

The National Intelligencer.

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FOR THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

Thoughts on the policy of limiting the right of the General Government to lay taxes.

[CONTINUED.]

IN the case of war, it is affirmed, that the government of the United States holds the power as absolute, unlimited right of taxation. The grounds on which this doctrine is supported are these—The power which aggregates upon our rights may be so strong as to require an exertion of our whole physical strength. On this exertion, instantaneously made, may depend our liberties, our property, our national existence. It is proper, therefore, says, it is absolutely necessary, that some power should exist able to command the whole resources of the country. If this power be suffered to exist any where, with whom can it be so safely lodged as with the general government?

This reasoning presupposes that the greatest national exertion would be made under the exclusive and individual auspices and power of the general government. If it can be shown, as the writer of these remarks believes it may, that the direct exercise of this effect would be produced by the concentration of power in the federal head, it will follow that the general government has no claim, derived either from necessity or policy, to an exclusive command of revenue.

It has been seen that the spirit of our political systems is a discriminating and uncompromised justice. It establishes no confidence in any government. To the state governments it gives certain powers, to the general government it gives other powers. The principle which governs the division of power, is a principle of jealousy; of diffidence in the infidelity of rulers. The American people, contemplating in other countries the abuses of unlimited power, have been learning to believe it is the natural tendency of power to aggrandize itself; they know that it will aggrandize itself, unless it is vigilantly observed and constantly restrained.

With these convictions, have the people adopted their present system of government. The state governments were formed and carried into effect without opposition. Their necessity was doubted by no one.—In them centered the regard of the whole community.—On their existence the people have uniformly believed to depend primarily their liberty, property and life.

So strong was the affection of the people for their governments, so unanimous the suffrage in their favour, that at the period of the adoption of the federal constitution, some of the most imperative arguments against it, those which excited the deepest jealousy, arose from the apprehension that the tendency of that system would be to concentrate the power in the centre, placing that empire under the control of government. This fear sprang up in a thousand forms, and whenever it was truth, it was acknowledged by the friends of the constitution. It was a truth, to be fatal to the ratification of it. But they contended that so far from impairing the state governments, it would really strengthen them; and that all alarm at the federal government following the state governments must be viewed as a mercenary, when it was evident that the existence of the latter was essential to that of the former.

Such is certainly the fact, and in the development of this truth we have reached the point at which we aimed—the existence of the state governments as matter of primary necessity.

What is to be understood by this existence? Undoubtedly that healthful, vigorous existence, which can alone flow from the unimpaird possession of constitutional powers. Can this power be enjoyed unexercised without a certain portion of pecuniary resource? They certainly cannot. Can this resource be found, if the general government, extending to the utmost its

power of taxation, monopolizes the whole resource of the country? Certainly it cannot. Does it not follow then, that in fact, even, the state governments would be no more than mere paper systems, or, what might be worse, obedient puppets of the general government.

Conspicuous then reduced to this degraded state, deprived of their original character, stripped of their constitutional powers, instead of forming checks on the general government, they become converted into instruments of its aggrandizement. While in all their measures they conform to its will, and execute its views, they are supported. But so soon as they attempt, even by the due exercise of their own powers, to thwart a favorite measure of the general government, that support is withheld, and they are left in a perilous condition.—Dependent on, and instruments of the general government, they become objects of public aversion and contempt. The respect and affection, which they once enjoyed, desert them. Or, if this should not be the case, the people, viewing with alarm the debased condition of the states, awakened to a jealousy of the general government, will, and they are left in a habit of associating the protection of their rights with the independence of the state governments, in the subversion of the latter, they behold the annihilation of the first. The states are left in a perilous condition. On one side are to be seen the great hordes of the people opposed to the invasion made on the state systems, while on the other side are enlisted the adherents of the general government.

There is little reason to believe that in such a state of things, the contest would be conducted with moderation or forbearance. Certain it is that a universal spirit of discontent would indigne the people to a great and unadvised effort, even against internal danger, if it did not, as it might, lead them into domestic war. For it is evident that contemplating the prostration of the state governments as the greatest of political evils, they would not hesitate to prefer any casualty to it.

Thus it appears, that at this very moment the external danger required the greatest exertion, the least would be made from the existence of internal division.

Does it not follow from this view of the subject, that, as a great effort can only be made from the cordial co-operation of all classes of citizens, the most effectual way of obtaining such co-operation is by a forced observance of those palatable political obligations which have been created by the peculiar nature of our federal compact, of which the distinct separate sovereignties are as essential members as the federal head.

