

ought to get, specie in return for them. Let those states whose legislatures choose to authorize the issue of small notes enjoy the benefit of such currency. Pennsylvania prefers gold and silver as small change for her citizens.

While the Banks of other States enjoy the advantage of small notes as a substitute for specie, we should doubtless allow our Banks, that are deprived of it, some indulgence in retaining the payment of specie for their notes and liabilities; and this indulgence should be extended, not so much on account of the Banks themselves, as of the people of Pennsylvania, and their business, which would be most deeply affected by imprudent legislation on this subject.

It is apparent to the most casual observer from the foregoing statements of the income of our public improvements, the resources of the Commonwealth, and the vast amount of the State debt falling due, and the interest thereon, that Pennsylvania has a deep stake in sustaining the business and credit of this State and her citizens. Whatever measures cripple our general business operations and prostrate credit, force upon us the inevitable necessity of restoring to taxation or to a sale of our public improvements, or further State loans a heavy sacrifice. Against all these measures I feel a degree of repugnance that cannot be easily overcome.

The yearly income of the people is already burdened with taxes—their permanent property is, in effect, mortgaged with an enormous State debt. In the state of things it behoves the Legislature to weigh well the policy of adopting any measures that will curtail the avails of the people's industry, or diminish the resources of the Commonwealth to meet its engagements. It should not be forgotten that, in the case of debts already contracted, the direct effect of reducing the means of the debtor, is to increase the relative amount of his debt. The creditor gains in proportion as the debtor loses, and no man can foresee the extent of the impending convulsion. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, is in no situation to augment her State debt, either absolutely or relatively. Untried expedients should be considered well.

I respectfully suggest the propriety of immediately inquiring into the condition of the Banks of this Commonwealth, and of fixing the earliest period for the resumption of specie payments that their affairs and the public wants and expectations justify. It would, perhaps be expedient to graduate this resumption, either by the denomination of notes or amounts to be paid, so as to make one fourth or more payable forthwith, and the residue at such respective periods as in the wisdom of the Legislature might seem to be advisable, provided the time be not long protracted.

I recommend the appointment of three Bank Commissioners, to hold their offices respectively for one, two, and three years, so that one shall be appointed annually, hereafter, with the same powers to examine at all times into the accounts and condition of the Banks as are possessed by a joint committee of the Legislature; and if any Bank shall violate its charter, to institute proceedings to bring it to justice without delay; or if any Bank now in existence be found unsound, to take the proper measures immediately to wind up its concerns. A proper and prudent supervision of this kind, by competent and experienced commissioners, selected for their personal weight, character and knowledge of the system, would operate as a salutary restraint in the management of our Banks, independent of the means which such a commission would afford for correcting abuses.

I also recommend the passage of a law compelling all the Banks in the Commonwealth to receive each others notes at par, so long as the respective Banks continue to redeem their notes in specie; and on failure at any time of any Bank to redeem its notes, that the bank commissioners be required forthwith to take charge of it and close its operations; and that such Bank be permitted to pay out at its own counter, nothing but its own notes or specie, unless at the option of those who have demands upon it. I am clearly of the opinion that such a law would exert a most salutary influence on our banking system. The rate of exchange between the western and eastern parts of the State, is at times, a serious burden on the community. The banks create that burden. Then on whom could it be placed with more justice and propriety? They can make those exchanges with much less expense, than individuals. It would assist to restore confidence, as each bank would be to some extent the surety for the notes of the others. It would introduce a wholesome system of checks, long wanted, by inducing each to keep watch over the other; and in case of excessive issues beyond their ability to redeem their notes would be returned upon them, and the bank be forthwith closed. Self-interest is the ruling motive with Banks, and by this law we should enlist it in support of the public good. It is manifest that this would be an essential improvement of the present system, and would render our Banks and the currency founded and better than those of any other State.

I also recommend that provision be made by law effectually to prevent any bank, or banks in this Commonwealth, from purchasing and holding bank stock, or any other stock except their own, and the stock of the State, or of the United States; and then only to such an amount as shall merely furnish a fund for immediate resort in case of a pressure, or under peculiar circumstances when loans to the Commonwealth are authorized.

