A

RETROSPECT

OF

THE BOSTON TEA-PARTY,

WITH A

MEMOIR

OF

GEORGE R. T. HEWES,

A SURVIVOR OF THE LITTLE BAND OF PATRIOTS WHO DROWNED THE TEA IN BOSTON HARBOUR IN 1773.

BY A CITIZEN OF NEW-YORK.

What furies raged when you in sea,
In shape of Indians, drowned the tea.—*McFingal.*

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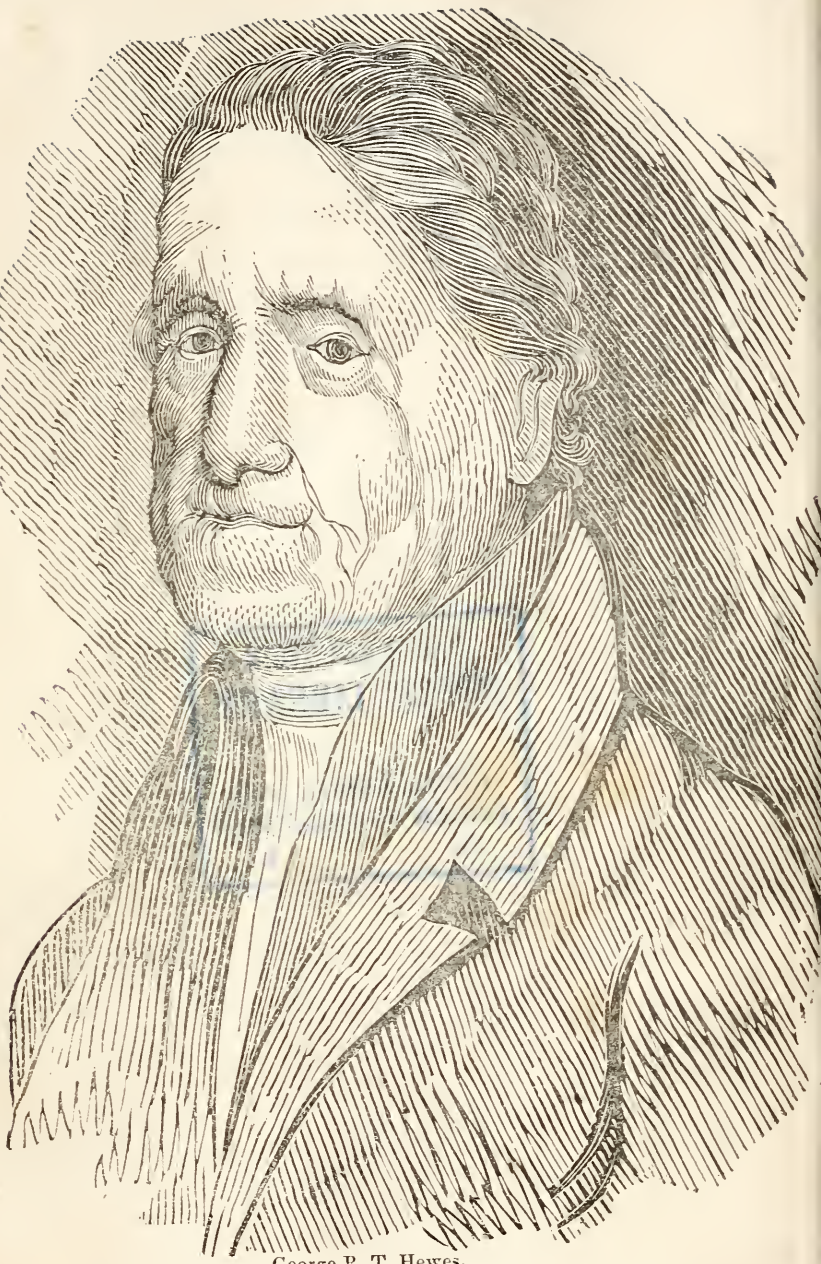

George R. T. Hewes.

TO THE

SURVIVING OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS

OF

THE AMERICAN WAR OF THE REVOLUTION,

AS A JUST TRIBUTE

OF RESPECT AND GRATITUDE,

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

Although the diversity of the human character, as well as its exterior form, appear to us infinite, each individual in the immense chain of being, has some efficiency in the purpose of the eternal mind. The wisdom and the council of men, whose inheritance is only obscurity aud want, might often save the sinking fortunes of their country, and grace the triumphs of achievement. Yet such has been the order of this world, that public opinion has inclined to consign to oblivion those least ambitious of power and preferment. This trait in the disposition of man has marked the progress of society time immemorial. Two thousand years ago it was remarked by the historian Euthemenes, that the Grecian Republic was so occupied in distributing favours to idle and powerful men, it could not bestow a thought on useful and obscure citizens. The same opprobrium rests on the American people, in the infancy of their republic. Among them, also, a delusive influence has engendered an opinion of eminence connected with fortune, and a sense of debasement attending on poverty, which tend to render us too regardless of every advantage but that of the rich and insensible, to every indignity but that of the poor. This pernicious apprehension, occasionally, prepares men for the desertion of every duty, for submission to every dignity, and for the commission of every crime that can be accomplished in safety.

Any effort, *therefore*, to improve this trait in the human character, is enjoined by the obligations of patriotism and philanthrophy. It is hoped Americans may never forget, that while deliberate wisdom only can sustain the mighty fabric of our freedom, magnanimous deeds of courage incident to every condition, were indispensable, though often the humble means, in establishing its foundations.

In contemplating the splendid achievements of our heroes, the breast glows with rapture, while we consign to immortal fame the illustrious deeds which marked the progress of the revolution; and the soul is melted into reverence at the recollection of that exalted wisdom which raised us from vassalage to pre-eminence among the nations; we should hold in grateful and honourable remembrance those daring spirits who contributed their *full, though honourable* share in that great event.

Who that loves his country, and reveres its institutions, can ever forget Jasper, who, in the humble office of a sergeant, when the flagstaff of his country was severed by a cannon ball, and fell without Fort Maultre, leaped from an embrasure, amid the fire of the foe, mounted the colours, and replaced them on the paraphet? Or the heroic John Camp, who dared the infamy of imputed desertion, and even death, in attempting what the commander-in-chief styled the indespensable, delicate, and hazardous project "of seizing the traitor Arnold, and thereby saving the lamented and unfortunate Andre?" Or Hunter, the distinguished boy, who, after deeds of dauntless valour, having been captured by the tories, and ordered to instant death, while surrounded by his brutal captors, first breathing a brief prayer to the God of mercy, sprang through them, to the back of their

own chargers, and darted from their pursuit with a velocity that saved him? Or the revered Peyon, a minister of the Gospel, who, when the king's troops committed murder at Lexington, snatched a musket, led on a band of patriots to the attack, and killed, wounded, or took prisoners, a party of the enemy? Or the heroine, who, in the strength of her resolution, forgetting the weakness of her sex, in the disguise of a young man, entered the republican army for three years, encountered the perils of a soldier, and was induced only by the exigency of a severe and seemingly mortal wound, to reveal the sacrifice which delicacy had made to the love of country?

Actions like these, replete as they were with magnanimous valour, were not more than commensurate with the transcendent object of the American war of independence. Among the prominent causes which led to that great event, it will be recollected, was that of the claim of the British government to the right of taxing the people of their colonies in America, without their consent. This right was denied by the citizens of Boston, encouraged by their friends throughout the country; who, after all overtures to persuade the parliament of Great Britain to relinquish this assumed right, had proved abortive, formed the fixed resolution of resisting by physical force the collection of such taxes. The duty on the article of tea, it seems, was intended to be reserved as a standing claim, or exercise of the right of laying such duties.

A vessel, owned by the East India Company, containing a cargo of three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, was sent to Boston, and consigned to some individuals in that town. It could not be landed without subjecting the consignees, and

eventually the consumers of it, to the payment of the duty. When the leaders of those who were opposed to this measure of British taxation, and at that time called whigs, found it impracticable to procure the tea to be sent back, they secretly resolved on its destruction.

To cover their design, a meeting of the people of the whole county was convened on the day appointed, and went into a grave consultation on the question, What should be done to prevent its being landed and sold? It had already been guarded for twenty nights, by voluntary parties of the whigs, to prevent its being clandestinely brought ashore. At a moment when one of the most zealous of the whig orators was declaiming against all violent measures, an end was suddenly put to the debate, by the arrival of a party of young men, dressed, and armed, and painted like Indians; though it was said that many a ruffled shirt, and laced vest, appeared under their blankets. They proceeded immediately to the vessel containing the tea, boarded it, and in the short space of two hours, broke open and threw into the sea the whole three hundred and forty-two chests. All was silence and dismay, and no opposition was made, though surrounded by the king's ships. The Indians returned through the same orderly procession and solemnity as observed in the outset of their attempt. No other disorder took place, and it was observed, the stillest night ensued that Boston had enjoyed for several months.

Governor Hutchinson being alarmed at the county meeting, retired privately in the morning to his country seat at Milton; soon after he arrived at that place he received information, either through mistake or design, that the mob was coming to

pull down his house, and escaped in the utmost haste across the fields. The story of the day was, that the alarm was given him when he sat half-shaved under the hands of the barber.

For obvious reasons of policy, it was intended that the names of this little band of patriots, who drowned the tea in Boston harbour, should never be known to any but those of their associates who were immediately concerned; and it is not known that their secret has ever been divulged. Their number has been variously computed; one historian of that event says, the number was not less than sixty, nor more than eighty; while others, who suppose the number was about two hundred, might have been deceived by the numerous and tumultuous crowd which assembled on the wharf to witness the scene. Among those who were actually engaged in this extraordinary enterprise, the subject of the following memoir is supposed to be the only survivor. The obscurity of his condition, and his humble occupation, has concealed from all, except the little circle of his domestic friends and relations, not only the knowledge of his chivalrous achievement in destroying the British tea, but even of his very existence. By an accidental concurrence of events, the author of the following pages has recently discovered, that the wasting influence of a hundred years had not yet subdued the spirit, nor unnerved the arm which sixty years age had been outstretched to arrest the progress of lawless power, and fix the inviolable seal of physical force to the great decree, that the people of the then British colonies, but now united independent states of North America, would not be taxed by the British Parliament, or any other power on earth, without their consent.

This decree was not destined in its effects merely to generate

a new party, or create a new nation of independent freemen, but to reform the political condition of the world, and exhibit the rights of man in a new blaze of glory.

To introduce the commencement of an era so pregnant with the future destinies of the civil state, the powers of reason had been exhausted, and the claims of equal justice had been urged in vain. The principles of a government of laws, created and administered solely by the people, and exclusively for their benefit and happiness, had been abandoned as an inexplicable enigma; freedom had been hunted round the globe; man's capacity for self-government had been exploded as a political heresy: revolutions had only changed persons and measures, but achieved nothing in which the general mass of mankind had any interest. America seemed destined to be the only spot where the principles of universal reformation could commence their progress; it was there the first blow was to be struck, which, to tyrants through the world, should echo as the knell of their departing hour.

The single event of destroying a few thousand pounds of tea, by throwing it into the water, was of itself of inconsiderable importance in American history; but in its consequences, it was, doubtless, one in the series of events, destined to change, and probably improve the condition, not only of our posterity, but of mankind in all ages to come.

When the conspirators in Persia, against the Magi, were consulting about a succession to the empire, it came into the mind of one of them to propose, that he whose horse neighed first, when they came together the next morning, should be king. Such a thing coming into his mind, although as it related to

him, seemed to be accidental, and doubtless depended on innumerable incidents, wherein the volitions of mankind, in preceding ages, had been concerned; yet, in consequence of this accident, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, was king. And if this had not been, probably his successor would not have been the same, and all the circumstances of the Persian empire might have been far otherwise; then, perhaps, Alexander might never have conquered that empire: and then, probably, the circumstances of the world, in all past ages, might have been vastly different.

It was not, however, the wisdom of him who first suggested the idea of resting the title of succession on so trifling an incident as the accidental neighing of a horse, that rendered that expedient efficient in directing the future destinies of the Persian empire, or of the world in after ages, but to the peculiar sagacity of Darius in so managing the humour of his horse, as to secure to himself the title of sovereignty.

Neither could the wisdom of a reputed great statesman, in suggesting the extraordinary project of drowning the tea, have had any efficiency in arresting the lawless progress of British imposition, at that portentous crisis, had it not been for those signal adventurers, whose desperate courage, on the impulse of the moment, so directed their physical energies as to achieve that memorable enterprise; yet the names of those heroes of unrivalled fame, have been permitted to rest in oblivion, while deeds of insect importance, compared with theirs, have consigned their authors to the deathless page of biographic history.

It is easy to conceive an All-creating Power has bestowed on

each individual qualities suited to the part he is destined to act on the stage of human life. We may, therefore, well suppose the subject of the following memoir will excite in the reader a more than ordinary interest.

But aside from this consideration, it is believed that a life rarely passes of which a judicious and faithful narrative may afford not only amusement but profit.

It is true, that eminence of station, splendour of achievement, and the distinctions of rank and fortune, are sought as the sure passports to preferment; while the whole train of social virtues, when divested of their decorations and disguises, their pomp and show, are permitted to glide through the crowd of life, without notice, and without praise.

There is more uniformity in the condition of men than we are apt to imagine. In the great mass of the world every man may find great numbers, between whose circumstances and his own, there is a striking similitude; and to whom a knowledge of the diversified incidents of their lives might be of apparent and immediate use. In short, there is scarcely any possibility of good or ill but what is common to human kind.

Biography, to combine instruction with amusement, should present true pictures of life in all its forms.

Not only have the distinctions created by political preferment, by heroic achievement, by rank and fortune, claims on the perpetuity of the monumental record, but so also have the distinctions created in the order of nature.

If the Great Disposer of human destinies bestows on an individual superior faculties, and a capacity to render important services to his country, and to the world, it is due to the dignity of man, respectfully to notice the distinctions which the laws of nature have ordained.

Although the world has not conferred on the subject of the following memoir its usual passports to preferment, to power, and to fortune, yet one memorable deed has entitled him to more substantial fame, and durable glory, than the conquest of the world should achieve for its hero. Besides, his equanimity, his fortitude, his cheerful submission to his adverse destinies, might shed a lustre on artificial and venal greatness, and is worthy of all imitation.

For fifty years Hewes has been buried in the depths of obscurity, during which period he has passed his time in the humble, and too unfashionable pursuits of honest industry; lost, as it were, to the knowledge of the world, and to fame. But he has been blessed by Heaven with the capacity to preserve, what millions of the inheritors of wealth, and fame, and preferment, have lost; he has been enabled to preserve his physical and intellectual powers; a capacity for sensual and social enjoyment; and what is more, his integrity of character, without which national independence, and republican liberty are but empty names.

To revive and perpetuate in the recollection, one among the important events which lead to a new and glorious era in the history of our country, and the world, is the object of the following memoir, in the performance of which it is intended to

contribute our mite in discharging the obligation of respect and gratitude, not only to the veteran and venerable Hewes, but to all those who were associated with him, in that desperate, memorable, and unprecedented enterprise.

A

RETROSPECT

OF

THE BOSTON TEA-PARTY,

AND

MEMOIR OF GEORGE R. T. HEWES.

A TOWN in the interior of the state of New-York, about sixty miles west of the Hudson river, in the county of Otsego, is the present residence of George R. T. Hewes, a survivor of the little band of patriots who sixty years ago immersed the three hundred and forty chests of tea in Boston harbour.

The house in which he now resides, stands about one mile in a westerly course from the medicinal waters, usually called Richfield Springs, from the name of the town in which they are situated. From some alteration intended to improve the great travelled road from Albany to Buffalo, the spot on which Hewes seems destined to close his life, is wholly excluded from any open communication with the public highway; and at the termination of a pent way, bounded partly on two sides by rising grounds, covered with a natural growth of forest trees, which, with the surrounding cultivated fields of arable, pasturage, and

meadow grounds, interspersed with clumps of trees, presents a prospect of rural scenery, highly variegated and picturesque.

On my arrival at this sequestered spot, and beholding the venerable remnant of mortality, animated with the vigour, the cheerfulness, and the vivacity of intelligent humanity, my recollections were by an involuntary impulse hurried back to the by-gone days of the revolution. Many prominent events of that interesting period of our history pressed upon my mind. When I contrasted the deathlike silence of his secluded situation with the clattering of an hundred tomahawks, cutting and dashing in splinters the chests which contained the British tea, and contemplated for a moment on the changes which time and events had wrought upon this venerable man, and his seclusion from the usual facilities of social intercourse, I was deeply impressed with a consideration of the mutability of human affairs, and the oblivion to which great achievements may be consigned by the forgetfulness or the ingratitude of the world.

I have particularly referred to the place of his present abode, that among the numerous visitors at the Richfield Springs, above referred to, those whose inquisitive minds may dispose them to attest, by a personal interview, the peculiar characteristics of this extraordinary man, may yet have an opportunity; as

nothing appears from the peculiar condition of his health, nothing but his great age that seems to presage his near approaching dissolution. Calculating on the chances which usually fall to the lot of human life, under circumstances which have marked the progress of his, he may yet far exceed the bounds set to the very few centarians of which we have any knowledge.

On receiving satisfactory evidence that he was one of the volunteers who drowned the tea in Boston harbour in 1773, I conceived it due to his character and fame, as well as to that interesting event, to consign to the monumental record of history the perpetuation of the memory of a man deserving of his country's esteem and applause. My confidence in the propriety of such an effort was increased on learning that his habits and manners had been distinguished for sobriety and industry, and especially when I found that his integrity was reputed to be unimpeachable; as the few incidents relating to the subject of the following memoir must depend for their correctness on the strength of his memory and his veracity. Besides, it is considered that the knowledge of those men who are concerned in transactions which are attended with uncommon circumstances, and lead to important results, must always be interesting to the inquisitive mind.

Although the few sketches of the history of Hewes will rest principally in his own recollection, his familiar

associates for the last fifty years of his life, have the most entire confidence in his integrity.

Hewes, like many other persons of very advanced age, can give no correct information respecting his, having in his possession no record of his birth. When this memoir was preparing for the press, from a calculation made on a supposed knowledge of some facts, he was believed by some of his friends to be ninety-nine years old. Though some of his remote relatives have since expressed their belief that his age is something less, while they assert it has considerable exceeded four score and ten.

Great as his age is acknowledged to be, he appears to have a clear recollection of his pedigree, and the prominent circumstances which have marked the progress of his life from his early childhood to the present time.

It has been prefaced, that although the wisdom and councils of men whose inheritance is only obscurity and want, might often save the sinking fortunes of their country, and grace the triumphs of achievement, yet such has been the order of this world, public opinion has inclined to consign to oblivion those least ambitious of power and preferment. It is believed that the correctness of this remark may have been emphatically exemplified in the person and character of Hewes. When it is considered that those whose

illustrious deeds have assigned to them conspicuous places in history, have not often exhibited those prominent traits of character which have led to their celebrity, until some fortuitous incidents beyond their control had first thrown open to them the doors of the temple of their fame.

Although it cannot be known how men may improve the fortunate incidents which have opened to others the way to renown and power, yet no one who may have had a personal interview with Hewes, now at the age of nearly an hundred years, and a glance at his history and present condition of his faculties, can assert nature had denied to him the prerequisite constituents of a great man.

It appears, from his account of himself, and from the present state of his mind, his advantages for obtaining even a common education, have been very limited; yet his memory, his physical and intellectual powers, his vivacity and communicative faculties, are of no ordinary character.

On requesting him to give me some sketches of his origin and history, he proceeded with an alacrity and promptness not less amusing than extraordinary.

My father, said he, was born in Wrentham, in the state of Massachusetts, about twenty-eight miles from Boston. My grandfather having made no provision for his support, and being unable to give him an educa-

tion, apprenticed him at Boston to learn a mechanical trade. After commencing business for himself, he married a woman by the name of Abigail Sever, of Roxbury, by whom he had six sons and five daughters. The names of my elder brothers were Samuel, Shubael, and Solomon; and my younger, Daniel and Ebenezer. My father's Christian name was George. My mother had a great uncle whose Christian name was Twelve, for whom she appeared to have a great veneration. Why he was called by this singular name, I never knew. So my parents were pleased to call me by the name, or rather names, of George Robert Twelve.

My mother, whose veracity I could never doubt, often remarked to me, that at my birth I weighed fourteen pounds. This unusual natal growth, though it might have been an indication of a vigorous constitution, could not be of any great physical weight or dimensions to which I was destined to attain, as every one who has a knowledge of my person, now very well knows I have never acquired the ordinary weight or size of other men; though I have generally enjoyed sound health and a cheerful mind.

In my childhood, my advantages for education were very limited, much more so than children enjoy at the present time in my native state. My whole education which my opportunities permitted me to acquire, consisted only of a moderate knowledge of reading and

writing; my father's circumstances being confined to such humble means as he was enabled to acquire by his mechanical employment, I was kept running of errands, and exposed of course to all the mischiefs to which children are liable in populous cities.

At a time when I was about six years old, I recollect my mother sent me with a basket to the navy yard, to get some chips for fuel. I set down my basket, after I had arrived at the place where I was sent; I thought to divert myself by viewing the shoals of little fish that were to be seen swimming under the loose plank and boards that were floating on the surface. For that purpose I placed myself on two plank that were floating near each other, setting one foot on each, and so was viewing the multitude of little fish which I could see between the two plank swimming near the surface of the water.

While in that situation, the planks on which I stood gradually separated, till my feet were so far extended that I could not recover them, so as to maintain my position; and I fell between them into the water, which was at that place about seven feet deep, and sinking to the bottom, was soon lifeless. Some ship carpenters who had seen me come to the place with my basket, and seeing it standing on the shore, were apprehensive from my sudden disappearance that I might have fallen into the water, came to the spot where they had last seen

me, and soon discovered me lying on the bottom; but rather than expose themselves to inconvenience or danger, they went for a boat hook, which they soon procured, and with it hooked me up by my clothes; and finding me motionless, they proceeded to use means for my restoration to life, and for that purpose rolled me on a tar barrel from end to end, by means of which operation the water was so much of it discharged, that they discovered signs of life, and immediately conveyed me to my mother, and I found myself transferred from a watery grave to a warm bed. By my mother's assiduous care I was restored; but my senses had been so much benumbed, and my health so seriously injured, that it was near a fortnight before I was considered a proper subject for punishment.

