



Public Record Office
of Northern Ireland

INTRODUCTION

MACARTNEY PAPERS

November 2007

Macartney Papers

(D572, D1062/2, D2225, D2731)

Table of Contents

Summary	3
Macartney's career	4
Envoy to Russia.....	5
The Bute connection.....	6
Irish Chief Secretary	7
Lobbying in London	8
The 1769 session	9
Preparations for the session of 1771	10
Disillusionment.....	11
An administrator at heart.....	12
Debts and doldrums.....	13
Grenada.....	14
Intermission	15
India	16
China	17
Verona	18
Madame Royale.....	20
Last years	21
The creation, dispersal and re-discovery of the Macartney papers.....	22
The Phillips Collection.....	22
Security for a loan	23
The 1947 sale	23
The Papers - D572 section of the archive.....	25
The Chief Secretaryship.....	25
The port of Belfast.....	26
Hearts of Steel and smugglers	26

Dissenters and Catholics.....	27
Lisanoure	27
Highlights of D572.....	27
Verona.....	28
Ambassadors and secret agents.....	29
Louis XVIII and his Court.....	29
The D2225 section of the Macartney papers	31
Formal documents	31
Estate papers	31
Microfilm and photocopies made for PRONI of Macartney papers elsewhere	33

Summary



George, Earl Macartney

George Macartney, Earl Macartney (1737-1806) was one of the foremost British diplomats and proconsuls of his day. His distinguished career took him to Russia, the West Indies, India, China, Italy and South Africa - and even back to his native Ireland. In the century between c.1850 and c.1950, his papers have been dispersed in as many directions: some to the scenes of his diplomatic and proconsular activity, and still more to the United States. Fortunately, almost all his papers of relevance to Ireland – both to the one Irish office which he held and to his Co. Antrim estate – have remained in or been returned to his native Ulster, and are now most of them in PRONI. Of the highly fragmented archive, PRONI holds c.3000 documents (counting individual letters in letter-books as single items) and other institutions all over the world c.15,000-20,000 documents (on the same basis). PRONI's holdings documenting Macartney's Co. Antrim estate matters and of his period of office as Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1769-1772, are almost complete and are certainly fuller than those of any other individual or institution. But PRONI also holds almost all the Macartney archive documenting Macartney's abortive mission to Louis XVIII at Verona in 1795-1796, and a significant part of the archive documenting his career in India in the 1780s (notably his campaign late in 1780 to be elected Governor of Madras). PRONI has copied a great many Macartney papers in other institutions, and also took the lead in sponsoring the only modern life of Macartney – Peter Roebuck (ed.), 'Macartney of Lisanoure', 1737-1806 (Belfast, Ulster Historical Foundation, 1983); reprinted 1989 as 'Public Service and Private Fortune: The Life of Lord Macartney', 1737-1806.



Macartney's career

In his introduction to PRONI's *Macartney in Ireland, 1768-1772: A Calendar of the Chief Secretaryship Papers of Sir George Macartney* (Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, 1979), Professor Thomas Bartlett writes: 'George Macartney was born on 14 May 1737 at Lisanoure, near Ballymoney, Co. Antrim. The family had settled there at the time of Cromwell and still owned a substantial amount of land in the area. They were prominent in local, and to a lesser extent, national affairs. Macartney's father had been a member of the Irish parliament for many years, while a collateral branch of the family had considerable commercial interests in Belfast. In later years, Macartney liked to give the impression that his origins were excessively humble but this was an exaggeration.

Little is known about Macartney's early years but they appear to have been spent in a conventional enough fashion. He was educated locally for a time and then entered Trinity College, Dublin, when he was thirteen years old. He graduated M.A. in 1759. On leaving Trinity, he went to London where, for a time, he toyed with the idea of becoming a lawyer. After a short period of study at the Middle Temple, however, he rejected this idea and instead, decided to embark on a grand tour of Europe in order to "form his mind" and equip himself for the political career which he appears now to have set his heart upon.

At this point, Macartney's fortunes began to improve. On his travels he fell in with Stephen Fox, eldest son of the political magnate, Henry Fox, 1st Lord Holland. Macartney managed to perform some service for the wayward "Ste" (probably saving him from himself) with the result that he earned the gratitude and friendship of Lord and Lady Holland. He strengthened his connection with the Hollands by continuing to act as unofficial guardian to Stephen Fox during the remainder of their travels on the continent. The friendship of an important political figure such as Lord Holland was of great benefit to the youthful and comparatively unknown Macartney. Motives of friendship apart, Lord Holland wished to further Macartney's career because he was greatly impressed with his character, bearing and general ability, and thought he would be a useful acquisition to the Fox "parliamentary stable". On his return to England then, in 1763, Macartney looked forward confidently to a seat at Westminster and a rapid rise in the political world.



Henry Fox, 1st Lord Holland



Envoy to Russia

Disappointed of a seat for the parliamentary constituency of Midhurst in the spring of 1764, Macartney was offered, through Lord Holland's influence with the Secretary of State for the Northern Department (Lord Sandwich), the post of Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Catherine the Great. Macartney's circumstances were such – he was in debt to Lord Holland and the salary looked tempting – that he could not afford to refuse the offer. In late 1764, after being knighted, he set out for St Petersburg, charged with negotiating a commercial treaty and also with sounding out the possibilities of an alliance between Britain and Russia. Macartney remained in Russia until May 1767 and, on the face of it, his embassy proved quite successful. He succeeded where his predecessors had failed and managed to negotiate a commercial treaty with Russia which was very favourable to British interests. An alliance, however, proved as elusive as ever, although this was hardly Macartney's fault. On the other hand, from the point of view of his career, his stay in Russia had proved less than satisfactory. British ministers, despite the achievement of the commercial treaty, regarded him as a somewhat impetuous envoy and were not disposed to offer their congratulations. He seemed to them to be over-ambitious and too prone to present the home government with *fait accomplis*. Moreover, as a result of an indiscretion with one of Catherine's ladies-in-waiting, Macartney left Russia under a cloud and his return there - should an opening occur - was effectively barred.



The Bute connection

Before he had left Russia (late May 1767), Macartney had written to Lord Holland asking him to secure him a seat in the British House of Commons. Membership of the House of Commons brought with it that "bargaining power for office" that Macartney needed, and office, preferably a high one, was what he had in view. After some difficulty initially about securing a suitable seat, he was returned for the borough of Cockermouth in Cumberland at the general election in March 1768. Cockermouth was controlled by the great political magnate, Sir James Lowther, and it was on his interest that Macartney took his seat. Macartney's marriage had been responsible for this stroke of good fortune. On 1 February 1768, he had married Lady Jane Stuart, second daughter of the 3rd Earl of Bute, and it was through the good offices of his father-in-law who pressed his claims for a seat on Sir James Lowther (who was also married to one of Bute's daughters). It was also through his father-in-law's interest, this time with the Duke of Northumberland, that Macartney was returned to the Irish House of Commons as member for Armagh borough.

