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The Papers of Francis Bernard  
Governor of Colonial Massachusetts, 1760-69



VOLUME 1: 1759-1763



*Sir Francis Bernard. By permission of Robert Spencer Bernard. Photograph by Charles Crisp, A.B.I.P.P.*

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EDITED BY COLIN NICOLSON

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The Papers of Francis Bernard  
Governor of Colonial Massachusetts, 1760-69



VOLUME 1: 1759-1763

Research Assistant  
Stuart Salmon

DEDICATION



*To Catherine, Catriona, and Kristen*

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## A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

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The *Bernard Papers* project commenced in February 2000 as my writing of *The 'Infamous Governer': Francis Bernard and the Origins of the American Revolution* drew to a close. The project's origins lie partly in my own conviction that historians ought to do more to publish their sources, but more to the vision of John Tyler, publications editor of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts and editor of the *Select Correspondence of Thomas Hutchinson*. The project would not have been undertaken without his encouragement and would not have been possible without generous funding from the Society.

I am indebted to many others. First of all, I am delighted to thank John Catanzariti, former editor of the *Jefferson Papers*, who put aside his own projects in order to read a draft of this volume in its entirety; it is far, far better for his guidance and the detailed advice he kindly proffered, particularly concerning editorial method. Stephen Conway was another selfless reader whose comments enhanced the draft. Stuart Salmon proved an able and willing research assistant, adept at digitizing materials, fact-checking, and ferreting useful information, and who displayed commendable patience during double-proofreading procedures. My thanks also to Oron Joffe for helping me to develop an electronic file of source texts. Key support came from the University of Stirling's Faculty of Arts and Department of History by way of expensive equipment, sabbatical leave, and a reduced teaching load. Annabelle Hopkins and the late Marjory Clarkson ably assisted with the management of the project's finances. For advice on sources and editorial method I am grateful to Deborah Andrews, David Bebbington, Anne Decker Cecere, Owen Dudley Edwards, Jennifer Fauxsmith, Susan Halpert, James Lewis, Malcolm Freiberg, James Knowles, Robin Law, Margaret Newell, George Peden, Robert Spencer Bernard, Celeste Walker, Matthew Ward, and Conrad E. Wright. My colleagues Emma Macleod, Ben Marsh, Richard Oram, and Michael Rapport willingly gave their time to answer a host of questions. Photography was undertaken by Charles Crisp and Peter Hoare, graphic work by Laura Brown and Leanne Hogg, and the splendid book design by Jeanne Abboud.

I am conscious of my reliance upon the numerous librarians and archivists of the following North American repositories who responded gracefully and efficiently

to enquiries made in person and by correspondence: the American Antiquarian Society; the Boston Athenaeum; the Bostonian Society; Bowdoin College Museum of Art; Detroit Institute of Arts; the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts; the Fogg Art Museum; Harvard Archives; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the Hollis Library, Harvard University; the Houghton Library, Harvard University; the Library Company of Philadelphia; Maine Historical Society; Maine State Library; Maryland State Archives; Massachusetts Archives; Massachusetts Historical Society; the Morgan Library; the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the National Archives of Canada; the National Gallery of Art; New Brunswick Museum; the New England Historic Genealogical Society; the Centre for Newfoundland Studies; New Jersey Historical Society; New Jersey State Archives; New-York Historical Society; New York Public Library; Peabody Essex Museum; Princeton University Library; Proprietary House, Perth Amboy; Rosenbach Museum and Library; Rutgers University Library; the Smith College Museum of Art; the Smithsonian Institution; the Swett Library; the Library of Congress; University of Minnesota Libraries; University of Chicago Library; University of Virginia Library; the William L. Clements Library; Yale Center for British Art; Yale University Libraries.

My thanks also to the staff of several British repositories: Berkshire Record Office; the Bodleian Library; the British Library; Cardiff Central Library; the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies; Christ Church College, Oxford University; Dalkeith House; Derby Record Office; East Sussex Record Office; the House of Lords Library; Lambeth Palace Library; Leeds Public Libraries; the Lewis Walpole Library; Lichfield Record Office; Lincolnshire Archives; the Metropolitan Museum of Art; the National Archives: Public Record Office; the National Archives of Scotland; the National Gallery of Scotland; the National Library of Scotland; the National Maritime Museum; Oxfordshire Record Office; the Royal Artillery Institution; the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures & Commerce; Sheffield Archives; Staffordshire Record Office; Suffolk County Council Archives; West Yorkshire Archive Service. Information Services staff at the University of Stirling assisted the project throughout, especially Marilyn Scott and Andrew Monteith of the computing advisory team and Linda Cameron of the document delivery service.

Permission to publish edited transcripts from various manuscript collections is herewith acknowledged: the Massachusetts Archives Collection, courtesy of Massachusetts Archives; the private collections of Robert Spencer Bernard; the Cadwallader Colden Papers at the New-York Historical Society; the Dartmouth Papers courtesy of Staffordshire Record Office; Material Relating to America, 1754-1806, in the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures & Commerce; William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, for the Gage Papers; the Records of the Board of Overseers II, courtesy of Harvard Archives; the

Bernard Papers, Sparks MS 4 are reproduced by permission of Houghton Library, Harvard University. Transcript **No. 28** is reproduced courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

My last debts are the greatest: to my dear wife Catherine and my wonderful daughters, Catriona and Kristen, for their forbearance when the lives of historical others intrude upon the present.



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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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- Acts and Resolves*                      *The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1692-1776.* 21 Vols. Boston, 1896-1922.
- ADM 1/482                                  Papers of Admirals Colvill and Saunders, 1759-1766. Records of the Admiralty, Naval Forces, Royal Marines, Coastguard, and Related Bodies. ADM 1/482, PRO.
- American Papers,  
Dartmouth Papers                      American Papers, Dartmouth Papers. D(W)1778. Staffordshire Record Office.
- APC                                              W. L. Grant and James Munro, eds., *Acts of the Privy Council of England: Colonial Series, 1613-1783.* 6 Vols. Vols. 4-6. London, 1909-1912.
- Barrington-Bernard*                      Edward Channing and Archibald Cary Coolidge, eds., *The Barrington-Bernard Correspondence and Illustrative Matter, 1760-1770.* *Harvard Historical Studies Series.* Vol. 17. Cambridge, Mass., 1912.
- Boston Gazette*                              *Boston Gazette and Country Journal.*
- BP                                                Bernard Papers, 13 Vols. Sparks Papers, MS 4. Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- CO 5                                              Colonial Office Records, Colonial Office Series. The National Archives of the UK: Public Record Office, London.
- CO 5/7                                            Despatches and Misc.: Correspondence, Original-Secretary of State, 1755-1779. CO 5/7. PRO.

CO 5/19	Despatches, 1759-1760. CO 5/19. PRO.
CO 5/20	Despatches and Misc.: Correspondence, Original-Secretary of State, 1760-1761. CO 5/20. PRO.
CO 5/755	Original Correspondence of Secretary of State, 1761-1766. CO 5/755. PRO.
CO 5/850	Shipping Returns, 1752-1765. CO 5/850. PRO.
CO 5/851	Shipping Returns, 1756-1762. CO 5/851. PRO.
CO 5/891	New England, Original Correspondence of Board of Trade, 1760-1766. CO 5/891. PRO.
CO 5/897	New England, Draft Correspondence of Board of Trade, 1731-1774. CO 5/897. PRO.
CO 5/920	Instructions, Board of Trade Correspondence New England, 1760-1774. CO 5/920. PRO.
CO 5/998	Commissions, Instructions, Board of Trade Correspondence E, 1758-1760. CO 5/998. PRO.
Colden Papers	Cadwallader Colden Papers, 1677-1832. New-York Historical Society.
<i>DNB</i>	Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., <i>The Dictionary of National Biography</i> . 22 Vols. London, 1964.
FB	Francis Bernard.
Gage	Gage Papers. William L. Clements Library.
Hutchinson, <i>History of Massachusetts</i>	Thomas Hutchinson, <i>The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay</i> 3 vols. (1764, 1767, 1828: Cambridge, Mass., 1936), ed. Lawrence Shaw Mayo.
<i>JBT</i>	<i>Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations</i> . 14 Vols. London, 1920-1938.

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JHRM	<i>The Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, 1715-1776.</i> 55 Vols. Boston, 1919-1990.
King's	Official Transcripts of Reports (In-Letters) on the State of the British Colonies in North America and the West Indies. King's Manuscripts, King's, 205-206. The British Library
Labaree, <i>Royal Instructions</i>	Leonard Woods Labaree, ed., <i>Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670-1776.</i> 2 Vols. London, 1935.
Mass. Archs.	Massachusetts Archives Collection, Records, 1629-1799. 328 Vols. SC1-45x. Massachusetts Archives.
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society.
MP	Member of Parliament.
NAS	The National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh.
ODNB- <i>e</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online.</i> London, 2004-2006, <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com">http://www.oxforddnb.com</a> .
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary Online.</i> London 2004-2006, <a href="http://dictionary.oed.com">http://dictionary.oed.com</a> .
PRO	The National Archives of the UK: Public Record Office, London.
PROB 11	Will Registers, Probate Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. PROB 11. PRO.
Prov. Sec. Letterbooks	Province Secretary's Letterbooks, 1755-74, Secretary's Letterbooks, 1701-1872. 4 Vols., SC1-117x. [Vols. 1, 2, 2A, & 3]. Massachusetts Archives.
RSA	The Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures & Commerce, London.

- Select Letters* [Francis Bernard], *Select Letters on the Trade and Government of America; and the Principles of Law and Polity, Applied to the American Colonies Written by Governor Bernard in the Years 1763, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8*. London, 1774.
- Spencer Bernard Papers Spencer Bernard Papers. D/SB. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, Aylesbury, Eng.
- WMQ *The William and Mary Quarterly: A Magazine of Early American History and Culture*, 3d ser.
- WO 34/26 Letters from Governors of Massachusetts, Jan. 1760-Oct. 1763. Amherst Papers/Official Correspondence of Commander in Chief, 1760-1763. War Office Records. WO 34/26. PRO
- WO 34/27 Letters to Governors of Massachusetts, Aug. 1756-Oct. 1763. Amherst Papers/Official Correspondence of Commander in Chief, 1756-1763. WO 34/27. PRO.

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# INTRODUCTION

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**T**he *Bernard Papers* is a comprehensive selection of the correspondence and other papers of Sir Francis Bernard (1712-79), governor of colonial Massachusetts between 1760 and 1769. This volume is the first of a projected three volumes of edited transcripts concerning his administration in Massachusetts and will be followed by a calendar of documents covering his life and career. The project aims to address a lacuna in published documentary resources pertaining to Massachusetts on the eve of the American Revolution.<sup>1</sup> The erratic publication of colonial records may not have appreciably hindered scholarship on this period yet comparative studies of colonial government during the imperial crisis remain logistically awkward and very expensive for scholars conducting transatlantic research. Massachusetts is a case in point: the province's legislative proceedings are available in series, but the vast majority of manuscripts generated by the provincial executive are not, including the governors' official correspondence.