My mother then took me in hand in good earnest for having neglected the business of my errand, and by my childish curiosity exposed myself to the catastrophe which had befallen me. I will teach you better, said she, than neglect your duty and expose your life in this way. She then applied the rod to my back severely, and I believe to some good purpose; for it not only left some impressions upon my flesh, but upon my mind, whereby I was often afterwards admonished of the importance of faithfulness in executing the commands of my parents, or others who had a right to my services.

Soon after this chastisement by his mother, he was placed under the care of an uncle at Wrentham, who was a farmer. While in his employment, Hewes relates an incident which developed in him, at that infant age, the correctness of his conceptions of equal rights and equal justice, as well as his fixed resolution to preserve his integrity.

One day, said he, when I was in the room with my aunt, her son, a lad about five years old, came into the room, and without any provocation, struck me in the face with a stick, which so irritated me, that from the sudden impulse of passion, I called him by a reproachful name, which gave offence to my aunt; and on her reproving me, I readily acknowledged to her that I had spoken unadvisedly; but, said I, he gave the first offence by striking me without a cause. She said no more to me on the subject at that time, but the next day called me to an account for the offence, and after compelling me to procure a rod of correction, as she termed it, chastised me with it pretty severely. I then said to her, will you not now chastise your son? he gave the first offence: my aunt replied, that as he was younger than I, she should let him pass; then, said I, if you do not punish him as you have me, I will certainly do it myself. She then dismissed me, saying, that if I chastised him, I would do it at my peril; but I declared to her, that I should do as I had said I

would. Some days afterwards, as I caught my cousin at the barn, when I had reminded him of the offence he had given me by striking me in the face, I applied to him the rod of correction about as severely as my aunt had to me, when he ran to the house, crying aloud, and as might be expected, complained to his mother of what I had done; and as I came into the house, so, said my aunt, you have been whipping your cousin, it seems; certainly I have, said I; you know I told you I should do it, and my uncle has charged me never, on any account, to tell a lie. She then ordered me to go into the cornhouse for some article, but following me, locked me in, and there kept me a prisoner until my uncle returned home; who, after being told by my aunt where I was, and of the offence I had committed, came to my prison, and on unlocking the door, inquired the cause of my conduct, and I believed I fully satisfied him, that in chastising his son, I had only done equal justice, and avoided the commission of a falsehood by doing what I declared I would; for he readily diacharged me from my imprisonment, without censuring me for my conduct.

It has been thought highly characteristic of the independent spirit of our present chief magistrate, that he dared to refuse to brush the boots of a British officer, when he was his prisoner; so it might be of Hewes, for daring to assert his rights, and to execute justice on

the child of one to whom he was an indented apprentice.

It appears, from the account which Hewes gives of the chastisement inflicted on him by his mother and aunt, with many other similar incidents of that period, that parents and guardians were not in the habit of punishing the delinquent child, until they had given it time for consideration and reflection, and their own passion, if excited, should have time to subside. It was a habit, he observes, confirmed by the custom of that period, among those most distinguished for the wisdom of their domestic discipline, never to inflict punishment upon the child for an offence, until after the day it was committed, by means of which they believed the object of punishment was more likely to be effected.

After remaining with his uncle until he was twelve years old, he was taken back to Boston, and put by his father to learn the trade of a shoemaker, which, he observed, was never an occupation of his choice, being inclined to more active pursuits than that occupation required.

The injudicious conduct of parents, in choosing for children an occupation without consulting their natural faculties and inclination, it is believed will be found strikingly exemplified in the history and character of Hewes.

After finding that my depressed condition would

probably render it impracticable for me to acquire that education requisite for civil employments, I had resolved to engage in the military service of my country, should an opportunity present, not being conscious of my deficiency in courage or physical strength.

When, therefore, the British government was about organizing an army to resist the claims of the French in North America, I proposed to enter into the service against the French, and enlisted myself as a soldier for that object. But in those days it seems military capacity of every grade was estimated by stature. I could not pass muster, because I was not tall enough. But I was determined not to be defeated by this strange, and to me incompetent objection to my capacity.

I raised the soles and heels of my shoes, and stuffed the inside of my stockings, to add a little to my stature and offered myself for re-examination; but the artifice was detected, and my military ardour was suppressed.

The muster master, after again taking the measure of my stature, says to me, set down my boy, and let me look at your shoes; and smiling, says to me, your heels are too high for convenience; now just pull off your stocking; accorningly I did, and thrusting his hand into it, he pulled out a handful of rags from the heel, and throwing them on the floor, he and Captain Cox, who was present, laughed most heartily, and observed that they were sorry that I had not been a little

taller, as they believed I had the true sptrit of a soldier.

The artifice practiced by Hewes to avoid his disqualification to become a soldier, exhibited in him an inclination strikingly similar to that noticed in an anecdote of the juvenile temper of Sir Walter Scott, who in his boyhood, as is related of him by one of his biographers, had a strong inclination to become a soldier, which he was prevented from indulging by an illness, though his parents were disposed to gratify it. His malady had the effect of contracting his right leg, so that he could hardly walk erect, even with the toes of that foot upon the ground. A member of his family having represented to him that this would be an insuperable obstacle to his entering the army, it is said he left the room in an agony of mortified feeling, and was found some time afterwards suspended by his wrists from his bed room window, somewhat after the manner of the unfortunate knight of the rueful countenance, when beguiled by the treacherous Maritomesses at the inn. On being asked the cause of this strange proceeding, he said he wished to prove to them, that however unfitted by his limbs for the profession of a soldier, he was at least strong enough in his arms. He had actually remained in that uneasy and trying posture for upwards of an hour.

However, this regulation requiring a definite stature

as a requisite qualification for a soldier may have been heretofore approved by those who controled the military department, either in Great Britain or any other country; it has from necessity, and with great propriety too, been disregarded by the American people in the organization of the militia.

By this standard of preferment, neither Alexander or Napoleon would probably have passed muster, as their stature is reputed to have hardly exceeded that of the rejected Hewes, thoughtheir soldierly pre-eminence has been well attested by the record of both ancient and modern times.

To a man who is conscious of the competancy of his capacity and whose daring spirit impels him to patriotic efforts in the service of his country, nothing would seem to be more depressingly humiliating than to be excluded from an opportunity of developing his faculties for a cause which no human wisdom or power could control.

But Hewes said he cheerfully submitted to the course of life to which his destinies directed.

He built him a shop and pursued the private avocacation of his trade for a considerable length of time, until on the application of his brother he was induced to go with him on two fishing voyages to the banks of New Foundland, which occupied his time for two years.

After the conclusion of the French war, as it was called in America, until the differences of the American colonies with Great Britain commenced, he continued at Boston, except the two years absence with his brother.

During that period, said Hewes, when I was at the age of twenty-six, I married the daughter of Benjamin Sumner, of Boston. At the time of our intermarriage, the age of my wife was seventeen. We lived together very happily seventy years. She died at the age of eighty-seven.

At the time when the British troops were first stationed at Boston, we had several children, the exact number I do not recollect. By our industry and mutual efforts we were improving our condition.

An account of the massacre of the citizens of Boston, in the year 1770, on the 5th of March, by some of the British troops, has been committed to the record of our history, as one of those interesting events which lead to the revolutionary contest that resulted in our independence. When the various histories of that event were published, no one living at that time could have expected that any one of the actors in that tragical scene, and then, considerably advanced in life, would have lived to revive in our recollection facts relating to it, by the rehersal of them from his own personal knowledge. But while the public mind has no other source from which it can derive its knowledge of that, and

many other interesting events relating to our revolutionary contest, Hewes, with a precision of recollection, perhaps unprecedented in the history of longevity, rehearses many facts relating to them, from his own personal knowledge.

We have been informed by the historians of the revolution, that a series of provocations had excited strong prejudices, and inflamed the passion of the British soldiery against our citizens, previous to the commencement of open hostilities; and prepared their minds to burst out into acts of violence on the application of a single spark of additional excitement, and which finally resulted in the unfortunate massacre of a number of our citizens.

On my inquiring of Hewes what knowledge he had of that event, he replied, that he knew nothing from history, as he had never read any thing relating to it from any publication whatever, and can therefore only give the information which I derived from the event of the day upon which the catastrophe happened. On that day, one of the British officers applied to a barber, to be shaved and dressed; the master of the shop, whose name was Pemont, told his apprentice boy he might serve him, and receive the pay to himself, while Pemont left the shop. The boy accordingly served him, but the officer, for some reason unknown to me, went away from the shop without paying him for his service.

After the officer had been gone some time, the boy went to the house where he was, with his account, to demand payment of his bill, but the sentinel, who was before the door, would not give him admittance, nor permit him to see the officer; and as some angry words were interchanged between the sentinel and the boy, a considerable number of the people from the vicinity, soon gathered at the place where they were, which was in King street, and I was soon on the ground among them. The violent agitation of the citizens, not only on account of the abuse offered to the boy, but other causes of excitement, then fresh in the recollection, was such that the sentinel began to be apprehensive of danger, and knocked at the door of the house, where the officers were, and told the servant who came to the door, that he was afraid of his life, and would quit his post unless he was protected. The officers in the house then sent a messenger to the guard-house, to require Captain Preston to come with a sufficient number of his soldiers to defend them from the threatened violence of the people. On receiving the message, he came immediately with a small guard of grenadiers, and paraded them before the custom-house, where the British officers were shut up. Captain Preston then ordered the people to disperse, but they said they would not, they were in the king's highway, and had as good a right to be there as he had. The captain of the guard then said to them, if

you do not disperse, I will fire upon you, and then gave orders to his men to make ready, and immediately after gave them orders to fire. Three of our citizens fell dead on the spot, and two, who were wounded, died the next day; and nine others were also wounded. The persons who were killed I well recollect, said Hewes; they were, Gray, a rope maker, Marverick, a young man, Colwell, who was the mate of Captain Colton; Attuck, a mulatto, and Carr, who was an Irishman. Captain Preston then immediately fled with his grenadiers back to the guard-house. The people who were assembled on that occasion, then immediately chose a committee to report to the governor the result of Captain Preston's conduct, and to demand of him satisfaction. The governor told the committee, that if the people would be quiet that night he would give them satisfaction, so far as was in his power; the next morning Captain Preston, and those of his guard who were concerned in the massacre, were, accordingly, by order of the governor, given up, and taken into custody the next morning, and committed to prison.

It is not recollected that the offence given to the barber's boy is mentioned by the historians of the revolution; yet there can be no doubt of its correctness. The account of this single one of the exciting causes of the massacre, related by Hewes, at this time, was in

answer to the question of his personal knowledge of that event.

A knowledge of the spirit of those times will easily lead us to conceive, that the manner of the British officers application to the barber, was a little too strongly tinctured with the dictatorial hauteur, to conciliate the views of equality, which at that period were supremely predominant in the minds of those of the whig party, even in his humble occupation; and that the disrespectful notice of his loyal customer, in consigning him to the attention of his apprentice boy, and abruptly leaving his shop, was intended to be treated by the officer with contempt, by so underating the services of his apprentice, as to deem any reward for them beneath his attention. The boy too, may be supposed to have imbibed so much of the spirit which distinguished that period of our history, that he was willing to improve any occasion to contribute his share to the public excitement; to add an additional spark to the fire of political dissention which was enkindling.

When Hewes arrived at the spot where the massacre happened, it appears his attention was principally engaged by the clamours of those who were disposed to aid the boy in avenging the insult offered to him by the British officer, and probably heard nothing, at that time, of any other of the many exciting causes which lead to that disastrous event, though it appeared from

his general conversation, his knowledge of them was extensive and accurate.

But to pursue the destiny of Captain Preston, and the guard who fired on the citizens; in about a fortnight after, said Hewes, they were brought to trial and indicted for the crime of murder.

The soldiers were tried first, and acquitted, on the ground, that in firing upon the citizens of Boston, they only acted in proper obedience to the captain's orders. When Preston, their captain, was tried, I was called as one of the witnesses, on the part of the government, and testified, that I believed it was the same man, Captain Preston, that ordered his soldiers to make ready, who also ordered them to fire. Mr. John Adams, former president of the United States, was advocate for the prisoners, and denied the fact, that Captain Preston gave orders to his men to fire; and on his cross examination of me, asked whether my position was such, that I could see the captain's lips in motion when the order to fire was given; to which I answered, that I could not. Although the evidence of Preston's having given orders to the soldiers to fire, was thought by the jury sufficient to acquit them, it was not thought to be of weight enough to convict him of a capital offence; he also was acquited.

This account given to me by Hewes, although obviously from his own recollection and personal know-

ledge, it accords with the most correct historians of that event. At my request he confined his rehearsal to the most prominent details relating to it. The source from which the recollection is revived, at this time, gives it novelty, and renders it interesting.

Some time after the massacre of our citizens, and before the destruction of the tea, Hewes relates an ancedote of a hair's breath escape. One day, said he, as I was returning from dinner, I met a man by the name of John Malcom, who was a custom-house officer, and a small boy, pushing his sled along, before him ; and just as I was passing the boy, he said to Malcom, what, sir, did you throw my chips into the snow for, yesterday? Upon which Malcom angrily replied, do you speak to me, you rascal; and, as he raised a cane he had in his hand, aiming it at the head of the boy, I spoke to Malcom, and said to him, you are not about to strike that boy with your cudgel, you may kill him; upon my saying that, he was suddenly diverted from the boy, and turning upon me, says, you d——d rascal, do you presume too, to speak to me? I replied to him, I am no rascal, sir, be it known to you; whereupon he struck me across the head with his cane, and knocked me down, and by the blow cut a hole in my hat two inches in length. At this moment, one Captain Godfry came up, and raising me up, asked who had struck me; Malcom, replied the by standers, while he, for fear of

the displeasure of the populace, ran to his house, and shut himself up. The people, many of whom were soon collected around me, advised me to go immediately to Doctor Warren, and get him to dress my wound, which I did without delay; and the doctor, after dressed it, observed to me, it can be considered no misfortune that I had a thick skull, for had not yours been very strong, said he, it would have been broke; you have come within a hair's breath of loosing your life. He then advised me to go to Mr. Quincy, a magistrate, and get a warrant, for the purpose of arresting Malcom, which I did, and carried it immediately to a constable, by the name of Justine Hale, and delivered it to him, to serve, but when he came to the house where Malcom was locked up, it was surrounded by such a multitude he could not serve it. The people, however, soon broke open the door, and took Malcom into their custody. They then took him to the place where the massacre was committed, and their flogged him with thirty-nine stripes. After which, they besmeared him thoroughly with tar and feathers; they then whipped him through the town, till they arrived at the gallows, on the neck, where they gave him thirty-nine stripes more, and then, after putting one end of a rope about his neck, and throwing the other end over the gallows, told him to remember that he had come within one of being hanged. They then took him back to the house from whence

they had taken him, and discharged him from their custody.

The severity of the flogging they had given him, together with the cold coat of tar with which they had invested him, had such a benumbing effect upon his health, that it required considerable effort to restore his usual circulation. During the process of his chastisement, the deleterious effect of the frost, it being a cold season, generated a morbid affection upon the prominent parts of his face, especially upon his chin, which caused a separation and peeling off of some fragments of loose skin and flesh, which, with a portion of the tar and feathers, which adhered to him, he preserved in a box, and soon after carried with him to England, as the testimonials of his sufferings in the cause of his country. On his arrival in England soon after this catastrophe Malcom obtained an annual pension of fifty pounds, but lived only two years after to enjoy it.

On relating this adventure, the very excitement which the affront must have wrought upon him, evidently began to rekindle, and he remarked with emphasis, I shall carry to my grave the scar which the wound Malcom gave me left on my head; and passing my finger over the spot to which he directed it, there was obviously such a scar, as must have been occasioned by the wound he had described.

Although the excitment which had been occasioned by the wanton massacre of our citizens, had in some measure abated, it was never extinguished until open hostilities commenced, and we had declared our independence. The citizens of Boston continued inflexible in their demand, that every British soldier should be withdrawn from the town, and within four days after the massacre, the whole army decamped. But the measures of the British parliament, which led the American colonies to a separation from that government, were not abandoned. And to carry into execution their favourite project of taxing their American colonies, they employed a number of ships to transport a large quantity of tea into the colonies, of which the American people were apprised, and while resolute measures were taking in all the capital towns, to resist the project of British taxation, the ships arrived, which the people of Boston had long expected.

The particular object of sending this cargo of tea to Boston at that time, and the catastrophe which befell it, have been referred to in the preface. It has also been recorded, among the most important and interesting events in the history of the American revolution; but the rehersal of it at this time, by a witness, and an actor in that tragicomical scene, excites in the recollection of it a novel and extraordinary interest.

On my inquiring of Hewes if he knew who first

proposed the project of destroying the tea, to prevent its being landed, he replied that he did not; neither did he know who or what number were to volunteer their services for that purpose. But from the significant allusion of some persons in whom I had confidence, together with the knowledge I had of the spirit of those times, I had no doubt but that a sufficient number of associates would accompany me in that enterprise.

The tea destroyed was contained in three ships, laying near each other, at what was called at that time Griffin's wharf, and were surrounded by armed ships of war; the commanders of which had publicly declared, that if the rebels, as they were pleased to style the Bostonians, should not withdraw their opposition to the landing of the tea before a certain day, the 17th day of December, 1773, they should on that day force it on shore, under the cover of their cannon's mouth. On the day preceding the seventeenth, there was a meeting of the citizens of the county of Suffolk, convened at one of the churches in Boston, for the purpose of consulting on what measures might be considered expedient to prevent the landing of the tea, or secure the people from the collection of the duty. At that meeting a committee was appointed to wait on Governor Hutchinson, and request him to inform them whether he would take any measures to satisfy the people on the object of the meeting. To the first application of

this committee, the governor told them he would give them a definite answer by five o'clock in the afternoon. At the hour appointed, the committee again repaired to the governor's house, and on inquiry found he had gone to his country seat at Milton, a distance of about six miles. When the committee returned and informed the meeting of the absence of the governor, there was a confused murmur among the members, and the meeting was immediately dissolved, many of them crying out, Let every man do his duty, and be true to his country; and there was a general huzza for Griffin's wharf. It was now evening, and I immediately dressed myself in the costume of an Indian, equipped with a small hatchet, which I and my associates denominated the tomahawk, with which, and a club, after having painted my face and hands with coal dust in the shop of a blacksmith, I repaired to Griffin's wharf, where the ships lay that contained the tea. When I first appeared in the street, after being thus disguised, I fell in with many who were dressed, equipped and painted as I was, and who fell in with me, and marched in order to the place of our destination. When we arrived at the wharf, there were three of our number who assumed an authority to direct our operations, to which we readily submitted. They divided us into three parties, for the purpose of boarding the three ships which contained the tea at the same time. The name

of him who commanded the division to which I was assigned, was Leonard Pitt. The names of the other commanders I never knew. We were immediately ordered by the respective commanders to board all the ships at the same time, which we promptly obeyed. The commander of the division to which I belonged, as soon as we were on board the ship, appointed me boatswain, and ordered me to go to the captain and demand of him the keys to the hatches and a dozen candles. I made the demand accordingly, and the captain promptly replied, and delivered the articles; but requested me at the same time to do no damage to the ship or rigging. We then were ordered by our commander to open the hatches, and take out all the chests of tea and throw them overboard, and we immediately proceeded to execute his orders; first cutting and splitting the chests with our tomahawks, so as thoroughly to expose them to the effects of the water. In about three hours from the time we went on board, we had thus broken and thrown overboard every tea chest to be found in the ship; while those in the other ships were disposing of the tea in the same way, at the same time. We were surrounded by British armed ships, but no attempt was made to resist us. We then quietly retired to our several places of residence, without having any conversation with each other, or taking any measures to discover who were our associates; nor do I

recollect of our having had the knowledge of the name of a single individual concerned in that affair, except that of Leonard Pitt, the commander of my division, who I have mentioned. There appeared to be an understanding that each individual should volunteer his services, keep his own secret, and risk the consequences for himself. No disorder took place during that transaction, and it was observed at that time, that the stillest night ensued that Boston had enjoyed for many months.

During the time we were throwing the tea overboard, there were several attempts made by some of the citizens of Boston and its vicinity, to carry off small quantities of it for their family use. To effect that object, they would watch their opportunity to snatch up a handful from the deck, where it became plentifully scattered, and put it into their pockets. One Captain O'Conner, whom I well knew, came on board for that purpose, and when he supposed he was not noticed, filled his pockets, and also the lining of his coat. But I had detected him, and gave information to the captain of what he was doing. We were ordered to take him into custody, and just as he was stepping from the vessel, I seized him by the skirt of his coat, and in attempting to pull him back, I tore it off; but springing forward, by a rapid effort, he made his escape. He had however to run a gauntlet

through the crowd upon the wharf; each one, as he passed, giving him a kick or a stroke.

The next day we nailed the skirt of his coat, which I had pulled off, to the whipping post in Charlestown, the place of his residence, with a label upon it, commemorative of the occasion which had thus subjected the proprietor to the popular indignation.

Another attempt was made to save a little tea from the ruins of the cargo, by a tall aged man, who wore a large cocked hat and white wig, which was fashionable at that time. He had slightly slipped a little into his pocket, but being detected, they seized him, and taking his hat and wig from his head, threw them, together with the tea, of which they had emptied his pockets, into the water. In consideration of his advanced age, he was permitted to escape, with now and then a slight kick.

The next morning, after we had cleared the ships of the tea, it was discovered that very considerable quantities of it was floating upon the surface of the water; and to prevent the possibility of any of its being saved for use, a number of small boats were manned by sailors and citizens, who rowed them into those parts of the harbour wherever the tea was visible, and by beating it with oars and paddles, so thoroughly drenched it, as to render its entire destruction inevitable.