Macartney's marriage was largely one of convenience. Lady Jane had few good looks; she had apparently not been consulted about the choice of her husband; the marriage did not prove a particularly happy one; and there were no children. Moreover, though the connection with the Bute family was of great initial importance to Macartney's political ambitions, it became ultimately a liability, because Bute's influence had been won at the cost of the hatred and abiding distrust of several of the foremost political families in England.

And there were other clouds on the horizon: Macartney's maiden speech in the British House of Commons was indifferently received; and, much more ominous, his patron, Sir James Lowther, was steadily losing control of the representation of Cumberland. Lowther himself was unseated and, needing a seat in parliament, was forced to call on Macartney to resign his. Macartney did so – as he was in honour bound to do – and in March 1769 Lowther was returned for Cockermouth in Macartney's place. Meanwhile Macartney had been given some "compensation" by the offer of the chief secretaryship to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Townshend. Although Macartney was known to be Chief Secretary from late November 1768 onwards, his appointment was not made official until the 1st January 1769.



Irish Chief Secretary



*George, 4th Viscount
Townshend*

The office of Chief Secretary, like most offices in the 18th century below cabinet rank, tended to vary in importance according to the character and personality of the holder and his relations with his superior, the Lord Lieutenant. Up to the time of Macartney's appointment the duties of a chief secretary had been primarily administrative, the office being in effect the nerve centre of the Irish administration, both civil and military. It had been regarded as a comfortable berth for amateurs in politics. Even Irishmen were not excluded from the post - in 18th century Ireland, usually a reliable guide to the relative importance of any position in the gift of the British government or its agents. Theophilus Jones, maliciously described as "a young man of the lowest birth and remarkably illiterate even in a country where being illiterate is not apt to get remarked", had been made Chief Secretary by Lord Bristol as recently as July 1767. With the appointment of Lord Townshend as Lord Lieutenant and the ensuing struggle for control of government between the "undertakers", leading political magnates in Ireland, and him, the office of Chief Secretary underwent a significant change of function. While still administrative, it became more and more important politically and the Chief Secretary increasingly was called upon to play what could be called a "ministerial" role in Irish politics. After Macartney's time, the importance of the office had ceased to vary according to the ability of the Chief Secretary.

The policy to be pursued in Ireland had been worked out by Lord Townshend before Macartney's appointment and in its essentials it underwent no change in the next few years. The Lord Lieutenant believed that the basis of the undertakers' power lay in their control of the Irish Revenue Board and its patronage. John Ponsonby, the leading undertaker, was not only Speaker of the Irish House of Commons but also the "First" Commissioner of the Revenue. Townshend wished to divide the Revenue Board into separate boards of customs and excise, largely because he felt that such a division would enable the revenue to be collected more efficiently but also because the extra positions thereby created would be of great use to him in building up a government party in the Irish House of Commons. Furthermore, he sought to have the direct power of appointment and dismissal for every position in the revenue lodged in his hands, from a commissionership down to the most inferior tidewatership.



*George, 4th Viscount
Townshend, in later years*



Lobbying in London

Macartney did not settle in Ireland until September 1769 and during the preceding nine months, it had been a main part of his duties to try to obtain the cabinet's approval of Townshend's plan. The Lord Lieutenant felt that having his Chief Secretary in England held certain advantages for the conduct of affairs in Ireland. Townshend realised that more than a few dismissals or one or two promotions was necessary to re-establish the strength and prestige of English government in Ireland. A "new system" was needed but, after nine months stay in England, Macartney had left for Ireland without gaining the cabinet's approval for such a policy.

His main motive for staying on in London was his hope that he would be given a better office than that of Chief Secretary. During 1769, he continued to angle for the vacant and more lucrative and prestigious embassy to Spain. For a time it looked as if he would go to Spain, and Townshend bade him farewell and set about looking for a successor. In previous years the place-hunting activities of a Chief Secretary would not have merited so much attention, but, in the context of the struggle being waged between Townshend and the Irish opposition, Macartney's activities reflected adversely on the strength of the Lord Lieutenant's administration.



The 1769 session

His conduct, moreover, during the opening session of the new parliament was open to criticism. Parliament met in October 1769 and initially there seemed to be a fair prospect that the administration would meet with some success particularly over the proposal to augment the army on the Irish establishment which, as in the last session of the previous parliament, was to be the main measure. Government hopes of success, however, quickly vanished. The augmentation scheme was approved by substantial majorities; but a money bill which had been drawn up in the Irish Privy Council and sent over to England as one of the causes for calling the Irish parliament, was rejected on the grounds that the bill "did not take its rise in the Irish House of Commons". Accordingly, having bided his time until the revenue bills, including one identical to the one earlier rejected, had been given the royal assent, Townshend stepped in, protested against the Commons' action and prematurely prorogued parliament in late December 1769; it was not to meet again until February 1771.

Macartney had been called upon to take the lead in the Irish House of Commons. This was all the more difficult for him as he had little experience of parliamentary debating and, worse, could call on little help from the supposed supporters of government. It was a baptism of fire, and Macartney put up a creditable performance in a House of Commons which was practically in open revolt. Yet it is possible that he exacerbated an already dangerous situation by the bluntness of his language.



Preparations for the session of 1771

During 1770, he continued to seek a better position outside Ireland, while still fulfilling his duties as Chief Secretary and playing his part in the Lord Lieutenant's campaign against the undertakers. For Macartney, the months from January 1770 to February 1771 were largely involved with the Lord Lieutenant's agent in London, Thomas Allan, on the question of the division of the Irish Revenue Board and on what was known as the "rum business". This involved the removal of the customs duties refunded on rum imported first into England and then re-exported to Ireland. It was hoped that up to £40,000 p.a. would be gained for the Irish hereditary revenue by this measure. There was also a strong political purpose behind the move. Townshend hoped to increase the hereditary revenue by means of the rum duty, cut down on public works (in many cases "private jobs") paid for out of this revenue, and root out, by re-organising the Revenue Board, the influence of the undertakers. Furthermore, he hoped to introduce an element of professionalism into the collection of the Irish revenue. The plan was imaginative in concept and wide ranging in its implications and its implementation was to bring the government some success, although not as much as had been predicted.

The Falkland Islands dispute with Spain prompted Macartney to "test his weight" yet again with the British ministers, in the hope of obtaining the Spanish embassy. It also had implications for Irish politics. The threat of war necessitated the recall of the Irish parliament in order to provide money to raise more troops. At the last moment, however, the crisis passed and war was averted. Yet Townshend still determined to meet parliament, as he wished for a showdown with the undertakers. The outcome of the session which opened in February 1771 seemed to bear out his most optimistic forecasts. Ponsonby, rather than suffer the indignity of carrying an address of thanks to Townshend for continuing as Lord Lieutenant, resigned the speakership in disgust. "Government" exulted Townshend, "had fairly driven him out of the field". In England, Townshend's credit soared. Macartney, too, received congratulations on the outcome. Townshend paid tribute to him, and in his patronage recommendations put Macartney down for a pension of £2000 a year, which George III refused to countenance.



