

# RALEIGH REGISTER,

## AND NORTH-CAROLINA GAZETTE.

"OURS ARE THE PLANS OF FAIR DELIGHTFUL PEACE, UNWARP'D BY PARTY RAGE, TO LIVE LIKE BROTHERS."

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### Message

Of the President of the United States, to the Senate and House of Representatives, at the opening of the Second Session of the Twenty-second Congress.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

It gives me pleasure to congratulate you upon your return to the Seat of Government, for the purpose of discharging your duties to the people of the United States. Although the pestilence, which had traversed the Old World, has entered our limits, and extended its ravages over much of our land, it has pleased Almighty God to mitigate its severity, and lessen the number of its victims, compared with those who have fallen in most other countries over which it has spread its terrors. Notwithstanding this visitation, our country presents, on every side, marks of prosperity and happiness, unequalled, perhaps, in any other portion of the world. If we fully appreciate our comparative condition, existing causes of discontent will appear unworthy of attention, and with hearts of thankfulness to that Divine Being who has filled our cup of prosperity, we shall feel our resolution strengthened to preserve, and hand down to posterity, that liberty and that union which we have received from our Fathers, and which constitute the sources and the shield of all our blessings.

The relations of our country continue to present the same picture of amicable intercourse that I had the satisfaction to hold up to your view at the opening of your last session. The same friendly profession, the same desire to participate in our flourishing commerce, the same disposition to refrain from injuries, unintentionally offered, are, with few exceptions, evinced by all nations with whom we have any intercourse. This desirable state of things may be mainly ascribed to our undeviating practice of the rule which has long guided our national policy, to require no exclusive privileges in commerce, and to grant none. It is daily producing its beneficial effect in the respect shown to our flag, the protection of our citizens and their property abroad, and in the increase of our navigation, and the extension of our mercantile operations. The returns which have been made out since we last met, will show an increase, during the last preceding year, of more than 80,000 tons, in our shipping, and of near forty millions of dollars in the aggregate of our imports and exports.

Nor have we less reason to felicitate ourselves on the position of our political than our commercial concerns. They remain in the state in which they were when I last addressed you—a state of prosperity and peace, the effect of a wise attention to the parting advice of the revered Father of his country on this subject, condensed into a maxim for the use of posterity, by one of his most distinguished successors, to cultivate free commerce and honest friendship with all nations, but to make entangling alliances with none. A strict adherence to this policy has kept us aloof from the perplexing questions that now agitate the European world, and have more than once deluged those countries with blood. Should those scenes unfortunately recur, the parties to the contest may count on a faithful performance of the duties incumbent upon us as a neutral nation, and our own citizens may equally rely on the firm assertion of their neutral rights.

With the nation that was our earliest friend and ally in the infancy of our political existence, the most friendly relations have subsisted through the late revolutions of its Government, and, from the events of the last, promise a permanent duration. It has made an approximation in some of its political institutions to our own, and raised a monarch to the throne who preserves, it is said, a friendly recollection of the period during which he acquired among our citizens the high consideration that could then have been produced by his personal qualifications alone.

Our commerce with that nation is gradually assuming a mutually beneficial character, and the adjustment of the claims of our citizens has removed the only obstacle there was to an intercourse, not only lucrative, but productive of literary and scientific improvement.

From Great Britain I have the satisfaction to inform you that I continue to receive assurances of the most amicable disposition, which have, on my part, on all proper occasions, been promptly and sincerely reciprocated. The attention of that Government has latterly been so much engrossed by matters of a deeply interesting domestic character, that we could not press upon it the renewal of negotiations which had been unfortunately broken off by the unexpected recall of our Minister, who had commenced them with some hopes of success. My great object was the settlement of questions which, though now dormant, might hereafter be revived, under circumstances that would endanger the good understanding which it is the interest of both parties to preserve inviolate, cemented as it is by a community of language, manners, and social habits, and by the high obligations we owe to our British ancestors for many of our most valuable institutions, and for that system of Representative Government which has enabled us to preserve and improve them.