The direct operation of the existing law has been, and is, to induce banks to engage in wild speculations, foreign to their objects and nature, and to divert their capitals from the legitimate purposes for which they were chartered. Nothing short of the repeal of the present law will arrest this inordinate cupidity, which may be fairly regarded as one of the principal authors of their present embarrassments. Bank officers should not, under any circumstances, be permitted to dabble in stocks, and a law heavily taxing brokers, and permitting none to follow the business, directly or indirectly, but such as may be specially licensed so to do, would, it is believed, tend greatly to check many of the evils of which our city population complains.

I also recommend, an unconditional repeal of the law authorizing stockholders to vote by proxies; or if you should be of opinion that this would be going too far, then, at least, so far as to prevent proxies from being given by stockholders residing in the county where the bank is located, and prohibiting bona fide stockholders residing out of the county, from

giving proxies to any officer, director or agent of the Banks. This system of proxies is susceptible of the grossest abuses. It has been used to keep in office directors, presidents and cashiers, of banks, who were not the free choice of the stockholders. It prevents those who are interested in banks from investigating their management and enabling dishonest officers, not only to defraud the banks but the banks to defraud the public. It is an unnecessary exception to the plain rule of common sense, that where majorities govern, the votes should attend in person.

I also recommend, the prohibition, by law, of the pernicious practice of issuing what is denominated post notes, by the banks, or notes payable at a future day. This is a violation of the spirit and principles of a judicious banking;—it is a dangerous power to be exercised by the banks, and it will, ultimately, enable them to evade most of our penal laws. It calls for effectual extinction.

I also recommend, that the power contained in the amended constitution, of repealing bank charters, reserve to the legislature on the creation of all such corporations, shall be made a fundamental article of every bank charter in the state. This will bring every bank charter directly within reach of the people at all times, and will enable them to repeal themselves of any banking institution by repeal, the conduct or power of which, renders it obnoxious.

I also recommend, that the time given to the banks after the presentation of their notes and bills to pay them in specie, as well as to make provision to a judge by the holders thereof, to exhibit proof of the fact, for the purpose of proceeding to have their charters forfeited, shall be restricted from three months to thirty days. This will afford a strong guarantee against all future suspensions, and place a more speedy remedy in the hands of the people, should such occur.

I also recommend, that the directors of banks of the commonwealth shall be rendered personally liable for the payment of all notes issued by the banks respectively after their direction, if at any time the same are in circulation, and the money due to depositors shall exceed the ratio of three dollars for one of the specie in their vaults.

I also recommend, that from and after a certain period, perhaps of one year, no bank in this Commonwealth shall be allowed to issue any notes of a less denomination than ten dollars. This will ensure a larger amount of specie in general circulation, and add greatly to the stability of the currency and the banks. Our experience in relation to excluding from circulation notes under five dollars, fully confirms the policy of this recommendation.

I also recommend that the banks be prohibited from making dividends exceeding seven per cent, per annum, and that the law prohibiting the declaring of dividends during the suspension of specie payments, be rendered more effectual. It is understood that several banks in this Commonwealth have wantonly and needlessly violated this law since their suspension in October last. If it be found to be so, on examination, I recommend further, the passage of a law repealing their charters, on such conditions as may seem expedient to maintain the laws inviolate, and to protect the rights of the community. The idea of a set of associated individuals publicly declaring a division of profit among themselves, and refusing at the same time to pay their just debts, is revolting to every principle of common honesty and good morals. If the laws of this Commonwealth are thus contemptuously trampled on, without the poor pretext of necessity urged in behalf of the act of suspension, I think it is time an example was made of the offenders, to vindicate the law, and to punish their temerity.

I also recommend that more effectual provision be made to compel the banks to furnish full statements of their condition to the auditor general, or to the bank commission, should the legislature enact a law for their appointment.

The principle of making the stockholders liable, in their personal capacity, for the notes of the banks, in cases the corporate funds be inadequate, appears just and equitable; and if the legislature can devise a practicable mode of bringing it into operation, I will most cheerfully co-operate with them. Those who share the profits of loaning their credit, should be willing to share the responsibility of making that credit good.

The foregoing recommendations and suggestions, and if adopted, would, in my opinion, tend to correct most of the abuses and evils of our banking system; strengthen the banks themselves in the confidence of the people, and secure the public against loss and imposition.