Disillusionment

Macartney was bitterly disappointed by this refusal, but continued as Chief Secretary until November 1772. His work and duties remained much the same as they had been previously. He kept in constant communication with Thomas Allan over the "rum business" and the re-organisation of the Irish Revenue Board, and both these measures, after considerable delay (and some alteration), were eventually approved by the British government. Management of the government forces continued to occupy a great deal of his time and attention, and during a parliamentary session which began in October 1771, he acted as "whipper-in" for the administration. In June 1772, he was made a Knight of the Bath - a modest token of George III's esteem. Later on in the year, Lord Townshend recommended Macartney for a pension of £1,500 on the Irish establishment and this was duly granted. It was a small pension, and with absentee tax deducted, would amount to scarcely £1,100 a year. Macartney was sure "... that no secretary ever served government with greater fidelity to the trust than I did and no secretary ever received so little thanks for it ..."



An administrator at heart

He had more than financial reasons for his disillusionment. At heart, he was an administrator. He may have had political ambitions at one time but he seems to have discarded them during his stay in Ireland. The Irish parliament, he felt, was largely irrelevant to the needs of the country. He had little time for the petty squabbles and power struggles which went on there. His interest was focused on the subject of Irish revenue and also on the whole field of Irish trade and commerce. In a manuscript account (later printed – see MIC271) which he sent to Lord North, the Prime Minister, he detailed the state of Irish revenue and trade with great authority. As a concise introduction to the revenue, politics and government of Ireland, and as a handbook for future chief secretaries, this account is admirable. Above all, its author was an imperialist. In the Irish House of Commons, he was wont to chide members for putting local before national advantage; and that the British legislature should be supreme throughout the empire, was to him axiomatic. With sentiments like these, it is not surprising that he was, from an early period, a firm advocate for a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland as the only solution to Anglo-Irish relations. He felt himself destined for greater things. In his grandiose vision of the British empire, the back-stairs intrigue and petty squabbles of Irish politics had no part. ...'



Debts and doldrums

Following his departure from Ireland, the pension of £1500 a year was, with considerable difficulty, exchanged for the governorship of Toome, Co. Londonderry, which had a salary of a comparable amount attached to it. His father-in-law, Lord Bute, had obtained a seat for him (Ayr burghs) in the British House of Commons, and this made it necessary to dispose of his pension in order to keep within the terms of the Place Act. He made little mark in parliament, however, speaking rarely and taking part in very few divisions. His financial situation, meanwhile, worsened; by July 1774 he was being pressed to repay money owed to both Lord Holland and the famous necrophile, George Selwyn.



Grenada

When, therefore, late in 1775, he was offered the governorship of the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines and Tobago, he had little alternative but to accept. Before he set out for the West Indies, where he arrived in May 1776, he was raised to the Irish peerage as Lord Macartney, baron of Lisanoure. Ironically, as things turned out, 'He hoped that a residence of three or four years in the West Indies might enable him to save sufficient to pay off all his debts and start afresh, cleared of all encumbrance.'

In an 'Irish Times' review (7 January 1984) of Macartney of Lisanoure ..., Dr Dennis Kennedy wrote of Grenada: '... The island, with others, had been ceded by France to Britain in 1763, just twelve years earlier. Macartney liked the look of it. On his arrival he wrote home: "With regard to the face of the country, it is impossible for the most lively imagination to figure anything so beautiful. ..." But it was no paradise; disease was rife, and the Governor-General had problems with what he termed "the strange discordant mass of English, Scots, Irish, French, Creoles and Americans of which this colony is composed, heated by various passions and prejudices far beyond any European idea" Ants were a problem too; in 1776 the island's legislature offered a prize of £20,000 to anyone who could invent a cheap and easy way of eradicating the sugar-ant. But the arrival of the French fleet ... with 6500 troops on board ... on July 2nd, 1779, cut short these preoccupations. ...The French Admiral was the Comte d'Estaing, and his troops included Dillon's regiment from the Irish Brigade. Macartney "... made the best defence we could with the handful of people we had, which consisted of 101 rank and file of the 48th Regiment, 24 artillery recruits and between three and four hundred militia. ..., for in the preceding night we were deserted by almost all the coloured people and the greatest part of the new subjects [the French]." Macartney ... [was] shipped off to France, where he was soon exchanged for a French prisoner in British hands. ...' He had lost most of his possessions, and returned to England almost penniless.



Intermission

A short visit to Ireland followed. This was made at the behest of Lord North who wanted Macartney to sound out the prospects for a union between Great Britain and Ireland and also, possibly, to pressure the Lord Lieutenant, John Hobart, 2nd Earl of Buckinghamshire, into resigning the post. Macartney finished his business in Ireland early in 1780, was returned to the British House of Commons for Berealston in Devon and set about looking for a permanent and lucrative government position in Britain. None offered, however, and he was once again forced to seek employment abroad. By 1780 he had come to realise that his connections with Lord Bute and the Holland family had brought him little advantage.



India

Late in 1780, as a result of assiduous canvassing for votes in the East India Company, he was appointed Governor of Madras, and early in 1781 he set out for India. His administration there was distinguished by his personal probity (of which he made much) and by his seemingly unfailing ability to quarrel with almost everyone with whom he came in contact, including the Governor-General of Bengal, Warren Hastings, Sir Eyre Coote and James Stuart and Admiral Sir Edward Hughes.

The events of Macartney's term of office in India were largely pre-determined by war and the defects of Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773. Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore, had invaded the Carnatic and occupied it up to the very walls of Madras at the time of Macartney's arrival; and in the Indian theatre of the world war then raging, the French and Dutch looked likely to reverse the outcome of the Seven Years' War. The Regulating Act, an honest but unfortunate attempt to improve the existing system of administration in the Company's possessions, placed the Supreme Government in Bengal in the absurd position of having to support wars without possessing any effective voice in their commencement or conclusion. As C.C. Davies writes in his introduction to *The Private Correspondence of Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, 1781-1785* (London, 1950), '... Unseemly wranglings continued until Pitt's India Act of 1784 legally strengthened the Supreme Government in this respect. In fact, the term Supreme Government was a misnomer before 1784. The relations between Bengal and Madras between 1774 and 1784, especially the estrangement which took place between Hastings and Macartney, show that the system proved unworkable because the supreme authority was not really supreme.

But this was not the only factor militating against success, and it would be unfair to lay all the blame upon the framers of the Regulating Act. Both at Calcutta and in Madras the chief actors on the stage were men struggling for power. Brooding in a sultry climate they refused to agree. Moreover distance and the backwardness of communications operated against any attempt at centralisation. ...' In spite of the wrangles and reverses in which he had been involved (the latter of which included the recapture of Trincomali by the French in 1782), the East India Company were pleased with Macartney's conduct of affairs and settled an annuity for life of £1500 on him. In August 1785, as a result of a dispute, he resigned his position and returned to Britain in December. He had declined an offer of the governorship-general of Bengal because the British ministers, William Pitt and Henry Dundas, refused to accompany it with a British peerage.

From 1786 to 1791 Macartney's career was 'on the shelf'. He had been badly wounded in a duel with General Stuart soon after his return from India. He was also troubled by gout, so part of this period was spent convalescing on his estate at Lisanoure.



