



Anchor Club.

If we command our wealth we shall be rich and free; if our wealth commands us we are poor indeed.—Too great a sense of the value of a subordinate interest may be the very source of its danger, as well as the certain ruin of interests of a superior order.

PARSIMONY and extravagance are both highly injurious to a state; but the former is a more dangerous vice than the latter. By refusing to make provision for a threatened evil, on motives of an overstrained economy, thousands may be surrendered to the dread of expence, and, what is above all price, Honor and Independence may fall a sacrifice to calculations on cents and farthings.

With this mischievous disposition America has to contend. It not only assails her in its naked simplicity, counting cost without reference to final advantage, but it is made the instrument of artifice, lends its specious countenance to cover treachery, and combined with puffed-up vanity has even induced some to prefer tribute, degrading tribute, to the expences of a just and an honorable War.—Could we prevail on the opposition to resign other false notions and prejudices, with which this is closely connected, we should have little to fear from its effects.

But while the present anxiety for novelty and innovation exists in despite of the lessons of experience; while the austerity of republican manners, the sweets of pastoral repose, and the savageness of voluntary power, are made more the object of our pursuit, than the urbanity, dignity, and refinement of polished life; and while this model of national character is admired by the multitude, though drawn by the feverish imagination of those, who, having been led by founder minds, into a new and dangerous path with success; suppose all is flowery and fair, with neither gin nor pit-fall. This rage for frugality must also continue to embarrass every measure whereby we may hope to rise:

it will hang like a mill-stone round the neck of our country, and deliver us bound hand and foot, into the clutches of our foes. It is however but fair to acknowledge, that these things are foreign to the spirit and feelings of our industrious yeomanry, and the more sober and respectable classes of our citizens. They become daily more and more convinced that their advocates are men determined to amuse themselves, though with the destruction of our best interests. Men who calumniate, condemn, and shackle the administration, unrestrained by responsibility. Men, whose little talents must be displayed, whose little refinements must be gratified, whose inveterate prejudices are not to be resigned: Who are indeed that sour and fermenting quality in a state, by which the sediment of society is stirred up to discolor and confuse the whole mass.

Yet, notwithstanding the great body of our countrymen are aware of all this, it does not follow that we are secure from the repeated attacks, and unwearied perseverance of Faction. We have done much by our firm and decided measures in weakening its influence, and in exposing its inconsistency; but by resolving to hazard all in defence of all, we shall nearly accomplish its defeat. We shall do more; we shall add vigour to our endeavours, increase to our funds, and respectability to our name.

Commerce is the source which supplies the circulating principle of Life, and while it is kept free and unobstructed, Industry is encouraged, Arts, Manufactures and Agriculture continue to flourish, and every part of the community is healthful and active: The benefits it diffuses reflect back the means of extending them, and the expences attendant on its preservation are, or may be, returned ten fold into the Coffers of the State. But by denying our trade the necessary protection, the motives to industry will cease to exist, the produce of our country will become a drug, the influx of wealth be cut off, our Farmers be dispirited, and more real property lost to the State than all the savings of economy ever will reimburse.

R. TAYLOR, MUSIC PROFESSOR.

RESPECTFULLY informs the Public that he continues to teach Ladies the Piano Forte as usual. Nov. 6.

The Gazette.

PHILADELPHIA,

SATURDAY EVENING, JANUARY 26.

Extract of a letter from Richmond.

"I have been for some time very much disturbed at the politics of this country; I have had suspicions for some time, that there are a party in our Legislature who with a separation from the union; in which belief I am confirmed by the proceedings of the party, at the head of which is Mr. John Taylor, who, it appears, can carry almost every measure he wishes. Some time since he procured resolutions to be passed, declaring the Alien and Sedition Bills unconstitutional, in vindication of which, he has had leave from the house to bring in the enclosed address for their approbation, to go forth accompanied with a certain number of copies of the Constitution of the United States, and of the Alien and Sedition Bills, with their resolutions, all of which are intended, I believe, to render the people of this country disaffected to the general government. What will be the effect, I cannot say—but the times are alarming, and, unless the general government takes measures to check the thing in its infancy, I do not know how soon we may be involved in a Civil War. I most religiously believe there are a party in this country who wish it; and I have no doubt but the enclosed address is intended to alarm the people unnecessarily, and, if possible, to provoke them to opposition. Remember it has not yet passed the house, tho' I have no doubt but it will, and by a large majority—as that party is all powerful."

ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, TO THE PEOPLE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA.

Fellow Citizens, UNWILLING to shrink from our representative responsibility, conscious of the purity of our motives, but acknowledging your right to supervise our conduct, we invite your serious attention to the emergency, which dictated the subjoined resolutions. Whilst we disdain to alarm you by ill founded jealousies, we recommend an investigation, guided by the coolness of wisdom, and a decision bottomed on firmness, but tempered with moderation.

It would be perfidious in those entrusted with the guardianship of the state sovereignty, not to warn you of encroachments, which, though clothed with the pretext of necessity, or disguised by arguments of expediency, may yet establish precedents, which will ultimately devote a generous and unsuspecting people, to a bondage under power usurped.

Encroachments springing from a government, whose organization cannot be maintained without the co-operation of the states; whose authorities are constantly liable to be modified by their concurrence, because they consist of exceptions from power previously exercised by the states, which they only conceded, on account of the right of controul reserved, are the strongest excitements upon the state legislatures to watchfulness, and impose upon them the strongest obligation, to preserve unimpaired the line of partition.

State tranquility amidst infractions of the federal compact, would either beget a speedy consolidation, by precipitating the state governments into impotency and contempt; or foster perpetual revolutions, by a repetition of these infractions, until the people are roused to appear in the majesty of their strength. It is to avoid these calamities, that we exhibit to the people, for whose benefit the general government was ordained, the momentous question, whether the constitution of the United States shall yield to a construction, which defies every constraint, and overwhelms the best hopes of republicanism.

Exhortations to disregard domestic usurpation, until foreign danger shall have past, is a deceptive artifice which may be for ever used; because the possessors of power, who are the advocates for its extension, can ever create national embarrassments, to be successively employed as arguments, that the people should sleep, whilst that power is swelling, silently, secretly, and fatally. Of the same character are insinuations of a foreign influence, which seize upon a laudable enthusiasm against danger from abroad, and distort it by an unnatural application, so as to blind your eyes against danger at home.

The sedition act presents that which was never expected by the early friends of the constitution. It was then admitted, that the state sovereignties were only diminished, by powers specifically enumerated. Now, federal authority is deduced from implication; general phrases, which were used as indications or recitals of that intention, which induced the framing of the constitution are grasped by ambition, and wrested into grants of power; and from the existence of a state law, it is inferred, that Congress possess a similar power of legislation.

The sedition act is the offspring of these tremendous pretensions, which inflict a death wound on the sovereignty of the States.

For the honor of American understanding, we will not believe that the people have been allured into the adoption of a constitution, by an affectation of defining powers, whilst a construction was lurking under the covert of unsuspected recitals, which was to erect the will of Congress into a power, paramount in all cases, and therefore limited in none. And yet it is in vain we search for any specified power, embracing the right of legislating against the freedom of the press; on the contrary, we plainly see, that the extensive prospects announced by the preamble of the constitution, are defined and

limited by the agencies allowed for realizing those prospects.

Had the states been despoiled of their sovereignties by the generality of the preamble, and had the general government been endowed with whatever they should judge to be instrumental towards union, justice, tranquility, common defence, general welfare, and the preservation of liberty, nothing could have been more frivolous than an enumeration of powers.

It is vicious in the extreme to calumniate meritorious public servants; but it is both artful and vicious to rouse the public indignation against calumny, in order to conceal usurpation. Calumny is forbidden by the laws, usurpation by the constitution. Calumny injures individuals, usurpation states. Calumny may be redressed by the common judicatures, usurpation can only be controuled by the act of society. Ought that which is most mischievous to be rendered less hateful, by that which is injurious in a degree, less pernicious? But the laws for the correction of calumny were not defective. Every libellous writing or expression might receive its punishment, whether it injured private citizens or public officers, in the state courts, from juries summoned by an officer, who does not receive his appointment from the President, and is under no influence to court the pleasure of government. Now is there any distinction in the constitution empowering congress exclusively to punish calumny directed against an officer of the general government; so that a construction affuming the power of protecting the reputation of a citizen officer, will extend to the case of any other citizen, and open to congress a right of legislation in every conceivable case which can arise between individuals.