Bernard's papers, which are held by repositories in both Great Britain and the United States, are a fecund resource, for his administration coincided with the onset of sustained opposition to British colonial policies. While much of Bernard's time was taken up by routine governmental matters rarely is the historical record he bequeathed ever mundane. His correspondence discusses, *inter alia*, the dissipation of the good feelings in Massachusetts that heralded victory over the French in 1763, long-running disputes with the provincial legislature over Crown requisitions, and the emergence of colonial radicalism in 1765. Bernard's letters home were a major source of information for British policymakers, particularly with regard to the decision to send regular soldiers to Boston in 1768 to quell riots and protests.<sup>2</sup> While historians have rarely failed to read Bernard's letters uncritically, often they have worked with a limited range of materials: his unpublished letter-books mainly (these are described below), some contemporary editions of official letters,<sup>3</sup> and a reliable edition of his private correspondence with Lord Barrington.<sup>4</sup> These account for a fraction of the available sources.

The project has collected, catalogued, and imaged facsimiles of more than four thousand source texts. To date, items authored or authorized by Bernard include over five hundred holographs; over thirteen hundred scribal copies of letters; and

over four hundred and fifty printed versions of letters, speeches, and other official documents bearing his signature; there are also references to over four hundred non-extant letters. The largest single archival collection is the Bernard Papers in Sparks MS 4 at Houghton Library, Harvard University. The thirteen bound volumes contain over 1,680 documents: there are eight letterbooks of copies of private and official correspondence (vols. 1-8) that were largely maintained by clerks; three volumes of original in-letters and occasional autograph drafts (vols. 9-12), and one volume of royal instructions (vol. 13).<sup>5</sup>

The legibility of Bernard's letterbooks and their accessibility to New England-based scholars likely dissuaded anyone from editing the governor's official correspondence. Bernard's original letters to British ministers and officials are in the National Archives: Public Record Office, the main repository for British state papers. The Colonial Office Records (CO 5) and the War Office Records (WO 34) contain nearly six hundred unpublished letters and manuscripts, none of which are included in the only major serial of British state papers of the American Revolution.<sup>6</sup> The documents in CO 5 and WO 34 are well-preserved; while some pieces, such as CO 5/755, are torn at the edges, all are largely intact and in the same order as they were in the eighteenth century. In contrast, the Massachusetts Archives Collection in the State Archives (SC1-45x) was reorganized by subject in the nineteenth century. This particular collection, spread over 328 volumes, contains hundreds of official documents generated by Bernard's administration, including some correspondence; many are fragile and the microfilm copies are difficult to read.<sup>7</sup> Bernard's papers can also be found elsewhere—in the Massachusetts Historical Society and in English local archives, particularly the Centre for Buckingham Studies and the Lincolnshire Archives; and among the papers of correspondents like Thomas Hutchinson<sup>8</sup> or third parties, including British ministers, who received copies of his letters.<sup>9</sup>

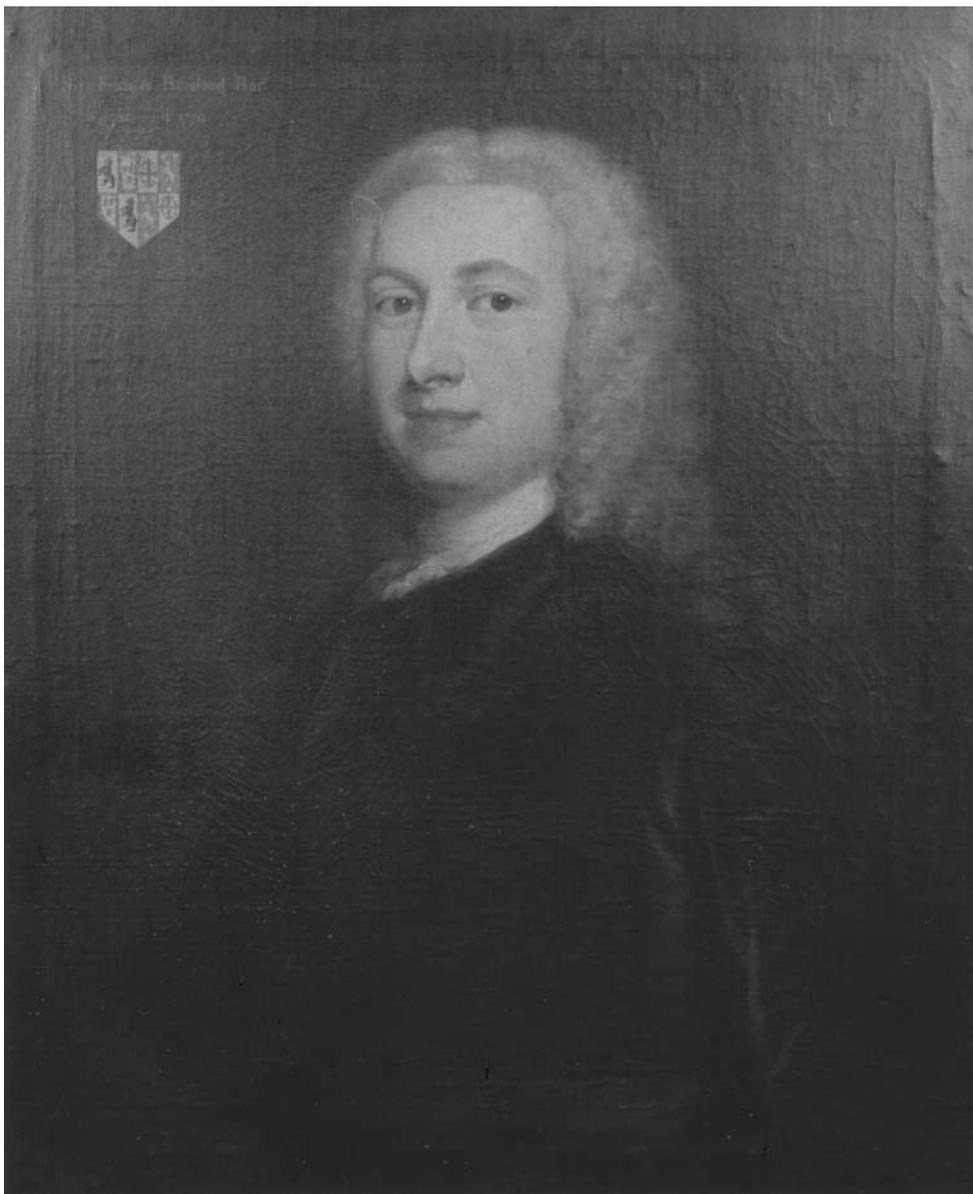
It is not practical or feasible to publish transcripts of all of Bernard's correspondence, and in selecting items for publication priority has been given to his official letters dealing with colonial government and imperial administration. Most of Bernard's 175 correspondents were acting in an official or semi-official capacity, but precedence has been accorded his communications with the Board of Trade, the secretary of state, and the commander-in-chief of British forces in North America. Throughout, I have tried to present Bernard's correspondence as a dialogue. The volume of correspondence between Bernard and General Amherst, however, necessitated a further round of pruning; items that have not been transcribed, Amherst's out-letters in the main, are occasionally quoted in the source notes and endnotes. The transcripts published here deal mainly with government affairs, but passages wherein Bernard discusses family or personal affairs have not been excised for they are integral to the dialogue. Some previously published material, and maps and

enclosures to which Bernard refers in his letters, are included in this and later volumes, but legislative proceedings, warrants, certificates, accounts, proclamations, and record book entries have been omitted. All transcripts have been allocated a number **in bold**. The source notes and endnotes contain cross-references to transcripts together with references to and occasional extracts from unpublished letters. There is also a back-of-book list to this volume of all extant outgoing and incoming correspondence pertinent to the first three years of his administration in Massachusetts (**Appendix 3**).

Francis Bernard was born in the parish of Brightwell, Berkshire, in June or July 1712, the only child of the rector, the Rev. Francis Bernard, and his much younger wife, Margery Winlowe of Lewknor, the daughter of an Oxfordshire squire. Francis's childhood was punctured by tragedy: his father died before he was three years old, and shortly thereafter his mother, Margery, married the incoming rector, the Rev. Anthony Alsop, a noted Latin scholar and Tory; tragically she succumbed to the smallpox just three years later. The trauma and the disruption young Francis indubitably endured were alleviated by Alsop's attentiveness and the ministrations of Francis's maternal aunt Sarah Terry and her husband, Moses, a lawyer, who raised him at their home in the ancient market town of Lincoln.

Bernard's prospects were not impressive, however. The Rev. Bernard possessed modest estates, which he had acquired upon marriage, that were already mortgaged by his wife Margery; all he could leave his son, Francis, was an annuity of £30, £50 on his sixteenth birthday, and the small rents of Margery's estates. Alsop did not add to his stepson's income, though he certainly fostered his education and entry both to Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford.<sup>10</sup> Francis Bernard duly sought a profession, as did many other sons of impecunious clerics. Instead of entering the church, however, he studied law at the Middle Temple and was admitted to the bar in 1737. He came to embody the nascent professionalism and acquisitiveness of England's growing band of skilled lawyers. He obtained several middle-ranking offices in the Church of England and local government, where he exercised his talents as an accountant, a procurator, and a judge.<sup>11</sup> While Bernard fully embraced the patronage of the local Whig elites, on which his advancement rested, his economic dependency likely strengthened feelings of insecurity.

A propitious marriage, however, brought domestic contentment and stability, and in due course opportunities for advancement beyond local administration. In December 1741, Bernard married Amelia Offley, the daughter of Stephen Offley, the squire of Norton Hall near Sheffield and the high sheriff of Derbyshire. Francis's marriage to Amelia did not bring him any property,<sup>12</sup> but instead ten healthy children and valuable political connections to the Shute Barringtons through Stephen Offley's second wife, Ann Shute. As far as can be ascertained, Francis and Amelia had a



*Francis Bernard, c.1741. This portrait was probably commissioned soon after his marriage to Amelia Offley. By permission of Robert Spencer Bernard. Photograph by Charles Crisp, A.B.I.P.P.*



*Amelia Bernard, c.1741. By permission of Robert Spencer Bernard. Photograph by Charles Crisp, A.B.I.P.P.*

loving and close relationship. They were rarely apart for more than two weeks at a time during their thirty-seven years of marriage, and consequently there is no surviving correspondence between them.<sup>13</sup> Nor do the Bernard family papers and estate papers proffer much material of relevance to Bernard's personal life: Bernard is rarely mentioned by his children in the Spencer Bernard Papers (D/SB) at the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies. The family home, Nether Winchendon House, Bucks., has several portraits of family members, some of which have been reproduced.<sup>14</sup>

By the mid-1750s—when Bernard was in his mid-forties with a large and growing family to support—his career aspirations were contingent upon the patronage of his wife's cousin William Wildman Barrington, the second viscount Barrington.<sup>15</sup> The *Barrington-Bernard Correspondence*<sup>16</sup> is a fount of information about family affairs and their patron-client relationship. Barrington provided Bernard with a conduit into the decision-making process in London, albeit one that the reality of British high politics determined would be opened and closed on a minister's whim. Through his connection with Prime Minister Thomas Pelham Holles, the duke of Newcastle, Barrington was able to obtain for Bernard the governorship of New Jersey. Bernard was appointed governor on 27 Jan. 1758, and he, his wife, and four of their children arrived at Perth Amboy in April.<sup>17</sup> For the most part, New Jersey was an enjoyable experience for the family, and Bernard's administration was generally successful in as much as it was characterized by an absence of bitter disputes between himself and the colonists or their assembly.<sup>18</sup> Bernard often mused that his prospects would be better in another colony, and news that he was to be offered Massachusetts after just eighteen months in post was a welcome surprise.