China

In 1791, however, he was offered, and accepted, the post of Ambassador to China - the first to be appointed by the British government - and sailed for China in September 1792. His specific mission was to negotiate a treaty of commerce with the Chinese. When he left in January (reaching England in September) 1794, he thought he had achieved a break-through and that follow-up embassies would establish a regular communication. But no follow-up was attempted and no subsequent progress made. This failure was hardly Macartney's fault; the Chinese simply were not interested in a treaty of commerce with 'western barbarians'. As Professor Cranmer-Byng comments: 'The real reason for the failure of Macartney's mission was that from the very beginning it never stood the slightest chance of success. ...'



Verona

In the summer of 1795, Earl Macartney as he now was (his earldom had been conferred during his absence in China) was sent by Lord Grenville, the British Foreign Secretary, as an envoy to the Comte de Provence in Verona. The Comte had taken the title of Louis XVIII after his nephew, Louis XVII, was thought to have died in a Paris gaol in June 1795. He was anxious to establish his claim to the throne of France, both by the re-establishment of the monarchy in France itself, and the recognition of himself by foreign powers. Neither Louis XVII, nor the Comte de Provence's self styled position of regent while his nephew was alive, was recognised by the British: the restoration of the Bourbons was not a British war aim, and Louis XVII was merely a child and also held prisoner by the revolutionary government. The 'unofficial' mark of recognition which Britain bestowed on Louis XVIII, by sending Macartney as an envoy, had ulterior motives: Grenville wanted to be kept informed of royalist plans, so that he could attempt to moderate them if necessary. In fact, the immediate purpose of Macartney's mission to Verona was to advise Louis on the text of an impending manifesto (proclaiming his right to the throne of France, and denouncing the revolutionary government). Unfortunately, Macartney arrived too late to prevent the release of the so called 'Verona Declaration', which likened the Revolution to the hydra head of anarchy, spoke of restoring the ancient constitution, for fourteen centuries the glory of France, and issued threats against the regicide members of the French convention.

When Macartney went to Verona, France and the allies were at war, the main campaign centring on the Rhine and Northern Italy. The King of Prussia had withdrawn from the war, leaving the Austrians, financed by the British, to force the front along the Rhine. In Northern Italy, the Austrians, combined with various Italian troops, prepared to resist Napoleon. In July 1795, Spain had made peace with France, to the great surprise of Britain and the French émigrés, who believed Spain supported the French monarchy. Europe had little time for a king without a kingdom, and without a treasury, whose sole supporters were a section of a ruined and exhausted nobility scattered across the continent of Europe and hard to discipline or unite. During the autumn and winter of 1795, however, Louis's hopes lighted on the same point as the British, even if for different reasons: the chance of the Austrians forcing the French back along the Rhine. For Louis fondly imagined himself at the head of the Prince de Condé's small army of émigrés (stationed in Germany), leading them into France to a glorious welcome from his oppressed subjects.

In another quarter, too, he had hopes of support. He had appointed his brother, the Comte d'Artois, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, with special responsibility for relations with the western provinces of France. In August 1795, d'Artois sailed from Portsmouth, at the head of an expeditionary force of mixed British and émigré troops, destined for Quiberon and a junction with the forces who had already arrived there; only to learn on his arrival of the disaster which had overtaken them in July, and of yet another crushing defeat for the royalist army of partisans. D'Artois retired to Edinburgh, abandoning all hopes of success. Meanwhile, in Paris there was a virtual state of civil war, with political parties continually shifting their ground. Louis had only a minor foothold there, where he was represented by his agents, Brottier and

Duverne. Some royalist parties - supported by the constitutionalists – who would otherwise have supported him, were incensed by the Verona Declaration, and produced other claimants to the throne, in particular the Duc d'Orléans. Louis had good reason to desire recognition by other countries (Catherine II of Russia did recognise him, but refused to send him any aid), for until he gained that, his title as king was uncertain.



Madame Royale

Another potential rival was the surviving daughter of Louis XVI, the Princess Maria Theresa, also known as Madame Royale. After the death of Louis XVII in prison, the revolutionary government, as a conciliatory measure, exchanged his sister, the princess, with the Austrians, for two captured French deputies. Louis suspected that the princess, in the hands of the Austrians, might be married to an archduke or other imperial personage, and eventually placed on the throne of France; since he depended on foreign support, he was in a rather weak position to argue with the Austrians. He therefore stated publicly that he wished his niece to reside with him. But the Austrians took her away to Vienna. They did not, however, pursue their designs upon her; and in 1799, Louis was writing to Macartney of the marriage of his 'dear children', referring to that of the Duc d'Angoulême (a son of the Comte d'Artois) and Madame Royale.

Long before this, Napoleon had trampled under-foot the combined Austrian/Italian armies, and had occupied most of northern Italy. By May 1796, he had forced the Sardinians to make peace, and cede Savoy and Nice to France. The further successful progress of his campaign led to a British withdrawal from Corsica and Elba, leaving Gibraltar as their only possession in the Mediterranean.



Last years

In December 1796, Macartney '... was appointed Governor of the newly-captured colony of The Cape of Good Hope. Incessant travel, however, had by now severely taxed his strength. In November 1797 he complained that The Cape "demands a younger and a more active man, with greater vigour of body and elasticity of mind than I can boast of". In 1798 he resigned as governor on account of old age and failing health. He returned to England and, for the remainder of his life, lived quietly with his wife in London or at Parkhurst, near Dorking, Surrey. In 1801, he refused an offer of the Presidency of the Board of Control for India. He died on 31 March 1806, from an attack of "gout in the stomach" (probably cancer), and was buried in Chiswick churchyard.'



The creation, dispersal and re-discovery of the Macartney papers

The story of this has been told by B.G. Hutton in *Familia*, Vol. 2, no. 5 (Belfast, 1989). '... In January 1854, the "library and collection of manuscripts" of Lord Macartney, as they were described in the catalogue, were placed in the hands of Puttick & Simpson of Piccadilly, "auctioneers of literary property", and sold over five days. [From] the published sale catalogue ... a mere 34 lots are identifiable with reasonable confidence ... as being part at least of the diplomatic papers of Lord Macartney. Put briefly for the moment, the 34 lots included 17 volumes, both official and private, covering the mission to Russia, a similar number for the governorship of Grenada, more than 50 volumes and parcels of correspondence about Madras, some two dozen volumes for the embassy to China and a set of 8 volumes of correspondence and proclamations for The Cape of Good Hope. ...'

Most of these volumes were bought by the great bibliophile, Sir Thomas Phillipps, whose purchases seem to have amounted to '... 16 volumes for Russia, 2 for Ireland, 13 for Grenada, 23 for India, 60 for China and 8 for The Cape of Good Hope, providing a total of 122 volumes of manuscripts. ... But two important lots of Indian papers were bought, not by ... Phillips, but by James Newman, the bookseller in High Holborn. Newman bought, as lot 1043, a set of 23 volumes of the Proceedings of the Correspondence of the Select Committee at Fort St. George during the period that Macartney was Governor of Madras, and Newman also bought, as lot 1070, "two large parcels" of Fort St. George correspondence. The Puttick & Simpson catalogue entry describes 1043 as a "most important and historically valuable collection of hitherto unpublished correspondence, at one of the most interesting periods of history, detailing facts obtainable from no other source, therefore well deserving a place in some Public Institution". Newman sold these papers to the British Museum four years later, in 1858, and they now form Add. Ms. 20415-464.