It may be recollected, at that time there was a very

prevailing opinion, that the American colonies would never be exonerated from the tax on tea, until an habitual disuse of it could, by force of public opinion, be established. And so inveterate was becoming the habit of the use of that article, it was thought impossible to abolish it, without exposing to contempt and ridicule, and identifying with the enemies of our country, those who by their example would continue to encourage the use of it. The account therefore which Hewes gives us of the severity of the whigs towards the tea drinkers, is in perfect accordance with the spirit of the times in seventeen hundred and seventy-three.

In confirmation of the correctness of this view of popular opinion at that crisis, Hewes relates many humorous anecdotes.

Among others, he relates one of a Mrs. Philips, a tory, who would import tea and sell to the tories. To witness the public indignation towards her, he says a great number of young men in Boston, collected one Saturday evening, and employed some menials to besmear her house with substances very offensive to the smell. She discovered what they were doing, and called out to them from her window, You rascals you may plaster, but I will sell tea as much as I please; but the condition in which her house was discovered the next morning, gave such publicity to her name and character, that her gains

afterwards in the sale of that article, were acquired at the expense of her peace, and the public odium.

There was also a man by the name of Theophalus Lilly, who imported and sold tea; and as a token of contempt and derision, some one nailed a sign upon a post in front of his house, with a hand painted upon it, with a finger pointing to his house, and a notice in writing under it, "That is an importer of tea."

One day when a German boy by the name of Snider, stood reading it, one Richardson, the king's tide waiter, came up, and insulted him for taking so much notice of the sign: when a crowd soon collected around the sign, and took such a part in defence of the boy, as convinced Richardson his situation was not very eligible in that place, and he went in haste to his house and shut himself up. But the crowd followed him, surrounded the house, and insultingly raised a shout; when Richardson immediately fired from the window and killed the German boy, who was among the crowd. Whereupon the multitude broke into the house, and seizing him, took him before a magistrate, who, after an examination, bound him over for trial, in a bond with two sureties. But before the session of the court where the trial was to be held, Richardson and his two sureties, who were tories, fled to Nova Scotia.

It seems from these incidents and some others related by Hewes, that nothing could be more vindictive than

the spirit which marked the conduct of the loyalists at that particular crisis. He says that one Captain Wilson, who belonged to the 29th regiment of British Grenadiers, inveigled a number of negroes to poison their masters, and induced them to make an effort to draw into the plot others of their colour and condition, by promising to protect them from punishment, in case they were detected. But a gentleman to whom some one of them betrayed the secret, procured a warrant, and had Wilson arrested, and brought before one Dinny, a magistrate, who, after examining the facts, ordered him to give bonds with sureties for his appearance and trial; but after complying with the order of the magistrate, he and his sureties, who were tories, made their escape to Halifax.

He relates also an instance of the savage dispostion of the British loyalists, evinced in the tragical fate of a Mr. Mollineux, who politely invited a number of British officers to spend an evening at his house, some of whom, after partaking freely of his liberality, took occasion in his momentary absence, to infuse his wine with a fatal poison; which, on returning into his room, he unsuspectingly swallowed, by means of which their murderous intentions were realized before the next morning, in the termination of his life.

Mr. Mollineux was a decided and efficient whig, and was strongly opposed to the British policy of tax-

ing her colonies.* Well may Americans deprecate just causes of civil dissentions, if such is the vindictive spirit, such some of the horrible evils which it may engender.

We have taken a cursory retrospect of the trago-comical scene of destroying the British tea; but with respect to the expediency, or the wisdom of that measure, a question may be raised in the minds of those who have not been very conversant with the political history of that event.

Although they may understand the principle which led to the dissolution of our obligation of subjection to the British government, to wit, that the right of levying taxes belongs exclusively to those who have to pay them; yet they may not have satisfactory views of the necessity of destroying the tea, or any other article of commerce, in the sale of which by the British merchants, a tax, or duty, was to be paid by every American citizen who should purchase it. To the minds of those who reflect on this subject, two ways of avoiding this necessity may be suggested. Why might not the colony of Massachusetts have passed a law, prohibiting her citizens, under a suitable penalty, from purchasing or

* Mollineux, together with Mr. Wm. Dinnie, Doct. Warren, Doctor Church, Major Barber, Mr. Gabriel Johonnot, Mr. Proctor and Mr. Ezekel Cheever, had been appointed by the people of Boston, a committee to demand of those persons who had received a commission as consignees of the tea, to resign it.

using tea, or such other article? In answer to this it may be said, that so strong had become the habit of using that article, it would have been perhaps impossible to prevent the secret evasions of the law. To aid and encourage such evasions there were numbers of tories scattered through the country, who acquiesced in the assumed right of the British government to collect such tax; and therefore such a law could not be adequate to its object.

Besides, such a law might have been considered incompatible with correct views of civil liberty; an infringement of the natural rights of man to use any of the productions of the earth, to which they were either by nature or by habit inclined.

But if such a law might be considered inefficient in its operation, and of doubtful authority to control our natural rights, why might not the wisdom and the virtue of the people have been considered a sufficient guarantee against the use of the tea, and the consequent imposition of the tax? It is well known that at that time there was a great majority of the people who were strongly opposed to the claim which the British government would maintain, of the right to tax the American colonies, without their being represented in parliament, and appeared unwilling to acquiesce in the decision of popular opinion on that subject. Why then might not that flagrant trespass upon the right of private property,

and immense waste of a valuable article of commerce, have been avoided? Why might not the tea have been landed, in a safe confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of the people, that none but the tories would purchase it; and that the great mass of the people, by a little self-denial, would aid in establishing a principle which they professed to believe was essential in the support of rational liberty, and the unalienable rights of man? The answer to this question is very obvious, and explains the mystery of civil government, that the whole physical force of society is so easily restrained and controlled by the laws and regulations made only by a few individuals.

Mankind have discovered that the strength, the virtue, and the wisdom of the human disposition is not sufficient to overcome the power of habit and passion, and that some individual sacrifices are indispensable to the peace, the safety, and the welfare of community; that so strong are the propensities of our nature they cannot be subdued, without removing effectually the means of indulging them.

The people of the colony of Massachusetts had, therefore, believed there was no other means of avoiding the payment of a tax which they thought was unjust and oppressive, but by preventing the landing of the tea, which could not be effected by any other practicable means than the destroying it. It had been guarded by companies of volunteers, for twenty nights successively

to prevent its being landed, as appears both by the accouut of Hewes, and the historians of that event; and that the commanders of the British armed ships, which surrounded those that contained the tea, had proclaimed their determination to defend the landing of it under the fire of their cannon, if any opposition should be made to it after a certain day which they had designated.

It will be recollected that at that time the American colonies had not declared themselves independent of the British government. We therefore had no legally organized authority to declare war against her; and our acts of opposition to British power could be considered only as acts of rebellion. The forcibly invading places in their possession, and destroying their property, was such an act of hostility, as by the laws of nations, could be justified only in a state of actual war. It must therefore have been intended by the colony of Massachusetts, as an act declaratory of her disposition to engender a state of hostilities, and might be considered as an implied declaration of war; while at the same time those who perpetrated the act, thereby made themselves liable to the penalties of the law of the British Parliament; however, therefore, the colony of Massachusetts might have intended to have indemnified them against any evils from these penalties, it was not in her power to make the security of that indemnity absolute. Hence the expediency of their acting in disguise, to avoid

detection. Whatever of wisdom or good policy there might be ascribed to him who first suggested the extraordinary project of drowning the tea in Boston harbour, inasmuch as from the expediency of keeping it a profound secret, no individual has been designated as exclusively its author; those distinguished adventurers, whose desperate courage in the impulse of the moment, so directed their physical energies at that portentous crisis as to achieve the enterprise, had a right to claim all the glory of that event; and in which all might have been equal sharers; and all except Hewes, it is hoped, are receiving their just reward. His biography only will probably be preserved.

That we may be enabled properly to estimate the nature and extent of his natural energies, and duly appreciate his conduct in that transaction, we should take into view the circumstances under which he acted.

He had none of those incitements to action which impel the hero to great and glorious deeds in the field of battle; the honours and renown entailed to the conqueror; the liberal, and often profuse remuneration to be awarded for his services, be the result of them whatever it may; the emotions enkindled by the trumpet's clangour, and the animating din of martial music; "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war." By these exhilirating and potent excitements, a man of moderate

capacity and prowess might, and often has, been impelled to glorious deeds.

Hewes had none of these incitements to inspire his courage, or enkindle the zeal of enthusiasm.

He volunteered his services to board a British ship, *which was armed with deadly weapons, and manned with an adequate force to wield them efficiently*, and that for the purpose of taking from them by force their property, the possession of which they had an undoubted right to defend; while he and his associates had no other weapon of offence than a tomahawk and a club; and for the services which he thus volunteered, he was encouraged by no proffered remuneration; the expediency of profound secrecy would not permit him to demand any. The military force, *not only in possession of the ship which he boarded*, but in many other British ships which surrounded it, might have destroyed his life, and that of his associates, without hardly a possibility of escape. Neither could he have calculated, with any certainty, on any other fate.

Although the object of destroying the tea was in defence of our civil rights, and of the unalienable rights of man, and was justified by a great majority of the people of the then British colonies in America, yet no remuneration, no indemnity was provided for those who should make this desperate attempt to accomplish this object.

The venerable Hewes, when he proffered his services in aid of that signal event, had his life been sacrificed in the effort, knew well that his wife and orphan children must have been left to the cold charities of the world; or had he escaped, as he fortunately did, he was exposed to detection by the treachery of a pretended friend, or of his fellow-assailants, the result of which, to him, might have been equally disastrous and fatal.

Whatever incitement might have induced others to engage in that desperate enterprise, it cannot be believed that Hewes had any other interest in that event, but what was common to his country.

Whether the parliament of Great Britain had a right to tax the people of their colonies in America, was a national question, which belonged to the people of the respective colonies, in their corporate capacities, respectively to settle. If they could not thus settle it amicably by compromise, or otherwise, to settle it by the power of their respective sovereignties.

The right claimed by Great Britain of taxing her colonies in America without their consent, or without their being represented in parliament, by being denied by the American people, was made a question, the decision of which was not only to effect the rights of the people of England and America, but those of all other nations in similar circumstances throughout the world. It was calling in question a right which had been exer-

cised, not only by England, but by other independent nations over their distant colonies, and acquiesced in for ages.

The colony of Massachusetts had come to a fixed resolution to permit Great Britain no longer to exercise this assumed right of taxing their people. The project of destroying the tea was not from any indisposition to admit it as an article of commerce. By indulging in the use of it, the habit had become so strong, that it was sought for with eagerness, not only as a pleasent beverage, but by many was considered as one of those necessaries with which they were very unwilling to dispense. That class of the people, therefore, rather than be deprived of the use of it, would very willingly have subjected themselves to the additional expense of the duty to be imposed upon it. Their abstinence from the use of it, to which they so generally and willingly subjected themselves, evinced a strong tendency of public opinion to oppose the principle of taxing the people of their colony, avowed by the British parliament, and to consider it purely as a national concern.

It was indeed so, though perhaps at that time it might have been more appropriately called a colonial concern, as we had at that time no confederative power to command the co-operative aid of the other states; and the exigency of that crisis was such, that the colony had not time to give to individuals its authority to destroy

the tea, or to take any measures to prevent the landing of it. Those, therefore, who volunteered their services at that time to destroy it, could have had no guarantee for their indemnity but the spirit of the times, and the favour of popular opinion, which could do no more than to wield in their defence the whole power of the colony of Massachusetts, while at the same time it must have been in conflict with the power of Great Britain. Under these appalling circumstances, therefore, it is very obvious that Hewes and his associates must have acted wholly upon their own responsibility, in a matter which related to the general welfare of their country, and to the rights of mankind.

In a war of rebellion, waged against a government, perhaps at that time the most powerful in the world, and which assumed to itself the right of commanding the whole physical force, every effort was made, not only to coerce the American colonists into subjection, but to expose the cause in which they were engaged, to the contempt and ridicule of the world; while the Americans were equally engaged in setting at defiance the boasted power of Great Britain, to disannul their authority, resist their claims, and ridicule their pretensions. This object was evinced in the diversified scenes which distinguished the tragi-comic character of the American war of independence. Among the subjects which inspired the wisdom of our sages and the spirit of our

poets, no single event engaged more of the public attention at that time, than the violent seizure and destruction of the British tea in Boston harbour, which was noticed by a celebrated epic* of those times, under the assumed title of McFingal, in the following ludicrous strain:

"What furies rag'd when you in sea,
In shape of Indians, drown'd the tea;
When your gay sparks, fatigu'd to watch it,
Assum'd the moccasin and hatchet;
With wampum'd blankets hid their laces,
And like their sweethearts, prim'd their faces;
When not a red-coat dare oppose,
And scarce a tory show'd his nose;
While Hutchinson, for sure retreat,
Manœuvred to his country seat,
And thence affrighted in the suds,
Stole off bareheaded through the woods."†

The violent seizure of an article of valuable commerce, belonging to the subjects of a powerful government, which it was well known would disavow the act, and be disposed to avenge the wrong, might well have excited, in the poet and his countrymen, apprehensions of the disastrous results that might be expected. But the tragic complexion of the opening scene which this enterprize presented, was soon changed, and succeeded by one so comic in its character, and yet so strikingly marked with something of the marvellous, that the spirit

* Hon. John Trumbull. † See page 6, 7.

of the furies might well be supposed to have been invoked on that occasion. When a few citizens of Boston, in the grotesque visage and costume of the sons of the forest, were seen to wield with triumphant success the tomahawk and club against the appalling aspect of the cannon's mouth, and regardless of the terrific effect with which their opposers had threatened to use them; when a few undisciplined volunteers were seen to spread confusion and dismay into the martial array of armed ships, and to awe into silence the pompous display of regular troops, skilled in the arts and discipline of war; and by the majesty of their courage, to drive the tories skulking to their hiding places, and Hutchinson, the chief magistrate, scampering into the country for a safe retreat, the dreary forebodings for the fate of Hewes and his associates are suddenly relieved, and we are at once impelled to the exclamation of the Roman poet, on another occasion, "quam teneatis risum."*

Two paradoxical traits in the human character were in this event exhibited in their most striking character: the rash courage, inspired by the ardour of enthusiasm, and the pusillanimous despondency, from groundless apprehensions of popular danger, generated by a consciousness of guilt, or the want of proper motives to excite to action the physical energies.

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* Who could help laughing?

The boasted courage of the British lion stood appalled before the majesty of a Boston mob!

Those who consecrated the waters of the Atlantic by the novel oblation to Neptune, may well be supposed to have been nurtured in the cradle of liberty.

During the history of this event, the American ladies exhibited a spirit of patriotism and self-devotedness, highly honorable to their sex.

The celebrated heroine has been noticed, who, in the disguise of a soldier, served her country for three years, during the war of the revolution, and whose chivalric mind could only be subdued by a seemingly fatal wound, which compelled her to expose the weakness of her sex. Nor less magnanimous was that patriotism which inspired the women of our country to resist the dominion of an inveterate habit, by abandoning the use of an article which they had considered not only an indispensable constituent of their living, but a highly palatable and agreeable stimulant.

Although among the male part of the citizens many had acquired a propensity to indulge in the use of that article as a delicious beverage, their various habits and appetites had accustomed them to resort to other substitutes; abstinence from the use of it could, therefore, impose upon them no evil, or require of them such a sacrifice as a test of their fortitude or patriotism.

But not so with the fair daughters of America; to

them, the abstinence required was an evil; to their magnanimity the appeal was to be made.

Such is the power of their influence over men, that it cannot be resisted, without extinguishing the endearments and violating the obligations which bind together society, and bless the condition of man. Had the women of our country, in 1773, formed a resolution that they would not forego the use of a delicious and exhilirating luxury, even for the great purpose of aiding their fathers, their husbands and brothers, in resisting the unjust claims of a foreign power; had they with united voices said to their countrymen, if you want the liberty of using the natural productions of the earth without being taxed therefor, by the usurpation and despotism of a foreign power, declare yourselves independent, and compel that power to respect and acknowledge you as such; not by the humiliating means of denying to your wives and daughters the indulgence of a lawful appetite, but by that courage, by the chivalric enterprise, worthy of our venerable ancestors. Had their views been thus with united voices expressed, the tea, instead of being immersed in the Atlantic ocean, would probably have been landed and consumed, and the tax thereon paid by the American people; and then might the acquisition of our independence have been protracted even to the present time. But the women of America were neither unmindful of their influence, or regardless

of their duty. However uncongenial to the cravings of habit or appetite, the evil or inconvenience of self-denial was not to be put in competition with the exigencies of their country's independence and glory. They were not to incur the imputation of the degenerate daughters of illustrious sires. They caught the spirit, which in other times and countries, had crowned the female character with imperishable laurels.

When the Romans were once pressed with a foreign enemy, the ladies voluntarily contributed all their rings and jewels, to assist the government under exigencies, which, at the very zenith of Roman glory, acquired for them a title to distinguished honours; and this for aiding their country's cause, by parting only with their superfluous toys.

But by a noble act of self-denial, in controlling an appetite created by the laws of nature and society, the indulgence of which had, by the force of habit, become necessary; and this not merely to aid their country in the acquisition of a victory over the common enemy, but for a purpose vastly more important—that of effecting a reformation in the great principles of international law, intended to improve, not only the condition of their own country, but of the world, in all ages to come. By this noble act of the American women, in discarding the use of tea, they displayed a character worthy of all praise;

a character worthy of that illustrious personage* of their sex, whose enlarged and liberal policy, whose noble and philanthropic views, contributed so efficiently to the origin of our history, and to the discovery of that place, so splendidly conspicuous, which our country exhibits on the map of the world.

Immediately after the tea was destroyed, continued Hewes, Boston was invested by British troops, both by sea and land, for several months. When Governor Gage, who was appointed to supersede Governor Hutchinson, proposed to us, that if we would deliver up our arms, we should be permitted to depart in safety. After complying with his request, a committee was appointed to inform him, that, having complied with the terms upon which he had in his proclamation proposed to liberate us, it was requested of him that he would inform the people at what precise time they might be permitted to depart in safety. The governor replied to the committee, that he would give us an answer in three days. But before that time had expired, he sent a strong guard, took the arms, put them into the council chamber, and thus having disarmed us, prohibited any of the males, who were fit to bear arms, from leaving the town.

Soon after this took place, the provisions on which the British were relying for their support, were taken

* Isabella, Queen of Spain.

by our privateers. The governor then made proclamation, that the people of Boston might be permitted to go out for the purpose of fishing, provided they would strictly comply with certain regulations which he had established, for the purpose, as will be seen, of relieving himself and his troops from the extreme exigencies of the condition to which they were subjected, as a just retribution for his treachery, rather than from any disposition to favour the people of Boston. The provisions contained in his regulations were, that we must not go out before the sun rose, and must come into the town again before the sun had set. And if we could not get into town before the sun had set, we were to come under the inspection of the ship Somerset, a seventy-four, and not come in till morning: and in the morning when we come up to town, go and report ourselves to the main guard, and have a sentinel put over us, until the sun had risen the next morning; and then not to sell any fish to the inhabitants, until the British soldiers were first all supplied, and then not depart again without leave from the sergeant of the guard.

I subjected myself to those regulations for nine weeks. I was indeed one among the great number of those who were under the necessity of submitting to them. But at the end of that time I made my escape in my fishing boat, together with two other men, who were with me in the same boat. In thus making my escape,

I was much gratified to realize the apprehensions of Admiral Graves, who, when I proposed to subject myself to his fishing regulations, observed to me, that he knew from my countenance, I intended to run away: and told me that as sure as I did, if ever he retook me, he would hang me up at the yard arm, in twenty-four hours. But he has not been gratified with a sight of me since I made my escape.

I went on shore at a safe place, and repaired straitway to my family at Wrentham, whither I had sent them, as a safe residence during my imprisonment in Boston.

Hewes relates an incident that occurred before his escape from Boston, that illustrated the nature and different degrees of patriotism, by which men may be actuated, who are professedly engaged in the same political cause.

As I was walking one day in the street, says he, I met one of the British soldiers, who accosted me in a very familiar manner, and asked me why the rebels did not make an effort to take from the loyalists the fort, of which they had the possession; you can take it, says he, if you wish to do it, without any difficulty. Just as he was speaking to me, there came along a British officer, and reproved him very rashly, for conversing so familiar with a d——d rebel in the street; and with equal rashness also, accosted me for my presumption, in

speaking to one of his majesty's loyal subjects; and to punish me for my insolence, as he would term it, made a violent onset upon me with brick-bats and stones, which he kept flying about my head, until I made my escape by turning a short corner, into another street, and secured my retreat, by shutting myself up in my shop. But, apprehensive that the place of my concealment would soon be discovered, I found it expedient to abandon it, and committed myself to the safe keeping of my uncle, who resided in Boston at that time.

It appears that the soldier who thus accosted Hewes, was quite willing to fall into the hands of those who were called the enemies of his country, while his superior officer was greatly excited at every appearance of neutrality in the conduct of the soldier.

Were the emoluments of those who are clothed with authority, either in the civil or military state, reduced to the standard of compensation for the ordinary services of life, the extraordinary zeal of pretended patriotism would probably be greatly abated, if not entirely extinguished.

The few months that I remained at Wrentham, continued Hewes, I was continually reflecting upon the unwarrantable sufferings inflicted on the citizens of Boston, by the usurpation and tyranny of Great Britain, and my mind was excited with an unextinguishable desire to aid in chastising them.

