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FROM THE (BOSTON) COLUMBIAN CENTINEL.

MR. RUSSELL,

IN that part of Mr. PAINE's pamphlet which he has chosen to call the miscellaneous chapter, he observes that, "when a man in a long cause attempts to steer his course by any thing else than some polar truth or principle, he is sure to be lost." I have sought for the polar principle to which HIS exertions were directed in this publication, and I must acknowledge I have sought in vain. His production is historical, political, miscellaneous, satirical and panegyric. It is an ENCOMIUM upon the National Assembly of France. It is a commentary upon the rights of men, inferring questionable deductions from unquestionable principles. It is a severe SATIRE upon Mr. Burke and his pamphlet, upon the English government, upon Kings, upon Nobility, and Aristocracy; it is a narrative of several occurrences, connected with the French revolution, and it concludes with a kind of prophetic impulse, in the expectation of an "European Congress to patronize the progress of free government, and promote the civilization of nations with each other." The object which he promised to himself, in this publication, is not so dubious as the principle on which he wrote. His intention appears evidently to be, to convince the people of Great-Britain, that they have neither Liberty nor a Constitution—that their only possible means to procure these blessings to themselves, is to "topple down headlong" their present government, and follow implicitly the example of the French. As to the right, he scruples not to say, "that which a whole nation chooses to do, it has a right to do." This proposition is a part of what Mr. PAINE calls a system of principles in opposition to those of Mr. Burke, and it is laid down without any sort of qualification. It is not my intention to defend the principles of Mr. Burke—TRUTH is the only object of my pursuit, and I shall without hesitation refuse my assent to every principle inconsistent with that, whether it proceeds from Mr. Burke, Mr. Paine, or even from the illustrious National Assembly of France. This principle, that a whole nation has a right to do whatsoever it pleases, cannot in any sense whatever be admitted as true. The eternal and immutable laws of justice and of morality, are paramount to all human legislation. The violation of those laws is certainly within the power, but it is not among the rights of nations. The power of a nation is the collected power of all the individuals which compose it. The rights of a nation are in like manner the collected rights of its individuals; and it must follow from thence, that the powers of a nation are more extensive than its rights in the very same proportion with those of individuals. It is somewhat remarkable that in speaking of the exercise of the particular right of forming a constitution, Mr. Paine himself denies to a nation, that omnipotence, which he had before so liberally bestowed. For this same nation, which has a right to do whatever it pleases, has no right to establish a government in hereditary succession.—It is of infinite consequence, that the distinction between power and right should be fully acknowledged, and admitted as one of the fundamental principles of Legislators. A whole nation such as France, England, or America, can act only by representation; and the acts of the representative body must be considered as the acts of the nation. We must go farther, and say that the acts of the majority in the Representative Assembly are the acts of the whole body, and consequently of the whole nation. If therefore, a majority thus constituted, are bound by no law human or divine, and have no other rule but their sovereign will and pleasure, to direct them; what possible security can any citizen of the nation have for the protection of his unalienable rights? The principles of liberty must still be the sport of arbitrary power, and the hideous form of despotism, must lay aside the diadem and the sceptre, only to assume the party-coloured garments of democracy.

The system of principles upon which Mr. Paine advances this assertion is intended to prove that the English nation have a right to destroy their present form of government, and to erect another. I am not disposed to deny this right, nor is it at present necessary to examine whether Mr. Burke's opinions upon this subject, are not directed rather against the expediency than the abstracted rights of such a measure. It may,

however, not be improper to trace the origin of Mr. Paine's arguments against the principles maintained by Mr. Burke. Doctor Price had asserted, that "by the principles of the revolution, in 1688, the people of England had acquired the right, 1. To chuse their own governors. 2. To cashier them for misconduct; and 3. To frame a government for themselves." Mr. Burke endeavors to prove that the principles of the revolution in 1688, so far from warranting any right of this kind, support a doctrine almost diametrically opposite. Mr. Paine, in reply, cuts the gordian knot at once, declares the parliament of 1688 to have been down-right usurpers, censures them for having unwisely sent to Holland for a King, denies the existence of a British Constitution, and invites the people of England, to overturn their present government, and to erect another upon the "broad basis of national sovereignty, and government by representation."—As Mr. Paine has departed altogether from the principles of the revolution, and has torn up by the roots, all reasoning from the British Constitution, by the denial of its existence, it becomes necessary to examine his work upon the grounds which he has chosen to assume. If we judge of the production from its apparent tendency, we may call it, an address to the English Nation, attempting to prove that they have a right to form a new constitution; that it is expedient for them immediately to exercise that right, and that in the formation of this constitution, they can do no better than to imitate the model set before them by the French National Assembly. However immethodical his production is, I believe, the whole of its argumentative part, may be referred to these three points. If the subject were to affect only the British Nation, we might leave them to reason and act for themselves; but, sir, these are concerns equally important to all mankind; and the citizens of America, are called upon, from high authority to rally round the standard of this champion of revolutions. I shall therefore now proceed to examine the reasons upon which he founds his opinions relative to each of these points.—

The people of England have in common with every other nation, a natural and unalienable right to form a constitution of government, not because a whole nation has a right to do whatever it chooses to do, but because government being instituted for the common security of the natural rights of every individual, it must be liable to alterations whenever it becomes incompetent for that purpose. The right of a people to legislate for succeeding generations derives all its authority from the consent of that posterity who are bound by their laws, and therefore the expressions of perpetuity used by the Parliament of 1688, contain no absurdity—and expressions of a similar nature may be found, in all the constitutions of the United States.

