

BY CHAPMAN & SMITH

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MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS:

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: The act of the 23d of June, 1836, regarding the deposits of the public money, and directing the employment of State, District, and Territorial banks for that purpose, made it the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to discontinue the use of such of them as should at any time refuse to receive their notes in specie, and to substitute other banks, provided a sufficient number could be obtained to receive the public deposits upon the terms and conditions therein prescribed. The general and almost simultaneous suspension of specie payments by the banks in May last, rendered the performance of this duty imperative, in respect to most which had been selected under the act; and made it at the same time, impracticable to employ the requisite number of others upon the prescribed conditions. The specific regulations established by Congress for the deposit and safe-keeping of the public moneys, having thus unexpectantly become inoperative, I felt it to be my duty to afford you an early opportunity for the exercise of your supervisory powers over the subject.

I was led also to apprehend that the suspension of specie payments, increasing the embarrassments before existing in the pecuniary affairs of the country, would so far diminish the public revenue, that the accruing receipts into the Treasury, would not, with the reserved five millions, be sufficient to defray the unavoidable expenses of the Government, until the usual period for the meeting of Congress, whilst the authority conferred upon the States for a portion of the sums deposited with them, was so restricted to enable the Department to retain a sufficient amount from that source. These apprehensions have been justified by subsequent results, which render it certain that this deficiency will occur, if additional means be not provided by Congress.

The difficulties experienced by the mercantile interests, in meeting their engagements, indeed them, to apply to me previously to the actual suspension of specie payments, for indulgence upon their bonds for duties;—a bill the relief authorized by law was promptly and cheerfully granted. The dependence of the Treasury upon the avails of these bonds, to enable it to make the deposits with the States required by law, led me in this outset to limit this indulgence to the 1st of September, but which has since been extended to the first of October, that the matter might be submitted to your farther direction.

Questions were also expected to arise in the recess, in respect to the October installment of these deposits, requiring the interposition of Congress.

A provision of another act, passed about the same time, and intended to secure a faithful compliance with the obligation of the United States, to satisfy all demands upon them in specie, or equivalent, prohibited the offer of any bank note, not convertible on the spot into gold or silver at the will of the holder; and the ability of the Government with millions on deposit, to meet its engagements, in the manner thus required by law, was rendered very doubtful by the event to which I have referred.

Soberly that adequate provisions for these unexpected exigencies could only be made by Congress; convinced that some of them would be indispensably necessary to the public service, before the regular period of your meeting; and desirous also to

enable you to exercise at the earliest moment, your Constitutional powers for the relief of the country, I could not with propriety, void such a duty to the inconvenience of assembling at an early day as the state of popular representation permit. I am sure that I have done justice to your feelings, in believing that this inconvenience would be cheerfully encountered, in the hope of rendering your meeting more conducive to the good of the country.

During the earlier stages of the revolution through which we have just passed much acrimonious discussion arose, and great diversity of opinion existed, as to the real cause. This was not surprising. The operations of credit are so diversified, and the influences which affect them so numerous, and often so subtle, that even impartial and well informed persons are seldom found in agreement in respect to them.

To inherent difficulties were also added other tendencies, which were by no means favorable to the discovery of truth. It was hardly to be expected, that the opinions of the Government in relation to the currency, would, in the excited state of public feeling produced by the occasion, fail to contribute to that policy any extensive embarrassments in the monetary affairs of the country. The matter thus became connected with the passions and conflicts of party opinions, more or less affected by political considerations; and differences were prolonged which might otherwise have been determined by an appeal to facts, by the exercise of reason, or by mutual concession. It is, however, a cheering reflection, that circumstances of this nature cannot prevent a community from ultimately arriving at correct conclusions. Encouraged by the firm belief of this truth, I proceed to state my views, so far as may be necessary to a clear understanding of the remedies I feel it my duty to propose, and of the reasons by which I have been led to recommend them.

The history of trade in the United States for the last three or four years, affords the most convincing evidence that our present condition is chiefly to be attributed to overaction in all the departments of business;—an over-action deriving, perhaps, its first impulses from antecedent causes, but first impelled to its destructive consequences by excessive issues of credit, and the other facilities for the acquisition and enlargement of credit. At the commencement of the year 1834, the banking capital of the United States, including that of the national bank then existing, amounted to about two hundred millions of dollars; and the bank notes in circulation to about ninety-five millions, and the loans and accounts of the banks to three hundred and twenty four millions. Between this time and the first of January, 1836, being the latest period to which accurate accounts have been received, our banking capital was increased to more than two hundred and fifty millions; and our paper circulation to more than one hundred and forty millions, and the loans and discounts to more than four hundred and fifty-seven millions. To this vast increase are to be added the many millions of credit, acquired by means of foreign loans, contracted by the States and State institutions, and extended by the lavish accommodations, extended by foreign dealers to our merchants.