I had fully resolved to take a privateering cruise, and when I informed my wife of my fixed resolution, and requested her to have my clothes in readiness in a short time, by a day appointed, although she was greatly afflicted at the prospect of our separation, and my absence from a numerous family of children, who needed a father's parental care, she without a murmur reluctantly complied with my request. On the day which I had appointed to take my departure, I came into the room where my wife was, and inquired if all was ready? She pointed in silence to my knapsack. I observed, that I would put it on and walk with it a few rods, to see if it was rightly fitted to carry with ease. I went out, to return no more until the end of my cruise. The manly fortitude which becomes the soldier, could not overcome the tender sympathies of my nature. I had not courage to encounter the trial of taking a formal leave. When I had arrived at a solitary place on my way, I sat down for a few moments, and sought to allay the keenness of my grief by giving vent to a profusion of tears.

The scene of his parting with his family at this time, might well furnish for the pencilled canvas or the poet's song, a subject of intense interest. That a man, whose devotedness and tenderness of affection to his family was never questioned, should voluntarily absent himself, and embark his peace, his safety, hazard life and every thing

in the service of his country, is a comment upon his character which a Roman patriot might well envy, in the best days of Roman glory; in those days when her personal self-devotion could yield every thing to country, and, as it were, identify his own individual existence with hers.

It was in reply to a doubt I suggested to him, as to the correctness of his conduct in absenting himself from his family, so dependent, and so dear to him, for the uncertain result of an object, however patriotic and praiseworthy, and without a sure prospect of even a compensation for his services on his safe return, that he emphatically reiterated what he had before remarked, that the unwarrantable sufferings inflicted on the citizens of Boston by the usurpation and tyranny of Great Britain, had excited in his mind an unextinguishable desire to aid in chastising them and securing our independence.

When we compare the selfish rapacity with which, at the present day, the insect pretenders to patriotism would riot in the spoils won by the valour of those whose conduct was distinguished by such instances of self-devotion, which signalized that period of our history, the very blood almost freezes at the appalling aspect of our national degeneracy.

I then pursued my route to Providence, in Rhode Island, continued Hewes, and on my arrival there, im-

mediately stipulated with Captain Thomas Stacy to go with him on a cruise of seven weeks. When that term had expired, and we had seen no enemy during the time, we were discouraged, and threatened to mutiny, unless he would return, as we had served out the time for which we had stipulated. The captain then promised us, that if we would continue with him one week longer, provided we did not see any thing during that time, he would return; to which we assented. The next Sunday after, we espied a large ship, which we took to be a British frigate. We were ordered to down sails and go to fishing, thereby to deceive them; and when she came by us, she took us to be only a fisherman.

After she had passed us, our captain said to us, my boys, if you will stand by me, we will take that ship. We immediately gave chase, and overtook her about an hour after dark. The captain hailed us, and asked us where we were from: our captain answered, from St. Johns, Newfoundland. I am a King's tender, and belong to his majesty, King George. Our captain then hailed him, and he said he was from Quebec, bound to London. Our captain then said to him, come aboard, and bring your papers, that we may see whether you are a d——d Yankee or not. He came aboard accordingly, and brought his papers. Our captain then took him by the hand, and said to him, you are welcome

aboard the sloop Diamond, belonging to the United States. You are my prisoner. Finding his mistake, and that resistance would be useless, he surrendered without a struggle.

Our captain then sent her in to Rhode Island, with George Babcock as prize master. She was a fine prize, loaded with fir and sweet oil, and was commanded by Captain Daggett.

In about a week after, we came alongside of another ship, and asked her where she was from. She answered, from St. Johns, Newfoundland; we ordered her to strike, and she immediately surrendered, having nothing to defend herself with. She was commanded by Capt. Welch. We sent her in also, with a prize master, to Rhode Island.

After that, on the same cruise, we took a brig laden with West India rum and sugar.

While on this cruise off the banks of Newfoundland, one day a rope upon which three of us were standing, broke, and let us fall into the sea. Just as we fell, the vessel rose, and knocked us all under her bottom. When she had slipped over us, we rose at the stern of her, and saw ropes thrown over for us to take hold of; I caught hold one of them, but the vessel was under such quick way, the rope slipped through my fingers, so that not more than an inch or two of it was within my grasp; but I caught hold of it with my left

hand, and told them on board to haul away. In this situation an Irishman had caught hold of my coat, and was hauling me under the water. I endeavoured to kick him off, but it was fortunate for him that I could not, as they succeeded in hauling us both in. The other one floated on a hen-coop until he was taken in. After we were on board, Captain Stacy said to me, Hewes, you will yet be hanged; I hope not sir, said I. Yes you will, he humorously replied, or you would have been drowned now.

But to whatever untimely exit I might have been, or now am destined, having twice so narrowly escaped a watery grave, I cannot but indulge a strong confidence that I was not born to be drowned. The effort by which I was enabled to raise myself to the deck, must have been the effect of an involuntary or spasmodic grasp of the hand, as I was so full of water, when I was brought on board, that I could not stand.

This cruise, intended for seven weeks, continued three months; when we returned to Providence.

I then returned to my family; and having made comfortable provision for them in my farther absence, I again shipped aboard at Boston, and sailed on a cruise with Captain Samuel Smedly, of New-London, Connecticut.

After being out nine days, we met with a heavy gale of wind, which kept us to the pump eight days and

nights, to keep us from sinking. On this cruise, one night we came up with a French ship. On hailing her, the captain answered in French, so that our captain could not understand him; but we had a French gentleman on board, who interpreted for us; we found she was from St. Domingo, bound to France. Our French passenger invited her captain to take supper with us, and while on board our vessel, asked him if he saw any British vessel. He told us he had parted with two large ships, with letters of marque, deep loaded. After the French captain had gone aboard of his own ship, our captain ordered the boatswain to call all hands upon deck, and then told us, that from information received from the captain of the French vessel, if we would vary our course a little, we should come across the British ships, by the time the sun was an hour high in the morning; and asked us if we were willing to give chase to them; we answered, we were all ready to go and risk our lives with him;—we set up all the next night, and prepared for battle; we made bandages, scraped lint, so that we might be prepared to dress wounds, as we expected to have a hard time of it. The next morning, when the sun was about two hours high, we espied them. The captain of the British ship hailed us, and asked where we were from, and where bound. We replied from Boston, and are on a cruise.

Then, says he, haul down them colours, or I will sink

you. Our captain replied, there is time enough for that yet; two can play at this game, you must know. They then gave us a broadside, and overshot us. We gave three cheers, and kept up the tune of Yankee doodle. They then gave us the second broadside, and undershot us. Our captain then ordered our helmsman to bear away ahead, till he could give them a broadside. We soon gave them one, which killed nine of their crew, cut their rudder wheel to pieces, so that their ship was rendered unmanageable. We hove the foretopsail back, and came up to the windward of them, and gave them another broadside, and brought down the foretopmast, and foretopgallant mast. Our captain then ordered our hands to put on their boarding-caps immediately, which we did, and running along side of them, jumped aboard, and they gave up the ship to our mercy, and appeared to be horribly panic struck. She had a valuable cargo of warlike stores and provisions.

We then made sail after the other ship, and in about two hours came up with her, and without opposition took her also. She was a letter of marque, and her cargo the same as the other. One of the ships mounted eighteen, the other sixteen guns. Our vessel mounted eighteen sixes only. We sent them to Boston, with a prize master, and then sailed to South Carolina, to repair our ship. While we were in Charleston, the governor of South Carolina informed us, that the British

had two vessels off the bar, that had taken thirty-four of our vessels; and proposed to us to go out on a five days cruise in pursuit of them. Our captain put it to vote, and it was found we were unanimously agreed to make the cruise. A number of gentlemen from Charleston proposed to accompany us on the cruise, to which we readily assented. We sailed about one o'clock in the afternoon of the day that the pilot carried us over the bar.

After we got out, the captain ordered one man to the foretopmast head to look out, and another also at the head of the maintopmast. In less than an hour after, the man at the foretopmast espied a sail. Our captain asked him what she was. He could not tell for the distance. The man at the maintopmast cried out at the same time, another sail; and we soon came so near to them, that we discovered them to be two sloops; and the men at mast head said they were the two sloops that had been cruising, and told captain Smedly he would have his belly full of them.

House all your guns, boys, said our captain to his men; shut all your port-holes fast, and hide yourselves, all except just enough to work the ship. The sloops were about a mile ahead of us. They were the Vengeance, and the Wilful Murderer. The sloop Wilful Murderer came up along side, and hailed—ahoy! the ship ahoy! from whence came you? From South Carolina, says our captain. Where are you bound? they inquired.

Alongside you, you rascals; out guns, boys! haul down your colours, or I will sink you instantly, says our captain; round too, and come under my stern.

She surrendered to us, without firing a gun. The Vengeance, in the mean time, put about and run away from us. But in an hour, we were along side of her, and took her also, without a gun being fired. We returned with both our prizes to Charleston, an hour before the sun was down, and came to an anchor at Fort Sullivan.

As soon as information of our successful return was received, we were saluted from Fort Sullivan and Fort Johnson, and colours were hoisted from every gentleman's house, who was not a tory. A committee was chosen by the citizens of Charleston to sell our prizes. They were sold for so much, that each share of the hands amounted to two hundred and fifty dollars. But some pretext was always offered for withholding my share from me; so that I have never received one cent of it.

The governor filled out a cartel, and sent the prisoners we had taken to New-York, and had them exchanged for an equal number of equal rank; and after we had effected the exchange, we returned to Boston.

On our passage from South Carolina to Boston, we came across a large topsail schooner, with a crew of gentlemen and ladies, (tories,) making their escape to St.

Augustine. We permitted them to pass, on giving up all their money, which was found to be a very considerable sum.

On our return to Boston, we found our two letters of marque, which we had taken and ordered for that place, safely arrived. Soon after, there was a hot press for men to go and recapture Penobscot, which had been taken by the British. I volunteered to go with a Mr. Saltonstall, who was to be the commander of the expedition, which for some cause, however, failed; and I then got a furlough to go home to my family, which still resided at Wrentham. Soon after, I went to Boston, and requested of Captain Smedly my discharge from the ship. But he seemed to think he could not with propriety give it. I then requested him to pay me my wages. He told me he was about fitting out an expedition to the West Indies, and could not, without great inconvenience, spare the money then; but said he would call on his way to Providence, where he was going in a short time, and would then pay me; but I never saw him afterwards. Neither have I, at any time since, received a farthing, either of my share of prize money or wages.

The shop, also, which I had built in Boston I lost. After the British troops were stationed in that town, they appropriated it for the purpose of a wash and lumber house, and eventually pulled it down and burnt it up.

After I had concluded my services as a sailor, I was called upon to serve with the militia from time to time, until the close of the war. The general destination of the troops with which I served, was to guard the coasts, and prevent the incursions of the enemy, in the most exposed parts between Boston and New-York, extending also our points of defence as far up the Hudson as West Point.

In one expedition, which was undertaken some considerable time after the capture of Burgoyne, at Stillwater, I was out four months and a half, under the command of Captain Thomas George, to guard the coast in Rhode-Island, during which we had an engagement with the British troops at a place called Cobble-hill, in which we beat them with a considerable slaughter of their men. But soon after, on their receiving a reinforcement, we were obliged to retreat from the Island. While on that expedition, we had orders to go at a certain time on a secret expedition to destroy a British fort.

After we got into the boat which was to carry our men, our orders were not to speak a word loud, until we arrived at the place of our destination. But some of our men becoming impatient, from the fatigue of rowing, occasionally inquired of some one how far they had still to row; they were overheard by some of the British, aboard of one of their frigates, which lay in

the river; and when the moon rose over the hill, they espied us, fired upon us, and killed one of our men. It then became indispensable for us to retreat back to our station.

At another time when I was stationed with a detachment of the militia at West Point, to guard that post, under the command of General McDougal, a number of us were ordered to go out one night under the command of Captain Barney, to surprise and capture a number of cow-boys, who were supposed to be collected together at a certain place in the woods not far distant. We succeeded in the enterprise, took twenty-five of them, and brought them in the same night.

The various incidents related by Hewes, respecting his services as a soldier during the revolutionary war, are not intended by him to claim for himself any peculiar distinction, but what he should in common with others of his rank; but have been related, only in confirmation of his assertion respecting the general devotedness of his service to the case of his country. When he was not engaged in his cruising expeditions as a sailor, he asserts that he was called upon almost incessantly to do military duty, and that he never was disposed to withhold his actual personal services, until he found that the extreme exigencies of his family required some other provision than he could obtain for his services as a soldier. But he was never relieved

from the burden of expense in support of the war. For no sooner was he induced by the pressure of his circumstances to make an effort to withdraw his services from the army, than a regulation was made, requiring all those who were able to do military duty, to either serve when called upon, or to form themselves into classes of nine men, and each class to hire an able bodied man, on such terms as they could, and pay him for his services, while they were to receive their pay of the state. In compliance with this regulation, he gained a class which hired a man, who demanded of us specie, while we received nothing of the government but paper money, of very little value, and continually depreciating. By this means I was excused from any other service during the war, which, however, did not continue long after.

Since the close of the revolutionary war, Hewes has been buried, as it were, in utter obscurity, engaged in laborious pursuits, either in some agricultural or mechanical employment, by which he thought he could best provide for his family.

From the time he was seven years old, he has hardly had leisure allowed him from his manual occupation to procure even the first rudiments of a common school education. In every thing, therefore, which relates to intellectual capacity and improvement, he is a simple child of nature; and if he has ever indulged a secret

ambition for any distinction, for which his talents might have entitled him, the inevitable destinies of his condition have closed against him every avenue to any celebrity, to which by the usages of the world he could expect to be admitted.

Had not a mistaken policy, or perhaps a groundless apprehension of danger, or some other cause, concealed from the knowledge of the world, the destroyers of the British tea at Boston, in seventeen hundred and seventy-three, Hewes and the other of the tragi-comic actors in that event, would not have wanted biographers until this time.

The injunction of secrecy heretofore imposed on the guests of the Boston Tea Party, is no longer a matter of expediency or policy. And it well becomes a grateful people to evince the magnanimity of their philanthropy and their patriotism, by an effort to arrest from the oblivion to which imperious circumstances have so long consigned one of their number, the perpetuity of whose memory has been so liberally aided by the laws of nature, in the endowment of his preservative faculties.

I had learned from some of his family, that since he has resided in this part of the country, he had made one visit to the place of his nativity, and knowing that very great changes had taken place, during his long absence, I was solicitous to learn from him, the comparative views which the former and present condition of

Boston had presented to his mind; and on my requesting him to give me some account of the most prominent incidents attending his visit at that place, he proceeded to give in substance the following relation.

It is now, said he, about fifty-nine years since I resided in Boston with my family; neither had I visited the place myself, except a day or two on business, and more than forty years ago; when some time, according to my best recollection, in the year 1821, I formed a resolution to visit, probably for the last time, the place of my nativity. I was induced to this conclusion from various circumstances. I had at that time some relatives residing in Boston, with whom an interview would be highly gratifying. Among those whom I recollect, were Robert Hewes, my cousin; Brook Hewes, my nephew, the son of my brother Shubael; my brother's daughter, the wife of Mr. Honeyman; Captain Samuel Hewes, my brother's son, and Captain Samuel Sumner, my wife's brother.

I had also some inducements to go at that time, from considerations of a pecuniary nature. I had been informed that my brother Daniel, who had resided in Boston, was dead, and had by his will left me a small legacy, and also some legacies to my sons, who resided in this section of the country, all of which amounted to a considerable sum.

I was greatly animated, too, in this undertaking, by

a strong desire once more to review those objects which had imparted to my mind its first impressions, and created to the world its most indissoluble attachments; and I had fondly anticipated, by an interview with some of the associates of my boyhood and youth, to revive in my recollection many of the sportive scenes and interesting incidents in which we had mutually participated.

With these objects in view, I commenced my journey from Richfield, the place of my present residence, accompanied by my son Robert, in the 87th year of my age. We travelled in a one horse wagon, and after a journey of five days, arrived at Boston. After visiting my relations, I began to inquire and look for some of my former acquaintance, who had been the intimate associates of my youthful days. But, alas! I looked in vain. They were gone. Neither were those who once knew them as I did, to be found. The place where I drew my first breath and formed my most endearing attachments, had to me become a land of strangers. Not only had my former companions and friends disappeared, but the places of their habitations were occupied by those who could give no account of them. The house in which I was born was not to be found, and the spot where it stood could not be ascertained by any visible object.

The whole scenery about me seemed like the work of enchantment. Beacon hill was levelled, and a pond

on which had stood three mills, was filled up with its contents; over which two spacious streets had been laid and many elegant fabrics erected. The whole street, from Boston Neck to the Long Wharf, had been built up. It was to me almost as a new town, a strange city; I could hardly realize that I was in the place of my nativity. While standing one day in the market, and viewing the busy throng around me, the attention of an aged man appeared to be attracted by my presence; and after looking steadfastly in my face a few moments, passed slowly, and stopping suddenly, stood motionless, as if in a reverie, but he soon returned, and by his inquisitive survey of my person led me to believe that he was determined to acquire some knowledge of me. Sir, said I to him, I believe you intend to know who I am. I have been thinking, replied he, that I have known something of you heretofore. Was you not a citizen of Boston at the time the British tea was destroyed in Boston harbour? I replied that I was, and was one of those who aided in throwing it into the water. He then inquired who commanded the division to which I belonged in that affair; I told him one Leonard Pitt. So he did mine, said he; and I had believed there was a man by the name of Hewes aboard the same ship with me, and I think you must be that man. We retired from the crowd and took a social glass together, and after a short conversation, in which we called to each

other's recollection some of the interesting and amusing incidents of that eventful period, when we were fellow citizens and sufferers in the cause of American liberty, we parted, never to meet again. He could give me no account of my former companions. I found he as well as myself had outlived the associates of his youthful days.

This accidental acquaintance is the first, and will probably be the last, I shall ever have with any of those who were concerned with me in the affair of drowning the British tea.

At another time, as I was walking in the street, a man who had not the appearance of very advanced age, accosted me, by asking me if my name was not Hewes, and said he thought he had some recollection of me; but having had no previous knowledge of him, I was not disposed to encourage an interview, and we soon parted; neither do I even recollect his name. Those of our countrymen who have lived to an advanced age, and visited the place of their nativity after a long absence, and witnessed the sensible mutability of human affairs and the changes to which the progress of time is continually snbjecting all terrestrial objects, will easily conceive the painful excitement with which Hewes must have been affected.

Not only had the thousand objects which wake into life the tender emotions of filial and fraternal sympathy,

disappeared, but the political condition of the country had undergone an entire change.

About sixty years before, when Hewes was compelled by the threatening aspect of the war to remove his family from Boston, the American revolution, which terminated in our independence, had just commenced its progress, and that town had become the first intended victim of British vengeance against her colonies; while the spirit of opposition and of liberty had awoke into life and animation the physical and intellectual energies of the American people; and the confused murmur of the multitude of citizens, sailors and soldiers who were crowding the streets, like the terrific sound that precedes the earthquake, warned them of that devastating and bloody conflict, which was to continue for eight long years. Hewes had lived to see those years pass away, and half a century after them. While he surveyed the docks where lay the British ships loaded with the poisonous herb, which had been dashed from the lips of his countrymen in the dead silence of the night, amidst the clattering of an hundred tomahawks; where he had seen floating in terrific majesty the ships of a powerful enemy, armed with the munitions of war, and threatening death and devastation; he now beheld only those which were bearing in their bosoms the fruits of a peaceful commerce with all nations, the treasures of every clime. Well might his

manly spirit exult in the proud recollection that he had contributed his full share in achieving this auspicious and triumphant change in the destinies of his country.

But man is a social being, and the happiness to be derived from the exuberance of his enjoyments is always imperfect without the participation of his fellow men; and in no individual could this trait be more conspicuous than in Hewes. His cheerful and communicative mind needed some kindred spirit to partake with him the luxury of those exhilirating reflections which the recollections of the past and the contemplation of the present might offer. But if he looked around for the partners of his heroism, and inquired, where are they? Echo only could answer, "where are they?" He stood alone among the monuments of the fame which he had well purchased by his courage, by his labours, and above all, by his patient endurance of deprivation, and almost a solitary sojourner in the world.

Well might he have sought from the solitude of his obscurity and the endearments of his aged partner, whom he had left in his distant retreat, the only consolation and the only reward he was destined to anticipate.

After a residence of about three days only, he took, as he believed, his final departure from the place of his nativity, and returned to the vicinity of his present residence, where he has remained until the present time.

Whatever may be thought of the policy of destroying the British tea in Boston harbour, or of the expediency of concealing the names of those who had a personal agency in that enterprize, it was an event which gave to the American character a renown for magnanimity, for fortitude, and for heroism, unprecedented among the nations of the earth.

For this renown, great and glorious as it may be in its final results upon the political destinies of mankind, the American people were indebted to the agency of a few individuals, and to no one of those, perhaps, more than to the subject of this memoir.

In proportion to the importance that not only the condition of the then American colonies, but of the world gave to that event, may that of those individuals be considered, without whose efforts it might not have happened, and the interest which an American must feel in the knowledge of their history and peculiar characteristics. Although it happens that those who have very imperfect claims to the consideration and esteem of the world, may sometimes by the mere force of their courage and physical powers, become the efficient instruments in accomplishing great and glorious deeds; yet when such individuals are endowed with faculties and dispositions adequate to high and exalted destinies, it is due to the dignity of man, as has before been observed, respectfully to appreciate and commemorate the distinctions which nature has ordained.

It is easy to conceive that the Power which controls the destinies of men, has conferred on each individual qualities suited to the part assigned to him on the stage of human life; and we may well suppose that the same Power will be exerted in preparing and preserving such faculties for the purposes they are intended.