In answer to this it is urged, that every government possesses an inherent power of self-preservation, entitling it to do whatever it shall judge necessary for that purpose.

This is a repetition of the doctrine of implication and expediency in different language and admits of a similar, and decisive answer, namely, that as the powers of Congress are defined and specified, powers inherent, implied or expedient, are obviously the creatures of ambition, because the care expended in defining powers would otherwise have been superfluous. Powers extracted from such sources, will be indefinitely multiplied, by the aid of armies and patronage, which, with the impossibility of controuling them by any demarcation, would presently terminate reasoning, and ultimately swallow up the state sovereignties.

So insatiable is a lust of power, that it has resorted to a distinction between the freedom and the licentiousness of the press, for the purpose of converting the third amendment of the constitution, which was dictated by the most lively anxiety to preserve that freedom into an instrument for abridging it. Thus usurpation even justifies itself by a precaution against usurpation; and thus an amendment universally designed to quiet every fear is adduced as the source of an act, which has produced general terror or alarm.

The distinction between liberty and licentiousness, is still a repetition of the protean doctrine of implication, which is ever ready to work its ends by varying its shape. By its help, the judge as to what is licentious, may escape through any constitutional restriction. Under it, men of a particular religious opinion, might be excluded from office, because such exclusion would not amount to an establishment of religion, and because it might be said that their opinions were licentious. And under it, Congress might denominate a religion to be heretical and licentious, and proceed to its suppression. Remember that precedents once established, are ever prophetic of the use to which they will be turned at some period; and that the nation which reposes on the pillow of political confidence, will sooner or later end its political existence in a deadly lethargy. Remember also, that it is to the press mankind are indebted, for having dispelled the clouds which long encompassed religion—for disclosing her genuine lustre—and disseminating her salutary doctrines.

As if we were bound to look for security from the personal probity of congress, amidst the frailties of man; and not from the barriers of the constitution; it has been urged that the accused under the sedition act, is allowed to prove the truth of the charge. This flimsy veil will not for a moment disguise the unconstitutionality of the act, if it be recollected that opinions, as well as false facts are made punishable, and that the truth of an opinion is not susceptible of proof. By subjecting the truth of opinion to the regulation of fine and imprisonment, to be inflicted by those who are of a different opinion, the free range of the human mind is at a blow cut off. Religion is but opinion, and under the same precedent, its truth or licentiousness may be ascertained and punished by a jury of a different creed. This law then commits the double sacrifice of arresting reason, in her progress towards perfection, and of placing religion in a state of dismay.—But where does the constitution allow congress to create crimes and inflict punishment, provided they allow the accused to exhibit evidence in his defence? This doctrine, united with the assertion, that sedition is a common law offence, and therefore within the correcting power of congress, opens at once the heinous volumes of penal law, and turns loose upon us the utmost invention of insatiable malice and ambition, which in all ages have debauched morals, depressed liberty, shackled religion, supported despotism, and deluged the scaffold with blood.

All the preceding arguments, arising from a deficiency of constitutional power in congress, apply to the alien act, and it is liable to others, of peculiar application. If a suspicion that aliens are dangerous, constitute the justification of that power exercised over them by congress, then a similar suspicion will justify the exercise of a similar power over natives. Because there is nothing in the constitution distinguishing between the power of a state to permit the residence of natives and of aliens. It is therefore a right originally possessed, and never surrendered by

the respective states, and which is rendered dear and valuable to Virginia, because it is assailed through the bosom of the constitution, and because her peculiar situation renders the early admission of artisans and laborers, an interest of vast importance.