But, sir, when this right is thus admitted in its fullest latitude, it must also be admitted that it ought never to be exercised, but in cases of extreme urgency: Every nation has a right as unquestionable to dissolve the bands of civil society, by which they are united, and to return to that state of individual imbecility in which man is supposed to have existed, previous to the formation of the social compact. The people of America have been compelled by an unaccountable necessity, distressing in its operation, but glorious in its consequences, to exercise this right, and whenever a nation has no other alternative but the degradation of slavery, or the formidable conflict of a revolution, the generous spirit of freedom will not hesitate a moment in the choice; whether the people of France were at the period of their revolution, reduced to that unhappy situation, which rendered it absolutely necessary to overthrow their whole system to its foundations, is a question, upon which the ablest patriots among themselves have differed, and upon which we are inadequate to decide. Whether the people of England are now in that calamitous predicament, is a question, more proper for our discussion, and upon which I shall take the liberty to examine the reasoning of Mr. Paine.

PUBLICOLA.

THE RETURN.

"KIND heav'n O send him safely back"—we pray'd—
Nor was the intercession urg'd in vain—
The tour perform'd, and millions happy made,
His Vernon hails in health its Lord again.

FROM THE QUEBEC HERALD.

DIRECTIONS FOR MAKING CHEESE.

TO farmers who live in the country and keep many cows, it would doubtless be an advantage to know how to make their milk into good cheese; for through the want of that knowledge the dairy women are often at as much pains to spoil their milk by making it into very bad cheese, as they would then be to make it into that which is very good.

Much depends upon having a portion of salt-petre used with common salt in salting the cheese:—If the latter is only used, and a quantity sufficient to keep the cheese sweet is put in, the cheese is apt to be very hard, and to have a biting disagreeable taste; but if not so much is taken, then, when the cheese is drying a putrid fermentation comes on, and the cheese swells up much in the middle, often till it is twice as thick as it was before. If the cheese should now be cut it would be found to send forth a disagreeable stench, and could not be eaten; but if suffered to stand, the fermentation gradually abates, and the cheese falls even lower than it was at first, so as to be concave on both sides: By age such cheeses grow much sweeter than they were when fermenting, yet always retain something of the same disagreeable strong taste. Cheeses that are not salted enough, will be more or less, according to the above description, in proportion as they lack more or less of being salted enough; so that whenever the dairy woman perceives the above appearance in her cheeses, she may know that it is time for her to alter her hand in salting. The people of England have perhaps as many different ways of making cheese as there are different counties in England; which is sufficient to shew that cheese may be good, and yet differ in some respects as to the way of its being made; for the best of cheeses are made in divers parts of England; yet whatever particulars they differ in, they doubtless agree in adopting the use of salt-petre, though perhaps not in the same proportion; for it is well known that cheeses from different parts vary in quality, and yet are all very good.

Cheeses made according to the following recipe have by long experience been found to be of a very excellent quality, and perhaps inferior to none that are made in England:

Let the runnet be prepared by soaking the calve's bag in cold water, and salting it enough to keep it sweet; to the milk, first made blood warm, add enough of this to turn the milk into a curd in half an hour, which quantity will soon be found by experience; then heat it as hot as you can well bear your hand in it, and having strained the whey well from it, break or chop the curd to pieces, and to every five pounds of cheese put a tea-spoonfull of salt-petre, and a large table spoonfull of common salt; (it will soon be learned by experience how much milk or curd will produce five pounds of cheese) it must now be put in the press and turned within an hour; kept in the press two days—turn it twice the first day, and once the last.

They should while drying, keep it in a dark room, or otherwise keep it from flies.

If any cracks come in them when drying, let them be filled with a paste made of butter and flour to keep the flies from coming at them, if any should get into the room.

Extracts from the Directions of the Philadelphia HUMANE SOCIETY.

TO prevent the fatal effects of drinking cold Water, or cold Liquors of any kind in warm weather.

1st. Avoid drinking while you are warm, or,
2dly. Drink only a small quantity at once, and let it remain a short time in your mouth before you swallow it; or

3dly. Grasp the vessel out of which you are about to drink (provided it is made of glass, earthen ware, or metal) for a few minutes, with both your hands, for each of these substances convey off a portion of the heat of the body into the cold liquor, and thereby lessen the danger which arises from the excessive heat of the body, on the one hand, and the coldness of the liquor, on the other; or,

4thly. Wash your hands and face, and rinse your mouth with cold water before you drink. If these precautions have been neglected, and the disorder incident to drinking cold water hath been produced, the first, and in most instances, the only remedy to be administered is, sixty drops of liquid laudanum, in spirit and water, or warm drink of any kind.

If this should fail of giving relief, the same quantity may be given 20 minutes afterwards.

When laudanum cannot be obtained, rum and water, or warm water should be given. Vomits and bleeding should not be used without consulting a physician.