The Phillips Collection

Those Macartney Papers sold [to Phillipps] in 1854 have become, whilst retaining their own identity, part of the story of the Phillipps Collection ...', which was dispersed between 1886 and 1913 on sixteen separate occasions in 1900 lots for a return of some £70,000. '... A substantial number of "Macartney Manuscripts", although not all, came under the hammer on the fifth day of Sotheby's sale in May 1913, forming lots 884 to 955. ... Suffice it to say ... that the 1913 sale was to scatter the Macartney papers from the Phillipps collection irretrievably. Some Russian items are now in Yale and the Huntington Library; volumes for Grenada are in the British Library, Rhodes House, [the] Library of Congress and the Law School at Harvard; Chinese material is in Cornell, the Wellcome Library and Tokyo; and volumes for The Cape of Good Hope are in the British Library, Rhodes House and the University of Witwatersrand. [ANL] Munby has described this dispersal as "a matter for lament by scholars".

One substantial consequence, however, of the 1913 sale was that a body of Indian correspondence, which Sir Thomas Phillipps had acquired in 1854 and which seems to correspond to lots 1069 and 1070 in the Puttick & Simpson catalogue, was bought by Francis Edwards, the London dealer. Edwards sold these papers, 52 volumes in all, to the Bodleian Library in 1916 and they now form MS. Eng.Hist. c.66-117. The complementary nature of these volumes and those bought by the British Museum from James Newman in 1858 is described in C.C. Davies' edition of Macartney's Madras Correspondence, but the interlocking nature of the two collections is better described by Wainwright and Matthews in their Survey of South and South-East Asian manuscripts. There were, it is sad to relate, a further six sales from the Phillipps Collection between 1919 and 1938 and a quantity of Macartney material was sold in 1935. After the Second World War, when the still vast residue of the Phillipps Collection was bought by Lionel and Philip Robinson, there were further sales and it is true to say that scattered Macartney items still appear from time to time, predominantly Indian in interest.



Security for a loan

This account of the Macartney Papers has so far been pre-occupied with what Macartney's descendants sent to Puttick & Simpson for sale in 1854, and the subsequent fortunes of those papers, but it is clear that much never left Ireland. In the papers of Boyd of Ballycastle, a firm of North Antrim solicitors, there is fragmentary correspondence of 1850 between the then George Macartney and George Hyndman, a Belfast auctioneer. The understanding reached was that Hyndman would remove a number of articles from Lisanoure as security for money already advanced to Macartney and, in the event of the money not being repaid to Hyndman by April 1851, Hyndman was free to retain or sell what had been removed from Lisanoure. It seems that the arrangement included books to the value of £400 and that these books included a number of manuscripts of Indian interest. It is the Hyndman collection of Macartney manuscripts that John Gilbert reported upon in the 9th report of the HMC in 1884 when five complete volumes of Madras letter-books were described and quoted from extensively. These volumes were subsequently acquired by PRONI [D2225/4/55-D2225/4/59] and did not, as C.C. Davies supposed, form part of what was acquired by the Bodleian in 1916.



The 1947 sale

At the end of the Second World War, still more Macartney material came to light at Lisanoure. An inventory, compiled in 1943, of the property of the then Mrs Macartney of Lisanoure, refers to a "mahogany dower chest" valued at £30, in which was stored "16 volumes of letters", "other letters not bound", "7 volumes of correspondence when Earl Macartney was in China and Madras" and "other private letters, maps, documents, etc", all of which were also valued at £30. These papers, with no more detailed a description than the above, were placed in the hands of the Belfast auctioneer, John Ross, in 1947, and were sold in 12

lots in July of that year. However, Dr [D.A.] Chart, the then Deputy Keeper at the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, had examined the lots in some detail before the sale and had prepared a list. His correspondence with the Ministry of Finance makes it clear that his instructions were, as a condition of receiving a special purchase grant, to acquire only material of Ulster interest and that anything acquired which did not fit this criterion would have to be re-sold. Within this constraint Dr Chart acquired, for the sum of £59.17s.0d, 17 volumes of roughly arranged and bound correspondence, probably done in Macartney's lifetime, together with some unbound letters and a quantity of estate maps and accounts. This body of correspondence, some 2250 letters in all, both incoming and draft outgoing, provides an extraordinary rich and varied account of Macartney's career, both official and private, but it does seem to have met the narrow criterion forced upon Dr Chart in that it also includes a good deal of correspondence relating to the management of his estate at Lisanoure. The acquisition of this correspondence is described in the Deputy Keeper's Report for 1949-1950, but Dr Chart's earlier list demonstrates how much other material was passed over, and thus dispersed, in 1947, which could have been kept together.

The sale of 1947, therefore, was the final act in a series of crucial events which took place in 1851, 1854, 1913 and 1935 and which scattered the main body of Lord Macartney's papers. ...'



The Papers – D572 section of the archive

This section contains the already-mentioned 17 volumes of bound in-letters (D572/1-D572/17) and some loose papers (D572/18-D572/21), 1721-1739 and 1755-1807, with a few earlier and a few later items.

The contents of the 17 volumes were arranged, apparently in Macartney's lifetime, in a haphazard and confusing manner - sometimes by date, sometimes by correspondent and sometimes by subject. The result is that letters referring to the same subject are found in various volumes. The material in the volumes has been conserved and transferred to modern guard-books; but its arrangement has not been tampered with, since it was probably Macartney's own. The original arrangement of the loose material, which includes rentals and other papers besides correspondence (D572/18-D572/21), has also been retained. To rationalise the inconsistencies and lack of sequence in the original arrangement, a chronological 'key' has been provided at the start of the list. If a searcher is interested in, say, Macartney's mission to Ireland in 1780, he can obtain from the key the reference numbers for all the letters of that year - and so on. The list then provides a brief document-by-document description of the material in its original order.



The Chief Secretaryship

D572/1 (1768-1804) contains the letters written by Lord Townshend as Lord Lieutenant to Macartney as Chief Secretary. Their main topic is the struggle between Townshend and the undertakers, Lord Shannon, John Ponsonby, etc. To combat their influence Townshend undertook tours in the south, which he describes, in order to win supporters for the government. He attributes some of the weakness of government to the fact that the poor salaries of the judges made 'young lawyers of ability attach themselves to parties in parliament instead of looking directly to the Crown'. In one of his last letters he amusingly likens himself to 'a wreck on the coast which is supposed to have some kegs of Brandy on board - assailed every moment & trampled on by a most rapacious Crew'. Included in this volume is an adverse report made by Colonel Charles Vallancey on the construction of the Grand Canal, alleging incompetence on the part of the engineer and that in some places the Canal had been diverted for the purpose of draining the lands of interested individuals.