As Lord Barrington put it, the death of the governor of Jamaica occasioned a "general promotion" of the American governors (**No. 4**). Bernard was to replace his erstwhile Lincolnshire neighbor, Thomas Pownall, who was generally regarded as having had a very successful administration in the Bay colony.<sup>19</sup> On 27 Nov. 1759, the Privy Council approved the Board of Trade's draft commission for Bernard together with warrants requiring the king's signature for issuing a patent with the royal seal.<sup>20</sup> Two sets of instructions were normally issued to colonial governors: the first outlined his duties and responsibilities under the commission generally, while the other made detailed references to the trade laws. Bernard's instructions were considered by the Privy Council on 16 Jan. 1760, and signed and dated on 18 Mar. (**Appendices 1 and 2**).<sup>21</sup>

As might be expected, Bernard and his family's readjustment to their new life figures prominently in his correspondence. Bernard regretted having to leave the tranquility and fine climate of Perth Amboy (**No. 5**), and supposed that one day he might retire there. After a first extremely cold winter in Boston, the Bernards enjoyed summers spent in the refurbished apartments at the newly-rebuilt Castle William out in the harbor, where the children had more freedom to roam, but where

Bernard had a “narrow escape” in some unspecified incident (**No. 89**). When the General Court granted Bernard Mount Desert Island (**No. 91**) off the coast of Maine, in February 1762, he saw it as an opportunity to develop an American estate and permanent residence. Even so, he was careful not to lose touch with influential old friends such as Thomas Pownall (**No. 67**), Bishop William Warburton (**No. 50**), and the lawyer Randle Wilbraham (**Nos. 30** and **106**), whose assistance he might require if and when he returned to England. Bernard freely discussed his aspirations in his letters to Barrington (**No. 9** etc), but also—surprisingly—in those to British acquaintances such as William Bollan (**No. 22**) and Richard Jackson (**Nos. 167, 206, 220, and 228**). For sure, Barrington, Bollan, Jackson, and the Pownalls were, to varying degrees, potential champions of Bernard’s interests, but the candor that typified his correspondence may have stemmed from anxiety: that the goodwill of others was dependent upon them receiving detailed and regular reports. In the fullness of time, however, Bollan and Thomas Pownall, with good reason, turned against Bernard, and John Pownall—perhaps his most loyal friend—lectured him on political realities; even Barrington’s letters, dispatched from his fashionable home in Cavendish Square, London, often proved disappointing.

Frequently, Bernard’s ruminations disclose a gloomy disposition, probably because Massachusetts was failing to yield what he had hoped. With an annual salary of £1,500, payable by provincial grant, and the governor’s entitlement to a one-third share of prosecutions and fees, Bernard had supposed that he might be able to recoup some of the expenses he had incurred in acquiring his two commissions under George II. Unfortunately, the king’s death on 25 Oct. 1760 and the succession of George III entailed a further round of costs for a third commission that virtually wiped out his personal savings; a request for reimbursement was refused (**Nos. 22, 24, and 34**). Sources of income other than his provincial salary were hard to come by. The pursuit of smugglers, some of whom were well-to-do merchants, exposed the governor to accusations of avarice, while his share of seizures was jeopardized by the commissions to apprehend smugglers given Royal Navy officers on vessels cruising American waters (**Nos. 255 and 257**).

While Bernard fretted over the family finances he also worried about the three children who had remained in England (albeit in the capable hands of the Terrys and his cousin Jane Beresford). Bernard’s efforts to compensate for being an absent father were clumsy; attentive though he was to settling his sons’ career paths, the boys probably thought their father’s endeavors overbearing regardless how much they benefited. Bernard labored to reserve the Massachusetts Naval Office for his sons (**Nos. 32, 34, 65, 82, and 166**) and insisted that they join him in Boston. John was placed with a Boston merchant, where he learned the inner workings of the counting house, before opening his own business in the town (**Nos. 34 and 89**). Bernard also thought that Francis Jr. (or Frank) should be “settled in busi-

ness” after Oxford University, but the “interview” they had in Boston opened a rift between them: Frank ignored his father’s pleas to settle on a profession and took off for Philadelphia, from whence he ventured to the back country of Pennsylvania and Virginia (see **Nos. 168, 246, and 250**).

As royal governor, Bernard was both the province’s chief executive and the king’s representative, for which the extant documentation is extensive and comprehensive in its coverage. As chief executive, the governor was part of the General Court, along with the House of Representatives and the Council. He addressed in person and sent messages to the assembly of the House and Council during legislative sessions, and presided over the executive meetings of the Governor’s Council; he approved legislation, issued warrants and certificates, received petitions, and generally functioned as the head of a limited executive.<sup>22</sup> Province secretary Andrew Oliver<sup>23</sup> routinely forwarded state papers, including accounts and legislative proceedings, to the secretary of the Board of Trade, John Pownall,<sup>24</sup> upon which Bernard commented in his own letters (**Nos. 98, 109, 114, and 123**) and to which the Board responded (**Nos. 43 and 87**). The province secretary was also responsible for maintaining regular correspondence with the province agent, although Bernard frequently wrote to agents William Bollan<sup>25</sup> and Richard Jackson,<sup>26</sup> but rarely to Jasper Mauduit,<sup>27</sup> whom he regarded as a tool of his critics in the assembly (**Nos. 105 and 191**).

The Massachusetts royal governor was the king’s captain general and vice admiral and exercised by proxy Crown prerogatives in imperial administration. He was accountable in the first instance to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, known as the Board of Trade, from whom royal governors received an initial set of instructions supplemented by directives and occasional circulars from the secretary of state. The Board, established in 1696, had considerable influence on colonial policymaking, but never possessed full executive power and remained, strictly speaking, an advisory body to the secretary of state. It was the secretary of state for the Southern Department who was ultimately responsible for the execution of colonial policy, until the creation of the American Department in 1768.<sup>28</sup> Bernard was obliged to communicate regularly with the Board of Trade, reserving to the secretary of state only those matters requiring his “immediate direction” (**No. 214n2**).<sup>29</sup> (In 1766, however, in the wake of the Stamp Act crisis, the secretary of state assumed direct control of all channels of communication with the governors, who henceforth merely copied letters to the Board.<sup>30</sup>) In short, Bernard was expected to provide ministers and officials in London with regular and relevant reports on the state of the province and to ensure that all royal commissions were being obeyed.

There were three British administrations between 1759 and 1763: the Pitt-Newcastle ministry (29 Jun. 1757–26 May 1762),<sup>31</sup> which led Britain to victory

over France in the Seven Years War, the short-lived Bute ministry (27 May 1762–9 Apr. 1763),<sup>32</sup> which negotiated the peace treaty; and the Grenville ministry (16 Apr. 1763–10 Jul. 1765),<sup>33</sup> which instituted the reforms that would spark opposition in the American colonies. Bernard's correspondence touches upon these and other major issues. His letters to secretaries of state William Pitt and the earl of Egremont,<sup>34</sup> though formal in style, were never formulaic, and written with considerable confidence. Bernard was not shy to ask favors of Pitt for his sons (**No. 66**). His early declamation that Massachusetts merchants were not trading with the enemy proved an embarrassing mistake, however (**No. 18**); a desire to make amends could account for the zeal with which in subsequent letters to Pitt (**No. 75**) and Egremont (**No. 240**) he promised to enforce the trade laws. Bernard's relationship with the earl of Halifax, one of the most influential British colonial policymakers,<sup>35</sup> is not in itself of singular significance in this volume, but it laid the foundations for the transmission in 1764 of controversial ideas on the reform of colonial government and imperial administration.

More important at this juncture was Bernard's correspondence with John Pownall, of which there are thirty-two letters in this volume. Bernard wrote candidly to a knowledgeable and respected friend, and trusted Pownall's judgment implicitly. Pownall referred Bernard's letters and enclosures to Board meetings, where occasionally the details were discussed, as when provincial legislation raised points of law requiring advice from Sir Matthew Lamb, K.C.<sup>36</sup> Legally contentious items or letters raising policy issues were decided by the Privy Council,<sup>37</sup> such as when Bernard requested confirmation of provincial land grants (**Nos. 177** and **248**, and below).

Bernard's sanguine expectations for his new posting in part derived from his determination to make a name for himself as a conciliating governor above partisan politics (**Nos. 118, 122, and 123**). The roots of Bernard's nonpartisanship lie in English politics, where the Pitt-Newcastle ministry had embarked on a "broad bottom" and the young George III embraced "Britons" without the distinction of party labels. Inevitably, however, Bernard's emulatory agenda was compromised by the exigencies of wartime and the practicalities of provincial politics. While Bernard was often later criticized for lacking guile and acumen, he was no stranger to political management and intrigue.

In the coming years, Bernard benefited from the advice of Thomas Hutchinson, his long-serving deputy and eventual successor. Unfortunately, he never did explain why he promised Hutchinson the chief justice's office (**No. 19**), thereby alienating the Otis family, but the appointment indubitably ensured Hutchinson's loyalty. There is no surviving correspondence between Bernard and Hutchinson for the period covered by this volume, save one minor letter, but Bernard undoubtedly trusted Hutchinson's advice on politics, public finance, and a host of other matters. He evidently read a draft of the first volume of Hutchinson's *History of*



*Thomas Hutchinson. Oil on canvas by Edward Truman, 1741.  
Massachusetts Historical Society. Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.*

*Massachusetts*, published in 1764 (see **Nos. 216** and **234**). The two men were probably wary of each other at first. They subsequently disagreed on many issues, not least of which were the reform of colonial government and the Anglicization of colonial law—both firmly advocated by Bernard. Understanding how their relationship developed is integral to understanding how their respective administrations fashioned responses to the imperial crisis.<sup>38</sup>

With Hutchinson behind him, Bernard thought his prospects for an “easy administration” augured well. It was not to be, of course. Bernard’s *bête noire*, James Otis Jr., appears often in the governor’s missives, in which he is portrayed as a resentful but highly effective and intelligent partisan dedicated to “the declared purpose of raising a flame in the government” (**No. 192**). (See also **Nos. 85, 186, 191, and 220**.) By the spring of 1762, Bernard convinced himself that it was rare for the assembly to engage in “free deliberation uninfluenced by any motives but a sense of their duty to his Majesty” (**No. 102**). Thereafter, Bernard’s letters are a vital source in following partisanship, for he began to enumerate internal divisions in both houses (**No. 191**), a practice he continued for the remainder of his administration.