The consequence of this redundancy of credit, and of the spirit of reckless speculation engendered by it, were a foreign debt contracted by our citizens, estimated in March last at more than thirty millions of dollars; the excessive traders in the interior of our country, of creating supplies, greatly beyond the wants of the people; the investment of thirty-nine and a half millions of dollars in unproductive public lands, in the years 1825 and 1836, whilst in the preceding year the sales amounted to only four and a half millions; the creation of a vast amount of surplus, for real estate, in remote and unproductive cities and villages, equally unproductive, and at prices now seen to have been greatly disproportionate to their real value, the expenditure of immense sums in improvements, which, in many cases, have been found to be ruinously improvident; the failure of two millions of dollars of the labor that should have been applied to agriculture, thereby contributing to the expenditure of large sums in the importation of grain from Europe;—an expenditure which, amounting in 1834 to about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, was, in the first two quarters of the present year, increased to more than two millions of dollars; and, finally, without enumerating other injurious results, the rapid growth among all classes and especially in our great commercial towns, of luxurious habits, founded too often on merely fancied wealth, and detrimental alike to the industry and the resources, and the morals of our people.

It was so impossible that such a state of things could long continue, that the prospect of a crisis was present to the minds of all who were not actually insane. None, however, had correctly anticipated that the events of the last few months have

its severity. A concurrence of circumstances, the result of themselves to produce such wide-spread and so general distress, tended so powerfully to aggravate them, that they cannot be overlooked in considering their history. Among these may be mentioned, as most prominent, the great loss of the capital sustained by our commercial enterprise in the fire of December, 1835—less the effects of which were underrated at the time, because supposed for a season by the great facilities of credit then existing; the disturbing effects, in our commercial cities, of the transfers of the public moneys required by the deposit law of 1836; and the measures adopted by the foreign creditors of our merchants to reduce their debts, and to withdraw from the United States a large portion of our specie.

However unwilling any of our citizens may heretofore have been to assign to these causes the chief instrumentality in producing the state of things, the development of the facts, and the actual condition of our commercial cities, must, as it seems to me, dispel all remaining doubts upon the subject. It has since appeared that the evils, similar to those suffered by ourselves, have been experienced in Great Britain; on the continent, and indeed, throughout the commercial world; and that, in other countries, as well as in our own, they have been uniformly produced by an undue enlargement of the systems of credit. A reference to the amount of banking capital, and issues of paper credit, put in circulation in Great Britain in 1834, 1835, and 1836, and to the augmentation of the paper currency there, as much disproportionate to the real wants of trade as in the United States. With this redundancy of the paper currency, there is in that country also a spirit of adventurous speculation, enlarging the whole range of human enterprise. Aid was profusely given to the project of foreign investments; great improvements were granted with unbounded liberality to merchants in foreign countries; and all the means of acquiring and employing credit were put in active operation, and extended in their effects, to every department of the globe. The result was proportioned in its violence to the extraordinary character of the events which preceded it. The commercial community of Great Britain and their debtors in that country were not only suddenly deprived of accustomed and expected profits, but called upon for payments, which in the actual position of affairs, could only be made through a painful pressure and at the most ruinous sacrifices.

In view of these facts it would seem impossible for sincere inquirers after truth to resist the conviction, that the causes of the present condition of our country have been the same. Two hundred millions of specie, in the world, enjoying but recently the highest degree of apparent prosperity, and maintaining with each other the closest relations, are suddenly in a time of profound peace, and without any great national disaster, arrested in their career, and plunged into a state of embarrassment and distress. In both countries we have witnessed the same redundancy of paper money; and other facilities of credit; the same spirit of speculation; the same partial success; the same difficulties and reverses, and, at length, nearly the same catastrophe. The most material difference between the results in the two countries has been the history of the revolution in our commercial cities, which has also occurred an extensive derangement in the fiscal affairs of the Federal and State Governments, occasioned by the suspension of specie payments by the banks.

The history of these causes and effects, in Great Britain and the United States, is so strikingly similar, that the revolution in our commercial cities, which has also occurred an extensive derangement in the fiscal affairs of the Federal and State Governments, occasioned by the suspension of specie payments by the banks.

They are by law to regulate the safe keeping of the moneys deposited with the public moneys; to designate the funds to be received and paid by the Government; to enable the Treasury to meet promptly every demand upon it; to prescribe the terms of indulgence, and the mode of settlement to be adopted, as well as collecting the moneys due to the Government; and, as in various instances, to provide for the collection of the moneys due to the Government; and, as in various instances, to provide for the collection of the moneys due to the Government.

For the Deposits, transfer, and disbursement of the moneys, National and State Banks have always, with some few limited exceptions, been authorized to receive and pay; but, although advocates of each system are still to be found, it is apparent that the events of the last few months have

greatly augmented the desire, long existing among the people of the United States, to separate the fiscal operations of the Government from those of individuals as corporations.

Again to create a national Bank, as a fiscal agent, would be to disregard the popular will, twice solemnly and unequivocally expressed. On no question of domestic policy is there stronger evidence that the people think they are, in excess, a proof that these sentiments are, or a reason that they should be, changed.