The question of our North-eastern boundary still remains unsettled. In my last annual message, I explained to you the situation in which I found that business on my coming into office, and the measures I thought it my duty to pursue for asserting the rights of the United States before the Sovereign who had been chosen by my predecessor to determine the question; and also the manner in which he had disposed of it. A special message to the Senate, in their executive capacity, afterwards brought before them the question, whether they would advise a submission to the opinion of the Sovereign arbitrator. That body having considered the award as not obligatory, and advised me to open a further negotiation, the proposition was immediately made to the British Government; but the circumstances to which I have alluded have hitherto prevented any answer being given to the overture. Early attention, however, has been promised to the subject, and every effort on my part will be made for a satisfactory settlement of this question, interesting to the Union generally, and particularly so to one of its members.

The claims of our citizens on Spain are not yet acknowledged. On a closer investigation of them than appears to have heretofore taken place, it was discovered that some of these demands, however strong they might be upon the equity of that Government, were not such as could be made a subject of national interference. And faithful to the principle of asking nothing but what was clearly right, additional instructions have been sent to modify our demands, so as to embrace those only on which, according to the laws of nations, we had a strict right to insist. An inevitable delay in procuring the documents necessary for this review of the merits of these claims, retarded this operation until an unfortunate malady, which has afflicted His Catholic Majesty, prevented an examination of them. Being now for the first time presented in an unexceptionable form, it is confidently hoped the application will be successful.

I have the satisfaction to inform you that the application I directed to be made for the delivery of a part of the archives of Florida which had been carried to the Havana, has produced a royal order for their delivery, and that measures have been taken to procure its execution. By the report of the Secretary of State, communicated to you on the 25th June last, you are informed of the conditional reduction obtained by the Minister of the United States at Madrid, of the duties on tonnage levied on American shipping in the ports of Spain. The condition of that reduction having been complied with on our part, by the act passed the 13th of July last, I have the satisfaction to inform you that our ships now pay no higher or other duties in the continental ports of Spain than are levied on their national vessels.

The demands against Portugal for illegal captures in the blockade of Terceira, have been allowed to the full amount of the accounts presented by the claimants, and payment was promised to be made in three instalments. The first of these has been paid; the second, although due, had not, at the date of our last advices, been received; owing, it was alleged, to embarrassments in the finances, consequent on the civil war in which that nation is engaged.

The payments stipulated by the convention with Denmark have been punctually made, and the amount is ready for distribution among the claimants as soon as the Board now sitting shall have performed their functions. I regret that, by the last advices from our Charge d'Affaires at Naples, that Government had still delayed the satisfaction due to our citizens; but at that date the effect of the instructions was not known. Despatches from thence are hourly expected and the result will be communicated to you without delay.

With the rest of Europe, our relations, political and commercial, remain unchanged. Negotiations are going on to put on a permanent basis, the liberal system of commerce now carried on between us and the Empire of Russia. The treaty con-

cluded with Austria is executed by His Imperial Majesty, with the most perfect good faith; and, as we have no diplomatic agent at his court, he personally inquired into, and corrected a proceeding of some of his subaltern officers, to the injury of our Consul in one of his ports.

Our treaty with the Sublime Porte is producing its expected effects on our commerce. New markets are opening for our commodities, and a more extensive range for the employment of our ships. A slight augmentation of the duties on our commerce, inconsistent with the spirit of the treaty, had been imposed; but on the representation of our Charge d'Affaires, it has been promptly withdrawn, and we now enjoy the trade and navigation of the Black Sea, and of all the ports belonging to the Turkish Empire and Asia, on the most perfect equality with all foreign nations.

I wish, earnestly, that in announcing to you the continuance of friendship, and the increase of a profitable commercial intercourse with Mexico, with Central America and the States of the South, I could accompany it with the assurance that they all are blessed with that internal tranquility and foreign peace which their heroic devotion to the cause of their independence merits. In Mexico, a sanguinary struggle is now carried on, which has caused some embarrassment to our commerce, but both parties profess the most friendly disposition towards us. To the termination of this contest, we look for the establishment of that secure intercourse so necessary to nations whose territories are contiguous. How important it will be to us we may calculate from the fact, that, even in this unfavorable state of things, our maritime commerce has increased, and an internal trade, by caravans, from St. Louis to Santa Fe, under the protection of escorts furnished by the Government, is carried on to great advantage, and is daily increasing. The agents provided for by the treaty with this Power, to designate the boundaries which it established, have been named on our part, but one of the evils of the civil war now raging there has been, that the appointment of those with whom they were to cooperate has not yet been announced to us.