When Bernard shed his naiveté he cast a perceptive eye on his surroundings. His observations on the differences in judicial procedure between the colonies and England are still informative (**No. 175**). One lengthy report for the Board of Trade, compiled after three years residence in Massachusetts, also contains valuable information on the law, meteorology, geography, and demography. Those sections wherein he mentions how few families there were left among the indigenous Abenaki tribes of the Penobscot region was as much a surprise to him as it is today enlightening of the destructive consequences of cultural encounters on the frontier (**No. 234**). The Abenakis’ predicament stands in marked contrast to the Mashpees’ successful struggle for autonomy and the remarkable exploits of Rueben Coghew (**No. 45**). There are other nuggets too, such as the sympathy Bernard evinced for those lower-order Bostonians “least able to bear” the socio-economic consequences of the Great Fire of March 1760 (**No. 26**); another remark alludes to the rise in labor costs due to the labor shortage occasioned by the recruitment drive for the provincial and regular regiments (**No. 68**).

Bernard’s early successes owed much to the fact that his arrival in the colony coincided with a favorable turning point in the French and Indian War of 1754-63. A royal governor’s military responsibilities were restricted to the province in which he served, and in operational matters concerning the British Army he was subordinate to the commanders-in-chief of North American forces: Gen. Sir Jeffery Amherst, 1758-63, and Gen. Sir Thomas Gage, 1763-75. Bernard’s early letters describe the successful British campaign of 1760 to take Montréal (**Nos. 10, 12-14**). Transcript **No. 20** is Pitt’s notable circular to the colonial governors requesting further resources to finish the job. Bernard was already fully aware of how

much the province had contributed in terms of manpower and financial resources, and he was soon obliged to engage in often protracted, discomfiting negotiations with the assembly over Crown requisitions (**Nos. 35, 36, 41, 103**, etc.). While Amherst, as any general might, fretted over getting the provincials ready for battle, Bernard dwelt on the practical and political difficulties he encountered in trying to persuade the province to raise recruits for the provincial and regular regiments. Bounty jumping seems to have been a particular problem after the province was obliged to raise bounties in order to attract volunteers (**Nos. 56 and 92**). Bernard provides details of the mechanics of mustering the regiments (**Nos. 42, 72**, etc.) and notable cases of unsuitable recruits (**Nos. 27 and 149**). There is mention, too, of desertion and mutiny among the provincials stationed at Halifax, Nova Scotia, despondent as they were by Amherst's decision to extend their service and alarmed by the prospect of being sent to the West Indies, where few would have expected to survive beyond the six-month "seasoning" (**Nos. 15, 217, and 221**). Bernard was not unconcerned by his soldiers' welfare, as is indicated by his lack of enthusiasm for crushing the mutiny, his determination to prevent officers suttling to their own men at exorbitant prices (**Nos. 70 and 71**), and his enthusiasm for spruce beer as an alternative to contaminated water and strong rum (**No. 69**).

Bernard, however, was frustrated by Amherst's lack of understanding of colonial politics and economics. While both strove to root out abuses in the flag of truce trade with the French colonies (**Nos. 18, 47, 49, 112, and 115**), the governor was irritated by the general's initial inflexibility in enforcing an embargo on coastal trade that was damaging to the colonial merchants (**Nos. 107, 110, 111, 113, and 121**). Disagreements over seemingly peripheral matters—such as Amherst's reluctance to supply the province with certificates attesting to how many Massachusetts men served in the campaigns of 1758-60 (**No. 55**)—betray underlying concerns about the province's ability to service its war debts. While the American colonies had received parliamentary subsidies totaling £200,000 between 1758 and 1760, the subsidy for 1761 was reduced to £133,333. Eventually, Massachusetts was to incur the largest debt of all the colonies—nearly £500,000. The stabilization of the public finances probably would not have been achieved without the close cooperation of the assembly and the governor: both agreed on the necessity of sinking the debt by 1765, even though this required provincial taxes being raised to unprecedented levels and other special measures being adopted.<sup>39</sup>

As the war drew to a close, one worrisome episode was the French capture of St. John's, Newfoundland, in the summer of 1762, a diversionary action to British maneuvers in the West Indies. Leaving Brest on 8 May, a French expeditionary force comprising two ships of the line and two frigates, with over five hundred fusiliers on board, arrived at the Bay of Bulls on 23 Jun.; Fort William at St. John's was quickly captured, and on the 27th the French proceeded to burn British settle-

ments and disable some 460 ships of the fishing fleet—inflicting damage purportedly worth £1 million. Bernard was able to alert Vice-Admiral Sir George Pocock (**No. 135**), in charge of the British campaign against Havana (which the British took on 13 Aug. after a two-month siege). He also provides a valuable glimpse of what ordinary British soldiers thought of the surrender of Fort William (**No. 151**). The capture of St. John's sparked a short-lived "alarm" in Massachusetts: there may not have been any prospect of a French invasion—Bernard did not call the militia to arms—but the disruption to shipping, on top of the recent embargo, was deeply troubling (**No. 153**). In the event, Col. William Amherst, the general's brother, landed his force at Torbay on 13 Sept.; he encountered fierce resistance from the French for several days, but after taking the high ground in the battle of Signal Hill and bombarding Fort William, the French capitulated on 18 Sept.<sup>40</sup>

Military issues aside, Bernard's correspondence provides much documentation on the displacement of Nova Scotia's French-speaking population. Perhaps as many as 13,000 Acadians, or French Neutrals as they were known by New Englanders, were forcibly evacuated from Nova Scotia from 1755 onwards, in which business the Massachusetts regiments were given a leading role. The majority of Acadian refugees were Catholics and were relocated to other British colonies in North America, but 1,105 were sent to Massachusetts. The General Court made substantial provision to alleviate the Acadians' distress (£9,563 by 1763), with variable success, and distributed them throughout the province. The New Englanders' initial hostility, which was fuelled by anti-Catholicism and suspicions as to the Acadians' "neutrality," was soon diluted by genuine compassion and daily contact. Bernard supposed they would integrate with little difficulty, largely because they proved, ironically, to embody the Protestant work ethic (**No. 227**). Even so, there was little enthusiasm to establish a permanent settlement for the refugees or extend a welcome to the six hundred deported from Nova Scotia by Lt. Gov. Jonathan Belcher in August 1762 (see **Nos. 152, 155, 159, 160, 231, 233, and 235**). Eventually, the Acadians set out for France, as Bernard mentions, as well as England and Louisiana, while others managed to return to Nova Scotia; the destitution of the remaining Acadians led the Board of Trade to relocate them to Quebec in 1766 at the invitation of Gov. James Murray.

Another material consequence of the warfare and imperial diplomacy that ordained the Acadians' displacement was that Massachusetts and Nova Scotia were left to squabble over their boundary line, and the territory in between known as Sagadahoc. Massachusetts claimed the St. Croix River as the boundary whereas Nova Scotia set the boundary further west at the Penobscot River (**No. 154**). Bernard was an effective advocate of the province's claim, largely because of rather than in spite of his own interests in the matter (**Nos. 178, 201, and 216**). A royal instruction to the Nova Scotia governor Montague Wilmot in October 1763 estab-

lished the St. Croix rather than the Penobscot River as the western boundary of Nova Scotia, thus effectively quashing that province's claims to Sagadahoc. However, the confusion surrounding the identification of the St. Croix was not resolved, and the Crown delayed confirming any provincial grant in Sagadahoc.<sup>41</sup>

Bernard's lucid contribution to the boundary dispute was undoubtedly self-interested. The carrot dangled by the province was Mount Desert Island, for which Bernard was obliged to seek confirmation by the Crown. Bernard's initial optimism that confirmation would be straightforward bordered on arrogance, and the realization that his enjoyment of the island depended on Britain's recognition of Massachusetts's title to Sagadahoc was probably more painful than he admits. Moreover, Bernard was also obliged to assist the province to obtain Crown approval for twelve townships to be established on the Penobscot River (**Nos. 90, 172, 180, and 212**). By way of encouragement, on 12 Jun. 1762 the General Court commended Gov. Bernard for his attentiveness but also resolved to establish a joint boundary commission with Nova Scotia.<sup>42</sup> The township grants alarmed Lt. Gov. Belcher, who alerted the Board of Trade to the proposed commission, and in due course Bernard was censured for having consented to the grants and thereby inadvertently traducing Crown prerogatives to settle boundaries (**No. 181**). When the joint commission failed to meet, the General Court published in February 1763 the committee report setting forth Massachusetts's claims.<sup>43</sup>

Bernard was not blinded by his disappointment, and he also began thinking of ways and means to develop Mount Desert Island. He made three voyages to Mount Desert and the Penobscot coast: the journal of the first voyage 28 Sept.-15 Oct. 1762 is printed in full (**No. 161**); his second visit took place between c.15 Sept. and c.7 Oct. 1763; and the third between 27 Aug. and c.28 Sept. 1764. After surveying the land, Bernard was confident that in time he could establish a viable community of settlers from New England and Europe; they could make their living from lumber, fishing, and the production of hemp and potash, in which matters he sought expert assistance (**Nos. 176, 178, 179, and 232**). However, Bernard was unable to persuade the British to break the linkage between the provincial boundary disputes and any of the contested provincial land grants, including his own. As the British procrastinated over the Nova Scotia and Quebec boundary lines, the grants were referred back and forth between the Board of Trade and the Privy Council, until 1771, when they were finally confirmed.<sup>44</sup>

As a chief executive, Bernard did not fare at all badly in defending the province's interests, but his correspondence is also notable for what it reveals about growing opposition. Critics of the governor seemed to emerge from all quarters, even Harvard College, when Bernard toyed with the idea of chartering a new college in the west of the province. Bernard promptly withdrew his support for the scheme after protests by the Board of Overseers, though this likely cost him the goodwill and

loyalty of its most powerful champion, Col. Israel Williams (**Nos. 95, 97, and 98**). Bernard himself championed the “little Seminary” at Cambridge in a condescending fashion (**Nos. 130 and 133**), but his inattentiveness to the interests of the province’s Congregationalists—as well as his sense of cultural superiority—did not augur well. New Englanders, troubled by talk of the establishment of an American episcopate, thought that the governor’s staunch Anglicanism belied his claims to be above sectarianism; early in 1762 they set about engineering the replacement of the province agent William Bollan, an Anglican, with Jasper Mauduit, a Dissenter. Bernard could ill afford to remain aloof from the contest and duly strove to obtain the appointment of Richard Jackson, an Anglican, as Mauduit’s solicitor, even though it meant alienating Bollan (**Nos. 105, 106, 185, and 186**). Equally troublesome was the dispute between the Customhouse and an unmanageable officer, Benjamin Barons, on which Bernard commented upon at length. The suits brought against customs officers by Barons, the merchant John Erving, and the province treasurer, if successful, would have undermined the Customhouse’s ability to enforce the trade laws. On these and other issues, Bernard called upon the Crown to exert itself far more in defense of its imperial servants (see **Nos. 60, 62, 64, 67, 85, and 88**). It was advice that mostly fell on deaf ears, even when ministers began to consider how to increase colonial revenues—whether by raising duties or improving their collection, or by a combination of the two methods.