Every constituent of the physical nature (both as to its symmetry and physical strength) of Hewes, are evidently indicative of a capacity suited to daring and desperate enterprize, and the novel incident of his very infancy, in his controversy with his aunt, exhibited in him, at that early age, his correct views of the imporance of equal right and equal justice, and his unbending resolution and courage to correct what he considered the erroneous views of his aunt.* His disposition to restrain the lawless abuse of power was evinced, also, in his manly interference to save the helpless boy, in the streets of Boston, from the assault of a British officer, and the prompt and severe chastisement upon the assailant, was a signal evidence of the respect with which he was held in public estimation on that occasion. The extraordinary restoration of his life, after drowning in Boston harbour, when but six years old; his signal escape from a watery grave on the Banks of Newfoundland, and his narrow escape from the fatal effects of a

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* See pp. 21, 22.

dangerous wound, inflicted by the insolence of a British officer, which have been noticed, are remarkable evidence, not only of the adaptation of his physical and intellectual energies to the desperate and hazardous enterprize of boarding the British tea ships, but of a capacity for preserving his faculties for the accomplishment of that event.

It is said that we are never to expect disinterested patriotism will be witnessed in our world, but that under its assumed garb some latent motive may be detected, exhibiting self-interest as the main-spring of human actions.

Let it be granted when, however, self-love prompts to actions which public good requires, it may well be conceded, that in the language of the poet,

"Self-love and social are the same."

But when we witness men embarking in desperate and hazardous enterprises, without discovering any of those incentives which usually govern the conduct of men, we may reasonably conclude they are endowed with some moral, intellectual, or physical powers, which do not fall to the lot of ordinary men.

It cannot be expected in this short sketch, that a detail can be given of the many evidences which Hewes has exhibited through the course of his life, of his having possessed such powers. A view of his person and

present condition most clearly evince that his characteristics have been, as they now are, of no ordinary quality.

In his person, Hewes is rather under the common stature, being about five feet and one inch, yet so perfectly erect is his attitude, as he stands or moves, the deficiency of his stature when he passes you would hardly be noticed; and he walks with so much agility and firmness, that, did not his shrivelled face betray his great age, he might be taken for a man in all the vigour of youth.

The hair upon his head is of a light brown colour, a very small proportion of it having as yet become gray; not more than is usual to men of the age of fifty, and as he combs it back, it presents a high and prominent forehead; which together with the exact symmetry and form of his head, exhibits a bold and manly visage. His whole person is of a light and slender texture, his eyes are of a dark blue, and are an index to an intelligent and vigorous mind; and when he becomes excited in conversation, they sparkle with a glow of lustre, which strikingly betokens that the fire of youthful vigour in his breast is not yet extinguished. This often happens, when conversing on the subject of British usurpation and tyranny, which is with him a favorite topic.

Considering his great deficiency of opportunities to

improve his style, either from the precepts or intercourse of the learned, his language is remarkable for its grammatical simplicity and correctness. In giving his relations of past events, he never attempts to divert the attention by the rehearsal of vain or trifling incidents; in communicating his ideas, he can seldom be detected in any redundancy or deficiency of expression.

He assumes to himself no title to peculiar favour for any of his public services, not even for the aid he afforded in the signal event of the destruction of the tea; but seems to think no sacrifice too great, which an American might have made in the establishment of our independence.

In the events of the revolution he appears to have taken a deep interest; although he had neither the advantages of friends or education to encourage in him any ambition of power or preferment.

On my inquiring of him if he knew what gentlemen in Boston were most officious to encourage Great Britain in waging war upon her American colonies, he promptly replied that he knew some of them. I knew five men, said he, who wrote letters to the king for that purpose: they were Mr. Hutchinson, the governor of Massachusetts; Andrew Oliver, secretary to the crown; Silvester Gardner, a physician; Charles Paxton, gentlemen, and Captain Benjamin Halloway.

I had, says he, attested copies of these letters when I removed from Massachusetts into this part of the country, but by lending them to some gentlemen to peruse, I have lost them.

I have mentioned this not only as one of the extraordinary instances of his powers of recollection, but of the active interest he took in examining documents which were important to the historian of the revolution. These letters contained, as may be supposed, the reasons which were urged to justify Great Britain in an offensive war upon her American colonies; and a knowledge of them might be considered indispensible to those in whom were confided the political concerns of that eventful crisis.

But when we find an obscure and illiterate man as Hewes was, industriously seeking and preserving the knowledge of these documents which related to the general welfare, it gives him claims to our attention to which those of his *condition seldom have any title.*

But aside from the deep interest he took in our revolutionary struggle, or faithful and important services he may have performed in the cause of his country, every intelligent man must feel a peculiar interest of learning something of the habits and manners of one of our own countrymen, who has lived to a very advanced age,

while in possession of a great share, both of his intellectual and physical powers.

One would suppose that Hewes had believed in the precepts of Lycurgus, the Spartan; and that in the formation ofhis habits and manners, he had consulted his own health and happiness. It may be recollected that the Spartans were taught to believe that happiness consisted much more in action than contemplation. That the most active pursuits contributed more to the preservation of the health, and therefore to all the enjoyments of life, than those of any sedentary occupation.

No man perhaps ever lived in this country or any other, who has more constantly and perseveringly practised habits of active and laborious industry than Hewes. It has been often with difficulty, I could persuade him to remain in my room long enough to make of him the inquiries which were necessary to enable me to record the few incidents of his life, to be found in this little volume. He asserts, that from his childhood he has been accustomed to rise very early and expose himself to the morning air; that his father compelled him to do this from his infancy, and that he has found the habit contributed so much to his enjoyments, that he never had any disposition to relinquish it. So inveterate have his active habits become, that it would probably be impossible to persuade him either to

relinquish them, or in any degree to practice more moderation in the use of them; and should he be induced to indulge even but moderately in habits of entire indolence, it would probably be the means of soon terminating his enjoyments, if not his life. He does not at present attempt those athletic exercises, which require the muscular strength of men in the usual vigour of manhood, but is generally occupied with some object that requires him to be standing on his feet, or walking. The average distance which he walks every day, when not prevented by the weather, is probably from two to three miles. On the fourth of July, 1833, being respectfully invited to dine with some gentlemen, who were to meet on that day, to commemorate the jubilee of our independence, some friend of his who was going to the place where he was invited to attend, brought him from the place of his residence, on the way, as far as my lodgings, where Hewes got out of the carriage, and thanking him, requested that he might be excused from riding any further, as he prefered walking the remainder of the way, a distance of about two miles and a half, which he walked of choice, and after he had dined, returned on foot to the place of his residence, making his travel on that occasion, about five miles and a half.

Among the several toasts given during the festival of that day, he was respectfully noticed by the following;

"George R. T. Hewes, our venerable guest—the last survivor of the band of patriots, who drowned the British tea in Boston harbour, sixty years ago; the noise of whose tomahawk, was to tyrants throughout the world, as the knell of their departing hour; may the gratitude of his country be commensurate with the glory of that memorable event;" which was echoed with enthusiastic applause. As the guests were about rising from the table, Hewes rose up, and thanked them for the civility and respect they had shown him, on that day, and other similar occasions; peradventure, said he, this may be the last time I shall ever meet with you; but be that as it may, when I am called to leave the shores of time, may we meet hereafter where the wicked will cease from troubling, and the true sons of liberty may be forever at rest. After which he immediately retired, obviously impressed with the apprehension, that this would be his last meeting on such an occasion.

It was indeed, to me, a most rare and interesting incident, that an individual, who had sixty years ago, struck the first blow in the opposition to usurpation and tyranny, living not only to witness the triumphant success of that opposition, against the most powerful nation in the world, but to attend the fifty-seventh anniversary of the independence, which, by that event, the American people had achieved.

The success which had attended his labours, his deprivations, and his sufferings, in the cause of his country, could not afford him more cause for exultation, than the victory, which by his virtues, his fortitude, and the correctness of his habits, he had acquired over the infirmities to which poor human nature is generally subjected. His long life of vigorous health, may be ascribed not more to his laborious exercises, than to his uniform temperance. Although his appetite for food, and even for stimulating liquors, has been encouraged by a sound and vigorous constitution, he never has indulged any more in the use of either, than was necessary to support the natural energies required in the performance of his duty.

But there is one trait in his character which has greatly contributed to his health and happiness, though perhaps not to the improvement of his condition; that is, an uniform cheerful submission to his destinies. This is a duty oftener inculcated by the precepts, than by the practice of wise men and philosophers.

If poverty is a misfortune, it is very certain Hewes has always been a very unfortunate man. Although the course of his life has been distinguished by habits of industry, integrity, temperance and economy, yet he has never been able to provide for the exigencies of the future; but has sometimes wanted the common comforts,

and even the necessaries of life. It might be shown, that his condition has been such, as to render his destitute circumstances to him an inevitable event, for which his character was in no wise impeachable. But it belongs to the biographer to delineate the condition and characters of men as they are; and not to seek for reasons, why they might, or might not have been otherwise. It cannot be pretended, that substantial merit can either be created or diminished by the prossession, or want of wealth.

But so many and depressing are the evils of poverty, that they may well be deplored by the wise as well as the simple; and he who can preserve his integrity, and with a cheerful mind encounter the embarrassments and sufferings, which it inflicts, must possess more fortitude, than ordinarily falls to the lot of humanity. But such is the present condition and character of Hewes. Pressed down, as it were, by the iron hand of poverty, smarting as yet under the loss of his dearest earthly companion, the wife of his youth, and the consoling companion of his life, he is sprightly, talkative and cheerful; sensible and interesting in conversation; without any of that moroseness, and gloomy reserve, the usual concomitants of every advanced age; or any of the melancholy dejections, and dreary forbodings of

the near approach of his final catastrophe, which must soon terminate his closing scene.

He often expresses his gratitude to a kind providence, for the many favours with which he has been indulged. Speaks most affectionately of his late wife, and of her many endearing qualities; and exults in the consoling belief, that his separation from her, will be of but short duration.

It is difficult to witness his equanimity, his fortitude, his cheerful submission to his present depressed condition, without ascribing to him a capacity and disposition which kings might envy, and which the wise and great have sought in vain, or without being impressed with a deplorable sense of the thoughtless ingratitude of the world.

Hewes, is at present, a solitary boarder in the house of a stranger, and has been for sometime past supported by the charity of his friends, in the immediate vicinity of his residence.

For some years previous to his being placed in his present situation, he and his wife had lived in a small house which his son Robert had built for him, in the vicinity of Richfield Springs, where this same son had for some years contributed what was necessary to their support. After the death of his wife, which happened about three years ago, his son Robert took him into his

own house, and supported him; but soon after, having met with some misfortunes, was obliged to sell his house, and removed with his family a distance so great it was not thought expedient for his father to accompany him.

He then, for a short time, became a sojourner among his friends, who received and entertained him with the usual civilities, which an aged and respected stranger might expect, from the cold charities of the world. Although he had no children in this part of the country, whose circumstances would admit of any additional expense for his support, he was very unwilling to become a public expense. From this embarrassing condition, he sought to relieve himself by appealing to the charity of a son-in-law, by the name of Morrison, who lived at a place called German Flatts, about nine miles from Richfield Springs. Morrison and his wife had several children, and were, as they now are, very poor. He remained, however, with them about a year, and while there, was visited with severe sickness; during which he had hardly any comforts, or consolations afforded him, other than the sympathies of a kind daughter; Morrison not being able by his manuel services, to provide for his family but a mere subsistence. After he had in some measure recovered his health, he re-

turned to Richfield, and took up a short residence with a son who resides near the Springs.

Soon after his arrival at his son's house, by some casualty, he fell down a stairway on some iron ware, by means of which he received a severe wound in both of his legs, which his physician pronounced incurable; observing that the flesh was so lacerated, his great age would not admit of its healing. But in this he was mistaken; for although shockingly mangled, his flesh was healed with as much facility, as that of a man's in the vigour of youth. While suffering under the pain of this wound, it was thought incompatible with the circumstances, of his son's family, which consists of eight children, to make suitable provision for his comfortable support, and he was removed to the place of his present residence.

I have only sketched some of the events which marked his course, and rendered the destinies inevitable, which have probably opened to him his closing scene.

During his residence with his children, in those days which must be numbered among his last, he has laboured incessantly to alleviate, and if possible, to exonerate them from the burden of expenses to which his support might subject them; and at the present time appears disposed to exhaust the last efforts of his decaying nature to render himself useful to the worthy family, to

whose generous attention he is at last indebted for those enjoyments which the consoling sympathies of children are not permitted to afford, and which seem to have been destined by nature to smooth the pillow of the expiring parent.

The people in the immediate vicinity of his residence have given satisfactory assurances to the worthy gentleman who has taken Hewes into his house and made comfortable provision for his sustenance, that he shall be *amply* indemnified for any reasonable expense to which he may be subjected on that account.

In doing this, they have nobly assumed upon themselves what would long ago have been done by the American republic, had that publicity been given to his character and condition which his public services and private virtues have so well merited.

It is said that judicious efforts of ordinary capacity might usually be expected to provide an independent competency; yet the present destitute condition of Hewes can by no means be urged as an argument to depreciate his merit, or in any way derogate from the value of his character.

Although in this age of reason and knowledge, it may be said that men of genius, and even the less learned, must expect to be the framers of their own fortunes; yet it must be acknowledged that a deplorable

detail might be given of genius in misfortune, of the benefactors of mankind in adversity, both in our own and other countries.

An improvident spirit and disdain of reflection, are more common attributes of great intellectual and physical powers, than of ordinary talents. But while those of the former character may, by their improvidence, entail on themselves disaster and indigence, yet their efforts often prove the indispensable means of advancing the welfare and glory of their country. In confirmation of this truth, instances enough might be enumerated of men in our own country, who, with the advantages of birth, of talents, of education and preferment, have been seen to be struggling with embarrassments, through life and ending it with insolvency, while they have been ranked among our most distinguished political benefactors, and who have imposed on posterity obligations of perpetual gratitude.

To intelligent minds, not under the entire dominion of popular opinion or of prejudice, it may be thought supererogation, to show from arguments drawn from precedent or any other source, that poverty or obscurity of condition, is not incompatible with merit, with capacity, or real greatness.

But they should be reminded that the American people are not exempt from the influence of an opinion, that

has marked the history of the civil state; an opinion of eminence connected with fortune, and a sense of debasement attending on poverty; and who would, as were the Grecians two thousand years ago, rather be found distributing favours to idle and powerful men, than bestow a thought on useful and obscure citizens. There is, therefore, an obligation enjoined on Americans by patriotism and philanthropy, to improve, if possible, this trait in the human character.

It is very obvious that many of our citizens whose biography has been recorded, and who have well deserved the public approbation and applause, have acquired their eminence by means of fortuitous incidents, without their agency and beyond their control.

Had not the American revolution distinguished the period in which Washington lived, that great man might have died with no other reputation than that of a respectable citizen and a civil magistrate of Virginia. Neither would that event have probably developed his transcendent worth, had not the discriminating mind of the elder John Adams directed the public voice to his official appointment.

Had not fortuitous circumstances given to Alexander Hamilton (who was a poor orphan) a benefactor, he probably would never have been distinguished as a hero and statesman, or even known to the American people.

When the conspirators in Persia against the Magi were consulting about a succession to the empire, it came into the mind of one of them, that he whose horse neighed first when they came together the next morning, should be king. Had it not been for the accidental neighing of the horse of Darius, he would not probably have been king; and had it not been for that accident, Alexander would not have conquered that empire, and the circumstances of the world in all past ages might have been different.

The great Socrates, celebrated through the world for his wisdom and virtue, was bred to the trade of a sculptor, and might have continued to pursue that trade through life, had not Criton by accident discovered something of his fine genius, took him out of his father's shop, and opened to him the doors of his fame, by giving him an opportunity to develope his faculties in the acquisition of knowledge.

This catalogue might be lengthened almost indefinitely, with the names of those who have acquired distinguished fame, the self-moving agency of whose physical or intellectual powers might never have opened to them the gates of the temple of their fame. Although these and thousands of others may have been possessed of the choicest attributes of intellectual nature, of faculties best suited to protect the rights and improve the

condition of their country, such might and has been the order of the world, that those often of very inferior capacities are destined to share in its distinctions and preferments.

This has been proved from the history of the most distant times, by the oracles of our religion. "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong," said the divine preacher," neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill, but time and chance happen to them all."

That this is the present state of man, is continually verified before our eyes.

We witness those who are fitted for distinguished places by their qualifications, both natural and acquired, who are yet indebted to extraneous incidents for their advancement. Among those, too, to whom nature has been equally liberal in the distribution of her gifts, circumstances equally contingent enable some to acquire those necessary artificial prerequisites to preferment which do not fall to the lot of others.

The injudicious exercise of parental authority and control is often fatal to the propitious destinies of men.

This might have been and probably was one of the operative causes which rendered the indigence and obscurity of the condition of Hewes inevitable.

He was obviously formed by nature for pursuits

which required active enterprize. Nothing could have been more uncongenial to his genius, his physical nature, or the tendency of his disposition, than a mechanical trade which required sedentary habits. This appears from a general view of his pursuits through life. At the very commencement of the occupation which his father had prescribed for him, we find him engaging in a fishing voyage, on the application of his brother, which occupied his time for two years. His solicitude for a military employment was manifest from the artifice he practised, in raising the heels of his shoes to make his stature comport with the standard of the muster roll, and his afterwards engaging in the profession of a sailor and a soldier, although strongly attached to his domestic circle and enjoyments.

His present habits and inclination clearly evince that neither his physical or intellectual powers, were formed for a sedentary or inactive life.

It might be an improvement in the policy of our republic, if some regulation, sanctioned at least by popular opinion, were admitted, similar to what has heretofore prevailed in other times and countries, that triers or examiners should be appointed, to examine the genius of each boy, that he might have such lot assigned to him as is best suited to his natural talents. It is believed, that the sagacity of the learned Jesuits in disco-

vering the talent of a young student, by thus examining his genius, upon every part of learning, on entering their college, has contributed much to the figure which their order has made in the world.

The Spartans carried this spirit of improvement much farther. Among them it was not lawful for the father himself to bring up his children after his own fancy. As soon as they were seven years old, they were all enlisted in several companies and disciplined by the public; the old men were the spectators of their performances; who often raised quarrels among them, and set them at strife with one another, that by those early discoveries, they might see how their several talents lay; and without any regard to their quality, disposed of them accordingly for the service of the commonwealth. By this means, Sparta soon became the mistress of Greece, and famous through the world for her civil and military discipline.

Although such a regulation might be thought incompatible with the genius of American liberty, the consideration of it may suggest to fathers or guardians, the importance of consulting the talents of the son, rather than their own fancy or ambition, in selecting for him an occupation, which may affect his future welfare, and happiness, according as it may be adapted to his genius and taste.

But if any interference in the education of children, would be thought intolerable usurpation, yet it cannot be thought improper to instruct the inspectors of our schools, to examine the genius of children as well as their progress in science, and advise parents at least not to require that of children, which nature has denied to them. For to whatever course the delusive fancy or vain ambition of parents may direct, in the disposal of their children, they cannot expect any particular knowledge can be produced, in a mind, where the seed of it has never been planted.

It is related by Plato, that Socrates, who was the son of a midwife, used to say, that his mother, though she was very skilful in her profession, could not deliver a woman unless she was first with child, so neither could he himself raise knowledge out of a mind where nature had not planted it. If these remarks should be considered extraneous, they are imperiously urged on the mind, by comparing the condition and faculties of Hewes with many others, who, with opportunities to acquire knowledge, and power to render it useful, are pursuing objects which nature has placed beyond their capacity; who are looking to artificial aids, for what nothing but innate powers can produce; while Hewes seems to have been led, as it were, by an ignis fatuis, in a labyrinth of perplexities, through a protracted life, which may

have been, by means of an injudicious direction to his course, in the outset; and which may always be expected, where the parent, in controling the destinies of the son, disregards his genius, or the tendency of his disposition.

Although talents and ambition will sometimes raise a man to preferment and to fortune, amidst the most appalling and adverse circumstances; yet such instances are generally found among those who are thrown upon the world, in a state of orphanage, when necessity, the most powerful inventive of expedients, will be likely to develope and apply the faculties, best suited to the exigencies of their condition.

It has been observed, that the distinctions created in the order of nature, have claims on the perpetuity of the monumental record. Such distinctions, however, as cannot be conferred by the caprice of fortune, or the usual passports of preferment; but such as are created by those superior endowments which nature only can confer. Accident may give rise to riches, to artificial greatness, which a mere freak of fortune may prostrate in the dust.

Men sometimes raise themselves to pre-eminence, by the knowledge of other men's weakness, rather than from any consciousness of their own wisdom; and bebind the blaze of chivalric fame, the want of patriotism,

of virtue and humanity, are often concealed. A correct view of the human character well inspired the language of the Poet,

> "Who wickedly is wise or madly brave,
> Is but the man a fool the more a knave,
> Who noble ends by noble means obtains,
> Or failing, smiles in exile or in chains,
> Like good Aurelius, let him reign or bleed,
> Like Socrates; that man is great indeed."

This greatness has given to Hewes a superiority which may well claim for him a place in the monumental record. The strength of his memory, which enables him to relate with precision many interesting incidents from his very boyhood, through his life, now protracted to nearly an hundred years. The strict observance of those habits which the laws of nature require, to preserve the vigour of his physical powers, and enable him to triumph over the devastations of time, to which, during his life, whole generations have been consigned; his virtue, which has enabled him to preserve the integrity of his character, amidst the adversities of his depressed condition, and the corruptions of the world; his fortitude to meet his adverse destinies with cheerful submission, clearly exhibits to our view the character of that man, who is emphatically pronounced by the Poet, "great indeed."

Not that greatness, with the tinsel splendors of which,

the devotees of mammon, would surround his throne, or that which the hero's blood-stained laurels would confer; not that with which the insane breath of party zeal would crown its idol; but that which neither the devices, or the power of the world can create, or can destroy. I am well aware, there are great numbers among us, who in reviewing the histories of men, are best pleased in contemplating the human conduct in its excesses, to which it may be impelled by ambition or by passion; who would estimate the greatness of a man, by the extent of his conquests; by his acquisitions, rather than by his wisdom, or his virtue in the use of them. Who dwell with enthusiastic delight on the lives of such men as the Alexanders, the Cæsars, and the Napoleons; of those who have waded through seas of blood, to the acquisition of their thrones and their fame; who, in adjudging the characters and condition of men, indulge a delusive opinion of eminence connected with fortune, and debasement attending on poverty, which renders them regardless of every advantage but that of the rich, and insensible to every evil and every indignity but that of the poor; and who might therefore think the life and adventures of Rothchild, the Jew, who by his wealth might control the power of the British empire, more worthy of their attention, than that of such men as Pawlin, Williams, and Vanwort, the captors of

the unfortunate Andre, against the majesty of whose virtue, the power of gold could not prevail.