D572/3 (1769-1774) contains a large number of letters from Thomas Allan. He represented Killybegs in the Irish Parliament and held the sinecure office of Taster of Wines. His letters were written from London where he kept Macartney and Townshend posted as regards the British government's handling of Irish affairs. Among the matters of local interest he mentions are a petition from Belfast merchants seeking a reduction of the duties payable on rum imported directly from the Plantations and the opposition of Manchester manufacturers to the continuance of the bounty paid on the export of coarse Irish linens.



The port of Belfast

Local references occur in other volumes. In D572/14, George Black, who was probably a landwaiter at Belfast, furnishes particulars of the shipping engaged in the London, the Liverpool and the foreign trade of the port: there were 65 vessels of a gross tonnage of nearly 6,000 tons; of these 10 traded between Belfast and London, 14 between Belfast and Liverpool and 9 were engaged on the West Indian and foreign trade. The average yearly duties paid at the port between 1797 and 1803 amounted to over £173,000. The same correspondent under date January 1790, informs Macartney that 'our new porter brewery ... promises to do well' and a month later says 'our porter and ale [are] superior to that of Dublin'. It did not prosper, however, for towards the end of 1796 Black was in straitened circumstances owing to the failure of the brewery in which he had sunk most of his money. The trade at Belfast Port is referred to by another correspondent, George Portis, the Collector of the Revenue there, who informs Macartney on 30 January 1772 that the revenue had increased from £30,000 to £64,000 per annum.



Hearts of Steel and smugglers

Other matters of local interest which are referred to are the agrarian insurgents in Cos Antrim and Down, the Hearts of Steel whom, according to Lord Blayney (26 January 1772), some of the inhabitants of Carrickfergus were inclined to join. The Hearts of Steel are the subject of an anonymous letter dated 13 March 1772, and signed 'A Country Farmer', who would have had them tried individually to prevent them from challenging all the jurymen and so delaying their trials. Further, the writer would have had them executed in different parts of the country so that there would remain no doubts in the minds of sympathizers that those convicted were really executed. There was smuggling in the Mourne, and the Revenue Commissioners, according to Robert Waller, one of their number, had set aside money to be spent on suppressing the practice (3 October 1772). Waller was also agent for part of Macartney's property in Ireland (his small estate in Kilkenny and King's County), and continued to relay Castle gossip to Macartney until 1775.



Dissenters and Catholics

Among topics of general Irish interest referred to in the correspondence are the repeal of the Test Act in respect of Dissenters and the proposed payment of state salaries to the Roman Catholic clergy. There are several unsigned letters to Macartney dated 1780 relating to the former and detailing steps taken by the Irish Bishops to wreck the Bill passed by the Commons; these letters, it transpires, were written by Charles Agar, Archbishop of Cashel. Payment of the Roman Catholic clergy is the subject of three letters written in August and December 1804 by the Rev. William Richardson of Armagh. He had had conversations with the Roman Catholic clergy and had learned that they did not want state salaries as these might result in other valuable payments being withheld from them by the laity.



Lisanoure

Macartney held property both in Scotland and Ireland. His principal Irish property was situated at Lisanoure, parish of Loughguile, Co. Antrim. A considerable number of unbound letters (D572/18), dating from 1774 to 1826, relate to Lisanoure Castle and demesne and the neighbouring district. Although he was not able to visit the place very often, Macartney had much work done in improving its amenities. In addition, he helped the inhabitants of Dervock by giving them long leases, building dwelling houses and a market-house, and establishing a linen market there.



Highlights of D572

One of the latest items in D572 is a minute book of the Ballymoney and District (Famine) Relief Committee, December 1845-January 1846. The two episodes in Macartney's career which are particularly well documented in D572 are the chief secretaryship for Ireland, 1768-1772, and the mission to Louis XVIII at Verona, 1795-1796. These appear as Appendices I and II to the PRONI list. The first of them was, as has been mentioned, published in 1979 under the title *Macartney in Ireland ...*, with an introduction by its compiler, Professor Thomas Bartlett.

A third appendix covers Macartney's correspondence (c.300 letters) on Indian affairs between his return from Madras in 1786 and his death - mainly between 1786 and 1793.

In all three calendars the material is presented in an 'ideal' order, not the order in which it is to be found in D572/1-D572/21. The object is to make the material as conveniently usable as possible; and as the calendar, of course, cites the reference number for each document, there is no possibility of confusion, provided this basic distinction in layout is borne in mind.

The Macartney in Ireland volume also includes material relevant to the chief secretaryship which exists in other sections of Macartney's archive present in PRONI either in the original or in photocopy form. This applies particularly to copies from a volume of his papers in Yale University together with copies of several items in the British Library's Oriental and India Office Collection and in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. In the words of one reviewer: 'As befits a work of such thoroughness, clarity and accuracy rather than the simple reproduction of extant material have been the aims of the compiler. The state of organized disorder and the unsystematic arrangement in which the papers stood at the time of Macartney's death have been laid aside. Macartney's historical importance lies in his position as a source of information rather than in any particular aspect of his career in Ireland. Professor Bartlett has arranged the papers by correspondent and has preserved a chronological infra-structure in each section. ... This volume ... has raised the science of calendaring to a new level of perfection. ...'



Verona

The other great (and largely accidental) strongpoint of PRONI's holdings of Macartney papers is Verona (mainly D572/17). This group of c.300 letters includes all Macartney's correspondence relevant to the Verona mission, extending from October 1794 till October 1801, although the bulk of the letters belong to the period during which Macartney was actually in Verona, i.e. 6 August 1795 until 26 April 1796.

Those letters which pre-date his arrival in Verona, with the exception of one, were not written by or to Macartney, but probably came into his possession while he was in Verona, due to their relevance to Corsica. The exception mentioned is a letter written by the Comte d'Artois, brother of Louis XVIII, in answer to a letter Macartney had written en route from London to Verona. The somewhat hasty departure of Louis from Verona, after he had been requested, in no uncertain terms, by the Senate of Venice to leave their territory (pressure having been exerted on them by Paris), brought to an end Macartney's mission to Verona, and he was allowed to return home (only to be almost immediately re-despatched to The Cape of Good Hope). Those letters written after he had left Italy are mainly from Macartney's own friends and from advisers of Louis whose acquaintance Macartney had made in Verona, keeping him informed of the state of affairs on the continent and the progress of royalist plans. These include two letters from Louis himself, and also drafts or copies of the only two letters written by Macartney himself in the whole group.

The letters fall into two distinct categories (which in the PRONI calendar are merged and arranged in date order), deriving from their original arrangement in the Macartney letter books and unbound correspondence. In one whole volume (D572/17) are bound the assimilated reports of British agents and ambassadors all over Europe, though mainly in Italy, July 1795-August 1796. the second includes principally French correspondence: unbound letters (or rather notes) to Macartney, mostly from Louis's advisers, during Macartney's stay in Verona,

and letters written to him during the years 1796-1801 after he had left Verona, and scattered fairly haphazardly through the Macartney letter-books, or left unbound.