I will add, that I think a total separation between the state and banking institutions ought to take place. The associations of private individuals with the state, in banking institutions, results almost entirely to the advantage of the former. What ever hopes might have been founded on such associations, by the legislature that the banks thus owned would be at all times ready to aid the Commonwealth, have been illusory. Although the state owns 5750 shares of stock in the Pennsylvania bank; 5235 shares in the Philadelphia bank, and 1708 shares in the Farmers and Mechanics' bank, yet she has not a share in the direction of either as to control and of the proceedings, and derives no benefit from the partnership. Her capital is used by her individual associates for purposes of private gain and speculation, and the Commonwealth, when she wants money, is compelled to look elsewhere. I therefore recommend the passage of a law authorizing the sale of the state's stock in said banks, at such time and in such manner, as will yield the greatest amount to the state; or if it be found that such sale cannot be made without too great a sacrifice owing to adverse circumstances or other causes, that authority be given to declare their charters annulled, and to divide the assets among the state and private stockholders. The opinion is rapidly gaining ground in this country, that direct associations between governments and banks, is neither advantageous to the parties concerned, nor safe to the public. Our banks essentially depend on the fluctuations of trade and commerce with foreign nations, and are so liable to be influenced by those minority

conjunctions and embarrassments in Europe, which operate with increased force upon the relations of business have become so intimate, and the communication is rendered so easy by modern improvements on the ocean, as to form very improper depositories for the money of the people, and a very insecure basis for the public treasury.

The measure of establishing an independent treasury for the general government, with such multiplied securities and guards for the keeping of the public money, as will render it safe and convenient for the use of the government, has been imperitively called for, and justified by recent events. Public sentiment is setting in its favor with unprecedented strength, and there is every reason to believe, that the laudable efforts of the President of the United States on behalf of it, will be successful. Among other reforms of our present banking system; I do not consider this as the least. It will remove from the banks many temptations to extend their business to an unreasonable degree, it will check foreign importations; it will save the community from the manifold evils heretofore suffered in consequence of the governments withdrawal from the banks large amounts of its funds therein deposited; and will place all the banks on an equal footing, by preventing the exercise of that partiality or indulgence, which may very readily be used to strengthen and uphold particular banks, at the hazard of crippling and breaking up others. Under whatever aspect we view it, it seems to me to be a measure, both of wisdom and necessity, which sooner or later will meet with universal assent.

I also recommend that thorough investigation be made into the facts, whether or not any of the banks of this Commonwealth have charged and taken illegal and usurious interest, either directly or through the fiction of bills of exchange, or by setting apart portions of their funds to be used by committees or other persons for such purposes. I have reason to believe that all or some of these things have been done by certain banks in the city of Philadelphia. And if it should be ascertained on investigation, that such is the case, I recommend that the charters of those banks, which have so acted be repealed, for this gross and unjustifiable violation of this salutary law. I have also been informed, that certain banks in the city of Philadelphia have neglected or refused to observe the provisions of the 42 section of the act of 10th April, 1833, relative to the rotation and election of bank directors. This law, I regard as wise and salutary, and it should appear on inquiry that it has been wilfully disregarded by any bank or banks subject to its operation, I respectfully suggest the propriety, of passing such a law on the subject, as will effectually prevent future violations, and punish past transgressions.

Saving institutions and loan companies have increased greatly in number and importance in this Commonwealth within a few years. Great complaints have been made, especially in the city of Philadelphia against their mode of doing business. It is said that they, or some of them, have taken illegal and usurious rates of interest—that they have dealt oppressively and illegally with their debtors and customers—and that they have contributed, in some measure, to aggravate the evils and embarrassments produced by the conduct of the banks. I recommend strict inquiry into these and other allegations against them, and if found to be well grounded, that the charters of all that have thus acted be repealed. It is not to be tolerated, that these creatures of legislation should set the law at defiance.

I also recommend the passage of a law for the more adequate prevention and punishment of frauds and fraudulent breaches of trust by officers of banks, collectors of public moneys, and all other receivers and disbursers of public moneys. Recent experience has shown, that civil liabilities are altogether insufficient to protect the public from fraud and imposition by these several classes of officers. I am not, in general, in favor of multiplying penal law, and the peculiar temptations of duty, and the hope of impunity, arising from the mere civil responsibility to which they are subjected, call for the special interposition of the legislature. Instances of delinquencies have occurred within a short period in which not only has the Commonwealth most probably sustained considerable losses, but numerous private persons, little able to bear the consequences, have been deeply affected, and in some cases entirely ruined. The perpetrators of these deeds should be taught, that our penitentiaries were constructed for the reception of such inmates like them selves.

