A more unequal one than that which now exists, cannot be readily devised. I am aware that each and every object and mode of taxation is more or less objectionable—but that should not absolve us from our duty. I have submitted to the Legislature my views again and again, on this subject; and that it has at times differed with me, is no cause of complaint—that difference of opinion having proceeded from a conscientious discharge of duty. But, if the suggestions here made, do not seem right and proper, permit me to express the earnest hope that the Legislature will devise some other mode, less objectionable; and that it will not separate until full and ample provision be made for the punctual payment of the interest on our public debt semi-annually, as it becomes due; and thus smooth the way for those who may come after us in the administration of the Government.

Before quitting the subject of taxation, it may be well to take a relative view of the taxes received at the Treasury, for the last three years, and the amount annually paid out to the several counties, for the purposes of education. The taxes received in

1841, amounted to	$33,299 77
1842, "	486,835 85
1843, "	553,911 38
	$1,073,840 00

The moneys paid out for the purposes of education, during the same years, amounted to, in

1841,	$365,766 04
1842,	315,372 43
1843,	408,694 36
	$1,089,832 83

So that it appears more money has actually been paid out by the Commonwealth for educating her people, than the amount of State tax paid into the Treasury.

It will be entirely practicable, to make provision for the payment of the semi-annual interest, on and after the first of August next. And, to provide for every possible contingency, the State Treasurer might be authorized to borrow, if necessary, a sufficient sum to make up any deficiency, and the taxes and other receipts of the State, applicable to the discharge of interest, be pledged specifically for the re-payment of such loan, and applied as soon as received.

The arrears of interest due in 1842, and February and August, 1843, have been funded, in conformity with the acts of Assembly upon that subject. This was the most that could be done for our creditors, under the circumstances, and if, hereafter, provision be made for the punctual discharge of the interest, it will, I believe, be as much as could reasonably be expected by the holders of our loans.

There is now due from the State to certain banks the sum of $1,467,628 68, on account of the issue of notes under the act of 4th May, 1841, which bears an interest of one per cent. By virtue of the act of Assembly passed the 8th day of April last, entitled "An act to provide for the payment of Domestic Creditors," &c., these notes are to be cancelled at the rate of one hundred thousand dollars per month. The funded debt of the State bears an interest of five and six per cent. payable semi-annually. If this cancellation be continued at the same rate, it is very certain this interest cannot be paid, as a very large proportion of taxes and tolls will be paid in funds of this description. It is therefore, for the Legislature to determine which of these measures it is the policy of the State to pursue.

The revenues derived from the public works during the past fiscal year, although not realizing the estimates which were formed at the commencement of the year, have yielded a very handsome profit to the Commonwealth over the expenditures required for their maintenance. The report of the Canal Commissioners, which will be laid before you, and to which your particular attention is invited, exhibits in detail the receipts and expenditures upon the several lines of canal and railroad. By that document, it appears, that, from the early closing of the canal by ice in the latter part of 1842, and its late opening from the same cause in the following spring, the navigable season of 1843 was rendered about eight weeks shorter than that of the previous year. A combination, likewise, took place among the boatmen on the Delaware Division, which existed for several weeks, putting a stop to transportation, and causing a loss of revenue to the Commonwealth of not less than $30,000. Notwithstanding these impediments, added to that experienced from the high floods on the Juniata in September last, the tolls amount to $1,017,841 12, being an increase over the receipts of 1842 of $77,627 43. An extract of the receipts and expenditures on the several lines exhibits the following result:

	Expenditures.	*Receipts.*
Main Line,	$425 036 82	$857,212 94
Delaware Division,	22,552 92	92,265 41
Susquehanna, North & West Branches,	59,226 80	62,206 06
Beaver, Shenango and French Creek,	15,410 82	6,156 71
	$522,228 36	$1,017,841 12
Deduct expenditures,		522,228 36
Excess of receipts over expenditures,		$495,612 76
Deduct drawback on flour and pork,		22,436 80
		$473,175 96
Add interest of stock on Columbia Railroad,		9,481 38
Clear profit of all the works for 1843,		$482,657 34

The increase and decrease of tolls on the different lines, as compared with 1842, were as follows:

	Decrease.	*Increase.*
Main Line,		$94,292 36
Delaware Division,	$2,183 67	
Susquehanna, North and West Branches,	12,906 08	
Beaver, Shenango and French Creek,	536 28	16,636 03
Increase in 1843,		$77,627 43