There is a prevailing passion also, to regard the lives or the characters of those only as deserving the public notice, who are ambitious of personal distinction, and whose names are first made the topic of popular conversation, and find a conspicuous place in the party discussions of the day.

It is difficult to determine whether this propensity to acquire fame, is more dominant than the disposition to distinguish those who are ambitious of it.

So very sensible are those who aspire to popular fame, of the propensity in the human disposition to give distinction to those who seek it, that many are very unscrupulous of the means, by which they would acquire celebrity.

We too often witness those who having no opportunity to acquire honourable fame by honourable means and substantial merit, stoop to the most humiliating indignity, to obtain some sort of fame by which to acquire popular favour.

Among the means to which this kind of ambition often resorts for success, are noisy zeal, and vain pretensions to patriotism, whereby, many who indulge it, would give to themselves that consequence, which can be generated only by popular discourses, by party dis-

cussions and cause deliberations. And wealth too, is often sought, not more for the means of injoyment it affords, than for its passport to power and preferment. Among the idolaters of popularity thus acquired, it may be expected, many will be found, who would not bestow their attention on so unimportant an object, as an obscure and useful citizen. On the life and adventures of so unassuming a character as the humble subject of this memoir, one who has lived in poverty and obscurity, and will probably die in that condition.

The villanous ambition of the traitor Arnold, although it incurred on him the contempt and reprobation of his country men, was more liberally rewarded with the golden honors of the worshippers of mammon, than were the detectors of his treachery, Pawlin, Williams and Vanwart, who saved the American army, and thereby contributed so gloriously to the independence of their country. While the former was remunerated for his treachery to his country and his loyalty to her enemy with a princely stipend, the latter for their integrity and their patriotism, with only a provision for their simple subsistence; but they were only men who lived in poverty and obscurity like Hewes.

These remarks are not intended as a reflection upon our national character, but illustrative of the tendency of the human disposition. Neither are they intended to

imply that integrity and virtue, and talents are of course entitled to the rewards of wealth and power; but, that individuals may be, and often are entitled to appropriate preferments which are not always conferred.

By far the greater part of our citizens can make no calculation on popular distinctions, but must expect to glide through the crowd of life without particular notice and without praise.

Although it is very obvious, that in the great drama of human action, the safety and welfare of individuals and of communities, may require, that important parts should sometimes be assigned to those in obscure stations, who are destined to move only in the common ranks of society.

The safety of the whole country, may, and often has depended on the integrity, the patriotism, or the valour of one placed in the humble office of a sentinel. No one perhaps could duly appreciate the debt of gratitude which might be due from our country, to the captors of the unfortunate Andre. Many instances might be innumerated of the unusual fortitude and unprecedented volour of our countrymen, acting in the most private and undistinguished stations, the results of whose efforts may have been rendered essential means in the fortunate issue of our revolutionary contest. Although, Hewes has no pretensions to any of those literary

acquirements, which in the present condition of our country and the world, may well be considered prerequisites for civil office, or professional pursuits; none to eminence of station, to distinction of rank, or fortune; none to the tinsel splendors, the decorations and disguises which are sought by many, as the sure passports to preferment; although he has had none of that fashionable ambition, to distinguish himself by the senseless noise of party zeal, or to make his name the topic of popular discourse; or even to be mentioned in the secluded and patriotic councils of a caucus; none of that very common ambition, which by the arts of intrigue, and the cunning of interested hypocracy, might have raised him from the lowest pit of his adverse condition to popular celebrity and distinction; but has been contented himself, and permitted by the world to rest in the depths of obscurity, and pass in the crowd of life without notice and without praise; yet, notwithstanding he has claims on the respect and attention of community, which a wise and intelligent people cannot disregard.

Plutarch, in his account of the life of Socrates, remarks, that "to be a public man it is not necessary to be in office, to wear a robe of judge or magistrate, and to sit in the highest tribunals for the administration of justice. But whoever knows how to give wise councils

to those who consult him, to animate the citizens to virtue, and to inspire them with sentiments of probity, equity, generosity and love of their country; this, says Plutarch, is the true magistrate and ruler, in whatever place or condtion he be."

The influence of moral precepts, it appears, were in view of that judicious historian, essential in the support of civil government. And that such instructions might be given, either by precept or example, with more efficiency by men in private stations than those in power.

Although for the want of literary acquirements, Hewes could not communicate the councils of wisdom, by those refined precepts which distinguish the lessons and the school of Socrates, yet the influence of his example, might give to the morals and manners of the people, a character which could better secure the perpetuity of our privileges, than has ever yet been attained by the legal administration of power.

During eighty years, which is about the time Hewes arrived to the maturity of manhood, he has exhibited to those around him, an example of laborious industry, rigid temperence of stability, and of unimpeachable integrity in his intercourse with the world, worthy of all imitation. And the general prevalency of its influence, might demonstrate the principle, that public virtue alone can give permanency to republican liberty.

It is not known to those who have had the most correct and intimate knowledge of his life, that he has ever been reputed to have been guilty of a single vice.

As his abstemiousness from vicious habits could not be owing to his want of temptation, to these his necessities almost perpetually exposed him; not for the want of opportunities to practice vice or crimes; these are never wanting to those who seek them; neither could it be for want of courage to practice them, or capacity to avoid exposure. Of these he possessed a more than ordinary share; but from the impressions of early instruction, together with his own views of right and wrong, operating upon the peculiar texture of his mind.

It is very fortunate, that in our republic we have so many men of talents, integrity and patriotism, in obscure stations, who like Plutrarch's magistrate, without being actually in office, can be public men, and who are capable of ruling and directing the destinies of their country in whatever place or condition they may be.

Besides the lessons of instruction taught by the example of his virtne, his unrewarded services for his country, give him an incontrovertible claim to her consideration and regard.

During the greater part of the war of eight years, his time was devoted to the public service, for which he has received no other remuneration than that which

furnished him with the means of purchasing a single suit of clothes; and yet in the extremity of his condition, so tardy has been the progress of his country's justice, that he has been able only by a long and expensive process, to obtain from the government the miserable pittance of a soldier's pension; although he did not even ask for this, until he had weathered the current of time and adversity for about eighty years. While during the time he has been soliciting justice for past services, millions have been spent in devising ways and means to dispose of surplus revenue. Although Hewes, with his tomahawk, struck the first blow in the foundation to the capitol of our national legislature, its present occupants, it seems, are solacing themselves with the consoling requiem, the general chorus to long speeches,

> We shall get our eight dollars a day,
> Let Hewes and his courtiers fare as they may.

It was said by the biographer of the celebrated Curran, that he was too patriotic not to have a large family of children. If this may be considered evidence of patriotism, Hewes may come in for an ample share, having been the father of fifteen children, and according to his last accounts, about fifty grand-children, two of whom having been produced by his daughter at one birth, and that when she was more than fifty years old. Thus it appears, that while Hewes was fighting our bat-

tles in the first American war, he was faithfully engaged in providing recruits for the second; acting, too, in obedience to the divine command, to multiply and replenish the earth.

But those who would have great deeds and splendid achievements, alone entitle one to a place in the biographic page, cannot deny to the venerable subject of this memoir that dignity. The event with which the name and the renown of Hewes is inseparably connected, has already been exhibited to the world in history as conspicuously, as are the constellations in the heavens; not that event which was designated only by the destruction of a few hundred chests of tea; that required only an effort of physical power, and might be effected by the momentary impulse of an infuriated populace; but an event, which in its consequence was to call in question and put at defiance the power of the British parliament.

Great Britain had proclaimed to the world, that what her Parliament should do, no power on earth could undo. But the crisis had arrived, when this vain assumption of power, should be exploded as a political heresy. The spirit of liberty, awaking from the slumber of ages, had invoked the moral courage of the American people, to rouse from the lethargy of oppression, shake off her fetters, and by a glorious display of man's

capacity for self-government, solve the hitherto inexplicable enigma of parliamentary omnipotency.

A blow was to be struck, which to tyrants throughout the world should be to them as the knell of their departing hour; which should announce to mankind the commencement of a new era in the civil state; the introduction of a new age, in which a reformation in the political condition of the world should commence its progress, and the rights of man be exhibited in a new blaze of glory.

But notwithstanding the importance of the crisis, while the then colony of Massachusetts was fully convinced, that on the energy and promptitude of her measures, might depend the destinies of her country, she had no legal power to accomplish that which her moral courage might justify and require. Popular opinion was her only efficient weapon.

Although the urgency of her political condition, required that a law of the British Parliament should be abrogated, and private property invaded, yet the peculiar exigencies of her situation, her policy, and her safety required, that this should be accomplished by means of an invisible agency, that thereby the danger of the enterprise might be transferred from the colony to the few individuals, who might be found hardy enough to encounter the responsibility. Such individuals were found,

and by their agency was it accomplished; the event of which, in view of the world, gave to the American character a renown for magnanimity, for fortitude, and heroic achievement, unprecedented in the annals of nations.

For this renown, great and glorious as it was, and as it may be in its final results, the American people are indebted to those distinguished adventurers, whose desperate courage in the impulse of the moment, impelled them to that memorable achievement, and to no one more than to Hewes. If the importance and the glory of that event has assigned for its memorial the monumental record, so it should the name and character of one who not only devoted his services and hazarded his personal safety in the accomplishment of it. But who by his example has taught us the course which will enable us to overleap the bounds usually assigned to mortal existence, an example which might shed a lusture on venal and artificial greatness.

There is in the disposition of man, a propensity to forget the events of the past and to engage the entire attention on objects of the passing moment.

While we readily acknowledge, that in the events of the present age, posterity are to learn their destiny, we are not willing to appreciate our own according to the

improvement we may make of the knowledge to be derived from the past.

From the dissentions and commotions, engendered by the passions and the prejudices of party, and from the dreary forebodings of the ruins which the political aspect threatens, a wise people should seek for lessons of instruction in a retrospect of the past

A recollection of the events which raised us from a state of collonial vassalage to independence and preeminence among the nations of the earth, may well inspire us with just views of the importance of our priviliges and the dignity of our condition. While a retrospect of the exalted virtues and resistless courage of the veteran heroes, by whose instrumentality they were achieved, may, by the power of their example, stimulate us to those efforts, by which alone, they can be preserved.

REMARKS

ON LONGEVITY, SUGGESTED BY A VIEW OF THE PRESENT CONDITION OF HEWES.

During the time this memoir has been preparing for the press, some individuals, whose opinions are worthy of great regard, have indulged in apprehensions that the life of Hewes might not be sufficiently prolific in incident to engage the attention from the public, to which his natural talents or his merit might entitle him. With due respect to the views of such patrons, it has already been remarked, that one event alone, were it the single one of his whole life, which could give celebrity to his fame, might well consign it to immortality.

But the protracted duration of his life and faculties, give him claims to peculiar distinction, which deserve some further consideration.

The natural limit of human life is estimated from 80 to 90 years. Very few servive that period, while a very great majority do not live to approach near it. A calculation has been made, supposed to be nearly correct, of all new born infants, one out of four dies the first year;

that two fifths only attain their sixth year; and before the twenty second year, one half of the generation is consigned to the grave.

That the usual destiny of human life, when protracted to fourscore years, is pain, debility or sorrow, we have had the united testimony of history, both sacred and profane for two thousand years. In general, the mean duration of human life is between thirty or forty years; that is, one from thirty or forty individuals die every year. This proportion too, varies sometimes in a singular manner, according to sex, localities and climates. Perhaps there is no phenomina in nature more inexplicable, than the order by which death cuts off its victims. It is believed, that the unhealthy nature of certain occupations, the violence of the passions, and generally the corruptions of manners, probably prove equally fatal to life, as the original weakness of the human frame. Yet uncertain and irregular as are the limits of human life, no extraneous incidents, however fatal their usual operation, on the tenure of life, are permitted to effect the destiny which sometimes signalizes the age of certain individuals. Although the habits and manners, and occupations of some in every section of the globe are more conducive to the vigour of health, and the preservation of the human constitution, than those of others; and in some climates, the human frame may be more

exposed to decay and death; yet in the disposition of intelligent nature, the Great Disposer of events has obviously made discriminations between individuals of the same general constituents. Some examples, though very rare, are to be found of extreme longevity, in every climate of the habitable globe, and such examples are common to all countries without distinction.

England, which is highly extolled for the salubrity of its climate, has furnished but three or four examples of men, arriving at the age of from 150 to 169, while Hungary, which, generally speaking, is not a very healthy country, has seen the celebrated Peter Cyartan, prolong his life to the 185th year, and John Rovin, at the age of 172, had a wife of 164, and a younger son of 117. It is in the Bannat of Temeswar a very marshy district, and subject to the putrid fever, that these examples of longevity and many others, have been observed. It is said that Russia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland, are the countries which furnish the most numerous and the most authentic examples of men and women, having had their lives extended beyond the period of 100 years. In these countries, we may reckon one centenarian for every three or four thousand individuals.*

According to the author of a very curious little work,

* Malte Brun's Physical Geography, B. 22, p. 195.

called the apology for fasting, 152 Hermits taken in all ages, and under every climate, produce a sum total of 11,589 years of life; and consequently an average of 76 years and about three months for each. From these sketches of the history of longevity, or from the knowledge of it, which can be obtained from the history of our own times and country, the examples of those who have lived to a very protracted age, are found to be very rare; and among those very few whose years have exceeded eighty or ninety, a very small proportion have retained their faculties in that vigour which would enable them to participate in the common enjoyments or perform the necessary duties of life. Neither has it been discovered, that any particular climate, any peculiar locality, or extraneous incidents, have had any special agency in protracting the lives of those who have been distinguished for longevity.

Although it may have been proved from the lessons of physical science, and the philosophy of the vital principle, that some certain climates or peculiar seasons, may be more likely to consider to the health and the preservation of the human constitution than others, yet it is very obvious from the examples which have been mentioned, and other instances of unusual longevity, which have happened in every age, throughout the most unhealthy sections of the habitable world, that the means

of protracting life, and preserving the constitution in its vigour, are, if I may use the expression, personal in their nature and effects, depending on its peculiar organization, and the adaption of such habits and manners of living, as are best suited to protect its operations.

By a peculiar organization, we are not to understand one differing from others, in any of those constituents, which have been found to be common, and believed to be essential; those to give to the human constitution its greatest perfectability, we may conclude, are equal and uniform in all, that is, in their number and form; but from circumstances easier conceived than explained, differing in degrees of vigour and capacity for duration.

Yet we see those who exhibit the most obvious equality in the vigour and durability of their constitutions, have very unequal limits affixed to their duration; and that those whose hold on life, appears most feeble and uncertain, are, in some instances, enabled to protract their existence, beyond those whose capacity for duration, seem obviously to encourage more confident anticipations of long life.

From these considerations of the human condition we are forced to the conclusion, that although much may be owing to the peculiar constituents of individuals, yet not less is due to the wise adaption of such habits and

modes of living, as are best suited to protract the existence of those who are destined to longevity.

Although man is doomed eventually to yield all the vigour, the perfectability, and wisdom of his nature, a final sacrifice to the devastation of time, yet it is obvious, the same Supreme Power, which has enstamped mortality on human existence, has conferred on man the means of protracting its period. As the most finished and correct chronometer or time piece will become equally useless, as one of the most imperfect organization, in unskillful and careless hands, so the most perfect human frame, equally with the enfeebled and imperfect constitution, may be expected not to reach the period assigned to it, by its original faculties, but become subject to premature decay and dissolution, if the elements of life, which nature has provided for its preservation, are not judiciously applied to their appropriate uses.

Those who are not inclined to censure customs and habits, which lead to the premature decay of our nature, and the moral and temporal evils which may accompany them, are sometimes disposed to ascribe every event to inevitable fatality, or the result of mere accident; and to evince the correctness of their views, point us to the various habits and manners of those who attain to an unusual age.

It is true, that some men of irregular and intemperate lives, live to an extraordinary age. The texture of their constitutions will admit of it. The adoption of such habits as the constitution will bear, is indispensable to the preserving and protracting of life. But because the constitutions of some individuals enable them to struggle through the effects of intemperate habits, it does not justify the experiment, nor prove that a different course of living would not be more conducive to their health and happiness.

The testimony of universal observation and experience, confirm the correctness of the opinion, that sober, abstemuous and industrious habits, with a mind unruffled with the violence and tumult of passion, conduce most to the preservation of health, and the protracting of human life.

If we have sufficient evidence to justify the hypothesis of a celebrated and enlightened physician,* that a certain stock of vital force, is imparted to the embryo, at its first formation, as a provision for carrying it through its destined career of existence, the very aged have peculiar claims to a distinction, so ardently and universally desired, and so rarely conferred on man, by the Great Disposer of events.

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*Dr. P. M. Roget.

Or if those rare instances of longevity may be said to owe the extraordinary preservation of their existence, to the practice of such habits and modes of living, as are most congenial to the peculiar organization of their constitutions, and the preservation of its vigour, and extension of its duration, then they are equally entitled to our admiration and respect.

Among some of the most celebrated nations of antiquity, the very aged, more than any other particular class, were treated with general respect and reverence. This peculiar trait in the national character, was once upon a certain occasion, strikingly exemplified by the Lacedemonians, in a theatre at Athens; when "it happened that during a public representation of some play exhibited in honour of the commonwealth, an old gentleman came too late for a place, suitable to his age and quality, some of the young gentlemen who observed his difficulty and confusion, made signs that they would accommodate him if he came where they sat. The good man bustled through the crowd accordingly; but when he came to the seats to which he was invited, the jest was to set close and expose him, as he stood out of countenance to the whole audience. The frolic went round all the Athenian benches. But on those occasions, there were also particular places assigned for foreigners. When the good man skulked towards the

boxes appointed for the Lacedemonians, that honest people, more virtuous than polite, rose up all to a man, and with the greatest respect received him among them. The Athenians being suddenly touched with a sense of the Spartan virtue, and their own degeneracy, gave a thunder of applause; and the old man cried out, the Athenians understand what is good, but the Lacedemonians practice it."

Not only were the aged generally held in veneration among that renowned people, but so important did they consider the connexion between useful knowledge, and the lessons of experience, that the instruction of their youth was universally committed to their superintendence.

Intelligent men, who reflect on the human condition, will always consider, that a very protracted life gives to the aged, claims to attention and respect; not only because the knowledge of men and things derived from experience, may be supposed to afford important lessons of instruction, but because they are distinguished with capacities for extending their mortal career to that period of life to which mankind so universally aspire, and so seldom attain. A view of the grandeur of wealth and power, may excite the admiration; and the incidents which often attend their acquisition, may fascinate the

mind with the splendour of achievement, while we may be forced to the exclamation of the Poet,

> "See by what wretched steps their glory grows,
> From dirt and sea-weed as proud Venice rose."

But the consideration which the man of very protracted age inspires, can never be attended with such degrading views of the human character. It can never be said of the aged, that he owes his protracted existence to vicious or despicable means, however their character may sometimes be contaminated with vicious habits and manners. The very vices, the errors, and the crimes, which usually mark the course of lawless ambition, and give to the biography of the venal great, its fascinations, and its highest interest, instead of prolonging the period of human life, may tend rather to abreviate that protracted duration, which justly excites universal veneration and respect.

No incident in the characters or conduct of men, however it may justly perpetuate their fame, can secure to them the signal distinction with which great age marks the destiny of the few.

When we consider the extreme feebleness of the human frame, at the moment of its birth, the slow progress of its growth, the multiplicity of its wants, the delicacy of the nurture they require; the various and complicated nature of the diseases, and innumerable ills which

are inevitable attendants in the journey of human life, our wonder and admiration is more excited, that the life of an individual is even rarely preserved, through the period of eighty, ninety, or a hundred years, amidst the desolating ruins of human existence, than that twenty years should consign to the grave, half the generations of mankind.

The work alluded to in a preceding page, giving an account of the ages of the hermits, who had lived in every climate and period of the world, evinces the great interest that has heretofore been excited by those rare instances of longevity, which had signalized the history of man's physical nature. If the blessings of long life are commensurate with the ardency of human desire to attain it, a physical biography of the lives of the very aged might present important and useful views of the great inequality in the period of human life, and tend to improve the physical and intellectual nature of man. A biographic history of the distinctions which the laws of nature have ordained, and the unusual incidents and extraordinary achievements in the lives of individuals, might be found to have equal claims to public attention.

No satisfactory account has yet been given to the world, of the moral or physical causes which upon any reasonable hypothesis may be supposed to have created the great difference in the period of human life, which

distinguish its history. The extreme limit of human life, and the means of attaining it, have been a subject of general interest, both in ancient and modern times, and the physiologist and political economist are alike attracted by the inquiry. The results of all observations transmitted to us, on the duration of human life, in given circumstances, do not essentially differ; which may have led to the opinion of some, that in the patriarchial ages the year might have been understood in a very different sense from what it now is; and the life of man therefore at that time,* be less disproportioned to the duration, which is usually assigned to it in the present age.

If such an investigation would not develope such sources of wisdom, or so improve the human capacity, as to enable us in any degree to protract the period of human existence, it might, by enlarging the bounds of science, enhance the happiness of man, and thereby shed on the dignity of his nature a new and distinguished lustre.