Considering the various banks in this Commonwealth, incorporated at different times, on different principles, and of widely different amounts of capital, it might perhaps seem expedient to some that I should recommend discriminating legislation, applicable in its penal consequences to some and not to all the banks alike. It will be seen that several of my recommendations though expressed in general terms, will operate on particular banks only,—I have not been able to perceive any good reason for making discriminating recommendations. I think on the contrary, all banks in a sound condition should stand on the same basis, and be subject to the same general regulations. Such of my recommendations, as are applicable to particular banks, are intended to bring all, within the operation of the same rules and restrictions. The laws should be made strong enough to control

the most powerful, they will then be strong enough to control the weaker ones. The principles of banking on a large or small capital is precisely the same in its influence, except the difference in degree, upon the human character. The greatest gain at the least expense, is the ruling motive of action in both, and always with the same power, the bank of one hundred thousand dollars capital in a country village, as the one of so many millions in a great commercial metropolis. The whole difference consists in the influence and power of these respective institutions. I think the recommendations I have made if incorporated into the charters of the most powerful banks in the Commonwealth, will bring them within the immediate reach of the legislature and the law. In that condition, they will be humbled in their lawless pretensions, and stripped of their ability to set at naught as they have done, the will of the people. As we cannot get rid of the banks altogether without the most serious losses, and inconveniences to the public—the extent of which can be but imperfectly computed, when we consider that it would most certainly reduce our circulating medium very considerably, and that the inevitable consequence of such reduction must be to depreciate our farm lands to one half perhaps of their present value, and all other property in the same proportion; increase in effect, our state debt in a corresponding ratio, and individual debts in a like relative degree; I find in these things moving steadfastly upon the legislature the adoption of the suggestions and measures which I have proposed. Or at least if other measures should seem to them preferable, that they should be those of a kind bearing.

I dismiss the further consideration of our banking system, fully convinced of its manifold imperfections, and abuses, and reiterating the hope and the assurance, that this legislature will not separate, till thorough and searching reform, has hunted out its imperfections, and corrected its abuses. It is fortunate for the public that the banks have either voluntarily, or in the natural course of their own defensive organization, placed themselves in a condition, where they not only cannot dispute the policy and justice of reform, but must in self defence, avow the truth of the very doctrine, on this subject, for which the friends of reform have long and unflinchingly contended. Time and necessity are powerful reasoners. In this instance, they convinced even those who were interested to resist their convictions and I accordingly trust, that the legislature will proceed at once, and courageously, to the accomplishment of this great, salutary, and long expected work.

The public improvements of this Commonwealth, constituting one of its principal resources, as well as objects of expenditure, must be regarded as a subject hardly second in importance to the finances. This system has gradually grown up to its present magnitude within the last fifteen years. The internal improvements of Pennsylvania now consist of the following number of miles in actual operation, to wit, 6 8 1/2 lines of canal and slack water navigation, and 118 miles of rail road, making together 725 1/2 miles of canal and slack water navigation have been commenced, and are in a state of considerable progress.

The following number of miles have been suspended after expenditures to some amount had been made upon them, to wit: forty seven miles and slack water navigation, and twenty two miles of rail road. I beg leave to refer you to the message which I had the honor to transmit to the last legislature, on the 25th of January 1839, as containing a full and explicit exposition of my view on the general subject of our internal improvements, and to the report of the canal commissioners for a detailed statement of the operations upon them, during the past year, together with their condition at the present time. It is due to these officers to state, that their duty has been performed with much ability and efficiency, and that their opinions and recommendations are entitled to respectful consideration.

On this occasion I will merely refer to such facts and considerations, connected with this subject; as appear to me to be essential to the proper understanding of its nature and bearing.

The internal improvements of this Commonwealth have been constructed at an aggregate cost of twenty six and a half millions of dollars—and when we consider that the surface of our territory is diversified and broken by numerous chains of mountains and by rivers, to a greater degree than that of almost any state in the Union, we must regard our system of internal communication undertaken by a community distinguished for its prudence economy and simplicity of character, as standing without a parallel in modern times. The enterprise and perseverance of the people of Pennsylvania have enabled them to achieve these astonishing triumphs over the barriers of nature, and the obstacles incident to their condition, more formidable still. The great system originally projected, is almost completed. In its progress, it has been subjected to few other fluctuation, and drawbacks, than arise from pecuniary embarrassments and from these errors of judgment, and accidents of legislation, that are to be naturally expected, from the want of experience on the part of those who directed its operations, and from the numerous conflicting local interests that prevailed in the legislature.