And, on the same lines, the excess of receipts over expenditures and all liabilities, is as follows:

Main Line,	$419,220 70
Delaware Division,	69,711 49
Susquehanna, North and West branches,	2,979 26
	$491,911 45
Beaver, Shenango and French Creek, excess of expenditures over receipts,	9,254 11
Total excess of receipts over expenditures,	$482,657 34

From these statements it appears that, with the exception of the small excess on the Susquehanna and North and West Branch Divisions, the profits upon the year's business, have been derived from the Main line and the Delaware Division. The last named division has yielded a profit of five per cent. upon the cost of its construction; which, but for the loss of revenues sustained from the combination among the boatmen before referred to, and interruption from breaches, would have been increased to over seven per cent.

The Columbia and Philadelphia Railroad exhibits a very gratifying result. The clear profits of the road over expenditures and liabilities the past year amount to $202,966 65—equal to about five per cent. on the original cost of the railway and the motive department.

In pursuance of the provisions of the act of 7th March, 1843, a charter was issued, on the 16th day of June last, to "The Erie Canal Company." The company is vigorously prosecuting the work, and gives fair promise of its early completion. That portion of the divsion from the Ohio River to the town of New Castle, according to the terms of the charter, remains in possession of the Commonwealth, until the completion of the whole line. A large portion of the expenditures on it during the year, was caused by repairs to the works since transferred.

It is evident from the foregoing abstracts, and from a review of the details, contained in the Canal Commissioners' report, that the Main line and Delaware Division, can, at all times, be made sources of profitable revenue to the Commonwealth, by the exercise of a proper vigilance, over the disbursements. Much has been done towards introducing a system of strict economy, and dispensing with officers, agents and laborers, whose services tend only to swell the amount of expenditures. If the system, thus begun, be carried out and perfected, all doubt must vanish as to the value of these two portions of the public works when considered as means of revenue.

To the more general introduction of section boats, in consequence of the State having purchased trucks for their conveyance over the two railroads, may be traced the principal cause of the increase of tolls and tonnage on the Main line. The experiment has been fully tested to the satisfaction of the most sanguine friends of the system of individual competition in the carrying trade. These boats, during the past year have prevented combinations, reduced the price of freights, increased the amount of tolls and tonnage, and given to our Main line a character for cheapness in transportation, which must make it the principal avenue to a market between the waters of the West and the Eastern Atlantic cities. A system of transportation which, in its incipient state, has been productive of such great benefits, and which is so closely indentified with the prosperity of the improvements of the Commonwealth, is entitled to the fostering care of the Legislature. In 1843, the amount of tolls paid by section boats was $114,227 47; of which $16,651 65 was for the use of the State trucks. To give efficiency to the system; to meet the demands consequent upon the continued increase of section boats; and to prevent vexatious delays at the railroad slips, an increase in the number of trains of trucks has become absolutely necessary. As these additional trains will be required at the opening of the spring business, the expectation is entertained that an early appropriation will be made to that object. Such an appropriation will give an impetus to the spring trade, by giving assurance of promptness in the delivery of produce, goods, and merchandise; hold out inducements to further increase of section boats; place the system upon a permanent basis; and insure to the Commonwealth all the advantages which must necessarily result from this improved mode of transportation over our disjointed lines of canal and railroad. I would further recommend that the appropriation be made direct, and not made payable out of the tolls for the use of trucks, so as to enable the Canal Commissioners to make the purchase on more economical terms than can otherwise be done, and to free the rates of toll, and the method of keeping the accounts, from their present complexity.

I will refer you to my message, returning, without the Executive sanction, a bill entitled "An Act to authorize the Governor to incorporate the Pennsylvania Canal and Railroad Company from Philadelphia to Pittsburg," for my views in relation to the impolicy of selling or transferring the public improvements to private companies. I deem it however proper to add, that, although my own judgement to be perfectly clear, yet, if a second Legislature deem it advisable to concur with the former in providing for this sale or transfer, I do not know that I will consider the duty incumbent on me of offering any further resistance to this project, provided sufficient safeguards be established to protect the public against frauds [illegible] sale, and to ensure [illegible] public interests [illegible] whose hands they are [illegible] transferred.

No report has been made by the Commissioners named in the act entitled "An Act to authorize the Governor [illegible] ate the Delaware Canal Company," passed 13th April last; nor am I in possession of any official information in relation to the same.