Events, similar in their original character, have heretofore frequently occurred, without producing any such change; and the lessons of experience must be forgotten, if we suppose that the present overthrow of credit would have been prevented by the existence of a national Bank. Proneness to excessive issues has ever been the vice of the banking system; and as prominent in National as in State institutions. This propensity is as salutary in the one as in the other; and those who direct them both, being principally guided by the same views, and influenced by the same motives, will be equally ready to simulate extravagance of enterprise by improvidence of credit. How strikingly the Bank of the United States, with the vast powers conferred on it by Congress, did not or could not prevent foreign and State embarrasments; nor has the still greater strength it has been said to possess, under its present charter, enabled it, in the existing emergency, to check other institutions, where, it has been seen, the causes have been attended with the same effect; a National Bank, possessing powers far greater than are asked for by the warmest advocates of such an institution here, has also proved unable to prevent an undue expansion of credit, and the evils that ground for the re-establishment of a National Bank, in the domestic allegations of the country, or in the facilities it may be capable of affording them. Although advantages of this sort were anticipated when the first Bank of the United States was organized, and which were refused in an incidentous manner, not one which the Federal Government was authorized to call upon it, to furnish. This accommodation is now, indeed, after the laps of not many years, demanded from it as among its first duties; and an omission to aid and regulate commercial exchanges, coupled with a general lax and serious compliance. Such a result only serves to exemplify the common error, among some of our citizens, to enlarge the powers of the government, and to extend its control to subjects with which its should not interfere. They can never justify the creation of an institution to promote such objects.

On the contrary, they justify excise among the claims of a more diligent inquiry into the character of the laws, and regulations of trade, towards which it is desired to extend such peculiar favors.

The various transactions which bear the name of domestic exchanges, differ essentially in their nature, operation, and utility. One class of them consists of bills of lading, drawn for the purpose of transferring the property of goods from the country to another, or to entrap the proceeds of property actually transmitted. Bills of this description are highly useful in the movements of trade, and well deserve the encouragement which can rightfully be given to them. Another class is made up of bills of exchange, or credit to transfer actual property, but to create fictitious capital, partaken at once of the character of notes discounted in banks and bank notes circulation, and swelling the mass of paper credits to a vast extent in the most objectionable manner. These bills have, for the most part, been a large proportion of what are termed the domestic exchange of the country, serving as the means of unproductive profit, and constituting the most unsafe and pernicious paper in circulation. This species of traffic, instead of being upheld, ought to be discontinued by the government.

In transferring its funds from place to place, the government is on the same footing with the private citizen, and may resort to the same legal means. It may do so through the medium of bills drawn by itself, or purchased from others; and in this respect it may be considered as a citizen. It is doubtfully consistent with the legitimate, facilitate and assist exchanges of individuals founded on real transactions of trade. The extent to which this may come, and the best means of affecting it, are entitled to the fullest consideration. This has been bestowed by the Secretary of the Treasury, as far as the law has been transmitted to him in his report.

But it was not designed by the constitution that the government should assume the management of foreign or domestic

exchange. It is indeed authorized to regulate by law the commerce between States, and to provide a general standard of value, or medium of exchange, in gold or silver.

It is not its province to aid individuals in the transfer of their funds, otherwise than through the facilities afforded by the Post Office Department. As justly might it be called on to provide for the transportation of their merchandise. These are operations of trade. They ought to be conducted by those who are interested in them, in the same manner that the incidental difficulties of other pursuits are counteracted by other classes of citizens. Such aid has not been deemed necessary in other countries. Throughout Europe the domestic as well as the foreign exchanges are carried on by private banks, often not generally, without the assistance of the State. They extend throughout the most remote and far extended of the States. There is no reason why our country may not be conducted in the same manner, with equal cheapness and safety. Certainly this might be accomplished, if they were favored by these most deeply interested and few can doubt that their own interest was the general welfare of the State. There is no reason why our country may not be conducted in the same manner, with equal cheapness and safety. Certainly this might be accomplished, if they were favored by these most deeply interested and few can doubt that their own interest was the general welfare of the State.

Under these circumstances, it becomes our duty to inquire whether the discharge of the general duties, and the maintenance of the position of the Bank of the United States, and the necessary efforts made to overthrow it, and without any consent to themselves or to the community, their engagements to the Government, and the system promised to be permanently useful. But when it became necessary, under the act of June, 1836, to withdraw from circulation the public moneys, for the purpose of placing it in additional institutions, or of transferring it to the States they found it in many cases, inconvenient to comply with the demands on the Treasury; and the numerous and pressing applications were made for indulgence on the part of the banks, the purpose of placing it in additional institutions, or of transferring it to the States they found it in many cases, inconvenient to comply with the demands on the Treasury; and the numerous and pressing applications were made for indulgence on the part of the banks, the purpose of placing it in additional institutions, or of transferring it to the States they found it in many cases, inconvenient to comply with the demands on the Treasury; and the numerous and pressing applications were made for indulgence on the part of the banks, the purpose of placing it in additional institutions, or of transferring it to the States they found it in many cases, inconvenient to comply with the demands on the Treasury; 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