Hitherto, Bernard had been loath to criticize British colonial policy (**No. 75**). After the Barons affair, he seemed less reticent, perhaps because he was more attuned to the grumblings of the merchants. Bernard was obliged to supply Britain with key information about imports and exports of molasses (**No. 203**) prior to the renewal of the 1733 Molasses Act. The prospect of a hefty tax was “Very alarming” (**No. 229**), and would do nothing to discourage smuggling, he warned: like the Boston merchants, Bernard argued for a duty of between 1d and 1 ½ d per gallon in any prospective revenue act. He pressed the merchants’ case upon Jackson (**Nos. 229 and 245**) and also raised it directly with the Board of Trade (**No. 256**). His louche observation that customs officers normally turned a blind eye to contraband lemons, oil, and Madeira wine (**Nos. 240 and 241**) probably did not go down too well with officials in London—and certainly not with Surveyor General John Temple, who in 1764 pursued Bernard for corruption.

By the end of the period covered by this volume, Gov. Francis Bernard had adjusted to the vicissitudes of governing a fractious province like Massachusetts. Many of the disputes briefly discussed here have been examined by historians trying to figure out why it was that Massachusetts’s politics experienced upheaval in the decade that followed the peace of 1763.<sup>45</sup> Some answers may be found in Bernard’s correspondence. At the beginning of his administration, Bernard was able to embrace the ideal of rising above partisanship, only to find out that the gov-

ernance of empire was rather more difficult than he expected. When key groups, such as the merchants and the House of Representatives, started criticising British colonial policies, Bernard's abiding refrain was for them to be patient and wait for the peace. As he confided to Barrington, "the merchants here want redress in regard to several of the Laws of trade: but they don't use proper means nor take the proper time. I tell 'em again & again that they must wait for the conclusion of peace before they can ask the Ministry to set about civil regulations: and Assure them that at such time I will Assist them to the Utmost of my power" (**No. 89**). The colonists' response was no better than lukewarm, and might have been rather more hostile had they known that Bernard hoped to be involved in a British-led "general disquisition of the constitutions of the several Governments" (**No. 74**). Bernard himself began working on plans to reform colonial government, but reform of that nature was never attempted by subsequent British administrations; instead, ministers continued with their revenue-raising measures without ever properly addressing the colonists' grievances with the trade laws. A modernizing, centralist agenda and unfulfilled expectations on a grand scale are the fuel of colonial rebellions, and evidence for these abounds in Bernard's papers. In time, Bernard would lament a missed opportunity to avert a crisis in imperial relations, though whether such an opportunity ever really existed is quite another matter. Subsequent volumes will reveal much more about how Bernard's administration in Massachusetts struggled to cope with the emergence of colonial radicalism and the upsurge in popular protests.

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## EDITORIAL APPARATUS

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Editorial policy has aimed to preserve the integrity of manuscripts, printing them in full (except where noted) and depicting their content as accurately as possible with limited editorial intervention. To these ends, it is important to distinguish four processes in Bernard's epistolary record that have influenced editorial method.

The first is the mode of composition. His "way of doing the public business," Bernard noted, was "wholly by my own hands using my Secretaries in nothing but Copying" (**No. 167**). Bernard generally wrote his own out-letters, official as well as personal, in a clear and distinctive hand, making corrections to them before they were sealed and posted. He did not routinely work from loose-file drafts. When he did do so, for example in preparing a riposte to a censure by the Board of Trade (**Nos. 200** and **201**), he filed the annotated drafts (in BP, 10) and had his clerks enter fair versions in a letterbook (BP, 3); then, as he said in **No. 214**, he "authenticated" the out-going receiver's copy (**RC**) by comparing it with the letterbook entry (**LbC**). Bernard was a diligent rather than a prolific correspondent: there are 114 extant autograph out-letters for his first three and one half years in office, an average of one letter every eleven days.

The second process is the preservation of letterbook copies of out-letters. As Bernard mentions, he delegated this task to his secretaries, and in later years he engaged his son Thomas as an amanuensis and probably other family members too. Chirographical analysis of Bernard's letterbooks revealed that the 329 entries for the period 1 Aug. 1760 to 31 Dec. 1763 were produced by seven different hands. Bernard himself was responsible for around 14 percent of entries. One scribe, who copied only two letters before 1763, may have been Amelia Bernard, but the examination of the samples proved inconclusive. Two other scribal hands produced one letter each (clerks nos. 5 and 6). Unfortunately, the identities of the most important scribes—the secretaries whom Bernard employed—are not known. "Clerk no. 1," who copied 53 percent of entries, worked for Bernard in New Jersey and came with him to Boston. "Clerk no. 2" (16 percent) made frequent copies from May 1762 onwards and continued working until 1768. "Clerk no. 3" (9 percent), who

Sr.                      MON 25/2/97  
 The great Dispondency that Mr Gyloby's friends  
 are at present in regard to his Recovery, persuades  
 me to trouble you with this, at the same begging  
 that this Application may be no further made  
 publick than you shall think necessary.  
 I was above three years ago invited by Mr Gyloby  
 to come and settle at Lincoln, that I might be  
 ready e in the Way to be recommended by Him  
 to His Friends. This He assured me of also en-  
 gaged me in the Interests of those Persons, with  
 whom He had the Honour to be intimate.  
 But as It is probably this is at present not  
 so perfectly certified to all his friends as I  
 could wish, My Principal Reliance is on  
 those that, by having a more familiar Intimacy  
 with Him, were better acquainted with his  
 kind Intentions to me, e the confidence, He  
 was pleased to think, I deserved. Upon this  
 account I have taken the liberty thus early  
 to trouble you, hoping that you have such a  
 Knowledge of the good Opinion Mr Gyloby had  
 in me, e the Engagements He was pleased

Bernard holograph, 1741. The earliest known Bernard holograph, in MON 25/2/97.  
 By permission of Lincolnshire Archives.

favour me with, to his Friends, that you'll think  
me a Person not entirely unworthy of being  
recommended to your Brother My Lord.

As Mr. Lyby's Death will occasion a Vacancy  
in the City, I should be very proud of My  
Lords Orders in what Manner he would  
have me apply. If his Lordship shall think  
me a proper Person for the Recordership, I  
shall be very thankful for It, & very punctual  
in the Discharge thereof. But If Mr. Reynolds  
shall be approved of for that Office, I shall  
be very much obliged for the favour of being  
recommended to the Steward. I don't propose  
taking any publick Steps herein, till I am fa-  
voured by a Line of what will be most agreeable  
to his Lordship: By whose favour & also yours  
I am desirous of succeeding.

I beg your Indulgence in this & that I may  
assure you that I am yr most faithful  
& most Obedt Servt

If you favour me with an  
Answer please to direct to me  
at Joseph Offley Esq's at Norton near  
Sheffield Yorkshire, whom I am going for part of the Holidays

Fr. Bernard

Lincoln Dec. 19 1741

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Dear Sir

Boston Aug 13. 1763

I beg leave to recommend to the Society through you M<sup>r</sup> Willard of this Province, who with great industry & perseverance has acquired a Process of making potash different from all others & superior both in facility & efficacy. He sent home some last year, which was reported to be the best that ever came to London. He has now shipped 23 Tuns with the proper certificates; and hopes that if the Society has not continued their premium this year they will make him a compensation some other way: especially as he was prevented making a sufficient quantity last year by the burning of some of his Works.

W<sup>m</sup> Fitzpatrick Esq

Bernard holograph, 1763. Bernard writes to the Royal Society of Arts to promote Levi Willard's method of manufacturing potash. RSA, London. PR.GE/110/14/114.

He is very communicative & willing to assist any one who will undertake the same business. As I have intended to set up potash works upon an Island (which has been granted to me by the General Court of this Province & is now submitted to the King for his confirmation) this Gentleman has engaged to give me full instructions to provide utensils & lend me one of his best hands. I have the greatest hopes that this business will be well understood in this Country and it is to encourage & propagate it only that I propose to engage in it. I shall write to you soon again on the same subject & am  
I, your most faithful & obedient Servant Fra. Bernard

had the neatest handwriting, produced only two entries before November 1762, after which he or she was particularly busy over a two-month period when Bernard was preparing documentation in support of his claim to Mount Desert Island (see illustrations on pp. 23-25).<sup>46</sup> The three principal clerks copied all manner of private and official correspondence and were not allocated specific areas; nor did Bernard reserve for himself the job of copying up correspondence with any particular person. These clerks continued to work for Bernard; others were also employed, and their role will be discussed in subsequent volumes.<sup>47</sup>

The clerks generally made letterbook copies from Bernard's autograph out-letters before they were dispatched. Systematic comparison of letterbook copies with autographs revealed little variation in content and insignificant accidental differences and grammatical inconsistencies. The clerks also made fair copies of autograph drafts when required (as with **No. 75**). Bernard occasionally made emendations to the letterbooks, of which **No. 256** is an example, but usually left the clerks to correct errors themselves—no doubt confident that they would do so satisfactorily. For example, a misreading of Admiral Sir George Pocock's surname, rather than a garbled dictation, probably accounts for the scribal emendations in **No. 137**, represented thus, "Admiral ~~Pocke~~ ^Pococke^." Patterns of emendation are highly ambiguous sources of evidence, and the possibility that Bernard dictated to his clerks and then prepared his autographs from the letterbook entry should not be wholly disregarded (especially in those cases where letterbook copies with idiosyncratic spelling cannot be compared with originals). By and large, however, the letterbooks comprise copies of complete originals minus the closure.

The third process—the storage of in-letters—might be thought unworthy of further comment, but there are some significant gaps in the record of incoming correspondence. At the Houghton Library, volumes 9-12 of the Bernard Papers constitute as near a complete record of Bernard's official correspondence as can be expected, but the receivers' copies of letters from the province agents are missing (nor can they be found in the Massachusetts Archives). What Bernard did with these letters is a mystery. It would be helpful to know in particular what William Bollan thought of Bernard in the wake of his dismissal from the agency, given that Bollan was later instrumental in destroying Bernard's reputation,<sup>48</sup> or how Richard Jackson regarded Bernard's transparently self-vaunting promotion of the Mount Desert grant (**No. 131**) and his specious characterization of the Mauduit brothers, Jackson's rivals for the agency (**No. 186**). No doubt Jackson pondered whether the brouhaha over his (unpaid) appointment as solicitor to the agent was worth the trouble (**No. 226**), though in 1765 he was elected province agent.

The last process concerns the carriage of Bernard's mail. Bernard routinely dispatched official letters by the regular transatlantic mail packet operating once a month between New York and Falmouth, England, and by the war-time packet

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My Lord Boston Aug<sup>17</sup> 1760

I was preparing to inform your Lordships of our safe arrival at this Town when I rec<sup>d</sup> your Lordship favor of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June which was brought by the Leicester Packet which arrived here this Morning. As the Packet was drove in here by southerly winds, I ordered Gen<sup>l</sup> Amhersts dispatches to be sent from hence to Albany under the care of a Lieut. of Highlanders & an Express rider by which means he will receive them a week sooner than he would by way of New York.