On the subject of the Banks I have little to recommend. My views in relation to the system have heretofore been very fully expressed, and do not now need reiteration. Most if not all the solvent institutions have now resumed specie payments, and, taught by past experience, it is hoped they will so regulate their business, and circumscribe their liabilities within the bounds of prudence, that we shall not see a recurrence of the pecuniary embarrassments which have for some years past distressed the community. The gradual restoration of public and private confidence, will enable the solvent institutions of the State to furnish a currency as fast as required by the wants of the country, which will be redeemable in specie on demand.

As no bank charters will expire during the remainder of the present executive term, there will be no necessity for enacting laws for their renewal at present. The practice of renewing acts of incorporation long before the expiration of the existing charters, is manifestly wrong, even where it may eventually be considered proper to continue them. Under present circumstances, I think it would not be right to embarrass the administration of my successor, by prematurely legislating upon subjects that will belong to that period of the administration of the government. The situation of the country and its business certainly does not require the granting of any bank charters. Believing that the evils of banking are corrected by the good sense of the community, I congratulate the Legislature upon the prospect of being relieved from the immediate consideration of the subject for the present session at least.

The report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, will exhibit their condition in detail. Every thing calculated to advance the interests of this most important of all our public institutions, cannot be too strongly commended to your attention. The vital interests of your religion, morality, and civil liberty itself, are dependent upon the cherishing aid, and enlightened support imparted to our Common Schools and higher Seminaries of learning. Here must be implanted the seeds of virtue, of intelligence, and of all that confers distinction upon our citizens.

The report of the Adjutant General will be laid before you. I took occasion, in my annual message of 1840, to say, that "our militia system is a tax, to a considerable amount, upon the State Treasury, which might be considerably lessened if the Adjutant General were charged with the duty of personally superintending the system in its details, and properly compensated therefore." In every annual message since, I have urged the importance of some attention to this subject. The office of Adjutant General has been filled for several years by a gentleman of practical knowledge and experience, who has devoted much time and attention to the discharge of its duties; and it has been a matter of regret that his suggestions have not had the weight with the Legislature, to which they were so justly entitled. By the legislation of the last few years, one description of persons after another has been exempted from the payment of fines, until the amount received at the Treasury, during the past year, falls short of the expenses the sum of $42,448 59. This state of things is so palpably wrong, that nothing more is required than to bring the facts to your notice, to ensure an early correction of the evil.

Pennsylvania has a force of upwards of thirty-five thousand volunteers, that will compare with any troops of this or any other country. I cannot too earnestly recommend them to the fostering care of the Legislature.

Under the act of the 24th March last, entitled "An Act to create permanently the office of State Printer," Isaac G. M'Kinley and Hutter and Bigler have claimed to be State Printers; the former to do the English, and the latter to do the German printing, of the Commonwealth. The language of the Act of Assembly seemed to me to render the validity of this election doubtful, and I caused the question to be submitted to the Attorney General, whose opinion on the subject is herewith transmitted to the Legislature. I concurred with him, and accordingly declined to approve the bonds tendered, informing the parties that the whole matter would be submitted to the early attention of the Legislature. Had the parties interested reason to complain of the course pursued by the Executive, they might have applied to the Supreme Court, during its session in Harrisburg, for a writ of mandamus, directing the Governor to approve their bonds, which was a mere ministerial duty, unless he could show some legal reason for his refusal. I was at all times ready to have met this issue before that tribunal, and have at no time entertained a doubt of the result, or propriety of my course.