But this bill contains other features, still more alarming and dangerous. It dispenses with the trial by jury; it violates the judicial system; it confounds legislative, executive and judicial powers; it punishes without trial; and it bestows upon the President, despotic power over a numerous class of men. Are such measures consistent with our constitutional principles? And will an accumulation of power so extensive in the hands of the executive over aliens, secure to natives the blessings of republican liberty?

Herewith we submit to your consideration the opinions of a sister state respecting these laws, which will supersede the necessity of farther observations from us.

If measures can mould governments, and if an uncontrouled power of construction, is surrendered to those who administer them, their progress may be easily foreseen. A lover of monarchy, who opens the treasures of corruption, by distributing emolument among devoted partisans, may at the same time be approaching his object, and deluding the people with professions of republicanism. He may confound monarchy and republicanism, by the art of definition. He may varnish over the dexterity which ambition never fails to display, with the pliancy of language, the seduction of expediency, or the prejudices of the times. And he may come at length to avow, that so extensive a territory as that of the United States, can only be governed by the energies of monarchy; that it cannot be defended, except by standing armies; and that it cannot be united, except by consolidation.

An accumulation of materials foreboding the dire success of such an avowal, already exists. These materials consist,

In fiscal systems and arrangements, which keep an host of commercial and wealthy individuals, embodied and obedient, to the mandates of the treasury.

In mercenary armies and navies, which will on the one hand enlist the tendency of man, to pay homage to his fellow creature who can feed or honor him; and on the other employ the principle of fear, by punishing imaginary insurrections, under the pretext of preventive justice.

In an extensive establishment of a volunteer militia, rallied together by a political creed, armed, and officered by executive power, so as to rob the states of their constitutional right to appoint militia officers—to place the great bulk of the yeomanry in a defenceless situation, and perhaps even to open the doors of congress to officers having commissions under the executive.

In swarms of officers civil and military, who can inculcate political tenets tending to consolidation and monarchy both by indulgencies and severities; and can act as spies over the free exercise of human reason.

In the exclusive knowledge of an intercourse with foreign nations, which enables an executive to guide public impressions, by fragments of information, colored to disgust or deceive, so as to expose us to the whole catalogue of intrigues foreign and domestic which foreign quarrels perpetually beget. In destroying by the sedition act, the responsibility of public servants and public measures to the people, thus retrograding towards the exploded doctrine, "that government is the master and not the servant of the people," and exposing America, which acquired the honor of taking the lead among nations towards perfecting political principles, to the disgrace of returning first to ancient ignorance and barbarism.

In exercising a power of depriving a portion of the people, of that representation in congress bestowed by the constitution, under pretence that the representative chosen ought to express his opinions, according to the will of a majority, to be explained by executive and judicial authority; thus establishing a precedent for tapping the last fortress to which republicanism can retreat.

In corrupting the garrison of that fortress, by admitting into it military characters, whose rank and pay may depend upon their voting for war; whilst the constitution sedulously laboured, that the people, by a representation of the utmost purity, should exclusively determine that question; well-knowing, that the appetite for power, invariably impels the man who possesses much, to seek for more.

In the adoration and efforts of some, known to be rooted in enmity to republican government, applauding and supporting measures by every contrivance, calculated to take advantage of public blindness, which is allowed to be ingenuous, but will be fatally injurious.

In the suppression of the freedom of the press, and investing the executive with legislative, executive, and judicial powers, over a numerous body of men.

And that we may shorten the baleful catalogue, in establishing by successive precedents such a mode of construing the constitution, as will rapidly remove every restraint upon federal power.

Let history be consulted; let the man of experience reflect; may, let the artificers of monarchy be asked, what farther materials they can need, for building up their favorite system.

These are solemn, but painful truths; and yet we recommend it to you, not to forget the possibility of danger from without, although danger threatens us from within. Usurpation is indeed dreadful, but against foreign invasion, if that should happen, let us rise with hearts and hands united, and repel the attack, with the zeal of freemen, who will still strengthen their title to chaste usurpation, by defending their country.