We made our Entry here last Saturday in a very Magnificent Manner. It seems there had been no Instance of a Gov<sup>t</sup> entering by land since Gov<sup>r</sup> Burnetts time so the Ceremonial was in a Manner new. For this I shall refer your Lordship to the order of the day, which I shall add to the trifles which your Lordships kindness for us has encouraged me from time to time to trouble you with. I have the Pleasure to inform your Lordship that I have a very fair Prospect of an easy Deminstration from the Assurances of all persons concern<sup>d</sup> in it that I have yet seen; as also from the favourable impressions which I am told have been rec<sup>d</sup> of me as well from London as from New Jersey.

I am very glad that the money is laid out with M<sup>rs</sup> Porters approbation & for her Advantage. whatever your Lordship shall do therein will certainly have our approbation perhaps

Bernard's Letterbooks. A scribal entry by clerk no. 1: BP, 1: 272. By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

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of ability, & friends to the Government, should  
 their resentment against Mr Otis's proceed  
 by turning off the printers of their votes who  
 had printed Mr Otis's libells, & by removing  
 their Chaplain, who (tho' a very good <sup>man</sup> & I believe  
 quite friendly to me) was supposed to be connect-  
 ed with Otis. His father also was very near  
 being turned out of the Council, being saved  
 only by a leading man among the friends of  
 government who was related to him took  
 great pains to get him spared. These inno-  
 cences with many others made him on the  
 third day of the Session by a short speech  
 resign his seat & pray that they would  
 issue another precept: immediately after  
 which he left the house without waiting  
 for their resolution. But his friends  
 having prevailed to defer the confirmation  
 of his resignation, He next day came to  
 the house & after having made an apology  
 desired leave to resume his seat, which  
 was granted not without some humili-  
 ation. It is remarkable that on the  
 morning of the day on which he resign

Bernard's Letterbooks. A scribal entry by clerk no. 2: BP, 3: 76. By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

interested. And yet if they had one Agent, it should be previously settled what part he should act in cases of dispute between them. To answer this in your own case, it is certain that you cannot be desired by this Province to relinquish the defence of the right of Connecticut to the Townships which you have already undertaken: on the contrary other hand Connecticut would not take exception if this Province should expect, as the Superior, to have your assistance in such other matters of controversy as shall hereafter arise: especially as it is not easy to foresee that any such will arise. What you say in your Letter of the dispute concerning the Townships seems to amount to this: but I should be glad to be allowed to make such a stipulation in positive terms if it should be expedient.

Feb<sup>y</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.

Since I wrote the foregoing, Mr. Mauduit's friend Mr. Otis (a Gentleman of <sup>great</sup> Warmth of Temper & much indiscretion) has worked himself into such a passion by his disappointment, that none but the most violent measures are pursued by him & his friends. On Saturday last (on the Mornings of which, as on Monday evenings, the House is always very thin) there being but 45 in the House, he introduced a Letter in the Name of the House to Mr. Mauduit, apologizing for their not having complied with his request, & assigning for reason their not

Bernard's Letterbooks. The main text of letter is in the hand of clerk no. 3, while the postscript dated 1 Feb. 1763 is in that of clerk no. 2. Bernard criticizes James Otis Jr. for his "warmth of Temper." BP, 2: 255. By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

between Boston and Bristol. Duplicates and (sometimes triplicates) were dispatched to the same destinations in separate vessels, usually merchant-men sailing out of Boston or Portsmouth, N.H. Urgent letters went direct from Boston by the first available merchant ship sailing for England. Delays were inevitable, however, and transatlantic mail could take anything between six weeks and three months to reach the addressee. Getting mail to and from New York by land or sea could also be troublesome: the twice-weekly courier service by the post road did not always deliver as promised, as Bernard notes in the postscript to **No. 186**, and delays to the coastal vessels sailing out of Boston were commonplace, judging by the preponderance of postscripts to the letters printed in this volume. Two express riders were employed at the province's expense to carry letters intended for the New York packet-boat (**No. 21**) and to facilitate communications between Bernard and Gen. Amherst at New York: Jonathan Lowder and David Wyer. Wyer, as Bernard told Deputy Postmaster-General Benjamin Franklin, was "quite a Master of the road" (**No. 250**), yet still it took five days to travel from Boston to New York (**Nos. 158** and **159**). (Bernard evidently thought highly of Wyer, having two years previously appointed him a sutler to the provincial regiments at Halifax.)

Confidentiality was another problem. During the Barons affair, when Bernard was accused of deriding the Boston merchants as smugglers in his letters to London, he became anxious that his correspondence was being tampered with. At the time, he wrote that his concerns "accordingly prescribe to me a reserve, particularly in regard to the politicks of this place" (**No. 57**). Secret or private letters were kept back for a "safe conveyance," usually a trusted merchant-mariner or Royal Navy captain (**No. 29**). Long before some of his letters were sensationally published in Boston, Bernard fretted that his enemies were somehow privy to his correspondence, but there is no clear evidence that he mistrusted his clerks.

The processes described above have influenced the selection of documents for publication. Whenever possible, autograph out-letters and in-letters have been used as authoritative texts—the actual manuscripts upon which the transcripts are based. When the receiver's copy (**RC**) or its duplicate were not extant, contemporary copies were substituted from the preserved record in the receiver's or author's letterbook (**RLbC** and **LbC**), and are accompanied with editorial commentaries clarifying scribal involvement. In the absence of a letterbook, the transcript was based on a copy of an original made by a third party; printed versions were used in the last resort—contemporary imprints before modern imprints and transcriptions. The authoritative texts have been systematically collated with extant variants. Generally, textual comparison did not reveal substantive differences in content between the author's drafts (**ADft**) and letterbook copies (**LbC**), (**Nos. 75, 200** and **201**), or between these types and the **RC** (**Nos. 176** and **177**). In the cases just mentioned, the corrections made to the draft were incorporated in the fair

**LbCs** and **RCs**. Major differences in content are discussed in the footnotes and source notes.

Transcripts are presented in chronological order, according to the first given date. Non-epistolary enclosures follow the covering letter, while letters that were themselves enclosures have been placed in sequence by date. With letters bearing the same date, out-letters take precedence over in-letters (unless the out-letter is a reply to the in-letter); thereafter, out-letters are sorted by the likely order of composition (for which Bernard's letterbooks provide a rough guide); date of receipt has been used to sort in-letters; the remainder have been sorted alphabetically by correspondent. For example, the in-letters **No. 1** and **No. 2** were enclosed in **No. 3** but precede that letter in the order of presentation: **No. 1** was composed one day before the other two, while **No. 2** would have had to have been written before **No. 3** in order for the author to take receipt of the original and prepare a copy for transmission.

Editorial practice is to show the whole text plus any substantive emendations made by the author—the person(s) on whose authority a document was prepared or under whose signature it was sent—and by any clerk who drafted or copied the document. (Non-contemporaneous annotations on manuscripts have been excluded.) Obvious slips of the pen have been ignored; minor emendations are not shown, such as corrections of oversights and grammatical errors. Generally, original emendations, including scribal corrections, are reconstituted when this might help to illuminate authorial intention or when the additions suggest ambiguity or invite alternative interpretations: the representations follow the editorial apparatus set out in Table 1. For example, irrespective of the fact that emendations to **No. 186** are in a clerk's hand (and there is no way of knowing if Bernard dictated the revision) they are nevertheless suggestive of the governor's growing antipathy toward James Otis Jr. Otis is described as "A Gentleman of ~~much~~ <sup>^great^</sup> warmth of Temper & much indiscretion." Conversely, it has been necessary to present Bernard's first set of general instructions from 1760 as a clear text transcript, since the only extant source is a draft of that date containing annotations and emendations added in 1771 (**Appendix 1**).

Grammar and spelling were transcribed with limited modernization. Orthographical idiosyncrasies have been retained, save for the kind of transparent mistakes mentioned above. Abbreviations, contractions, and terminal punctuation follow the manuscript, as does capitalization, when the writer's intention can be determined, and the underlining of dates. Emphasis is rendered in italics. Superscripts have been preserved but with all accompanying punctuation lowered to the line. Accidentally conjoined words have been separated. Eighteenth-century spelling, such as "highth" for "height," is readily understood; however, instances confusing to the reader are clarified by an interpolation or an appended note. Original forms have been reproduced, such as the ampersand (&) and the thorn ("y" for

“th”), but not the long “s.” Confusing punctuation in numbers has been silently corrected, with period separators being replaced by commas (thus “20.000” becomes “20,000”). Where symbols are used in the original to indicate pounds sterling, they are lowered to the line, and silently corrected to “£ s. d.” Clarification on currency and monetary values is provided in endnotes.

The layout of the transcripts has preserved some common features of manuscripts and standardized others. The location and punctuation of salutations and datelines have been preserved, but placed in one line; the addressee’s name is at the end of the closure (where it usually is) and above the postscript regardless of its location in the manuscript. Original lineation has not been retained but paragraphing sequencing has. Epigraphs and postscripts have been formatted. Closures have been centered, except those running-on from the last paragraph of a letter. Tabulated information is presented in a form as close to the original as possible. Quotation marks placed at the beginning of every line of quoted material have been silently relocated to the beginning and end; block quotations have been indented. Flourishes have been omitted, as have brackets in docket and closures. All transcripts have been given a caption; original titles have been transcribed and placed with the main body of text except entrybook titles, which are given in the source note.

The source note at the end of each transcript provides information about the provenance and location of the authoritative text. Table 2 is a list of descriptive acronyms used to indicate the typology of authoritative texts. The acronyms representing manuscript collections and archives are explained in the List of Abbreviations, above. (Pagination, folio, and volume descriptors have not been provided for any citations, unless required by the citation style recommended by the repository.) Where possible, the source note provides some clarification as to the processes of composition and preservation, noting among other things differences in handwriting styles, the extent of authorial emendation, and the location of variant texts. Endorsements added by the recipient confirming receipt and docket and docket added by the sender have been transcribed in accordance with editorial method. (When FB marked a letter with “r” he meant “received” and with “a” “answered”.) Extant enclosures are briefly described, and should be assumed to be manuscript copies (usually third-party copies) unless otherwise indicated. Relevant historical and administrative information is provided at the end of the source note. Guidance is given as to where to find any replies and rejoinders. Numbered endnotes to source notes follow in sequence those for the transcript.

Endnotes aim to clarify obscurities in the transcript and direct the reader to additional material. Cross-references to transcripts published in this volume are indicated by bold numerals, thus, **No. 3**. Citations of manuscripts not printed here establish the location of the authoritative version, although in many cases there is only one extant manuscript: thus Jeffery Amherst to FB, New York, 16 Nov. 1761,

WO 34/27, p. 233. (The typology can be checked in the back-of-book list). “Not found” is used to signal the absence of a manuscript. Biographical information is given at the first mention of a person in the correspondence; rare sources are cited but standard reference works are not.<sup>49</sup> Francis Bernard is referred to throughout as “FB.” Provincial legislation and acts of the English, Scottish, and British parliaments are cited according to regnal year, with dates where appropriate, and with modernized titles; the index provides both the dates and a short-title.