In addition to the legal argument presented by the Attorney General, which I regard as unanswerable, there are some other circumstances connected with that election, which make it peculiarly necessary that they should be brought to your most serious consideration. The election was postponed from time to time, from the 27th day of March, the third day after the passage of the law, and on which, according to its provisions, it should have taken place, to the 15th day of April, on which, according to the certificate presented to me, it was made. During this interval of time, and before the day on which the election was consummated, I have been informed, and have good reason to believe, that negociations were entered into and completed between the said Isaac G. M'Kinley, Hutter and Bigler and other persons, supposed to have influence with members of the Legislature, by which large sums of money were [illegible] contracted to be paid by the individuals elected, to these third persons, [illegible] candidates, and thus exhibited a scene of scandalous bargaining and selling, alike disgraceful to the parties concerned, and dangerous to the purity of elections. It is not to be presumed that this scheme of office purchasing was known to any member of the Legislature; for if it had been, the parties concerned would, I have no doubt, been exposed and consequently defeated. As this transaction nitire immediately concerns the purity and honor of the Legislature itself, I need only call your attention to these circumstances, and have no doubt you will feel it to be your duty to institute a thorough investigation into the frauds, thus practiced upon the Legislature, to procure an election. Should the facts, upon examination, be found to be, as I have the strongest reason to think they are, can it be, that a single member of the Legislature will recognize the validity of an election thus procured? Let it be known that candidates can resort to such means to accomplish their purposes, and there is an end to all confidence and respect for our Legislatures. It is one of the elementary principles of every enlightened system of jurisprudence, that fraud vitiates every contract into which it enters; and, in every stage of completion, these contracts are arrested as soon as the fraud is discovered. There can be no fraudulent practice more odious than one like this, striking at the purity of legislation, and I am confident the representatives of the people will apply a thorough corrective the instant they are made acquainted with the facts.

No inconvenience has arisen thus far, nor detriment to the public interest, from my refusal to approve the bonds offered by the individuals claiming to have been elected. The portion of the law, therefore, pointing out the mode of electing State Printers, not having been complied with, the matter rests with you to make such provision on this subject, as you believe the public welfare desires. The frauds practiced upon the public by some of those persons entrusted with the public printing, the last few years, are too palpable and notorious to pass unnoticed, and whatever measures the Legislature may think proper to adopt, will, I trust, provide security against their recurrence.

It is no disparagement to her sister States to assume, that Pennsylvania, in her geographical position, and in her mineral and agricultural resources, is surpassed by none in the Union. Her population, for hardy and effective industry, presents a model worthy of all praise, and this industry, devoted to a constant development of her vast mineral wealth, cannot fail, in good time, to produce the most astonishing results.

There is hardly a mountain or valley within her borders, that does not abound in deposites of coal or iron. Our canals and railroads penetrate almost every one of these mineral regions, and furnish them with a cheap and ready highway to market.

If those entrusted with the guardianship of the public welfare, are but true to their trust, the day is not far distant, when Pennsylvania must become the great workshop of the American Union, for the production of coal and iron, and the fabrics constructed from these materials. If these great interests are surrendered to some imaginary, theoretic, Arcadian scheme of free trade, we may still continue to serve as hewers of wood and drawers of water to some foreign capitalists and artizans, and our incalculable mineral deposites, may lie useless for ages. I trust, however, the people of this Commonwealth will never be seduced into a sacrifice of their dearest rights.

The policy of standing by her own interests, has been, for the last half century, too deeply fixed in Pennsylvania, to be abandoned without a struggle; and those of her public servants who would advise the surrender of any of her staple productions, without the fostering succor of the Government, will soon find on how mistaken an estimate of popular feeling they have relied. It is idle to talk of reciprocity of trade, when England will not receive our flour under a prohibitory duty of less than three dollars per barrel—for us to receive her coal and iron free, or nearly so, of duty.

Free trade and reciprocity of duty, like the golden rule, are beautiful and benign in theory, and, if universally carried out in practice, would render mankind better and more acceptable to their Maker; but, unhappily, this obligation is voluntary, and is assumed only by the less crafty and grasping of men and nations who are used for their own ends by the rest. This fundamental truth is taught by all history, and was familiar to our fathers. Come what may, we cannot desert the standard of Pennsylvania; and I, for one, have battled under it too long to see it struck without a manly effort to uphold it. If we are true to ourselves, and those who come after us but do their duty without shrinking, Pennsylvania will soon be placed in her true position.

Our agriculturists, manufacturers, mechanics, and every class of citizens, are alike interested in a steadfast adherence to the policy of protecting and encouraging our own peculiar state productions; for on this policy rests our hopes of future greatness and independence. A permanent home consumption, is, after all, the only market on which our farmers and other producers can always depend for a steady demand for their commodities, without the fluctuations of price that will ever attend foreign markets. It will afford me great pleasure to co-operate with you in giving the most effective support to it, both in our domestic and national legislation, so far as may be compatible with our duty.

I am not aware of any other subject that requires to be specially brought to your notice, although there are a number of minor importance, [illegible]

DAVID R. PORTER.

Executive Chamber, Harrisburg, Jan. 9, 1844.