

They themselves must be subservient—they themselves must bear a part; therefore, our security is guaranteed, by their being thus subject to the laws, if nothing else.

General Heath said, he considered himself not as an inhabitant of Massachusetts, but as a citizen of the United States, and his ideas and views were commensurate with the continent; they extended in length from the St. Croix, to the St. Maria, and in breadth from the Atlantic to the Lake of the Woods. Having premised this, the worthy gentleman said, he should not have risen, had he not heard gentlemen speak so lightly of lengthening of elections. The opinion of all great writers on government was, that the liberties of the people have always been dependent on the duration of parliament—that this was the opinion of Montesquieu, and several other legislators. And, says he, the history of our country will be as it was respect frequent elections have been held—it was the wisdom of our ancestors that formed the measure of annual elections, and it is sanctified by age. Therefore, sir, before we alter it, we should carefully examine, that it be for the better. It is a novel idea, said the general, that the representatives ought to have time to learn their duty—he thought they always ought to have a general knowledge of the interest of their constituents.

Having mentioned a circumstance, that the British parliament have frequent occasions before they can determine some important points, to return home to their constituents, to obtain information—and as congress are to have but one session in a year, and may want such an opportunity to gain information, he sat down, by observing, that he was in favour of biennial elections.

The Hon. Mr. Turner, in reply to the Hon. Mr. Bowdoin, said, he thought it an important consideration whether the elections were to be for one or for two years—he was, he said, greatly in favour of annual elections, and he thought in the present instance, it would be establishing a dangerous precedent to adopt a change; for, says he, the principle may operate, as in time, our elections will be as seldom as the revolution of the star the hon. gentleman talks of.

Mr. Dawes, in answer to Gen. Heath, said, that the passage quoted from Montesquieu, applied to single governments, and not confederate ones.

Gen. Brooks, (of Medford) in reply to Gen. Heath, said, he recollected the passage of Montesquieu—but he also recollected that that writer had spoken highly of the British government. He then adverted to the objection to biennial elections of Gen. Thomson, and others, that biennial elections were a novelty, and said we were not to consider whether a measure was new, but whether it was proper. Gentlemen had said that it had been the established custom of this country to elect annually: But he asked, have we not gone from a colonial to an independent situation? We were then Provinces, we were now an Independent Empire; our measures, therefore, says he, must change with our situation. Under our old government, the objections of legislation were few and divided—under our present, they are many and must be united—and it appears necessary that according to the magnitude and multiplicity of the business, the duration should be extended—he did not, he said, undertake to say how far. He then went into a view of the history of parliaments. The modern northern nations, he said, had parliaments, but they were called by their kings; and the time, business, &c. of them, depended wholly on their will. So can therefore, says he, establish nothing from these. One general remark, war, that in the reigns of weak princes, the power and importance of parliament increased—in the reign of strong and arbitrary kings, they always declined: and, says he, they have been triennial, and they have been septennial. The general complaint is, that the liberties of the people depended on the duration of parliament, with much ability. Do we hear, asked he, that the people of England are deprived of their liberties, or that they are not as free now as when they had short parliaments? On the contrary, do not writers agree that liberty and property are no where better secured than in Great Britain—and that this security arises from their parliaments being chosen for seven years. As such is the situation of the people of England, and as no influence can be given wherein biennial elections have been destructive to the liberties of the people, he concluded by asking, whether so much danger is to be apprehended from such elections as gentlemen imagined?

General Thompson. Sir, Gentlemen have said a great deal about the history of old times—I confess, I am not acquainted with such history—but I am, sir, acquainted with the history of my own country. I had the honour to be in the court last year, and am in it this year. I think, sir, that had the last administration continued one year longer, our liberties would have been lost, and the country involved in blood. Not so much, sir, from their bad conduct, but from the suspicions of the people of them. But, sir, a change took place—from this change par-

laments have been granted to the people, and peace is restored. This, sir, I say, is in favour of frequent elections.

Gen. T. was called to order, on the idea that he reflected on the last administration; a debate ensued, which ended, on the Hon. Mr. W. saying, he wished to 'put out every spark of fire that appeared to be kindling': therefore moved to adjourn.]

P. M.

Dr. Taylor opened the conversation of the afternoon, by calling upon Gen. Thompson to proceed.

