

pearance of a Council, by holding them in the Council Chamber. They met the next Day, and settled the Address, which was very much softened from the first Draught, which I am told was much more virulent against the Commissioners. It was signed by 15 of the Council, among whom were the 5 who knew not enough of the Town to vote for the Safety of the Commissioners returning, but knew enough to join in an Inveictive against them; 4 refused to sign. It was then presented to the General, who observed to them, that the Resolves of the Town-Meeting were a sufficient Cause for sending Troops here, though there had been no Riots: It was answered, that they were the Productions of a few imprudent wrong-headed Men. The General replied, that they were said to be *unanimously* resolved in a full Town-Meeting. The next Monday it appeared in all the Public Papers, from whence I send your Lordship the enclosed Copy.

I shall make but few Observations on the Writing, the Intent of it being plain enough.—1. It is well known to your Lordship, that this kind of Writing is designed for the People, and not for the Persons to whom they are addressed. This is notorious in the present Case: The Gentlemen who moved this Business, knew very well that the General could not move the Troops from this Town, if he could have been disposed to do it; because they were sent hither by Order of his Majesty, and not placed here by the Discretion of the General. The General himself had told them so, and I had repeated it to them again and again, to induce them to assist the Quartering. As therefore they could not expect the Troops would be withdrawn, we must look for another Purpose of this Address; and it appears to be, as indeed it is the principal Subject of it, the Abuse of the Commissioners.—2. This was surely very ill-timed: The very Day after they had been made acquainted with his Majesty's Command and Expectation, that the Commissioners should return to Boston, and resume their Function, and would return without Resistance, and with Safety, to publish a Manifesto against them, which, as it had nothing new in it, could only serve to revive the popular Prejudices against them, and thereby encourage Resistance, and make their Safety precarious, is unaccountable in Men of their Rank, and inconsistent with their public Professions of their Regard for the King's Service.—

3. This is also very unreasonable, it being the Day after the Commissioners had signified their Apprehensions of Danger in returning to Boston, and desired the Advice of the Council concerning it, and the Council had given their Opinion, that they might return with Safety. For these Counsellors who had one Day encouraged their coming to Town, the very next Day to issue a Writing under their Hands, holding them forth to the People, "as Men whose Avarice having smothered in their Breasts every Sentiment of Humanity towards this Province, has impelled them to oppress it to the utmost of their Power," is utterly irreconcilable with my Ideas of Truth, Justice and Humanity, and shocks me the more, as I know that the Wives of Two of the Commissioners, who have young Children, did not want to have their Fears increased by this Publication.

It would have been unaccountable how so many Persons of so respectable a Station, and many of them of a respectable Character, could join in signing such a Paper, if we did not consider, that in public and popular Proceedings, the Leaders are few, and the Followers many; and that People called upon to sign Papers, frequently act without Consideration, and sometimes against their Judgment. And the Virulence with which the Commissioners have been treated, seems to be too violent to be the Effect of public Zeal only, without the Interference of private Animosity, which at present I cannot take upon me to account for, I can only condemn and lament such Proceedings in a Body for which I have always had, and still retain a great Regard.

*I am, with great Respect,  
my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient,  
and most humble Servant,*

The Right Honourable  
The Earl of Hillsborough. FRA. BERNARD.  
January 27, 1769. A true Copy, GEO. WHITE,  
Clerk of the Papers to the House of Commons.

Copy of a Letter from Governor Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, dated Boston, November 12, 1768.

MY LORD,  
(No. 9.)  
AFTER I had communicated your Lordship's Letter to the Council, I considered that some farther Notification of it would be necessary, in Regard to what related to the Preservation of the Peace, and the Protection of the Officers of the Revenue, especially as the Commissioners had fixed upon this Week for their Return to Boston. A Proclamation was not thought proper, as the Business was in a Manner confined to the Town of Boston. I therefore thought of a Letter from myself to the Justices of Boston, and accordingly drew one up, wherein I recited such Part of your Lordship's Letter as related to them, and their Business, and thereto added Injunctions and Admonitions of my own. I communicated this to the Council last Wednesday, proposing, if it had their Approbation, to call the Justices together, and deliver it to them by Word of Mouth, and then gave them Copies of it. But tho' no Exceptions were taken to Particulars, the Whole was objected to strongly for this Reason; that if they were to consent to this Letter, they should appear to approve of the Censures your Lordship has passed upon the Town, which they would not admit it had deserved. I told them that I would not enter into an Argument, which might tend to impeach the Truth or Justice of your Lordship's Letter, but I observed that both of them were very defensible, being founded upon notorious Facts, which could not be denied or doubted.