But few, if any, who have arrived to the age of the subject of this memoir, have probably exhibited those

* The general sense in which the term, year, is to be understood, is that duration of time assigned to the revolution of a planet, which in the primeval ages, might have been designated by some planet, the revolution of which might require a much shorter period than that by which we measure our year.

peculiar qualities which have given to him a self preserving capacity, which distinguish him not only from the great mass of mankind, but from those, who, with him have passed the common boundary of life. From the general description of his person, which has already been given, it will be recollected that he is not at present distinguishable by the stooping attitude, grey hairs, gloomy reserve, melancholy dejection, and general decrepitude, which are the usual concomitants of age, when protracted to the period of eighty. And what is farther remarkable, the mobility and pliancy of his joints, especially those of his fingers, which are most visible, are not in the least stiffened by the usual shrinking of the muscles of the aged; neither does he exhibit any of that tremor, or palsied affection, which the debility and disorganization of the nervous system usually produces in very protracted periods of life.

In contemplating on the self preserving power of this venerable man, our admiration is farther excited, from the consideration, that he has had to encounter more than the ordinary ills of life. From a retrospective glance at the incidents which have marked his course, it will be recollected, that at the age of six years, his life was so far extinguished by drowning in Boston harbour, that it required a great effort to re-animate him. That soon after he had arrived at the age of manhood, he was

saved from a watery grave in the Atlantic, off the banks of Newfoundland, by his extraordinary agility, and the prompt application of his muscular strength, by means of which, he not only saved himself, but a fellow seaman, who clung to his heels while he was hauled by a rope, from the briney billows, into the vessel from which he had fallen. That some time about the commencement of our revolutionary war, he was hardly saved from the fatal effects of a seemingly mortal wound, inflicted on his head by a British custom-house officer in the streets of Boston. And that even after he had passed his 90th year, he was by an unfortunate casualty subjected to a severe wound, which so shockingly mangled the fleshy part of both his legs, that the cure of it was considered by his physician, as incompatible with that morbid and debilitated state of his system which was supposed to be an inevitable appendage of his great age. Neither could the speedy restoration of his health, from the effects of this wound be accounted for, but from the consideration that the general constituents of his nature, still retained the soundness and vigour of youth. It appears too, that he has not been exempt from his share of the ordinary diseases, which usually subject the human frame to decay and dissolution, in every period and condition of life; while he has had to encounter the evils, which must be the inevitable concomitants of an affec-

tionate and benevolent parent, whose means are inadequate to the wants of a numerous family of dependent children.

If the archives of the world, since the primeval ages, have produced any individuals whose physical and intellectual powers are as distinguishable for the preservative qualities of their nature, as are those of this extraordinary man, their number must be acknowledged to be very small.

It is therefore believed by the author of this memoir, that no apology should be expected, for presenting to public view, the life of a man which has not been marked with those incidents, that may be thought by many, to give biographic history its fascinations or its interest. Those who are most pleased with writings, which comprise only amusing fictions, or a perpetual succession of events, which surprise by their variety, without inspiring the virtue of patriotism, or ennobling the heart, will not be likely to seek for amusement or instruction, in the memoir of a useful and obscure citizen. Neither are we to expect them to preserve the character of our republic, from the ruins which have attended the destiny of others.

That trait in the national character, which would give to no other distinctions, claims on public attention, but such as are generated by the ambition of power and an

idolatrous homage, to those who may happen to possess it, has marked the progress of fallen republics. If Americans do not improve that national characteristic, it may mark the decline and ruin of ours.

Events from which great consequences follow, such as may effect the condition of the world should not be forgotten. New scenes are, however, constantly obliterating the recollections of the past, and incidents the most interesting to the destinies of the future, are too often consigned to oblivion. But we should remember that posterity will have to learn their destiny in the events of the present age, and to estimate the American character by reviewing the commencement of its progress. Hence, has proceeded the disposition of mankind to canonize the fame of their ancestors, or those of the preceding age, by emblems the most unfading.

In every age, and in every clime, monuments have been raised as durable incentives to imitate the illustrious deeds, which have marked certain spots by the happening of some great events, from which important results have been produced. And where can one be found more eventful in its consequences, to the present generation of the American people, and to their posterity, than that which was consecrated to the genius of liberty on the sixteenth day of December, 1773, by the noble daring of the band of heroes, that struck the blow,

whose sound echoed from citizen to citizen, and from colony to colony, until the proclamation of our independence greeted every American ear, and announced the commencement of a jubilee to freemen throughout the world.

But although the event, which should consign to immortal fame that memorable spot, may have been an efficient link in the great chain of causes, to which may be referred all the succeeding glories of our republic; though our philosophers and poets point to it as one great contingency, on which may have depended the present condition of our free institutions, the propitious results of which from them may be transmitted through all succeeding ages, yet no monument has been erected to attract the admiring gaze of the passing traveller and perpetuate its memorable achievement.

But there is yet at least one living emblem of the glory of that event, whose enduring nature seems to vie with the perpetuity of the sculptured marble; whose monumental record, it is hoped, may be one among the humble means destined to keep alive that spirit which was nurtured in the cradle of our liberties, and glowed in the breasts of our illustrious ancestors.

SKETCHES FROM HISTORY,

OR

VIEW OF THE TIMES IN 1773.

The revolutionary incidents which led to the destruction of the British tea in Boston Harbour, which have been mentioned in the preceeding pages, are principally from the relation of Hewes, one of the actors in that event.

A view of the times in seventeen hundred and seventy three, strikingly evince how circumstances, trivial in themselves, are in the order of human affairs, rendered indispensible links in the great chain of events, which connect the various fortunes, and control the destinies of nations.

Of those men who had lived a long time under the same government, and prospered by a mutual and friendly commercial intercourse, as had the British and American people, it could not be expected that they, or the citizens of any other countries, under similar circumstances, would fall to killing each other; that they would commence the work of lawless depredation and murder, without some powerful pretext. A quarrel

must precede, strong prejudices must first be excited, the angry and malignant passions must be first put in motion, to prepare men for the inhuman business of butchering each other, and of public robery.

Such passions and prejudices were engendered in a seres of dissentions between the British and Americans, relative to their respective political rights, previous to the revolution.

It will be recollected, that the British parliament a long time previous to the commencement of open hostilities between Great Britain and her American colonies, had claimed the right of taxing the latter, without their consent. Their determination to exercise such right, was announcd in positive and unequivocal terms, on the repeal of the famous stamp act, so obnoxious and repugnant to the views of the people of the then American colonies.

On the repeal of that law, it was resolved, "that parliament had, hath, and of right ought to have full power and authority, to bind the colonies and people of America, subject to the crown of Great Britian, in all cases whatsoever."

Against this claim the Americans unhesitatingly declared, opposition ought to be made.

After this resolution of parliament, in the month of November, 1766, a large transport ship, having on

board a detachment of H. M. royal train of artilery bound for Quebec, after making many attempts to get up the river, in vain, was obliged to put into Boston. The governor made provisions for them in pursuance of an act of parliament. On the 30th of January, 1767, the house of representatives begged to be informed, whether this had been done at the expense of the government; and on learning that it was, remonstrated in the strongest terms against the proceding, as an open violation of constitutional and charter rights. The governor referred the matter to the council, who advised him to submit it to the consideration of the house of representatives. They resolved that such provisions should be made for the British troops, as had been before usually made for his majesty's regular troops when occasionally in the province. The provision made by the governor, was by virtue of an act of Parliament called the mutiny act. The Bostonians were not willing that their violent and tumultuous proceedings occasioned by the usurpation of their rights, should at the will of the governor, be considered as acts of mutiny. They would not consent that their chief-magistrate should interpose, under any pretence, an authority, which virtually violated their constitutional and chartered rights.

This visit of British troops at Boston, although occa-

sioned by incidental circumstances, was an additional source of public agitation and excitement.

In July, 1767, the parliament of Great Britain, imposed duties on tea, glass and colours, imported from England into America; and by their act at the same session; suppressed the duties on tea that should be shipped from England for America, and impose a duty of three pence per pound upon their introduction into the American ports. In the preamble to these acts it was declared, that the produce of these duties should be applied to defray the expenses of the government in America. It was also enacted at the same time, that the British ministry might from this fund, grant stipends and salaries to the governors, and to the judges in the colonies, and determine the amount of the same; and as if purposely to irritate the minds of the Bostonians, by placing before their eyes the picture of the tax-gatherers to be employed in the collection of these duties, another act was passed, creating a permanent administration of the customs in America. And to crown the whole, as says the historian of those times, Boston was selected for the seat of this new establishment.

These measures of the British government, and her attempts to carry them into effect, greatly increased the agitation of the public mind, more especially of the citi-

zens of Boston, where it had already been wrought up to an extraordinary degree of excitement.

A town meeting was called, the first object of which was to take into consideration the expediency of adopting measures to promote economy, industry, and manufactures, thereby to prevent the unnecessary importation of European commodities.

At this meeting a form was presented by a committee appointed for that purpose, in which the signers agree to encourage the use and consumption of all articles manufactured in any of the British American colonies, and not to purchase after the 31st of the then next December, any of certain innumerated articles imported from abroad, and strictly to adhere to their late regulations respecting funerals, and not to use any gloves but what are manufactured here, nor procure any garments upon such occasions, but what should be absolutely nenessary.* Copies of their proceedings were directed to every town in the province, and all other principal towns in America, where they were generally approved and adopted.

These measures of the Boston town meeting, greatly encouraged the opposition to British taxation. It was with difficulty, that persons disorderly inclined could be restrained from deeds of violence.

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* Snow's Hist. Boston.

An occurrence took place the 10th of June of this year, which exemplifies the spirit of those times. Towards the evening of that day, the officers of the customs made a seizure of a sloop, belonging to, and lying at the wharf of John Hancock. The vessel was improved for the purpose of storing some barrels of oil, for which there was not room in the owner's store. One of the officers immediately made a signal to his majesty's ship Romney, Capt. Corner, then lying in the stream, upon which her boats were manned and armed, and made towards the wharf. The officers were advised by several gentlemen, not to move the sloop, as there would be no attempt by the owner to rescue her out of their hands. But regardless of their advice, her fast was cut away and she carried under the guns of the Romney. This provoked the people who were collected on the shore, the collector, (Harrison,) the comptroller, and collector's son, were roughly used and pelted with stones. The noise brought together a mixed multitude, who followed up to the comptroller's house, and broke some of his windows, but withdrew by the advice of some gentlemen who imterposed. They then went in search of the man-of-war boats, being joined by a party of sailors and vagrants, who were suspicious of an intention to impress them on board the ship. In their way they met the inspector, Irvine; him they attacked, broke his sword'

and tore his clothes, but by some assistance he escaped. No boat being ashore, between 8 and 9 o'clock, they went to one of the docks, and dragged out a large pleasure boat belonging to the collector. This they drew along the street with loud huzzaing all the way into the common, where they set fire to it and burnt it to ashes, also broke several windows in the houses of the collector and inspector-general, (Williams,) which were nigh the common.

On the first of August, 211 Boston merchants and traders agreed, that for one year from the last day of the present year, they would not send for or import, either on their own account or on commission, or purchase of any that may import any kind of merchandize from Great Britain, except coal, salt, and some articles necessary for the fisheries; nor import any tea, glass, paper or colours, until the acts imposing duties on those articles were repealed.

In the same month another difficulty occurred between some of the town people, and the crew of the Romney, in which the former gained their point, and compelled the man-of-war's men to quit the wharf, which they did in great fury; and soon after a large company celebrated the anniversary of the first opposition to the stamp act at the tree of liberty.

The spirit of opposition to the measures and the au-

thority of the British government, furnished Gen. Gage, who was commander of the military forces in North-America, with a sufficient pretence for sending a portion of regular troops into Boston. On the 30th of September, 1768, six of his majesty's ships of war, armed schooners, transports, &c. came up the harbour, and anchored round the town, their cannon loaded, and springs on their cables, as for a regular siege.

The next day a detachment of troops, and train of artillery with two pieces of cannon landed on the long wharf, then formed and marched with insolent parade, drums beating, fifes playing, and colours flying, up Kings-street, each soldier having received sixteen round of shot.

This was the first landing of British troops on our shores, for the purpose of intimidating, or coercing the Americans into submission to the system of taxation which they claimed a right to impose.

The council objected to provide quarters for the troops, contending that they were forbidden by law to quarter them in the town, while the barracks at the castle were not filled. They were, however, lodged in town, some in the town house, some in Faneuil hall, and some in stores at Griffin's wharf, and the town was thus afflicted with all the appearance and inconvenience of a garrisoned place.

It was about this time that the luxury of tea was first proscribed in Boston, when two hundred families in that town agreed to abstain entirely from the use of it by a certain day, the 6th of October then next following; other towns followed the example, and entered into similar agreements. The students of Harvard College were highly applauded, for resolving, with a spirit becoming Americans, to use no more of that pernicious herb; and a gentleman in that town, finding it in very little demand, shipped off a considerable quantity of the despised article.

Amusements, that would have been at other times innocent and congenial, were now foregone: especially if they were to be partaken with those who were held to be the instruments of despotism. Of this a striking example was exhibited the winter after the British troops arrived. Some of the crown officers, who thought the public gloom disloyal, circulated a proposal for a regular series of dancing assemblies with the insiduous design of engaging the higher classes in fashionable festivity, to falsify the assertions of the prevailing distresss, and also to undermine the sterne reserve, that was maintained toward the army, and thereby allay the indignation against the system they were sent to enforce, but out of the contracted limits of their own circle, they could not obtain the presence of any ladies. Elegant manners,

gay uniforms, animating bands of music, the natural impulse of youth, all were resisted; the women of Boston refused to join in ostentatious gaiety while their country was in mourning.* This artifice of the British officers, designed to weaken the energies of the opposition, to what they intended eventually to effect by force, was too well understood by the ladies of Boston to have the desired success. They exhibited in this instance of self-denial, the same spirit which had induced them to dash from their lips the poisonous herb, when the use of it was in any way to compete with the rights of their country, the same spirit which ever after lighted the path, and gave an impulse to our armies in their victory, and independence.

The town of Boston at this crisis, was in a situation nearly similar to that of actual war, and no occasion was neglected either by the British or Bostonians, to engender a state of open hostilities.

It will be recollected, that in a preceding page, it has been related by Hewes, that a boy by the name of Snider was killed by one Richardson, who it appears had acquired the appellation of informer. This event was a fruitful source of excitement against the British government, and as such was improved by the Bostonians.

This innocent lad was announced as the first whose

* Snow's Hist. Boston, p. 43.

life had been a victim to the cruelty and rage of the oppressor.

All the friends of liberty were invited to attend his funeral. Young as he was, it was said he died in his country's cause, by the hand of one directed by others, who could not bear to see the enemies of America, made the ridicule of boys. The little corpse was set down under the tree of liberty, from which the procession began. The coffin bore inscriptions appropriate to the times; on the foot 'latet anguis in herba;' on each side, 'Haeret lateri lethalis arundo;' and on the head, 'innocentia nusquam tuta.' Four or five hundred school boys, in couples, preceded the corpse; six of the lads, play fellows, supported the pall, the relatives followed, and after them a train of 1300 inhabitants on foot, and thirty chariots and chaises, closed the procession. A more imposing spectacle, or one better adapted to produce a lasting impression on the hearts of the beholders, can hardly be conceived.

The morning papers, which told of this transaction, gave also several accounts of quarrels between the soldiers and some of the citizens. Such was the state of the public mind, that the officers were apprehensive of difficulties, and were particularly active to get all their men into their barracks before night.

As a measure of precaution, there was a sentinel sta-

tioned in an ally, (then called Boyleston ally,) and this circumstance was one that led to the quarrel, which terminated in the Boston massacre, related by Hewes.* Three or four young men who were disposed to go through the ally about nine o'clock, observed the sentinel brandishing his sword against the walls, and striking fire for his own amusement. They were challenged, but persisted in their attempt, one of them received a slight wound upon his head. The bustle of this rencontre drew together great numbers, who were passing the ally, and a considerable number collected in Docksquare, attempted to force their way to the barracks. As the party dispersed from Docksquare, they ran in different directions; a part of them ran to the custom house, before which stood the sentinel, who being terrified, ran to the steps of the house and alarmed the inmates, by three or four powerful knocks at the door. Captain Preston was sent for to defend the officers, and disperse the citizens, who were there collected in great numbers. When Captain Preston came with his guard, the Boston massacre, as it has been called, was the result. The author of this little volume has not been able to discover among the historians of those times, any uniform accounts of the various incidents, relating

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* See page 28, 29, &c.

to the events, which led to the American revolution. And it is here worthy of remark, that different historians of the same events, are seldom found, to discover all the circumstances which relate to them.

The historian must necessarily derive the materials for his work from various sources, and often from persons, the correctness of whose relations, will depend perhaps on the different degrees of their integrity, and of their strength of memory. He therefore must be very fortunate in his investigations, who does not fail of learning many things, relating to the subject of his inquiries.

Besides, he who happens to be the second historian of the same events, either through a false ambition, to avoid the imputation of plagiarism, or to gain currency for his work; by the novelty of its materials, may, in his ambition to give it popularity, deteriorate from the correctness of its history. And even among those whose knowledge of past events, may be equal, some may differ in their views, respecting what might be considered the most judicious selection of materials, while others, through the influence of prejudice, or interest, or passion, are liable to give to their narration of events, a false colouring.

In times of great political excitement in populous cities, various reports respecting its origin and progress

are found to prevail, according to the diversity of circumstances, which may come to the knowledge of different individuals, or to the various prejudices, by which the conduct of those who mingle in such scenes may be governed. The different exciting causes of agitation, and the numbers which are often convened, in different groups and localities, render it often difficult, perhaps impossible, in a high state of excitement, for any individual to acquire a correct knowledge of all the facts relating to such scenes. Of the correctness of this view of popular excitements, those who have witnessed them in our large cities, at the present time, can bear testimony. In sketching the biography of an individual, who has been an actor in scenes of violent excitement, we must expect to confine our narration to the account of his personal knowledge. From these views of information, to be derived from the past, and from the unimpeachable integrity of Hewes, his account of the incidents, relating to the part assigned to him, in the scenes of the revolution, has claims to our entire confidence.

It was fortunate for the American people, that the principal causes which led to the violent excitement in Boston, previous to their revolutionary struggle, were by them at that time, so well understood. Neither has

the time yet past, when they may make a wise use of the lessons of instruction which they furnish.

There ever has been, and it is to be apprehended, ever will be certain periods in the course of human events, when the affairs of civil government excite an extraordinary interest in the public mind.

Such was the condition of the British American colonies during the term of five or six years, next preceding the commencement of the war of the revolution in America.

The assumption of power, by the British Parliament, was considered by the great mass of the American people, as opposed to every just view of political right.

It was not on account of the intolerable burden of any tea which the British government had imposed, but against the justice of the claim, they would maintain, to the right of taxing the American colonies in all cases whatever, that the opposition of the Americans was directed.

Although the people of some of the colonies had consented to accept of the British parliament, charters of incorporation, as the basis of the constitution and laws, by which they had administered the affairs of their civil government, and others had permitted their chief magistrate to derive his power and prerogatives from the same source, they did not consider that this by any con-

struction, could be an implied abandonment of their own natural right, to make and establish their own forms of government, independent of any foreign aid, or, the interposition of any other power. Neither did they believe, that because their ancestors in the first or second degree of affinity, had been subjects of the British government, this circumstance would give to that government the right to tax the descendants of such ancestors in all cases whatever, and to the end of time.

It was therefore believed there was at that time just cause of excitement on the part of the Americans, and every indication of the intention of the British Parliament to coerce obedience to their measures, discoverable by the citizens of Boston, was sure to be met with the most resolute opposition; in the progress of which, acts of lawless violence were continually occurring, which it was difficult, if not impossible to restrain.

While the inhabitants of Boston and the British colonies were thus exquisitively sensible to whatever they deemed hostile to their rights, resenting with equal indignation the most trivial as the most serious attack; a resolution was taken in England, which if executed, would have given the victory to the government, and reduced the Americans to the condition to which they had such an extreme repugnance.

Their obstinacy in refusing to pay the duty on tea,

rendered the smuggling of it an object, and was frequently practiced, and their resolutions against using it, although observed by many with little fidelity, had greatly diminished the importation into the colonies of this commodity. Meanwhile an immense quantity of it was accumulated in the warehouses of the East India Company in England. This company petitioned the king to surpress the duty of three pence per pound upon its introduction into America, and to continue the six pence upon its exportation from the ports of England; such a measure would have given the government an advantage of three pence per pound, and relieved the Americans from a law they abhorred. But the government would not consent, as they were more solicitous about the right than the measure.

The company, however, received permission to transport tea, free of all duty, from Great Britain to America, and to introduce it there on paying a duty of three pence.

Hence it was no longer the small vessels of private merchants, who went to vend tea for their own account in the ports of the colonies, but, on the contrary, ships of an enormous burthen, that transported immense quantities of this commodity, which, by the aid of the public authority, might, as they supposed, easily be landed, and amassed in suitable magazines. Accordingly the

company sent to its agents at Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia, six hundred chests of tea, and a proportionate number to Charleston, and other maritime cities of the American continent. The colonies were now arrived at the decisive moment when they must cast the dye, and determine their course in regard to parliamentary taxes.

For, as has been observed in a preceding page, if the tea was permitted to be landed, it would be sold and the duty consequently must have been paid. It was therefore resolved to exert every effort to prevent the landing.

Even in England individuals were not wanting, who fanned this fire; some from a desire to baffle the government, others from motives of private interest, says the historian of that event, and jealousy at the opportunity offered the East India Company, to make immense profits to their prejudice.

These opposers of the measure in England wrote therefore to America, encouraging a strenuous resistance. They represented to the colonists that this would prove their last trial, and that if they should triumph now, their liberty was secured forever; but if they should yield, they must bow their necks to the yoke of slavery. The materials were so prepared and disposed that they could easily kindle.

At Philadelphia, those to whom the teas of the com-

pany were intended to be consigned, were induced by persuasion, or constrained by menaces, to promise, on no terms, to accept the proffered consignment.

At New-York, Captain Sears and McDougal, daring and enterprising men, effected a concert of will, between the smugglers, the merchants, and the sons of liberty.

Pamphlets suited to the conjuncture, were daily distributed, and nothing was left unattempted by popular leaders, to obtain their purpose.