Gen. Thompson accordingly said, that however just, however good, and however upright the administration may be, there was still a great necessity for annual elections. He thought a change of election was for the best, even if the administration pleased the people. Do the members of Congress, says he, displease us, we call them home, and they obey, now where is the difference of their having been elected for one or two years? It is said that the members cannot learn sufficiently in that time not to learn. Let these members know their dependence upon the people, and I say it will be a check on them, even if they were not good men—here the general broke out in the following pathetic apostrophe—"O my country, never give up your annual elections, young men never give up your jewel!" He apologized for his zeal. He then drew a comparison between the judges, &c. of this country before the revolution who were dependent on Great Britain for their salaries, and these representatives dependent on the continent; he concluded by hoping that these representatives would be annually elected, and thereby feel a greater dependence on the people.

Mr. Gore. It has been observed, that in considering this great and momentous question, we ought to consult the sentiments of wise men, who have written on the subject of government, and to regulate our decision on this business. A passage is adduced from Montesquieu, stating, "That where the people delegate great power, it ought to be compensated for by the shortness of the duration. Though perfectly agreeing with the author, I see not that it here implies to the subject under consideration. This might be perfectly applicable to the ancient governments, where they had no idea of representation, or different checks on the legislature or administration of government; but in the proposed constitution, the powers of the whole government are limited to certain national objects, and are accurately defined, and the houses of representatives here is but one branch of the system, and can do nothing of itself; Montesquieu must have had in his mind the Epistates of Athens, or the Dictators of Rome, but certainly no such observations can have weight in considering things so essentially different. But, sir, gentlemen have said, that annual elections were necessary to the preservation of liberty, and that in proportion as a people lengthens the time which the representative held his office, they lose their liberties, and that all writers have agreed in this. I may be mistaken, but I know no such thing as a representation of the people in any of the ancient republics, in England, from whence we receive many of our ideas on this subject. King John covenanted with his people to summons certain classes of men to parliament; by the constitution of that country, the king alone can convolve, and he alone, previous to the revolution, could dissolve the parliaments to three years; but soon after, a parliament then sitting and near expiring, a rebellion broke out, and the Tories and Jacobites were gaining strength to support the pretender's claim to the crown: Had they effloved themselves, and a new parliament been convoked, probably many of the very opponents to the government might have been elected. In that case they might have effected by law, what they in vain attempted by arms. The parliament, therefore, extended their duration from triennial to septennial; this was acquiesced in by the people, and the next parliament sanctified the act; no civil, but great good, has been supposed to follow from their duration being thus extended; and if Montesquieu, and doctor Adams think the British constitution so perfect, how much greater must be our security, when we reflect that our representation is equal; that the powers of the government are so limited, and the checks so nicely appointed. If there be a representation of the people in any other countries, and annual elections therein have been considered as the basis of their freedom, I pray gentlemen to mention the influence; I confess I know none. People adopt a position which is certainly true, viz. that elections ought to be frequent; but then, as we have been in the custom of choosing our representatives annually, we may determine annually to be frequent, and that biennially, or any longer term than annually, is not frequent: But if gentlemen will only consider the objects over which this government is to have rule and authority, and the immense and wide extended tracts of country over which the representatives are to pass before they reach the

seat of government, we shall be convinced that two years is a short time for the representatives to hold their office—but, sir, we must consider this subject with respect to the general structure of the constitution. The senate represents the sovereignty of the states—the house of representatives—the people of the United States. The former have a longer term in their office; it is then necessary that body which represents the people should have a permanence in their office, to resist any operations of the senate which might be injurious to the people; if they were annual, I submit it to the good sense of this house whether they would be able to preserve that weight in the system, which the constitution intended they should have, and which is absolutely necessary for the security of the rights of the people.

The Hon. Mr. King said, he would not detain the Convention by any exordium, for the purpose of obtaining their attention.—He declared, however, that he thought the subject might be freed from certain prejudices connected with the examination, and that thereby the question might receive a fairer decision—this should be the object of his address.

The Hon. Gentleman observed, that the Convention would do well to lay aside the terms annual and biennial, and consider the subject as it could be supported by principles.—Much had been said of the introduction to be derived from history on this point; he said, he presumed to doubt whether this was the case.—From the continent of Europe he believed, that we could receive no instruction; their Parliament after the overthrow of the Roman empire, were not constructed upon the principle of a representation of the people. The conqueror of a given district of country, was, by the feudal system, the prince or king of the people within his conquered territory, whom he wished the advice of any persons he deemed usually a number of principal officers, or the barons of his kingdom, to give him their council; but the people, or as they were degradingly called, the vassals, were never consulted—this certainly cannot be considered as a representation of the people: This mode of assembling a parliament probably obtained in the early stages of the English history; but those who have written on this subject agree that their information is very imperfect relative to the origin of English Parliaments; they are not certain, who composed the Parliament, how long they held their office, or concerning what points they were consulted.