Ambassadors and secret agents

Macartney was kept remarkably well in touch with affairs in Paris and the rest of France, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, Austria, and even Russia, during his stay at Verona. The picture one gains from the letter-book is of a network of British agents/ambassadors all over Europe, keeping Grenville and each other in touch with their particular corner and attempting to mould the fate of Europe, principally France, to what they considered the best possible solution, obviously with British interests at heart. The British cabinet did, through William Wickham (the brain and co-ordinator of British-aided counter revolutionary plots) go to considerable lengths to upset the revolutionary government, though not necessarily with the sole object of placing Louis XVIII on the throne.

The letters in D572/17 are bound alphabetically by writer, with each sub-section of letters in date order; enclosures follow the relevant letters. The main 'personnel' are: the 4th Earl of Bute (Macartney's brother-in-law) at the Spanish court in Madrid; the two Craufurds, Colonel Charles and Quintin, reporting on Austrian and French army operations on the Rhine (and including a sixteen-page copy report of a report to Grenville); Francis Drake in Genoa; Sir Morton Eden at the Austrian Court in Vienna; Sir Gilbert Elliot, Viceroy of Corsica; Sir William Hamilton at the Sicilian Court in Naples; Thomas Jackson and John Trevor at the Sardinian Court in Turin; William Wickham in Switzerland; William Frederick Wyndham at the Court of Tuscany in Florence; Sir Charles Whitworth at the Russian Court in St Petersburg; Thomas Walpole at the Diet of Ratisbon; Sir Richard Worsley in Venice; and John Udney (possibly a British naval officer) stationed at Leghorn, Tuscany, who kept Macartney informed of British and foreign naval operations in the Mediterranean. The letters range from detailed military reports (the Craufurds, through extensive political arguments (Wickham) to the more personal tone adopted by Sir William Hamilton. In general, the extremely detailed nature of the letters, and the pattern they create as a whole, has made it desirable that they should be transcribed virtually in full, headed by short summaries.



Louis XVIII and his Court

The other category of letters is quite different. It may be a deserved reflection on their quality that they were left scattered or unbound in Macartney's own filing system. That is not to say that they are unimportant or irrelevant; but many are simply the day-to-day communications between Louis's advisers (the Comte d'Avaray, the Maréchal de Castries, the Baron de Flachslanden, the Bishop of Arras, the Comte d'Antraigues, the Duc de la Vauguyon) and Macartney, inviting him to dinner or informing him of titbits of news. They are interesting in that they build up a general picture of Louis and his court, and refer to various

royalist plots. Those letters written after Macartney's departure from Verona reflect: the royalist attitude to further events, such as Bonaparte's victories; the general mood of discouragement felt by the émigrés; the undaunted hopes of Louis himself. Most of the letters in foreign languages have been summarised, though a selected important few, including those to and from Louis, are quoted in their entirety in French or roughly translated into English.

Naturally the two sections overlap and combine, not only to show the political attitudes of both the French royalists and the British to the doings of the Revolutionary government and to military events, but also to document various 'sub-plots' such as: the British take-over of Corsica and the subsequent rebellion there; the wrangling between the Austrians and Louis over Madame Royale (and its eventual outcome); planned insurrections in Brittany, Normandy and La Vend,e; the changing state of political parties within France; the various claimants to the throne; and the onslaught of the French republican army. The period from summer 1796 till 1801 was one of continuing war; it is only covered by a few letters in this collection, mostly referring to the 'misfortunes of Italy'. The last letter, of October 1801, mentions preliminaries to the peace of Amiens between the British and French, and the consequent dismay felt by the scattered royalist émigrés, by then thoroughly disheartened by the general lack of even British support for their monarch.



The D2225 section of the Macartney papers

This comprises c.400 documents, half of them copies of letters transcribed into five 'Indian' letter-books. They were deposited in PRONI by a collateral descendant of Macartney, the late Colonel J.V.O. Macartney-Filgate of Danbury, Essex. However, it would seem that they must have come to his branch of the family by purchase, not descent, as they appear to correlate with the Hyndman material removed as security from Lisanoure in 1851.

The majority of these letters are concerned with Macartney's activities in India and with the management of his estate at Lisanoure. A few relate to Russia, the West Indies, China, The Cape and to his period as Chief Secretary for Ireland. There is a quantity of general East India Company correspondence with Macartney. This includes: c.30 copies of 'private' letters from Macartney to Warren Hastings, 27 June 1781-21 April 1785; c.12 copy private letters from Hastings to Macartney, 2 July 1781-8 July 1783, and 1 February 1785; 37 copy private letters from Macartney to General Sir Eyre Coote, commander of the British Forces in the Carnatic June 1781-January 1782; c.50 copy private letters from Sir John Macpherson (formerly Envoy to the Nawab of the Carnatic and now a member of the Bengal Council) to Macartney, 27 December 1780-29 July 1782; and c.30 copy private letters from Macartney to Macpherson, 22 April 1782-18 September 1783, marked 'most secret, Tibi Soli'. There is also an inventory of Macartney's Indian papers sent to England in June 1785. The papers relating to the management and improvement of Macartney's estate at Lisanoure date mainly from the 1790s.



Formal documents

The D2731 section of the Macartney papers is a small but choice collection of documents of appointment, etc, including Macartney's Trinity College, Dublin degree, 1739, his commission as Governor of Grenada, 1775, and three formal documents in connection with the embassy to China (see also D2225/5/1), including the original of a letter (in Latin) from George III to the Emperor of China, 1792. A singleton letter of 1794 (D903) also relates to China or rather to arrangements for Macartney's homeward voyage.



Estate papers

The D1062/2 section of the Macartney papers comprises seven boxes of the Boyd of Ballycastle solicitor's archive, containing title deeds, rentals, maps, accounts, correspondence and Irish Land Commission papers relating to the Macartney estate in the Loughguile and Dervock areas of Co. Antrim, 1679-1947. A volume of estate maps, c.1760-c.1800, also includes properties in Boherna, King's County, in the towns of Kilkenny and Carrickfergus, and in Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland. There are c.12 letters, 1726-1739, discussing the liability of the Route estate, Co. Antrim, to pay a chief rent to Lord Antrim, and a

letter of 1788 in which Macartney expresses his views on the landscaping at Lisanoure. In addition, there are within the period 1850-1947 some letters and inventories which throw light on the sale and dispersal of the Hyndman part of the Macartney archive.

Other Macartney estate papers in PRONI (apart from what has already been mentioned) include: Lisanoure rentals, 1731, 1768 and 1789 (D426); a Lisanoure estate memorandum book, 1790 (D557); a map by James Williamson of Macartney's estate (Lisanoure) in the baronies of Dunluce and Kilconway, Co. Antrim, 1790 (D588/1); and papers, 1837-1878, of James Laughlin of Dervock, who appears to have been the agent or steward at Lisanoure (D3607).