The Government of Central America has expelled from its territory the party which, some time since, disturbed its peace. Desirous of fostering a favorable disposition towards us, which has, on more than one occasion been evinced by this interesting country, I made a second attempt in this year, to establish a diplomatic intercourse with them; but the death of the distinguished citizen whom I had appointed for that purpose has retarded the execution of measures, from which I hoped much advantage to our commerce. The union of the three States which formed the Republic of Colombia has been dissolved; but they all, it is believed, consider themselves as separately bound by the treaty, which was made in their federal capacity. The Minister accredited to the Federation continues in that character, near the Government of New Grenada, and hopes were entertained that a new union would be formed between the separate States, at least for the purposes of foreign intercourse. Our Minister has been instructed to use his good offices, whenever they shall be desired, to produce the re-union so much to be wished, for the domestic tranquility of the parties, and the security and facility of foreign commerce.

Some agitations, naturally attendant on an infant reign, have prevailed in the empire of Brazil, which have had the usual effect upon commercial operations; and while they suspended the consideration of claims created on similar occasions, they have given rise to new complaints on the part of our citizens. A proper consideration for calamities and difficulties of this nature has made us less urgent and peremptory in our demands for justice, than duty to our fellow-citizens would, under other circumstances, have required. But their claims are not neglected, and will, on all proper occasions, be urged, and it is hoped with effect.

I refrain from making any communication on the subject of our affairs with Buenos Ayres, because the negotiation communicated to you in my last annual message was, at the date of our last advices, still pending, and in a state that would render a publication of the details inexpedient.

A treaty of amity and commerce has been formed with the Republic of Chili, which, if approved by the Senate, will be laid before you. That Government appears to be established, and at peace with its neighbors; and its ports being the resort of our ships which are employed in the highly important trade of the fisheries, this commercial convention cannot but be of great advantage to our fellow-citizens engaged in that perilous but profitable business.

Our commerce with the neighboring State of Peru, owing to the onerous duties levied on our principal articles of export, has been on the decline, and all endeavors to procure an alteration have hitherto proved fruitless. With Bolivia we have yet no diplomatic intercourse, and the continual contests carried on between it and Peru have made us defer, until a

more favorable period, the appointment of an agent for that purpose.

An act of atrocious piracy having been committed by one of our trading ships by the inhabitants of a settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, a frigate was despatched, with orders to demand satisfaction for the injury, if those who committed it should be found members of a regular government, capable of maintaining the usual relations with foreign nations; but if, as it was supposed, and as they proved to be, they were a band of lawless pirates, to inflict such a chastisement as would deter them and others from like aggressions. This last was done, and the effect has been an increased respect for our flag in those distant seas, and additional security for our commerce.

In view, I have given of our connection with foreign powers, allusions have been made to their domestic disturbances or foreign wars, to their revolutions or dissensions. It may be proper to observe, that this is done solely in cases where those events affect our political relations with them, or to show their operation on our commerce. Further than this, it is neither our policy nor our right to interfere. Our best wishes on all occasions, our good offices when required, will be afforded, to promote the domestic tranquility and foreign peace of all nations with whom we have any intercourse. Any intervention in their affairs further than this, even by the expression of an official opinion, is contrary to our principles of international policy, and will always be avoided.

The Report which the Secretary of the Treasury will, in due time, lay before you, will exhibit the national finances in a highly prosperous state. Owing to the continued success of our commercial enterprise, which has enabled the merchants to fulfill their engagements with the Government, the receipts from customs during the year will exceed the estimate presented at the last session, and with the other means of the Treasury, will prove fully adequate, not only to meet the increased expenditures resulting from the large appropriations made by Congress, but to provide for the payment of all the public debt which is at present redeemable. It is now estimated that the customs will yield to the Treasury, during the present year, upwards of twenty-eight millions of dollars. The public lands, however, have proved less productive than was anticipated; and, according to present information, will not much exceed two millions.