Nothing clear on this subject appears before the 12th century. Magna Charta is the foundation of the imperfect representation of England; improvements have since been made in favour of the more equal and certain representation of the people; but it is still extremely imperfect and insecure. Perhaps the people of America are the first, who by the social compact, ever obtained a right to a full and fair representation, in making the laws of their country.

If then, continued Mr. K. history can afford little or no instruction on this subject, the Convention must determine the question upon its own principles.—It seems proper, that the representatives should be in office time enough to acquire that information which is necessary to form a right judgment; but that the time should not be so long as to remove from his mind the powerful check upon his conduct, that arises from the frequency of elections, whereby the people are enabled to remove an unfaithful representative, or to continue a faithful one. If the question is examined by this standard, perhaps it will appear, that an election for two years is short enough for a representative in Congress. If one year is necessary for a representative in the state legislature, where the objects of his deliberations are local, and within his constant observation—two years do not appear too long, where the objects of deliberation are not confined to one state; but extend to thirteen states—where the complicated interests of united America are mingled with those of other nations, and where the constant attention. When the representatives of the colony of Massachusetts were first chosen, the country was not settled more than 15 or 20 miles from Boston, they then held their offices for one year. The emigrants from Massachusetts, who settled on Connecticut river, appointed the representatives to meet in the General Court of that colony, for only 6 months. Massachusetts, altho' her settlements have extended over almost her whole territory, have continued to depute representatives for only one year, and Connecticut for only six months. But as in each of these colonies, when under the British Government, the duties of the representatives were merely local, the great duties of sovereignty being vested in their king—so, since the revolution, their duties have continued local, many of the authorities of sovereignty being vested in Congress. It is now proposed to increase the powers of Congress: This will increase the duties of the representatives; and they must have a reasonable time to obtain the information necessary to a right discharge of their office.—It has been said, that our au-

thors never relinquished the idea of annual elections. This is an error: In 1643, the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New-Haven, united in a confederacy, which continued about 29 years; each colony sent two commissioners as their representatives; and by the articles they were to be annually elected: About the year 1650, the General Court of Massachusetts instructed their commissioners to propose that the elections, instead of being annual, should be once in three years. The alteration did not take place; but the anecdote proves, that our ancestors have not had an uniform predilection for annual elections.—Mr. K. concluded by observing, that, on a candid examination of this question, he presumed, the constitution would not be objected to on account of the biennial election of the house of representatives.

Judge Dana. The intention of my rising, sir, is to acquiesce with the gentleman from New-Hampshire, in favour of the expediency of biennial elections of our federal representatives. From my own experience, I think them preferable to annual elections. I have, sir, seen gentlemen in Congress, and delegates from this state too, sitting in that body, without a voice—power to open their mouths, or lift up their hands, when matters of the highest importance to their state have been under consideration. I have seen members in Congress for the space of three months, without power, sir, waiting for evidence of their re-election. Annual elections, sir, are not long enough to give a contentment, to keep the members always travelling about; and I am of opinion, that elections for two years are in no way subversive of the liberation of the people. I, sir, am one of the people, thank God! and am happy in having an opportunity of expressing my personal satisfaction of such elections. For these, and a variety of other reasons, Mr. D. suggested that he thought this state ought to be the first to adopt this method of elections.

The Hon. Mr. White said, that Congress might perceive themselves, and to reign perpetually over us.—Hon. Mr. Gorham observed (in continuation of Mr. Dana's observation) that there was now a Congress although the time of their meeting had considerably elapsed. Rhode-Island, Connecticut, and several other states had not gone on; that there was now only five states in Congress, when there ought to have been 13 two months ago.

(To be continued.)

(From the Carlisle Gazette.)

A R. L. S. L. E. B. Jan. 2.  
As the riot of Wednesday last, and the burning of the edifices of the two most distinguished characters in the State, in the public streets of Carlisle, by a mob on Thursday, has already made a considerable noise in the country, an impartial spectator, desirous of furnishing the public with a just and true rate of facts, to enable them to form a proper judgment of the conduct of the parties concerned—begs leave to lay before them the following representation, for the truth of which he pledges himself, and which will appear by the depositions of a cloud of reputable and respectable witnesses, in the possession of John Anew, Esq.