In addition to the payment of the interest on the public debt, and providing for the payment of a loan falling due, a million of dollars at least, will be needed for repairs, during the present year; for a satisfactory explanation of which, I refer you to the report of the Canal Commissioners. In view of this state of things the question is distinctly presented to the legislature, whether the works now in progress of completion shall, or shall not be finished, at the present time?

On these several lines of improvements the following sums of money have been appropriated and nearly expended; viz:

Erie extension, \$1,566,666 66
North Branch extension, 1,346,666 66
Wisconsin feeder, 210,000 00
Road to avoid the inclined plane at Columbia, 499,000 00

By the most careful estimate of the cost of completing these several lines, the following sums will be required, in addition to the appropriation already made, viz:

For the Erie extension, \$3,114,527 85
For the N. B. extension, 2,181,535 54
For the Wisconsin feeder; 166,195 45
And for the road to avoid the inclined plane at Columbia, 91,144 97

From this statement it is evident, that should the legislature determine to suspend the completion of these works, the sum of \$3,322,553 52 expended on them, will be lost; or should it be determined to proceed forthwith to the completion of them, the sum of \$4,553,503 79 will be required for that purpose. Upon a full consideration of all these circumstances, together with the additional fact that these respective works will be worthless, till the whole of each be finished, it is for the legislature to decide what course sound policy and official duty call on them to adopt. The whole of these lines might be completed, if sufficient money be appropriated at this session, within two years; and a portion of them during the approaching summer.

In addition to the foregoing work in a state of progress, the following have been suspended by the legislature, after expending on each, the sums respectively set down viz:

Gettysburg railroad, \$650,000 07
Schenectady extension of the West B. canal, 164,000 00
Allegheny feeder, 50,000 00

It will not, I presume, be thought advisable by any one, to re-commence any of these works under existing circumstances. The first has most probably been suspended forever. I took occasion in both my inaugural addresses, and in the message of 25th of January last, before referred to, and to announce it clearly as my deliberate opinion, that after the completion of the works then in a state of progress, and so advanced as to render it less wise to suspend than to prosecute them with vigor, it would be time to pause in our improvement system, till we could judge of it by its fruits. The experience of the past year, has greatly strengthened this opinion, and satisfied my mind beyond all doubt, of the manifest impolicy of undertaking any new works whatever, at the present juncture. I deem it an act of simple justice to the legislature, to apprise them that this is my thorough conviction of my duty. Should the legislature think proper to prosecute the works now in progress to immediate completion, I respectfully suggest the propriety of providing at once for the whole amount required, as to enable the canal commissioners to execute them in the speediest and cheapest manner, and also I would further suggest the mistaking policy of postponing the passage of so important a bill, as that for prosecuting and repairing the public improvements, until the close of the session. Much is lost by the delay, and nothing gained. By this procrastination not only is invaluable time lost, but bills are sometimes necessarily permitted to come laws that do not meet the entire approbation of all departments of the government, whose duty it is to sanction them. Such was the case with the act of 19th of July 1839, entitled "An act to provide for the repairs of the several lines of canal and railroad, and to continue the improvements of the state." That very important bill did not pass, until the last day of the session of the legislature, and it was not presented to me for my signature, until the legislature had actually adjourned sine die. Had it been presented to me during the sitting of the legislature, I frankly say to you, it would not have received the executive approbation. But when it came to my hands, there was no remedy, I was compelled to make choice, between what I regarded as evils, either to refuse my assent to it and suspend the prosecution of the public improvements, not only those in course of construction, but to arrest those in a state of use—or to approve of it, though conferring highly objectionable powers and privileges on the banks taking the loan authorized. I held it under consideration for nearly a month, and was finally induced to sign it, in order to prevent the serious evils that would have resulted to the business of the country and the character of our public improvements, had there been no provision made to repair and continue operations on them at all.—The same paramount consideration also induce me to take the loan authorized from the bank of the United States of Pennsylvania, which institution as was to be supposed, would seek to avail itself of any advantage the legislature had bestowed on those who furnished the loan. Every other expedient to procure the money was first tried. The usual advertisements of the loans produced no bidders—letters addressed to all other banks in the

city of Philadelphia, and success. In this emergency, the only natives, presented, were either to suspend all the improvements, stop the loans, and draw the water off the canals; or to obtain loans authorized by the bank of the United States. The latter, being reluctantly adopted, the latter, believes it to be a question rather of expediency than constitutional principle, more honorable to my duty, than the former.