I then proposed another Method of informing the Justices; which was to call the Justices together, and after reading such Part of your Lordship's Letter, as related to their Business, to give them a general Admonition concerning their future Conduct. This was objected to, for that an Admonition implied a Censure. This I answered by shewing, that they did really deserve Censure, and by declaring that I would use them

tenderly in that Respect. But I found that I should never prevail with the Council to *act* in this Business; that they would not *advise* to any Method of notifying, enjoining or enforcing the Orders contained in your Lordship's Letter; and that I could make Nothing of them but *passive* Associates. I proposed therefore that they should meet in the Council the next Morning, and I would of my own Accord, and without their Advice, order the Justices to attend, and would admonish them as I had before proposed. This was at length assented to, tho' not without one Gentleman's protesting against it. I accordingly the next Day assembled the Justices, and, in the Presence of the Council, having caused an Extract of your Lordship's Letter to be read, I entered into a full Explanation of the Nature of their Office and their Duty therein; and avoiding, as much as I could, centuring them for their former Conduct, I shewed what would be expected of them for the future; and I concluded, that if they had a Mind to retrieve the Credit of the Town, it was not to be done by denying what was past, but by regulating what was to come: As soon as I had done, a Gentleman of the Council said aloud, he liked this very well; and the Justices seemed satisfied with this Proceeding; and several of them gave Assurances that they would do the best to preserve the good Order of the Town.

These Two Conferences with the Council passed with good Humour, and in the Course of them, I had an Opportunity to observe upon, and lament the Servility, in Regard to the People, with which the Business of the Council was now done, in Comparison to what used to be. This was not denied; and one Gentleman said, that he did not now enter the Council-Chamber with that free Mind he used to have: But he liked to be concerned in public Business, and did not choose to quit his Place in the Council, and therefore must be content to hold it upon such Terms as he could. So fair a Confession deserves not to be passed unnoticed. But I should not trouble your Lordship with such trifling Anecdotes, if they did not seem to me to be the best Method to convey a true Idea of the present State of this Government, and to point out the chief Causes of its Decease, and I must myself resort to the Cause I am now treating of, to shew why I have not executed the King's Commands in as full a Manner as may be expected from me. But my Lord, the Council themselves have, for above Four Months past, taken great Pains to shew from whence the Imbecility of this Government arises; and have brought more forcible Arguments, than any one else could have urged, to shew how necessary it is become, that the King should have the Council-Chamber in his own Hands. How this can be done, may be a Question, the Exigency of it is none.

*I am, with great Respect,  
my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient,  
and most humble Servant,*

The Right Honourable  
The Earl of Hillsborough. FRA. BERNARD.  
January 27, 1769. A true Copy, GEO. WHITE,  
Clerk of the Papers to the House of Commons.

Copy of a Letter from General Gage, to the Earl of Hillsborough, dated Boston, October 31, 1768. (No. 3.)

MY LORD,  
I am, with great Respect,  
my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient,  
and most humble Servant,

MY LORD,  
I am, with great Respect,  
my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient,  
and most humble Servant,

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Public-Houses, according to the Act of Parliament. They desired Time to consider of a Measure, which they said must be very disagreeable to the People, might be attended with bad Consequences. After 4 Days Consideration, they returned for Answer, that the Act did not require them to quarter Troops. Words to that Effect.

I relate the above Transactions to your Lordship in a summary Way, leaving it to Governor Bernard to transmit to your Lordship, the particular Resolves of his Council at their several Meetings on the Subject, providing Quarters, as well as a Copy of the Resolutions of the Justices upon the same Subject.

