

indemnity. They are to be issued from the standing army, or militia, and not to time, as supplementary laws to enforce the embargo. No direction is given by the bill for their being published, while they necessarily will and must have important effects on the rights and interests of our citizens. It would still be some consolation if this unpleasant enquiry might stop here; but we must enter on a more painful duty. I have before asked, by what means are these unpre-

denied powers to be executed? They are to be executed by military force not to be employed in aid of the civil authority, but in the first instance, in the place, and to the exclusion of the civil authority.

By the 12th section 'it is made lawful for the President of the United States, or such other person as he shall have empowered, to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States, or of the militia thereof as may be judged necessary for the purpose, in conformity with the provisions of this and other acts respecting the embargo, of preventing the illegal departure of any ship or vessel, or of detaining, taking possession of, or keeping in custody any ship or vessel, or of taking into custody and guarding any articles of domestic growth, produce, or manufacture, and also for the purpose of preventing and suppressing any armed or riotous assemblage of persons resisting the custom-house officers in the exercise of their duties, or in any manner opposing the execution of the laws laying an embargo, or otherwise violating, or assisting and abetting violations of the same.'

The military may be employed by such person as the President may have empowered. He may designate, at cer-

tain places in the states, persons to call out such part of the land or naval forces of the United States, or of the militia as may be judged necessary: Those will be selected who are most convenient and in all respects qualified to act in the scenes to which they may be called. Influence? the interference of the general government in the local polity of the states, and the ordinary concerns of the people? and above all against standing

Under our present system, have not insurrections been suppressed, rebellions quelled, and combinations and resistance against lawful authority overcome by the force of the General Government in co-operation with the State Govern-

ments? Is not the authority of the Marshall's competent to the execution of the laws? I see no cause for these arrays of the military throughout the country, and the unrestrained license that is to be given to its operations. It is a fundamental principle of a free government, that the military be kept in subordination to the civil powers, and never be put in motion 'till those be found incompetent to preserve the public peace and authority. But by the provisions of this bill, these Presidential agents may call out the standing army or militia, or part of them to follow in the collector's train, to seize specie and goods, in houses, stores, and elsewhere, and generally for executing the embargo laws. And even the public peace, so far as respects the suppressing armed and riotous assemblages of persons resisting the custom-house officers in the exercise of their duties, it would seem can no longer be confided to the states... and it is thought necessary to surround custom-house officers with bands of the standing army, or militia.

The bill before us is bottomed on a report of the secretary of the treasury... How often were his strenuous remonstrances, and those of the chairman of the committee who reported the bill, (Mr. Giles) formerly heard against the extension of executive patronage and influence? the interference of the general government in the local polity of the states, and the ordinary concerns of the people? and above all against standing