The expenditures for all objects other than the public debt, are estimated to amount, during the year, to about sixteen millions and a half, while a still larger sum, viz. eighteen millions of dollars, will have to be applied to the principal and interest of the public debt.

It is expected, however, that in consequence of the reduced rates of duty which will take effect after the first of March next, there will be a considerable falling off in the revenue from customs in the year 1833. If will, nevertheless, be amply sufficient to provide for all the wants of the public service, estimated even upon a liberal scale, and for the redemption and purchase of the remainder of the public debt. On the first of January next, the entire public debt of the U. States, funded and unfunded, will be reduced within a fraction to seven millions of dollars; of which, two millions two hundred and sixty-three thousand three hundred and eighty dollars are not of right redeemable until the first of January, 1834, and four millions seven hundred and thirty-five thousand two hundred and ninety-six dollars, not until the second of January, 1835. The Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, however, being invested with full authority to purchase the debt at the market price, and the means of the Treasury being ample, it may be hoped that the whole will be extinguished within the year 1833.

I cannot too cordially congratulate Congress and my fellow-citizens on the near approach of that memorable and happy event, the extinguishment of the public debt of this great nation. Faithful to the wise and patriotic policy marked out by the Legislature of the country for this object, the present Administration has devoted to it all the means which a flourishing commerce has supplied, and a prudent economy preserved, for the public Treasury. Within the four years for which the people have confided the Executive power to my charge, fifty-eight millions of dollars will have been applied to the payment of the public debt. That this has been accomplished without stinting the expenditures for all other proper objects, will be seen by referring to the liberal provisions made during the same period for the support and increase of our means of marine and military defence, for internal improvement, of a national character, for the removal and preservation of the Indians, and, lastly, for the gallant veterans of the Revolution.

The final removal of this great burden from our resources, affords the means of further provision for all the objects of general welfare and public defence which the Constitution authorizes, and presents the occasion for such further reduction in the revenue as may not be required for them. From the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, it will be seen that, after the pre-

sent year, such a reduction may be made to a considerable extent, and the subject is earnestly recommended to the consideration of Congress, in the hope that the combined wisdom of representatives of the people will devise some means of effecting that salutary object, as may remove those burthens which shall be found to fill unequally upon any, and as may promote the great interests of the community.

Long and patient reflection has strengthened the opinions I have heretofore expressed to Congress on this subject; and I deem it my duty on the present occasion, again to urge them upon the attention of the Legislature. The sound maxims of public policy and the principles upon which our republican institutions are founded, recommend a proper adaptation of the revenue to the expenditure, and they also require that the expenditure shall be limited to what, by an economical administration, shall be consistent with the simplicity of the Government, and necessary to an efficient public service. In effecting this adjustment, it is due in justice to the interests of the different States, and even to the preservation of the Union itself, that the protection afforded by existing laws to any branches of the national industry should not exceed what may be necessary to counteract the regulations of foreign nations, and to secure a supply of those articles of manufacture essential to the national independence and safety in time of war. If, upon investigation, it shall be found, as it is believed it will, that the legislative protection granted to any particular interest is greater than is indispensably requisite for these objects, and that, as far as may be consistent with these objects, the whole scheme of duties be reduced to the revenue standard, as soon as a just regard to the faith of the Government and to the preservation of the large capital invested in establishments of domestic industry, will permit.

Manufactures adequate to the supply of our domestic consumption would, in the abstract, be beneficial to our country, there is no reason to doubt; and to effect their establishment, there is, perhaps, no American citizen who would not, for a while, be willing to pay a higher price for them. But, for the purpose, it is presumed that a tariff of high duties, designed for perpetual protection, has entered into the minds of but few of our Statesmen. The most they have anticipated is a temporary and generally incidental protection, which, they maintain, has the effect to reduce the price by domestic competition, below that of the former article. Experience, however, our best guide on this, as on other subjects, makes it doubtful whether the advantages of this system are not counterbalanced by many evils, and whether it does not tend to beget in the minds of a large portion of our countrymen, a spirit of discontent and jealousy, dangerous to the stability of the Union.