There was no Disappointment in the bad Success of these several Applications; it was known before that they would have no Effect; but it was proposed to try to get the Laws enforced. Governor Bernard therefore agreed in the Necessity of making Preparations to put the Troops under Cover, by hiring of empty Houses, or other Buildings proper for the Purpose, so that a particular Account should be kept of the Expences incurred therein, as also of all Necessaries required in Quartering, that the Governor may receive Reimbursement of the same, from the first Assessment that shall be summoned to meet. But as it may be uncertain where the Expence will fall in the End, I have endeavoured to have every Thing prepared with much Frugality as possible, and the King's Warehouse Master is ordered to repair here from Halifax, with the spare Bedding and Utensils in those Stores, and a large Quantity of Coals, carried thither by the Trade from Louisbourg.

The Council, after some Time, gave Governor Bernard a Power over the Barracks at Castle-Island, as well as over a public Building in the Town, called the Manufactory-House: The Barracks are said to have been built to hold One Thousand Men, but they were only temporary Lodgments for Soldiers during the last War, before they embarked, and in short Time they staid, made it immaterial whether they were crowded or not. I find upon Examination they will not hold above one Regiment, upon the present Establishment, and that by putting 12 Men in a Room of 18 Feet square. As for the Manufactory House, there are People in it, who have been obliged up to maintain Possession, and some Measures were taken, tho' without Effect, to remove them, which occasioned a little Disturbance of no Consequence, but only served to shew a most obstinate Spirit of Opposition to every Measure of Government. When the Regiments arrive from Ireland, one of them will be quartered in the Barracks in Castle-Island, and the other must be lodged in the Town, in the same Manner as the Two Regiments from Halifax.

Castle-William remains garrisoned by the Company kept up by the Province, and I find there is a Provincial Military Establishment supported there, under the Command of the Governor, of some Use as an Emolument to him, and the Lieutenant-Governor upon that Account, and not seeing any absolute Necessity for it, I have not interfered in any Matters concerning the Fort, or insisted on putting a Garrison of the King's Troops into it. But if the King should incline to make any Alteration in the Dispositions of his Forces, by stationing One or Two Regiments in the Province for the Time to come, his Majesty may think it right to put Castle-William into the Possession of his own Troops; but as, in that Case, I apprehend the Province would grant no Funds to maintain it, the Expence thereof will fall upon the Crown. The Fort may be made to contain Two or Three Companies of Foot, and a Detachment of the Royal Regiment of Artillery; but as for the Barracks near it, situated on a small Island, where there is not Room for Troops to move, and at such a Distance from the Town of Boston, they will not answer any Design or Purpose of stationing Troops there for the Service of the Town. And if any Number of Troops should be fixed in this Province, I would take the Liberty to propose, that Barracks should be built for them within the Town, on a vacant Spot called Fort-Hill, an advantageous Situation, where a Fort formerly stood; and Governor Bernard tells me it belongs to the Crown. A new Fort may hereafter be erected there, if his Majesty's Affairs should require it.

Every Art and Evasion has been tried by the major Part of the People of every Degree, to force the Troops to quit the Town, for Want of Quarters, whilst those, who may have acted, or made known their Sentiments in Favour of Government, declared they durst not stay in the Town, but must remove with their Families and Effects, if the Troops should leave it. When the Houses were ready to receive the Troops, the Officers were threatened with the Clause of the Mutiny Act against Officers, who presume to take upon themselves to quarter Troops, &c. and to prevent their being put to any Trouble on that Account by perverting the Act in that Particular, as had been done in so many others, Governor Bernard gave a particular Warranty to a Commissary, against whom no Action could lie, to quarter the Soldiers in the Houses, fitted up for their Reception. I would take the Liberty, my Lord, to represent, that the Clause in Question is by no Means calculated for the Circumstances of this Country, where every Man studies Law, and interprets the Laws as suits his Purposes, and where the Measures of Government are opposed by every Evasion and Chicanery that can be devised. An Officer of Rank, and long Service, may be cashiered by the Management of Two Justices of the Peace, the best of them the Keeper of a paltry Tavern, who shall find Evasions to disobey the Clauses of the Mutiny Act, which they dislike, and to pervert the Sense and Meaning of others, to serve their Designs against him, and unhappily it might be found in some Places, that those who should reverse iniquitous Convictions of Justices of the Peace, were no better than the Justices who should have granted the Certificates of Conviction. I troubled his Majesty's Secretary at War some Time ago, with some very unwarrantable Proceedings against an Officer, on Account of the Clause in Question, which happened to the Southward.