Throughout the project I have tried to record information and transcribe manuscripts as accurately as possible. It is inevitable that there will errors in this volume. I am grateful to all those who have helped me to correct them, and I take full responsibility for those that remain.

# TABLE 1 EDITORIAL SYMBOLS



The following symbols have been used to represent emendation:

Additions (insertions, interlineations, and substitutions) are marked with carets “^” at the intended location. When it is necessary to distinguish different hands or differentiate between insertions and substitutions the following will be used: ↑roman↓.

Bold type or heavily-inked letters are set in **bold**.

Canceled text is shown in ~~strike through font~~.

Confusing passages are described “thus in manuscript” in an endnote.

Conjectured readings for illegible material that can be inferred from the source text are in [roman text within square brackets]; there is a question mark before the closing bracket if there is considerable doubt as to the accuracy of the reading, [roman?].

Editorial interpolations have been italicized and placed in square brackets, [*editor's comment*].

Ellipses signify material that is either illegible or missing. The number of suspension points corresponds to the number of missing letters or numbers, e.g. [. . .] for three letters missing. Missing words are rendered thus, [ \_ \_ \_ ].

Emphasis is conveyed by *italics* and double underlining by SMALL CAPITALS.

Lacunae are represented by [*blank*].

Passages marked for deletion are indicated by <angled brackets>.

Underlining in authorial tables, numbers, dates, and punctuation has been retained.

## TABLE 2 SOURCE TEXT TYPOLOGY



The first set of acronyms in table 2 describes the nature of the authoritative text on which the transcript is based. The second set categorizes documents by their administrative history and preservation.

<b>ADft</b>	Author's Draft Manuscript.
<b>AL</b>	Autograph Letter (text in the hand of the author, but unsigned).
<b>ALS</b>	Autograph Letter Signed (text and signature in the hand of the author).
<b>AMs</b>	Autograph Manuscript (text in the hand of the author but unsigned).
<b>AMsS</b>	Autograph Manuscript Signed (text and signature in the hand of author).
<b>Dft</b>	Draft.
<b>dup/trip</b>	duplicate/triplicate.
<b>extract</b>	An extract of a source text.
<b>L</b>	Letter (text not in the hand of the author and unsigned).
<b>LS</b>	Letter Signed (text not in the hand of the author but signed by the author).
<b>Ms</b>	Manuscript.
<b>MsS</b>	Manuscript Signed.
<b>noted</b>	A documentary record of the existence of a nonextant source text.
<b>Prt</b>	Contemporary Printed version of manuscript.
<b>AC</b>	Author's Copy (loose file or bound copies usually found in a personal collection).
<b>Copy</b>	Third Party Copy.
<b>LbC</b>	Author's Letterbook or Entry-Book
<b>PC</b>	Published Copy.
<b>RbC</b>	Recordbook Copy.
<b>RC</b>	Receiver's Copy.
<b>RLbC</b>	Receiver's Letterbook Copy.

## ENDNOTES



1. The Colonial Society of Massachusetts is also publishing the *Select Correspondence* of FB's deputy and successor Thomas Hutchinson, edited by John Tyler.
2. See Colin Nicolson, *The 'Infamous Governer': Francis Bernard and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Boston, 2001).
3. [Francis Bernard], *Select Letters on the Trade and Government of America; and the Principles of Law and Polity, Applied to the American Colonies Written by Governor Bernard in the Years 1763, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8* (London, 1774); John Almon, *A Collection of Interesting, Authentic Papers, Relative to the Dispute Between Great Britain and America; Shewing the Causes and Progress of That Misunderstanding, From 1764 to 1775* (London, 1777).
4. Edward Channing and Archibald Cary Coolidge, eds., *The Barrington-Bernard Correspondence and Illustrative Matter, 1760-1770, Harvard Historical Studies Series*, vol. 17 (Cambridge, Mass., 1912). Extracts of FB's correspondence can be found in rare family histories: Sir Thomas Bernard, *Life of Sir Francis Bernard* (London, 1790); Mrs. Sophie Elizabeth Napier Higgins, *The Bernards of Abington and Nether Winchendon: A Family History*, 4 vols. (London, 1903-04).
5. Prof. Jared Sparks donated the Bernard Papers to Harvard in the mid-nineteenth century. Nicolson, *The 'Infamous Governer'*, 7. A useful guide is Justin Winsor, *Catalogue of the Bound Historical Manuscripts Collected by Jared Sparks and Now Deposited in the Library of Harvard University* (Cambridge, Mass., 1871), 4-6. The entire Sparks Collection can be searched using Harvard University Library, Oasis: Online archival Search Information System ([http://oasis.harvard.edu:10080/oasis/deliver/deepLink?\\_collection=oasis&uniqueId=hou01999](http://oasis.harvard.edu:10080/oasis/deliver/deepLink?_collection=oasis&uniqueId=hou01999)).
6. K. G. Davies, ed., *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783*, 21 vols. (Shannon, 1972-81).
7. There are copies of ten of FB's out-letters in Letters, 1756-74, Mass. Archives, vol. 56. There are over 180 in-letters in volumes 4, 5, 6, 22, 25-27, 33, and 46. Warrants and certificates bearing FB's signature, and depositions and petitions received by him are scattered throughout the collection.
8. Thomas Hutchinson Letterbooks, Mass. Archs., vols. 25-27. See also Malcolm Freiberg, ed., *Transcripts of the Letterbooks of Massachusetts Governor Thomas Hutchinson*, vols. 25-27 (Originals in the Massachusetts Archives Collection) MHS.
9. These include Transcripts of Official Correspondence of the colonial governors with the Board of Trade about the Stamp Act crisis, 1764-1766, Stowe Ms, 264-265, British Library. In the papers of Charles Watson-Wentworth, the marquis of Rockingham and prime minister (1765-66), are early notifications of the Stamp Act Riots in Boston of Aug. 1765: Letters to the Marquis of Rockingham, Fitzwilliam (Wentworth Woodhouse) Muniments, Sheffield Archives. Charles Townshend, a president of the Board of Trade, maintained a file of FB's letters, mainly extracts, relating to items placed before Parliament during debates on the Stamp Act in Jan. 1766: Charles Townshend Papers, Buccleuch Muniments, RH4/98, Dalkeith House, microfilm by Microform; Charles Townshend Papers, RH4/99, the William L. Clements Library. Charles Jenkinson, a lord commissioner of Customs, and later first earl of Liverpool, kept copies of correspondence relating to the Liberty Riot in Boston of Jun. 1768: Official American Papers, Liverpool Papers, British Library Manuscript Collection, Add 38340. William Legge, the second earl of Dartmouth, received several autograph manuscripts on the reform of the Massachusetts Council, in American Papers, Dartmouth Papers, D(W)1778, Staffordshire Record Office.
10. Probate of the will of the Rev. Francis Bernard, 8 May 1716, PROB 11/552, ff 18-20; Probate of the will of the Rev. Anthony Alsop, 22 Feb. 1720, PROB 11/615, f 92.
11. Nicolson, *The 'Infamous Governer'*, 24-42. Lincolnshire Archives holds twenty-eight documents that illuminate FB's career in Lincoln between 1738, when he obtained his first local office, and 1758, when he left for America. Most of the manuscripts concern the official business of the Dean and Chapter

- of Lincoln and the Diocese of Lincoln. As a church lawyer, FB prosecuted cases (CC85/313734) and kept visitation books (L.C./XX/C) and day-books (Cj/40), while as a deputy registrar he maintained accounts and ledgers (R/Ac). There are no extant records for the period in which FB was commissioner of bails for the Midlands Assizes, nor any concerning his activities in private practice save acting as an agent and accountant for proprietors of the Lincoln Assembly Rooms, 1745-52 (2 Anc 10/6). FB's correspondence with Charles Monson (1741-42), the Whig MP for Lincoln (1734-54) and recorder of Lincoln, are the earliest surviving personal letters (Mon 25/2/97-99), and reveal FB's unsuccessful attempts to become Monson's deputy. Modern transcripts mention FB's duties as recorder of Boston, Lincs., Betty Coy, et al., *Transcription of the Minutes of the Corporation of Boston* (Boston, Lincs., 1993). Other items include a subscription list, signed by FB, to raise a Loyalist regiment during the Jacobite rebellion of 1745-46 (Mon 7/10/17-18).
12. The Derbyshire estates of Joseph Offley (1702-51), Amelia Bernard's half-brother, comprised the family home of Norton Hall and properties in the parishes of Bamford, Coal Aston, and Dronfield and Greenhill (plus land in other counties). The bulk of the property was held in trust for Joseph's son Edmund who, on reaching his majority in 1754, alienated much of the estate to an Edinburgh clergyman and died shortly thereafter. Amelia and FB assisted in the legal recovery of the estates for Joseph's daughters Urith (1736-81) and Hannah. Probates of the wills of Joseph Offley and Edmund Offley, 9 Dec. 1754, PROB 11/812: 262-65; Napier Higgins, *The Bernards*, 1: 210-212.
  13. Their longest separation was for eighteen months after FB returned to England in Aug. 1769. Any correspondence that was maintained during their separation may have been left behind when Amelia finally left Boston on 25 Dec. 1770, or, more likely, was lost at sea when the family's luggage was swept overboard during a storm.
  14. In Nicolson, *The 'Infamas Govener'*.
  15. William Wildman Barrington (1717-93) was the scion of an English Presbyterian family of the Irish peerage. He was the eldest of the five sons of John Shute Barrington (1678-1734), the first viscount Barrington, whose sister, Ann Shute, was Amelia Offley's mother. Barrington was Amelia Offley's cousin and godfather to her eldest son. He succeeded his father to the peerage and entered the Irish House of Lords in 1745. In the British parliament, he was an MP for Berwick-upon-Tweed from 1740 to Mar. 1754, and thereafter for Plymouth until 1778. He served as secretary at war from 1755 to Mar. 1761 (and again from 19 Jul. 1765 to 1778); as chancellor of the Exchequer in Mar. 1761; and treasurer of the Navy from May 1762 to 1765. Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke, *The House of Commons, 1754-1790*, 3 vols. (London, 1964), 1: 55; Dylan E. Jones, "Barrington, William Wildman, second Viscount Barrington (1717-1793)," in *ODNB-e* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1535>, accessed 12 Nov., 2004); Nicolson, *The 'Infamas Govener'*, 33-34, 41.
  16. The letters have been re-transcribed from BP, vols. 1-12 for inclusion in *The Bernard Papers*. This is not on account of any major deficiencies in the 1912 edition, but because their correspondence, private though it was, was also an important facet of FB's communications with the British government. (Colonial governors were not obliged to write the secretary at war in an official capacity.) FB's original letters to Lord Barrington have not been found among Barrington's papers in Additional MSS, British Library, or in the secretary of war's papers (WO 1 and WO 4) at the PRO.
  17. The baby William, the infants Amelia and Shute, and seven-year-old Thomas traveled with their parents; eleven-year old Jane and thirteen-month old Frances Elizabeth (Fanny) remained in England with the Terrys or Jane Beresford; Francis Jr. and John were still at school in England. Scrope (b.Oct 1758) and Julia were (b.19 Nov. 1759) were born in Perth Amboy. The Bernards first-born son, Joseph, was a baby when he died in the late 1740s. I am grateful to Jonathan Fowler for correcting a previous error regarding Thomas Bernard's arrival in America. Biographies of all the Bernard children can be found in Higgins, *The Bernards*, 4 vols., *passim*.
  18. Jordan D. Fiore, "Francis Bernard, Colonial Governor," Unpublished Ph.D Diss., Boston Univ. (1950), 27-63, 454-458; Donald L. Kemmerer, *Path to Freedom: The Struggle for Self-Government in Colonial New Jersey, 1703-1776* (Cos Cob, Conn., 1968), 256-266; Nicolson, *The 'Infamas Govener'*, 43-44. The project does not intend to issue FB's New Jersey papers. His out-letters are in New Jersey Original Correspondence of Board of Trade, 1754-1760, CO 5/977; there are letterbook copies in BP, vols. 1-2