What then shall be done? Large interests have grown up under the implied pledge of our national legislation, which it would seem a violation of public faith suddenly to abandon. Nothing could justify it but the public safety, which is the supreme law. But those who have vested their capital in manufacturing establishments, cannot expect that the people will continue permanently to pay high taxes for their benefit, when the money is not required for any legitimate purpose in the administration of the Government. Is it not enough that the high duties have been paid as long as the money arising from them could be applied to the common benefit in the extinguishment of the public debt?

Those who take an enlarged view of the condition of our country, must be satisfied that the policy of protection must be ultimately limited to those articles of domestic manufacture which are indispensable to our safety in time of war. Within this scope, on a reasonable scale, it is recommended by every consideration of patriotism and duty, which will doubtless always secure to it a liberal and efficient support. But beyond this object, we have already seen the operation of the system productive of discontent. In some sections of the Republic its influence is depressing, and tending to concentrate wealth in a few hands, and creating those germs of dependence and vice, which in other countries have characterized the existence of monopolies, and proved so destructive of liberty and the general good. A large portion of the people in one section of the Republic declares it not only inexpedient on these grounds, but as disturbing the equal relations of property by legislation, and therefore unconstitutional and unjust.

Doubtless, these effects are, in a great degree, exaggerated, and may be ascribed to a mistaken view of the considerations which led to the adoption of the Tariff system; but they are nevertheless important in enabling us to review the subject with a more thorough knowledge of all its bearings upon the great interests of the Republic, and with a determination to dispose of it so that none can with justice complain.

It is my painful duty to state, that in one quarter of the United States opposition to the revenue laws has risen to a height which threatens to thwart their execution, if not to endanger the integrity of the Union. Whatever obstructions may be thrown in the way of the Judicial Authorities of the General Government, it is hoped they will be able peaceably to overcome them by the prudence of their own officers and the patriotism of the people. But should this reasonable reliance on the moderation and good sense of all portions of our fellow-citizens be disappointed, it is believed that the laws themselves are fully adequate to the suppression of such attempts as may be immediately made. Should the exigency arise, rendering the execution of the existing laws impracticable from any cause whatever, prompt notice of it will be given to Congress, with a suggestion of such views and measures as may be deemed necessary to meet it.

In conformity with principles heretofore explained, and with the hope of reducing the Central Government to that simple machine which the Constitution created, and of withdrawing from the States all other influence than that of its universal beneficence in preserving peace, affording a uniform currency, maintaining the inviolability of contracts, diffusing intelligence, and discharging what its other superintending functions, I recommend that provision be made to dispose of all stocks now held by it in corporations, whether created by the General or State Governments, and placing the proceeds in the Treasury. As a source of profit, these stocks are of little or no value; as a means of influence among the States, they are adverse to the purity of our institutions. The whole principle on which they are based is deemed by many unconstitutional, and to persist in the policy which they indicate, is considered wholly inexpedient.

It is my duty to acquaint you with an arrangement made by the Bank of the United States with a portion of the 3 per cent. stock, by which the Government will be deprived of the use of the public funds longer than was anticipated. By this arrangement, which will be particularly explained by the Secretary of the Treasury, a surrender of the certificates of this Stock may be postponed until October, 1833; and thus the stability of the Government, after its ability to

discharge the debt, may be continued, by the failure of the Bank to perform its duties.

Such measures as are within the reach of the Secretary of the Treasury have been taken to enable him to judge whether the public deposits safe; but as his limited power may prove inadequate to this object, I recommend the subject to the attention of Congress, under the firm belief that it is worthy of their serious investigation. An enquiry into the transactions of the institution, embracing the branches as well as the principal Bank, seems called for by the credit which is given throughout the country to many serious charges impeaching its character, and which, if true, may justly excite the apprehension that it is no longer a safe depository of the money of the people.

Among the interests which merit the consideration of Congress, after the payment of the public debt, one of the most important, in my view, is that of the public lands. Previous to the formation of our present Constitution, it was recommended by Congress that a portion of the western lands owned by the States should be ceded to the United States, for the purpose of general harmony, and as a fund to meet the expenses of the war. The recommendation was adopted, and at different periods of time, the States of Massachusetts, New-York, Virginia, North and South-Carolina, and Georgia, granted their vacant soil for the uses for which they had been asked. As the lands may now be considered as ceded from this pledge, the object for which they were ceded having been accomplished, it is in the discretion of Congress to dispose of them in such a way as best to conduce to the quiet, harmony, and general interest of the American people. In examining this question, all local and sectional feeling should be discarded, and the whole United States regarded as one people, interested alike in the prosperity of their common country.