(To be continued.)

BUILDERS.

WILLIAM LOVERING, of George-Town, and WILLIAM DYER, of the City of Washington, having commenced partnership in the Architecture and Building of Houses, in which they are determined to carry on with ability, integrity and dispatch, hope for the patronage of the public.

Having a number of the best workmen now employed, are ready to execute any orders which may be determined on by the public. The best workman like manner for those who will please to favor them with their commands.

Orders directed to W. LOVERING, Gay Street near the Union Tavern, George Town, or to W. DYER, 1 Street, North of the new War Office, City of Washington, will be punctually attended to.

N. B. W. LOVERING has been in the practice of drawing for and superintending great part of the Buildings in the City of Washington and its Vicinity.

Washington, April 1.

Conrad & Munn

HAVE opened houses of entertainment in the public of drawing for and superintending great part of the buildings formerly occupied by the United States Army, on the corner of the Capitol, in New Jersey avenue, leading from hence to the Eastern Branch. They are just now and convenient, and open in all respects to the public, and are well adapted for the accommodation of boarders. There is a large city sufficient for 60 boarders.—They hope to merit public patronage. No. 34, 4800. 1f

FOR THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

The question whether the energy of the General Government ought to be increased having agitated the minds and divided the sentiments of able politicians, and almost destroyed the harmony of society, I have been induced to form my own opinion by considering the probable consequences of augmenting the power, or of continuing it in statu quo.

Consequence of increasing the power of the General Government.

If the power must be increased in proportion with the multiplication of later and armies augmented population, armies must be established and depots formed for ammunition—and consequently the expenses of Government must be increased and taxes to defray them, which will create discontent and anger separation; and thus by degrees the General Government will be jealous of and ultimately at variance with the several States.

A despotic government supported by arms, must augment its power in proportion with the population to be governed.

A despotic government keeps numerous countries together by appointing influential characters, and by forces at their disposal, or in other words by corruption and fear the main springs of potatoes.

A despotic government grants partial privileges in taxation, duties, &c. to different countries, according to their power and local circumstances, with a view to make all look to it for favor, and be jealous of each other.

A despotic government makes religion a powerful engine, to bias the judgments of its people.

A despotic government is constantly in agitation and at variance with its neighbors, either for aggrandizement or to occupy the turbulent minds of its subjects.

A despotic government too apt to be ostentatious and extravagant, must increase its power at the expense of its demands on its subjects, till they rebel or sink in misery.

A despotic government in a small territory often supported by a national debt, as the state creditors are all interested in preventing infaturation; but in an extensive Empire it is apt to be subdued.

Unfortunately our present Constitution has not its parallel in history; many men therefore, who have seen the independent republics of Greece overturned by anarchy, have been apprehensive of similar destruction to our Government, which is altogether dissimilar and which has not had sufficient time to evince the permanency of the principles on which it is founded; unfortunately too, the differing fancies which France de late displayed (during the combat of old opinions with the new ones) alarmed men of property, who did not perceive that the point which stood at jeopardy suddenly less loose had only become an anarchy; but that it would settle in some a government, which, although the moderate and sensible men of both parties had the same object in view, and only differed about the means. Happily for America, she has avoided war, and preserved a respectable independent neutrality; happily also, the effective force of patriotism has fulfilled with the alarm which occasioned it, and if Mr. Jefferson adheres to his scrupulous, conciliatory professions, in his address, the people will have but one mind and one heart.

Nail Manufactory,

ALL kinds of Cut Nails for Sale by Wholesale and Retail at the Factory on F Street, and at the Hardware Store of the Subscriber, where persons building and all others wishing to purchase may be supplied with any quantity at the most reasonable rates.
JOHN JACK
Washington Feb. 4, 1861.

FOR SALE.

A young Negro Girl,
about 15 years old.—Apply at this office April 22, 1861.

FOR SALE, OR RENT.

Two Brick dwelling houses, situated on the Pennsylvania-avenue near the President's house; each containing two handsome parlours and parlour, and a fine view of the city. One of the houses is a fine building, all private, kitchen and cellar; the whole will be completely finished in a few days; the yard's fence polished and set with trees; the walks to the front paved or gravelled, which will render the place as comfortable a family residence as they can be for a private family, and will be sold for less than any gentleman can have elsewhere built for a family of equal size, will be taken in part payment, or Loan will be exchanged for slaves. For particulars enquire on the Premises of
MAY 13, 1861. OWEN ROBERTS.