After other Methods had been tried to get the Troops away, I received an Address from a Number of Gentlemen, Members of the Council, in which they

aim at justifying the People against mutations of their Conduct, blaming that of his Majesty's Customs, and begging to be withdrawn from the Town. I have transmitted your Lordship the Address thereto.

Those who would justify, or raise Proceedings of the People here, could have been grossly misrepresented, and turbulence that has happened, been no more than a necessary Consequence of the dangerous Riots; that the Disturbance trifling, that of the 10th of June was by the Imprudence of the Commissioners. The Resolves made at the Town Meeting were only to the Extravagance of a few, and aver that the Convention was called, and Intend, than to take proper Measures for Peace and Tranquillity of the Province.

I am to observe upon the above, to the best Information I have been able to obtain, that what had happened respecting Seizures of the Customs had Reason to be considered, respecting the Seizure which occasioned the 10th of June, which was considered. I do not find that they were, at that time, attacked, yet the Assault upon some of the Houses, and the Threats daily thrown out, was certainly a sufficient Reason to be apprehensive of Danger to their own Person, and that Harm would have actually happened if they had remained in the Town, it is not to be denied. With respect to the Resolves procured by the People at the Town Meetings, those governed the Town, and influenced the Town very long Time, and after publishing several Resolves, in the Town Meeting on September last, carried the Motion for the Resolves from the several Towns; and they were accordingly. I shall only observe that their Intentions were suspicious, and that the Troops from Halifax arrived at a late Hour.

The Commissioners of the Customs, William, and upon being asked about Boston, one of them said, there were no more to support them, but desired to know if or what Civil Officer, who would undertake the Assistance of the Troops, if there should be any. The Governor and Lieutenant-Governor present, but neither could be answered by any Officer would undertake it.

Your Lordship will naturally imagine, that the Troops are here to support the Government, and a due Execution of the Powers of Government are reverted to you where the Constitution has placed them. Civil Officers would immediately avail themselves of an Opportunity to restore the Order, and put the Laws in Execution, who shall dare to violate them; and it is plainly seen even amongst Magistrates, of whom it is said, that they are not desirous to support Government, but that there is a Fear of acting contrary to the general Sentiments of their Fellow-Citizens, to maintain a certain Degree of Liberty, which prevents them from being the Execution of their Offices. All that Things being in a more quiet State, the violent Temper of the People was Time, and their Minds be more calm, Magistrates may do their Duty without coming obnoxious to the People; and under a kind of Democratical despotism, a reasonable Time, and it has not been safe to speak contrary to the Sentiments of the People, and surprising as it may seem, your Fears are not yet annihilated.

If it is asked, why the Governor should not remove the Justices of Peace out of Commission, who will do their Duty? It is to be observed, that the Governor can neither appoint Justices of the Peace, but by Consent of Council; and he cannot oppose every Thing proposed for the Service of Government, that is contrary to the general Sentiments of the People. From what has been said, your Lordship will perceive, that there is no Government in Truth very little at present, and that this Province leans so much to the Democracy, that the Governor has not the Power to do the Disorders which happen in it.

*I have the Honour to be, with the  
most respectful Regards,  
my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient,  
and most humble Servant,*

LONDON, Feb. 10, 1769.

SOME Letters from Constantine to the Grand Signior has declared himself commanding in Person the grand Army, against the Russians. Mr. Wilkes's Friends are very famous to the Subscription which was opened at the London Tavern; and some say that it will amount to near 40,000 next Week.

They write from Utrecht of Feltham, that the 10th of that Month, a Hundred Members of the Elector Palatine, which had been of that City, which were all shut up whereof had been doubled. An Officer demanded a Conference with the Elector, he was conducted to the City-Secretaries, returned and left to be done Three or Four Times over, and able to agree on the Articles of Capitulation; the City was again summoned to surrender. On this a Body of Troops forced open the Hatchets, and for their greater Security some Cannon. But this Precaution the besieged having retired with great