About five o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, public notice being given by the ringing the bell and beating the drum, a number of persons met at the public square, to testify their approbation of the proceedings of the late Convention, in the most decent and orderly manner. A piece of artillery having been brought to the square, and materials collected for a bonfire, a number of men armed with bludgeons, came in regular order from one quarter of the town, while others sallied forth from different streets in the same manner. Major James A. Wilson (having been appointed with two other gentlemen, to make the necessary arrangements for the occasion) was preparing to have the gun loaded, when he was ordered by many of the armed party to desist, and many threats thrown out against any person who would attempt to kindle the bonfire; to which the Major replied, that those who were not disposed to rejoice might withdraw; and that he hoped people so pregnant with poverty as they appeared to be, would not hinder their neighbours from showing marks of joy when they were pleased. Immediately after a number of barrels and flaves were thrown at him, one of which struck him on the breast; he then sprung forward to the persons who threw at him, and struck one of them with a small pine tree, to which a piece of such rope was fixed; he was then beat down by a number of blows from six or seven persons with bludgeons, who continued beating him after he fell. They would have taken his life, had not a truly old soldier thrown himself on a general confusion took place. Mr. Robert Child, who was attacked by a person, who with both hands wielded a maffy bludgeon, and while he was engaged with the first, received several blows from a person who stood behind him. The persons met for the purpose of the celebration, altogether unprepared for such an assault

(being even without walking canes) were forced to return. The armed party having accomplished their premeditated design of preventing the public rejoicings, proceeded to spike the cannon, and having made a large fire, committed to the flames the cannon and its carriage, together with a sledge on which it had been drawn to the ground, they then sent for an almanack containing the federal constitution, which was formally burnt. Loud huzzas were repeated, with damnation to the 46 members, and long live the virtuous 23.

On Thursday at 12 o'clock, I understood that the friends to government intended to carry into execution the resolution of the celebration of the event from which the evening before they had been so violently prevented. I went to the place, found them at the Court-house armed chiefly with muskets and bayonets; they discovered every pacific disposition, but at the same time the most determined resolution to resist, at the risk of their lives, any attack which might be made on them. A bonfire was made, and the ratification of the constitution by this state was read, accompanied by the acclamations of all the people present, repeated volleys of musketry and firing of cannon.

I cannot help giving my praise to the good order and comeliness and determined spirit with which the business was conducted, although the mob made their appearance in several places, armed with guns and bludgeons, and even came off to where the federalists were firing the cannon, and used threatening language, which was treated with every possible contempt, and no violence offered to them. The federalists remained two hours on the ground; testified their joy, with every appearance of harmony and good humour, and returned without any disturbance to their homes. Immediately after a drum beat—the mob gathered—collected barrels, and proceeded to the Court-house, with noise and tumult, when there was brought from an adjacent lot two effigies with labels on their breasts, THOMAS MCKEAN, Chief Justice, and JAMES WILSON, the Caledonian. They formed in order, had the effigies carried in front, preceded only by a noted Captain of militia, who declared he was inspired from Heaven, paraded the streets, and with shouts and most dreadful execrations, committed them to the flames.—It is remarkable that some of the most active people in the riot of Wednesday evening, and the mob of Thursday, have come to the country, within these two years—men perfectly unknown, and whose characters were too obscure to attract the notice of the inhabitants of this place, and others who have but lately stripped off the garb of British soldiers. I think it improper to prejudice the public by naming the persons concerned in these atrocious riots, as professions are about to be commenced, every letter of good order must lament the wound the dignity of the state has received, in burning in the public streets, in one of the largest towns, in open day, the effigy of the first magistrate of the Commonwealth. Proceedings of this kind are really alarming, directly tend to the dissolution of all government, and must receive the reprobation of every honest citizen.

NEW-HAVEN, January 2.  
On the 12th instant, Mr. Joseph Gregory of Danbury, went from home with his team after wood; but he not returning at the time expected, and his team coming home without him, his wife was alarmed for his safety, and requested some of her neighbours, to go in quest of him. They went into the woods and found him dead, his dog licking the blood that ran from a fracture in his skull.—From circumstances it appeared that he had placed one end of a lever on a rock, with intention to prevent the tree he was getting down from falling into the snow. The tree fell in a different direction from what he expected, and striking the end of the lever which projected beyond the rock, the other end broke his skull. He left a wife and three small children to lament the loss of a kind husband and tender parent.