It cannot be doubted that the speedy settlement of these lands constitutes the true interest of the Republic. The wealth and strength of a country are its population, and the best part of that population are the cultivators of the soil. Independent farmers are every where the basis of society and true friends of liberty.

In addition to these considerations, questions have already arisen, and may be expected hereafter to grow out of the public lands, which involve the rights of new States and the powers of the General Government; and unless a liberal policy be now adopted, there is danger that these questions may specify assume an importance not now generally anticipated. The influence of a great sectional interest, when brought into full action, will be found more dangerous to the harmony and union of the States than any other cause of discontent; and it is the part of wisdom and sound policy to foresee its approaches, and end, even if possible, to counteract them.

Of the various schemes which have been hitherto proposed in regard to the disposal of the public lands, none has yet received the entire approbation of the National Legislature. Deeply impressed with the importance of a speedy and satisfactory arrangement of the subject, I deem it my duty on this occasion, to urge it upon your consideration, and to the propositions which have been heretofore suggested by others, to contribute those reflections which have occurred to me, in the hope that they may assist you in your future deliberations.

It seems to me to be our true policy, that the public lands shall cease as soon as practicable to be a source of revenue, and that they be sold to settlers, in limited parcels, at a price barely sufficient to reimburse to the United States the expense of the present system, and the cost arising from our Indian compact. The advantages of accurate surveys and undoubted titles, now secured to purchasers, seem to forbid the abolition of the present system, because none can be substituted which will more perfectly accomplish these important ends. It is desirable, however, that in convenient time, this machinery be withdrawn from the States, and that the right of soil and the future disposition of it be surrendered to the States respectively in which it lies.

The adventurous and hazy population of the West, besides contributing their equal share of taxation under our impost system, have, in the progress of our Government, for the lands they occupy, paid into the Treasury a large proportion of forty millions of dollars, and of the revenue received therefrom but a small part has been expended among them. When, to the disadvantage of their situation in this respect, we add the consideration that it is their labor alone which gives real value to the lands, and that the proceeds arising from their sale are distributed chiefly among States which had not originally any claim to them, and which have enjoyed the undivided emolument arising from the sale of their own lands, it cannot be expected that the new States will remain longer contented with the present policy after the payment of the public debt. To avert the consequences which may be apprehended from this cause, to put an end forever to all partial and interested legislation on this subject, and to afford to every American citizen of enterprise the opportunity of securing an independent freehold, it seems to me, therefore, best to abandon the idea of raising a future revenue out of the public lands.

In former messages I, have expressed my conviction that the Constitution does not warrant the application of the funds of the General Government to objects of Internal Improvement, which are not national in their character; and both as a means of doing justice to all interests, and putting an end to a course of legislation calculated to destroy the purity of the Government, have urged the necessity of reducing the whole subject to some fixed and certain rule. As there never will occur a period, perhaps, more propitious than the present to the accomplishment of this object, I beg leave to press the subject again upon your attention.

Without some general and well defined principles ascertaining those objects of Internal Improvement to which the means of the nation may be constitutionally applied, it is obvious that the exercise of the power can never be satisfactory. Besides the danger to which it exposes Congress of making hasty appropriations to works of the character of which they may be frequently ignorant, it promotes a mischievous and corrupting influence upon elections, by holding out to the people the fallacious hope that the success of a certain candidate will make navigable their neighboring creek or river, bring commerce to their doors, and increase the value of their property. It thus favors combinations to squander the treasure of the country upon a multitude of local objects, as fatal to just legislation as to the purity of a public men.

If a system compatible with the Constitution cannot be devised, which is free from such tendencies, we should recollect that that instrument provides within itself the mode of its amendment—and that there is, therefore, no excuse for the assumption of doubtful powers by the General Government. If those which are clearly granted shall be found incompetent to the ends of its ob-