- and receiver letterbook copies in Original Correspondence of Board of Trade: Despatches to Governors and others, 1759-1763, CO 5/214. The in-letters are in BP, 9. Extracts of FB's official correspondence have been published along with the many of the colony's official records. William A. Whitehead, ed., *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey*, 42 vols.: vol. 9 (1757-67), eds. Frederick W. Ricord and William Nelson (Newark, 1885).
19. Thomas Pownall (1722-1805) had been lieutenant governor and acting governor of New Jersey, 1753-57, and governor of Massachusetts, 1757-60.
  20. Orders in Council, 1755-1759, CO 5/22, f 204, and *mutatis mutandis* for the other governors involved, ff 208-211, 214.
  21. *APC*, 4: 777.
  22. FB sent holographs and copies of his speeches, messages, and addresses to the Council and the House of Representatives to Britain. They are in Assembly, Massachusetts, 1761-1768, CO 5/842-CO 5/843, and CO 5/844. The Council's record books are Council Executive Records, 1760-1769, CO 5/823 and CO 5/827; there is also a set of nineteenth-century transcripts in Council Executive Records, 1692-1774, 13 vols. [vols. 2-14], GC3-327, vols. 15-16, Massachusetts Archives. There are two contemporaneous sets of the Council's legislative records. One was kept in Boston and is in Council Legislative Records, 1692-1774, 24 vols., GC3-1701x, vols. 23-28, Massachusetts Archives. The other was sent to London: Council in Assembly, Massachusetts, 1760-1769, CO 5/820-CO 5/828.
  23. Andrew Oliver (1706-74) was one of the most experienced of provincial legislators and officeholders. He was a member of the Governor's Council, 1746-65, and province secretary, 1756-70.
  24. John Pownall (1724/5-95), brother of Thomas Pownall and secretary to the Board of Trade, 1745-68. See Franklin B. Wickwire, "John Pownall and British Colonial Policy," *WMQ* 20 (1963): 543-554.
  25. William Bollan (1705-82), Massachusetts province agent, 1743-62. See Malcolm Freiberg, "William Bollan, Agent of Massachusetts," *More Books: The Bulletin of the Boston Public Library* 23 (1948): 43-53, 90-100, 135-146, 212-220.
  26. Richard Jackson (1721/2-87), politician and barrister and MP for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, 1762-68. He was secretary to the chancellor of the Exchequer and first lord of the Treasury, George Grenville during his administration of 1763-65, and counsel to the Board of Trade, 1770-82. A friend of Benjamin Franklin, Jackson took a keen interest in American affairs, and was provincial agent for Connecticut (1760-70), Pennsylvania (1763-70), and Massachusetts (1765-67). See W. P. Courtney, 'Jackson, Richard (1721/2-1787)', rev. J.-M. Alter, *ODNB* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14546>, accessed 16 May 2005).
  27. Jasper Mauduit (c.1696-1771), a London draper and woolen merchant, and Massachusetts province agent, 1762-65.
  28. The American secretary was commonly regarded as being inferior to the two "ancient" secretaries of the Southern and Northern Departments, and it was not until the appointment of Lord George Germain in 1775 that confusion over the office's status was resolved. Margaret Spector, *The American Department of the British Government, Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law* ([New York], [1940]); Arthur Herbert Basye, "The Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1768-82," *American Historical Review* 28 (1922): 13-23.
  29. Original in-letters from the Board of Trade and secretary of state are in BP, vols. 9-12. FB's original out-letters to the Board are in CO 5/7, CO 5/19, and CO 5/891, and to the secretary of state mainly in CO 5/754-758.
  30. Labaree, *Royal Instructions*, 2: 748-750.
  31. Thomas Pelham-Holles (1693-1768), the duke of Newcastle, was a long-serving British statesman who had been prime minister between 1754 and 1756. He was first lord of the Treasury in a coalition led by Pitt. William Pitt (1708-78) was secretary of state for Southern Department from 1756 until his resignation on 5 Oct. 1761; he was created earl of Chatham in 1766 and led the Chatham-Grafton administration of Jul. 1766-Oct. 1768.

32. John Stuart (1713-92), the earl of Bute, had been George III's tutor and secretary for the Northern Department under Pitt and Newcastle, 25 Mar. 1761-26 May 1762.
33. George Grenville (1712-70), a former friend and ally of Pitt, was briefly secretary for the Northern Department under Bute. He seemed destined for the political wilderness until George III offered to appoint him both first lord of the Treasury and chancellor of the exchequer.
34. Sir Charles Wyndam (1710-63), second earl of Egremont and secretary of state for the Southern Department, from 9 Oct. 1761 (under Bute and Grenville, his brother-in-law) until his death on 21 Aug. 1763.
35. George Montague-Dunk (1716-71), the earl of Halifax, was an energetic first lord commissioner or president of the Board of Trade, 1748-61; secretary of state for the Southern Department, 1762; and secretary of state for the Northern Department, 1763-65.
36. Sir Matthew Lamb, Bart. (1705?-1768), politician and lawyer. He was MP for Peterborough, from 1747, and king's counsel to the Board of Trade, from 1754 until his death.
37. "Privy Council" has been used throughout when referring to the institution, but it has been necessary to maintain the distinction between the full council and the council's plantation affairs committee. In the first instance, matters pertaining to the American Colonies were usually considered by a committee dignified by the cumbersome title "Lords of the Committee of the Council on Plantation Affairs," which has been shortened to "plantation affairs committee" or a variant thereof. The committee's recommendations were invariably rubber-stamped by the full council—"His Majesty in Council"—which designation has been retained when referring to this body.
38. See Nicolson, *The 'Infamous Governer'*, 63-64.
39. R. C. Simmons, *The American Colonies From Settlement to Independence*, (London, 1976), 292; Nicolson, *The 'Infamous Governer'*, 56-57.
40. See John Clarence Webster, ed., *The Recapture of St John's, Newfoundland in 1762 As Described in the Journal of Lieut-Colonel William Amherst, Commander of the British Expeditionary Force* (1928).
41. APC, 4: 576-579. After surveying the Passamaquoddy Bay area in 1764, Massachusetts assumed that, to use Native-derived names, the Magaguadavic River was the St. Croix, whereas Nova Scotia located the boundary twenty-five miles further west at the Cobscook River; in subsequent disputes with the United States, the British government favored the Schoodic River. Archeological evidence pointed to the Schoodic, whose Vanceboro branch was finally accepted as the main St. Croix. The St. Croix River was designated an international boundary between British North America and the United States by the peace treaty of 1783, thus ceding Sagadahoc to the latter. However, the physical border between Massachusetts and New Brunswick (created out of Nova Scotia in 1794) was not determined until 1798, by a British-US commission. David Demeritt, "Representing the 'True' St Croix: Knowledge and Power in the Partition of the Northeast," *WMQ* 54 (1997): 515-548, esp. 532, 535-538, 544; N. E. S. Griffiths, *The Contexts of Acadian History, 1686-1784* (Montreal and Buffalo, 1992), 62-94, 103-114; Richard G. Lowe, "Massachusetts and the Acadians," *WMQ* 25 (1968): 212-229.
42. *Acts and Resolves*, 17: 246.
43. *A Brief State of the Title of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay to the Country between the Rivers Kennebeck and St. Croix* (Boston, 1763).
44. The administrative history can be followed in William O. Sawtelle, "Sir Francis Bernard and His Grant of Mount Desert," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 24 (1920/1922): 197-254.
45. FB's first three years as governor are discussed in Nicolson, *The 'Infamous Governer'*, 11-13, 49-50. Earlier detailed accounts of Massachusetts politics during this period are Leslie J. Thomas, "Partisan Politics in Massachusetts During Governor Bernard's Administration, 1760-1770," Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., Univ. of Wisconsin, 1960, 2 vols., 1: 1-169; Stephen E. Patterson, *Political Parties in Revolutionary Massachusetts* (Madison, Wisc., 1973), 52-65; William Pencak, *War, Politics & Revolution in Provincial Massachusetts*, (Boston, 1981), 150-184.

46. Clerk no. 3 may have been a Bostonian, judging by the phonetic rendition of "Havard" in **No. 187**.
47. Chirographical analysis followed procedures recommended by the Scientific Working Group for Forensic Document Examination, "Guidelines for Forensic Document Examination, Part 1," *Forensic Science Communications* 2 (2000), posted on the web sites of the American Society of Questioned Document Examiners and the National Forensic Science Technology Center (<http://www.fbi.gov/hq/lab/fsc/backissu/april2000/swgdoc1.htm#Introduction>, accessed 4 Jul. 2005).
48. Bolland's role in the publication in 1769 of Bernard's incriminating correspondence is discussed in Nicolson, *The 'Infamous Governor'*, 198-199.
49. Standard biographical directories include: *American National Biography Online* (New York, 2005-, <http://www.anb.org>); *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* (Toronto, 2003-, <http://www.biographi.ca>); Mark Mayo Boatner, ed., *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (New York, 1966); Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke, eds., *The House of Commons, 1754-1790*, 3 vols. (London, 1964); Edward A. Jones, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts: Their Memorials, Petitions and Claims* (London, 1930); David E. Maas, ed. and comp., *Divided Hearts: Massachusetts Loyalists, 1765-1790: A Biographical Directory* (Boston, 1980); *ODNB-e* (London, 2004-2006, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>); John A. Schutz, ed., *Legislators of the Massachusetts General Court* (Boston, 1997); Search & ReSearch Publishing Corp., *Early Vital Records of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to About 1850* (Wheat Ridge, Conn., 2002); John L. Sibley and Clifford K. Shipton, eds., *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, 17 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1873-1975); James H. Stark, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts and the Other Side of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1910); Nancy S. Voye, ed. and comp., *Massachusetts Officers in the French and Indian Wars, 1748-1763* (microfiche; Boston, 1975).