BOSTON, January 2.  
On Thursday last, a letter from his Excellency Samuel Huntington, Esq. Governor of the State of Connecticut, enclosing a copy of the doings of their Convention, was received, and read by the Convention of this state. On the following question he put to the Hon. E. Gerry, Esq. viz. "Why in the last requisition of Congress, the portion required of this state, was thirteen times as much as of Georgia, and yet we have but eight representatives in the general government, and Georgia has three?" and requested him to put his answer in writing. The next day the Hon. Mr. Gerry answered the above question, as follows, viz.

SATURDAY MORNING, 19th January.  
I have no documents in Boston, and am uncertain whether I have any at home, to assist me in answering the question, "why in the last requisition of Congress, the portion required of this state was thirteen times as much as of Georgia, and yet we have but eight representatives in the general government, and Georgia has three?" but if my memory serves me, the reason assigned by the committee who made it, is appointment for giving such a number to Georgia, was, that that state had of late greatly increased its numbers by migration, and if not then, would soon be entitled to the portion assigned her. I think it was also said, that the apportionment was made, not by any fixed principle, but by a compromise. These reasons not being satisfactory, a motion was made on the part of Massachusetts, for increasing her number of representatives, but it did not take effect. I have the honour to be, Sir, with the highest respect,  
Your most obedient and very humble servant,  
E. GERRY.

Hon. Mr. CUSHING,  
Vice-President of the Convention.  
On Monday last, in consequence of a publication which appeared in the Boston Gazette, of that day, the Convention passed the following resolve, viz.  
"Whereas there is a publication in the Boston Gazette, of this day, as follows, viz.  
"BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION!!!  
"THE most diabolical plan is on foot to corrupt the members of the Convention, who oppose the adoption of the new Constitution.—Large sums of money have been brought from a neighbouring state for this purpose, contributed by the wealthy 3—If so, it is not probable there may be collections for the same accused purposes nearer home?"

"Resolved, That this Convention will take measures for enquiring into the subject of the said publication, and for ascertaining the truth or falshood of the suggestion therein contained."  
NORTHAMPTON, Jan. 30  
On Saturday the 19th inst. at 12 o'clock A. M. came on a snow storm, wind at north; at 4 in the afternoon it began to rain, which continued through the night, the wind not high, nor the cold severe—by 11 o'clock in the evening the trees were so loaded with ice, that they were unable to sustain the weight, and continued breaking during the night—and the morning light presented such a scene of desolation among the trees, as had never taken place, from the like cause, within the memory of the oldest man amongst us; the limbs of the elms, willows and old apple trees, were in many instances almost entirely broken from the body; the whole body of the trees were covered with ice, and the icicles which enveloped the smallest twigs, were from one to one and an half inch diameter, exhibiting the appearance of transparent glass, and in one instance, a small bough broken from a plum tree, weighed five pounds and an half, which when separated from the ice, weighed but two ounces; many trees from 6 to 8 inches diameter were broken off, the lesser growth in the woods sustained equal injury, so that the roads from this to some of the neighbouring towns were for some days almost impassible. How extensive the mischief, we have not yet learnt, but believe not more than 15 or 20 miles in circumference.

NOTICE hereby given to the following non-resident proprietor of land in the town of Conway, in the county of Hampshire, that his land is offered in a similar, town and state tax, for the year 1779 and 1780, as follows, viz.

Lot No.	laid out to	Majr Stebbins,	9	1	2
	Ditto,		3 <td>8<td>2</td></td>	8 <td>2</td>	2
	Ditto,		2 <td>6<td>2</td></td>	6 <td>2</td>	2
	Ditto,		3 <td>5<td>0</td></td>	5 <td>0</td>	0
	Ditto,		8 <td>2<td>2</td></td>	2 <td>2</td>	2
	Ditto,		2 <td>0<td>0</td></td>	0 <td>0</td>	0

Unless said taxes are paid on or before Thursday the 25th of February next, so much of said land will be then sold at public vendue, at the house of Capt. Elias Dickinson, in said Conway, at 6 o'clock P. M. as will be sufficient to discharge the same with intervening charges.  
ALEXANDER OLIVER, Collector.  
Conway, Jan. 7, 1788.

F O R S A L E,  
at the Printing-Office in Northampton, The First, Second and Third Part of  
Webster's Institute.

THE Subscribers request all persons indebted to them for Newspapers, to make immediate payment, to enable them to effect a settlement with the Printer.  
CLARK & PINKS.