Pledged as we are, fellow-citizens, to these sacred engagements, we yet humbly and fervently implore the Almighty disposer of events, to avert from our land, war and usurpation, the scourges of mankind; to permit our fields to be cultivated in peace; to infill into nations the love of friendly intercourse; to suffer our youth to be educated

in virtue; and to preserve our morality from the pollution, invariably incident to habits of war; to prevent the labourer and husbandman from being harassed by taxes and imposts; to remove from ambition the means of disturbing the commonwealth; to annihilate all pretences for power afforded by war; to maintain the constitution; and to bless our nation with tranquility, under whose benign influence we may reach the summit of happiness and glory, to which we are defined by nature and nature's God.

An elegant Chariot, With plated Harness. For SALE at the Merchant's Coffee House, On Saturday next, at 10 o'clock. FOOTMAN & CO. Jan. 23

MADEIRA WINE FOR SALE. At the late dwelling-house of HENRY HILL, Esq. On Tuesday morning next, precisely at 11 o'clock. FOOTMAN & CO. Approved endorsed notes, at 60 days, will be received in payment. Jan. 23

Henry Zantzing, SURVIVING PARTNER OF THE HOUSE OF Keppel & Zantzing, Will dispose of all their Stock in Trade, upon moderate terms, consisting of the following articles, in packages and open,

- Bread and narrow Cloths Sewing Silks, Twist (assimines, Swaisdowns) Gingham, Bengal Stripes Plains Beverrets Beaver Gloves and Bindings Coloured and Scotch Threads Men's and Women's Cots. Hoie Do. do. Silk do. Men's Beaver Hats Pocket and Children's Knives Barlow and other Penknives Knives and Forks, Butcher's Knives Scissors, Razors Ivory, horn, and other Combs Needles, Spectacles, and Spoons. Thimbles, Curry Combs &c. &c. N. B. A large assortment of Pearl, Steel and other Buttons. Jan 23

For Savannah, To sail the first opening, The well accommodated and fast sailing SHIP SWIFT PACKET, PATRICK GRIBBIN, Master, Now lying at Latimer's wharf.—For Freight or Passage apply to the master on board, or N. & J. FRAZIER, No. 95, South Front Street. Jan. 22

40 Boxes of Fresh Citron Just arrived via New-York, and for Sale by JOHN CRAIG, Who has also for Sale, Old Madeira Wine of the first quality, India Muslins, coarse and fine, &c. A quantity of the best English large leaf Clover Seed. Jan. 21

CHINA GOODS, Just received per the ship New-Jersey from Canton and for SALE BY ARCHIBALD MCALL, At his Store No. 187, fourth Second Street, —VIZ—

An assortment of Teas of the first quality, White and yellow nankeens Cassia, silk umbrellas an assortment of china ware, and a variety of SILKS, consisting of Black and colored Lutefring do. do. satins do. do. senhaws do. do. silk handkerchiefs do. do. sewing silks Black Taffeties A. S. O.

12 pipes of excellent Madeira Wine, fit for immediate use, Jan. 24

To be Sold at Public Sale, At the Merchant's Coffee House, On Saturday the 26th instant, at 7 o'clock in the evening, A well finished three story

BRICK HOUSE, BRICK kitchen, brick necessary, and brick smoke house in the yard, situate in Coates' alley, a little above Race street, and about 100 feet east from 2d street. The house is about 16 feet front and about 75 feet deep. The house is neatly painted and papered, has a private alley, is very convenient; the whole yard is paved with brick, and has a beautiful opening back. The terms of payment will be easy, and conditions published at the time of sale—an indisputable title will be given to the purchaser, and possession may be had in one month. SHANNON & POALK, Auctioneers Jan. 24

TO BE SOLD, A two story Stone House, LATELY built, with two acres of land, on the Bristol road, about a mile above Frankfort. The situation is high and healthy, and the water excellent.—For terms apply to Mr. John McClelland, or Mr. Richard Whitehead, No. 63, Vine-street. Jan. 21

PUBLIC NOTICE IS hereby given, that application will be made to the Directors of the Bank of Pennsylvania for the renewal of a Certificate for a share in the said Bank, No. 1282, dated July 25th 1797, standing in the name of JOSEPH REED, the same having been accidentally lost or destroyed, Philad. Jan. 25.