To afford hereafter a reasonable opportunity to the Executive, as well as to two houses of the legislature, to consider upon whatever bills relative to public improvements and so loans passed those bodies, I hope they will be sent to me in time to act in concert with them, or to enable them to judge themselves in their constitutional capacity whatever the provisions of such laws may happen to meet my entire approbation. Thus only can the independence of the department be preserved, without doing so at the expense of the public interest, and thus alone can the responsibility, each to the people be rigidly enforced without casting a portion of it on another. I shall never shun any responsibility whatever, that justly devolves upon me, but I do not desire to be placed in a situation, as a public officer, where I approve or disapprove of particular measures, not on the ground of their intrinsic merits or demerits, but because by the creation of a co-ordinate branch of the government, I have been precluded from an unfeigned course of conduct. I certainly do not accord with the spirit of our government.

Keeping in view these various circumstances and interests, the question is presented to the consideration of the legislature, how is the money to be procured to pay the interest on the state debt; to pay the several loans falling due; and to pay the other necessary expenditures of the Commonwealth? However formidable the difficulties we must encounter, there is no avenue of escape from the responsibilities left open to us. We must meet them without shrinking, or postponement. The sum of 2,000,000 dollars must be obtained for the year following by the sale of the stock held by the Commonwealth, in the Bank of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Bank, and Farmer's and Chandler's Bank, the sum of two million one hundred and eight thousand six hundred dollars may be realized, by will require time to carry this operation into effect. The sum of 600,000 dollars must be had on or before the first of next month, and the balance during the remainder of the year. Nothing can be expected from other sources—even loans would, perhaps, fail to answer present exigency. What then remain to be done? My own deliberate opinion that resort to taxation, provided that shall be so regulated as to bear with little hardships as possible on the people, is the only possible remedy to extricate the Commonwealth from the embarrassments by which we find her surrounded.

In stating to the legislature the resources of the Commonwealth, I do to be my duty to refer to you, without commenting it, to another remedy, I may put the evil day off for a time, but the legislature think proper to do. By the act incorporating the bank of the United States, that institution is bound to loan to the Commonwealth, at four per cent, interest, six millions of dollars required by law. It will be for the legislature, after examining into its condition, if taxation be deemed politic, to determine whether this shall be called for from that bank—so, to appropriate the same specific payment of the interest on the state debt, and to the immediate completion of the main lines of canal under contract; a state of forwardness, and to no other purposes whatever. In expressing my opinion in favor of a resort to tax to do it with no inconsiderable degree of reluctance; but it must be obvious to citizen of the Commonwealth, that house, his farm, and his property a pledged, beyond possibility of relief, the ultimate payment of the state and the interest thereon accruing, a liability to the stipulation with the loaners. Nor is this the worst view of the situation.

The state has been actually compelled, in years past, from a million to a million a half of interest annually; and the question is now submitted whether we are to continue adding half yearly, this enormous amount of interest to the principal state debt, and continue in the pusillanimous course of policy, from year to year, to fill the legacy to posterity. It is a reproach to the people of Pennsylvania to suppose the situation in which we find them.

All that we want to know, to ensure a compliance with the indispensable call of our patriotism, is to know the measure. The experience of the half a century, fortifies me in the belief of the good sense of the people of this Commonwealth, and I sincerely appeal to them, in assuming the responsibility of recommending this measure, I am fully sensible it is to be encountered, and aware of the sequences that are to follow; and if expression of the honest convictions of my own mind, and the fearless discharge of my duty incumbent on me, I shall not be out by my fellow citizens I shall at the consolation to know, that I have that which I conscientiously believe right, and which I think will bear the reflection of after years. The time is gone; the public mind has been long fed with miserable expedient for action is at hand. Our expectations every man to do his duty, that has not nerve enough for the should give place to those better of the emergency. Neither the present legislature, nor myself, had any thing to