The factors of the company were obliged to resign their agency, and return to England. In Boston the general voice declared the time was come to face the storm. Why do we wait? they exclaimed; soon or late we must engage in conflict with England. Hundreds of years may roll away before the ministers can have perpetrated as many violations of our rights, as they have committed within a few years. The opposition is formed; it is general; it remains for us to seize the occasion. The more we delay the more strength is acquired by the ministers. Now is the time to prove our courage, or be disgraced with our brethren of the other colonies, who have their eyes fixed upon us, and will be prompt in their succour if we show ourselves faithful and firm.

This was the voice of the Bostonians in 1771. The factors who were to be the consignees of the tea, were

urged to renounce their agency, but they refused, and took refuge in the fortress. A guard was placed on Griffin's wharf, near where the tea ships were moored. It was agreed that a strict watch should be kept; that if any insult should be offered, the bell should be immediately rung; and some persons always ready to bear intelligence of what might happen, to the neighbouring towns, and to call in the assistance of the country people.

On the 28th of November, 1773, the ship Dartmouth, with 112 chests arrived; and the next morning after, the following notice was widely circulated.

Friends, Brethren, Countrymen! That worst of plagues, the detested TEA, has arrived in this harbour. The hour of destruction, a manly opposition to the machinations of tyranny, stares you in the face. Every friend to his country, to himself, and to posterity, is now called upon to meet at Faneuil Hall, at nine o'clock, this day, (at which time the bells will ring,) to make a united and successful resistance to this last, worst, and most destructive measure of administration.

This notification brought together a vast concourse of the people of Boston and the neighbouring towns, at the time and place appointed. When it was resolved that the tea should be returned to the place from whence it came at all events, and no duty paid thereon. The

arrival of other cargoes of tea soon after, increased the agitation of the public mind, already wrought up to a degree of desperation, and ready to break out into acts of violence, on every trivial occasion of offence. Things thus appeared to be hastening to a disastrous issue. The people from the country arrived in great numbers, the inhabitants of the town assembled. This assembly which was on the 16th of December, 1773, was the most numerous ever known, there being more than 2000 from the country present. Finding no measures were likely to be taken, either by the governor, or the commanders, or owners of the ships, to return their cargoes or prevent the landing of them, at 5 o'clock a vote was called for the dissolution of the meeting and obtained. But some of the more moderate and judicious members, fearing what might be the consequences, asked for a reconsideration of the vote, offering no other reason, than that they ought to do every thing in their power to send the tea back, according to their previous resolves. This, says the historian of that event, touched the pride of the assembly, and they agreed to remain together one hour.

In this conjuncture, Josiah Quiney, a man of great influence in the colony, of a vigorous and cultivated genius, and strenuously opposed to ministerial enterprises, wishing to apprise his fellow-citizens of the im-

portance of the crisis, and direct their attention to probable results which might follow, after demanding silence said, 'This ardour and this impetuosity, which are manifested within these walls, are not those that are requisite to conduct us to the object we have in view; these may cool, may abate, may vanish like a flittering shade. Quite other spirits, quite other efforts are essential to our salvation. Greatly will he deceive himself, who shall think, that with cries, with exclamations, with popular resolutions, we can hope to triumph in this conflict, and vanquish our inveterate foes. Their malignity is implacable, their thirst of vengeance insatiable. They have their allies, their accomplices, even in the midst of us,—even in the bosom of this innocent country; and who is ignorant of the power of those who have conspired our ruin? Who knows not their artifices? Imagine not therefore, that you can bring this controversy to a happy conclusion without the most strenuous, the most arduous, the most terrible conflict; consider attentively the difficulty of the enterprise, and the uncertainty of the issue. Reflict and ponder, even ponder well, before you embrace the measures, which are to involve this country in the most perilous enterprise the world has witnessed.'

The question was then immediately put, whether the landing of the tea should be opposed? and carried in

the affirmative unanimously. Rotch, to whom the cargo of tea had been consigned, was then requested to demand of the governor a permit to pass the castle. The latter answered haughtily, that for the honor of the laws, and from duty towards the king, he could not grant the permit, until the vessel was regularly cleared. A violent commotion immediately ensued; and it is related by one historian of that scene, that a person disguised after the manner of the Indians, who was in the gallery, shouted at this juncture, the cry of war; and that the meeting dissolved in the twinkling of an eye, and the multitude rushed in a mass to Griffin's wharf.

This address of Mr. Quincy on the subject of destroying the tea, was the last which was intended to inspire the courage of the citizens to embark in that mighty enterprise. He was the whig orator, who, it has been said by some historians, was exclaiming against all violent measures relating to the landing of the tea, when the meeting dissolved in great confusion, and the Indians in disguise, were seen making their way to Griffin's wharf, to board the British tea ships.

It might have been said by the personal friends of Mr. Quincy, who were opposed to the destruction of the tea, that his remarks were intended to check the disposition to that measure of which he doubtless had seen indications in the public mind. But if his speech

on this occasion, savored a little of equivocation, the peculiar crisis of the times, and a proper regard for his own safety, might well justify them. He doubtless contemplated the result which was expected to follow, and believed in the expediency and necessity of concealing from the knowledge of the world, those, who either encouraged or were to execute that project.

The execution of it, however, which immediately followed, took place not only in the presence of several ships of war, as has been related, but almost under the guns of the castle, where there was a large body of troops at the command of the commissioners; and well might the historian remark, we are left to conjuncture, even until the present time, for the reasons why no opposition was made to this bold adventure.

They who dared to engage in it, had the honour of a part in the act, which brought the king and parliament to a decision, that America must be subdued by force of arms.

This event, and the establishment of the American republic, which was the final result, has taught not only the people of the United States, but the world, that oppressed man possesses the power of becoming free; that a bold and hardy race like that which achieved our indepence, may by a long sense of abuses and usurpations, be roused from the lethargy of oppression, shake off

their fetters, fly to arms, vanquish their oppressors, and raise to liberty and to glory. But we have yet to learn whether the wisdom and the efforts of the American people, to perpetuate the blessings of liberty, will or will not be exhausted in vain. Although we have learned from the events of the past, that we have had courage to purchase liberty, we have yet to learn, whether we have the wisdom and virtue, without which its duration cannot be perpetuated.

By a glance at the event, the recollection of which this humble memoir is intended to revive in the mind, it will be seen that there is the same connexion between cause and effect in the political as in the natural and moral world. That a single event inconsiderable in itself, as it may appear in the progress of things, may occasion a succession of important events, which may change the condition of a whole nation, through al future times.

One ill-concerted project, one rash and injudicious act of usurped power, may inflict evils on community, which an act of wisdom cannot remove.

The claim of the British Parliament, to unlimited power, was engendered in the councils of lawless ambition. Such a power may be conferred by freemen on one or any number of those over whom it is to be exercised; but as no individual has a right to claim such

power, so neither has one independent nation a right to usurp the exercise of it over any other possessing the same right to its independence.

Great Britain had by a series of precedents, and usages, merged all the ingredients of what was entitled her civil constitution, in the legislative power of Parliament; to which one of her most eminent jurists has been pleased to ascribe the quality of omnipotence.

By an effort to exercise this power over the American colonies, she incurred the displeasure, and awoke into active opposition, the moral and physical energies of the American people. On the 16th day of December, 1773, a limitation was set to the progress of her usurpation.

By the ill-concerted project of taxing the American colonies, and the rash and injudicious attempts to execute it, Great Britain lost a dominion, which in the exercise of a just and constitutional power, she might have extended to the western ocean, and hailed as her loyal subjects, the countless millions which are to people one quarter of the globe.

But the time had arrived, when in the course of events, another trial of man's capacity for self-government was to commence.

Half a century has already rolled away, since we

have been progressing on the tide of successful experiment.

To prepare the way for the American people to finally triumph over the destinies which have heretofore decided the fate of republics, the actors on the political stage, in the turbulent scenes of 1773, did all that could be done for their country and for posterity, under the appalling circumstances which attended their condition at that time, it is astonishing that they could do so much. It belongs to the present generation, to so improve, if possible, what those who have gone before us have done, as to render the duration of our privileges perpetual.

Nothing can better secure to Americans, success in the experiment of self-government, which they are making, than to often take a retrospect of the past. A prospect of the scenes which are opening before us in America, is, in the prophetic language of one of our illustrious sires, 'like contemplating the heavens through the telescopes of Herschell: objects stupenduous in their magnitudes and motions, strike us from all quarters and fill us with amazement.' When we recollect that the wisdom or the folly, the virtue or the vice, the liberty or servitude, of those millions now beheld by us, only as Columbus saw these times in vision,* are certainly to be influenced, perhaps finally decided, by the manners,

* Barlow's vision of Columbus.

examples, principles, and political institutions of the present generation, that mind must be hardened into stone, that is not melted into reverence and awe. With such affecting scenes before his eyes, is there, can there be an American youth, indolent and incurious; unmindful of the past and regardless of the future; surrendered up to dissipation and frivolity; vain of imitating the loosest manner of countries which can never be made much better, or much worse? A profligate American youth must be profligate indeed, and richly merits the scorn of all mankind.

The laws which govern human actions and passions, have hitherto decided the progress and fate of republics. But although the natural tendency of the human disposition, has ever been the same, Americans may hope, by the wisdom of their national policy and education, so to improve their moral and political state, as to encourage anticipations of more permanency to free institutions, than has hitherto marked their course.

This object cannot be effected, by any efforts to improve the superstructure of our government, without a scrupulous regard to the principles on which it is based, and which are the bulwark of its defence.

If the first and fundamental principles of our republic, are impaired and disregarded, the superstructure will dwindle, and eventually crumble into ruins.

It is characteristic of the human disposition, to disregard the lessons of experience, and to direct the conduct by the impulses of the present moment. This trait in the character of man, might well have inspired the poetical effusion:—

> "Not one looks backward, onward still he goes,
> Yet ne'er looks forward further than his nose."

In the progress of great political revolutions, when the established order of things is to be subverted, and a new one erected on its ruins, the extreme exigencies of those whose efforts are to effect these great objects, impel them to invoke the aid of such as are most distinguished for their physical and intellectual energies, for their virtues and their wisdom.

Without inviduous comparisons, it will be conceded, that no assemblage of individuals of equal number, either in our own or any other country, has ever been found to contain a greater number, of those who were preeminently distinguished for such qualities, or whose capacities were so appropriately adapted to the transcendent work of achieveing our Independence, as those illustrious personages, to whom it was assigned.

If we would duly estimate our political condition, and preserve its privileges, we should often review the characters of those, by whose efforts it was acquired, that we may be thereby inspired by the influence of

their example, with incentives to imitate their deeds of glory. To evince the importance of this duty, and aid the American people, in the performance of it, events seem to have been so ordered, that an unusual number of the venerable veterans and sages from the front ranks of our revolutionary conflict, have been permitted to outride not only the storm of war, but the more fatal devastations of time, as the living monuments of their well earned fame, and to teach by their example, what moral, intellectual and physical endowments, had proved efficient, in wresting from the hand of oppression and of power, the fortunes of their country.

The last of those immortal patriots* whose names sealed the resolution of our Independence, and proclaimed it to the world, has but recently disappeared from the drama of human life; and the last survivor of those, who with the tomahawk and club, vetoed the unconstitutional and usurped power of the British Parliament, sixty years ago, yet lives, and exhibits to our view a bold and manly visage, of which an imperfect sketch is portrayed in the frontispiece of this little volume, which may well inspire our veneration and respect, for the vigor, the integrity and the intelligence of the mind to which it is an appropriate index. When he shall be called to yield the extraordinary vigor of

* Charles Carroll, of Baltimore.

his nature, as he soon must, and mingle his with the consecrated ashes of the martyrs and sages of the revolution, it is hoped the same spirit of liberty which inspired them, may Phœnix like arise, and find in this section of the globe an interminable existence.

The same principles which dissolved the American colonies, from their allegience to the British government, will, so long as we continue to revere and regard them, preserve and defend our republics, but no longer.

We did not believe that freemen should be subjected to a power undeligated by them,—unlimited and undefined by any civil constitution. It must indeed be an herculean task, to overcome the influence of this principle, on the conduct of American freemen. How far that influence may be enfeebled, by the corruption of manners, which a long and uninterrupted state of prosperity tends to produce; or from falling on times, with which, as the poet says, principles may change, must depend on the events of the future.

It is true, that the same sun that warms the earth, and decks the field with flowers, thaws out the serpent in his fen, and concocts his poison. So in the sunshine of great national prosperity, the greatest political evils may be engendered.

Amidst the conflicts of contending factions, of passion, of vice and error, the principles which conducted

us to an exalted place among the nations of the earth, may yet be assailed.

Should that time arrive, when, in the agitations of the public mind, we may be threatened with the same disasters which have heretofore befallen the republics which have gone before us, our civil constitution may still save us, provided we are influenced by the example, and animated by the spirit of the heroes who purchased it, and of the sages by whose wisdom and virtue it was formed and adopted. That spirit and that wisdom only can preserve it. That spirit which is designated by the degrading and odious name of party cannot save us; it is that which creates dissentions, and entails misery and ruin on republics; it is that which we have been told by our greatest political benefactor, that has in other times and countries, perpetrated the most horrid enormities, and is itself a frightful despotism. If we expect to be saved by our civil constitution, and secure for liberty an immortal existence, we must be inspired with that spirit which in the best days of Roman glory, could yield every thing to country, and identify with her, its own individual interest. We must be governed in our political conduct, by that spirit which is appropriately designated by no other, than the hallowed name of American; that spirit which inspired the desperate courage, and the exalted patriotism of the Boston tea party.

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APPENDIX.

That the reader might duly appreciate the importance of the event, which the preceding memoir is intended to revive in the recollection, it was proper to notice the causes which led to it, and to the separation of the American colonies, from the British Government. Among which the most prominent was that of their usurping rights not delegated by the people, nor defined by any civil constitution.

Our own civil constitution, formed and adopted by the representatives of the people, has been referred to, also, as the great palladium of our liberties.

There being considerable excitement in the public mind at this time, occasioned by a diversity of opinion, respecting the object and extent of the power, delegated by that instrument to the different departments of our government, I have thought it might give to this work in view of its patrons, an additional value, by comprising in it, the constitution of the United States. The propriety of appending this instrument will be further appreciated, by the consideration, that this instrument or form of our government, was the result, not only of the event which this memoir would commemorate, but of all the sacrifices and sufferings, to which the people of the United States were subjected, in their revolutionary contest.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WITH THE AMENDMENTS THERETO.

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare,

and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.

1. ALL legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

SECTION II.

1. The house of representatives shall be composed of members, chosen every second year, by the people of the several states; and the electors of each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representatives; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of *New-Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three—*Massachusetts* eight—*Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantations* one—*Connecticut* five—*New-York* six—*New-Jersey* four—*Pennsylvania* eight—*Delaware* one—*Maryland* six—*Virginia* ten—*North Carolina* five—*South Carolina* five—and *Georgia* three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

1. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments, until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

4. The vice-president of the United States, shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

5. The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

6. The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

3. The congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

2, Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two thirds expel a member,

3, Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question, shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal,

4, Neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the president of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated who shall enter the ob-

jections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill, shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the president of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the senate and house of representatives according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The congress shall have power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States:

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States:

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures:

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads:

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right of their respective writings and discoveries:

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court: To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:

10. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land or water.

11. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use, shall be for a longer term than two years:

12. To provide and maintain a navy:

13. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

14. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions:

15. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them, as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline presented by congress:

16. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock yards and other needful buildings:—And

17. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper, for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution, in the government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof.

SECTION IX.

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing may think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the year eighteen hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder, or ex post facto law shall be passed.

4. No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenus to the parts of one state over those of another;

nor shall vessels bound to or from one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

6. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law: and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money, shall be published from time to time.

7. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign state.

SECTION X.

1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation: grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attaindor, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

2. No state shall, without the consent of the congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imports laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the congress. No state shall without the consent of congress lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in a war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.

1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each state shall appoint in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of the electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose by ballot, one of them for president; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list, the said house shall, in like manner, choose the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation of each state having one vote. A quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors, shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall choose for them, by ballot, the vice-president.

4. The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president, and the congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

7. The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished

during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation.

9. "I do solemnly swear [or affirm] that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States."

SECTION II.

1. The president shall be the commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion in writing, of the principal officers in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of the respective officers; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present, concur: and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of the next session.

SECTION III.

1. He shall, from time to time, give to the congress, information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

1. The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States and the treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state and the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

1. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason,

unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on the confession in open court.

2. The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attained.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state, to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the congress may, by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings, shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

1. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

2. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

5. No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III.

1. New states may be admitted by the congress into this union ; but no new state shall be formed or created within the jurisdiction of any other state ; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislature of the states concerned as well as of the congress.

2. The congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations, respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States ; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SECTION IV.

1. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union, a republican form of government, and shall protect each

of them against invasion ; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

1. The congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress ; provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner effect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article ; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

2. This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land ; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby ; any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution ; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

1. The ratification of the convention of nine states, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our

Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America, the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President and deputy from Virginia.*

New-Hampshire.
John Langdon,
Nicholas Gilman.

Massachusetts.
Nathaniel Gorham,
Rufus King.

Connecticut.
William Samuel Johnson,
Roger Sherman.

New-York.
Alexander Hamilton.

New-Jersey.
William Livingston,
David Brearley,
William Patterson,
Jonathan Dayton.

Pennsylvania.
Benjamin Franklin,
Thomas Mifflin,
Robert Morris,
George Clymer,
Thomas Fitzsimons,
Jared Ingersoll,
James Wilson,
Governeur Morris.

Delaware.
George Reed,
Gunning Bedford, jun.
John Dickinson,
Richard Bassett,
Jacob Broom.

Maryland.
James M'Henry,
Daniel of St. Tho. Jenifer,
Daniel Carroll,

Virginia.
John Blair,
James Madison, jun.

North-Carolina.
William Blount,
Richard Dobbs Spaight,
Hugh Williamson.

South-Carolina.
John Rutledge,
Charles C. Pinkney,
Charles Pinkney,
Pierce Butler.

Georgia.
William Few,
Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary,*

IN CONVENTION.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17TH, 1787.

Resolved, That the preceding constitution be laid before the United States in congress assembled, and that it is the opinion of this convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification; and that each convention assenting to, and ratifying the same, should give notice thereof to the United States in congress assembled.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this convention, that as soon as the conventions of nine states shall have ratified this constitution, the United States in congress assembled, should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the states which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the electors should assemble to vote for the president, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this constitution. That after such publication, the electors should be appointed, and the senators and representatives elected. That the electors should meet on the day fixed for the elections of the president, and should transmit their votes, certified, signed, sealed and directed, as the constitution requires, to the secretary of the United States, in congress assembled; that the senators and representatives should convene at the time and place assigned; that the senators should appoint a president of the senate, for the sole purpose of receiving, opening, and counting the votes for president; and that after he shall be chosen, the congress, together with the president, should, without delay, proceed to execute this constitution.

By the unanimous order of the convention,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President*.

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary*.

IN CONVENTION.

SEPTEMBER, 17TH, 1787.

SIR:

1. We have now the honor to submit to the consideration of the United States in congress assembled, that constitution which has appeared to us the most advisable.

2. The friends of our country have long seen and desired, that the power of making war, peace and treaties; that of levying money and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities, should be fully and effectually vested in the general government of the Union; but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trusts to one body of men, is evident; hence results the necessity of a different organization.

3. It is obviously impracticable in the federal government of these states, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the safety of all. Individuals entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion, this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several states as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

4. In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each state in the convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the constitution which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity and that of mutual deference and concession, which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensible.

5. That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every state, is not, perhaps, to be expected; but each will doubtless consider, that had her interest alone been consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others; that it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe; that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish. With great respect, we have the honor to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient and humble servants.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President.*

By the unanimous order of the convention.

His excellency the President of Congress.

THE UNITED STATES,

IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

FRIDAY, SEPT. 28TH, 1787.

Present—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia; and from Maryland, Mr. Ross.

Congress having received the report of the convention lately assembled in Philadelphia:

Resolved, unanimously, That the said report, with the resolutions and letter accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several legislatures, in order to submit to a convention of delegates, chosen in each state by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the convention, made and provided in that case.

CHARLES THOMPSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS.

ARTICLE I.

CONGRESS shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact, tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the constitution, of certain rights, shall

not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.

1 The electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for president and vice president, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as president, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice president; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, or the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate; the president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from three on the list of those voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote: a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the house of representatives shall not choose a president whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president.

2. The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president, shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person

have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the senate shall choose the vice-president: a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3. But no person constitutionally inelligible to the office of president shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

If any citizen of the United States, shall accept, claim, receive or retain, any title of nobility or honor, or shall without the concent of congress, accept and retain any present, pension, office or emolument, whatever, from any Emperor, King, Prince, or foreign power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under them, or either of them.

NOTE.

☞The ten first amendments were proposed, by the two houses of congress, to the several states, at the first session of the first congress.

The eleventh amendment was proposed by the two houses of congress, to the several states, at the first session of the third congress.

The twelfth amendment was proposed, by the two houses of congress to the several states, at the first session of the eighth congress.

The thirteenth amendment was proposed by the two houses of congress, to the several states, at the second session of the eleventh congress.

ERRATA.

Page.	Line.
11	2 from bottom, led for lead.
19	10 from top, sought for taught.
27	27 from bottom, read led for lead.
75	10 from top, read joined for gained.
76	10 from top read others for other.
109	first line, read caucus for cause.
113	4 from top, read his for as his.
119	4 from bottom, for survive read survived.
150	12 from bottom, for tea read tax.
151	7 from top, for would read could.
93	9 from top, for profession read possession.
146	10 from top, latet anguis in herba; a snake lies hid in the grass.
146	11 from top, Haeret lateri lethalis arundo; the deadly arrow sticks by the side.
146	12 from top, Innocentia nusquam tuta; innocence is never safe

ER