Microfilm and photocopies made for PRONI of Macartney papers elsewhere

Almost all of the above relate to Macartney's public life. However, c.30 estate papers, (wills, maps, rentals, abstracts of leases, etc) 1697-1802, have also been copied (T2408), including: maps of the estate in 1760 and 1788; plans and elevations of Lisanoure Castle, c.1780; 18th century testamentary and legal papers relating to various members of the O'Hara and Macartney families and the title to the Macartney estate at Lisanoure and to property in Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, and at Killinchy, Co. Down.

The remaining microfilms and photocopies relate almost exclusively to Macartney's public life, and are itemised as follows (in rough chronological order):

Miscellaneous letters and papers of Macartney, 1748-1801, relating among other things to his period as Chief Secretary for Ireland (MIC291: originals in The James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborne Collection, Yale University Library, Connecticut).

200 letters from the Holland House papers from, to and about Macartney, together with one journal of 1763-1765 kept by Lady Holland. The letters include: letters to Henry Fox, 1st Lord Holland, from Macartney, writing from Geneva in 1762, from London in 1763-1764, from Russia in 1765-1766 during his diplomatic mission there, and then, following his return, from London and Dublin in 1768 and 1770; copies of letters received by Macartney throughout the 1760s, principally from Lord Holland and his second son, Charles James Fox, referring to Macartney's visits to Paris and Brussels in 1762, his departure for Russia, and the close contact preserved with Lord Holland during the Russian mission; transcripts of correspondence between Lords Holland and Bute, 1764-1772, of letters passing between Lords Sandwich and Holland in 1765, of correspondence of Lord Ilchester, 1764-1767, and of Lord Sandwich, 1763-1766; copies of private letters from the Rev. William Dennis, Macartney's former tutor, Naas, Co. Kildare, to Macartney, 1766-1769, from Charles James Fox, 1767 (about Macartney's forthcoming marriage), from John O'Neill, 1775 (challenging Macartney's claim to be Constable of Toome Castle), and from Charles Vallancey, c.1775 (about Brehon law); copies of correspondence between Macartney, Charles James Fox, Lord Harcourt, Alexander Wedderburn and others, 1766-1775; and a copy of a letter from Macartney to Countess Spencer, 1801 (MIC227: originals in British Library Add. MSS 51350, 51379-80, 51386, 51388-9 and 51445).

Two volumes of dispatches, etc, 1765-1766, to Macartney as Envoy Extraordinary to Russia. One volume consists largely of official dispatches from Lord Sandwich, the Duke of Grafton, etc, in a decoded state, relating to the Anglo-Russian Treaty of Commerce, but here and there are a number of more or less private letters to Macartney. For example, he is informed in May 1765 that Lord Holland, his patron, has been removed from the office of Paymaster although Lord Sandwich stresses his continuing service to any friend of Holland's. Again in August 1765 the Duke of Grafton reassures Macartney that the new administration is 'satisfied of your integrity

as well as capacity ...'. There is also a group of dispatches from Lord Stormont and Benjamin Langlois, Stormont's Secretary of Embassy, in Vienna. Langlois, writing privately, feels that Macartney's preferment will be retarded by his being in Russia. The other volume contains a series of communications to Macartney, some in code, from his fellow diplomats. These include Sir John Goodricke in Stockholm, Robert Gunning in Copenhagen, Ralph Woodford in Hamburg, Philip Stanhope in Dresden, Alexander Burnet in Berlin, Sir Joseph Yorke at The Hague, Thomas Wroughton in Warsaw, and Trevor Corry in Danzig (T2513: originals in the University College Library, Cork).

Letters (nine) to the Countess of Upper Ossory from Macartney, 1770-1793, discussing inter alia, the eccentricities of society in both Grenada and London, his feelings about Ireland and his motives for going to India in 1780 (T2480: originals in the National Library of Ireland).

Microfilm (MIC271) of the National Library of Ireland's copy of Macartney's *An Account of Ireland in 1773* (London, 1773).

Letters (16) to Macartney as Governor of Madras, from William Burke, agent to the Rajah of Tanjore, 1781-1783 (MIC187: originals in the Royal Library, The Hague, Holland).

Letters (seven) from Macartney as Governor of Madras about Stephen Sullivan's appointment as Resident at Tanjore and about the dismissal of Major General Stuart, 1781-1784 (T2766: originals in the Bodleian Library, Oxford).

Microfilm copies (15 reels) of the Proceedings of the Select Committee of Fort St George, Vols 1-24, 1781-1785, and of public and private correspondence of Macartney as Governor of Madras, 1781-1785. The private correspondence includes a set of letters of introduction for George Staunton to Lord North, Lord Loughborough, Charles James Fox, etc (MIC405: originals in British Library Add. MSS 22415-22438, 22441-22444 and 22457-22461).

Indian letters and papers (c.195) of Macartney, including intelligence reports to him as Governor of Madras about the movements of French land and sea forces in India in 1782, with some correspondence about the conclusion and implementing of the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 as it affected India, some of it letters from the Marquis de Bussy at Pondicherry. There is an isolated letter of 1798 warning Macartney, at The Cape, of Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign and the threat to India (T2472: originals in the British Library's Oriental and India Office Collection, London).

Letters (five) from Lord Macartney, writing from Madras, India, London, Lisanoure and The Cape, and one from Charles James Fox, on French and Indian affairs, 1783-1797, and the debts of Fox and Lord Upper Ossory's younger brother, Colonel Richard Fitzpatrick, 1787 (T3169: originals in the archives of Coutts & Co., Bankers, London).

Letters (two) from Macartney to the 2nd Lord Walsingham, a member of the India Board, 1784, and other papers of Walsingham relating to Indian and East India

Company affairs, 1784-1790 (T3428: originals in the Norfolk and Norwich Record Office, Norwich).

Catalogue of Macartney's library, 1786 (MIC395: original in Cornell University Libraries, Ithaca, New York State).

Letters (three) referring to Macartney's time as Irish Chief Secretary, 1792, and to his mission to Louis XVIII at Verona, 1796 (T3223: originals in the BL, OIOC).

Illustrated log-book of HMS 'Lion', 1792-1794, kept by Lieutenant Lord Mark Kerr, one of the naval officers accompanying Macartney on his embassy to China, and containing water-colour sketches by Kerr of Chinese harbours and anchorages (MIC/598).

Catalogues of Macartney's library arranged in two different ways, c.1795; photograph at his London house in Curzon Street of Mrs George Macartney, c.1840, on the back of which there is a printed account of the destruction by gunpowder of Lisanoure Castle in which Mrs Macartney died in 1847; and photograph of Mrs Daisy Macartney, Loughguile, Co. Antrim, c.1880 (T3606).

Official correspondence of Macartney, 1796-1798, as Governor of The Cape. The main letter-book, May 1797 - November 1798, contains 750 letters addressed to the Burgher Senate, members of the Court of Justice, the Landrosts of various districts, etc. Light is thrown on many aspects of the political and social state of Cape Colony in the period immediately following the British occupation, including the strained relations existing between the Dutch population and the British authorities. Macartney's wry comment shortly after his arrival there is: '... it has been my fate to find almost every government I am appointed to in distress. There was a famine in Madras when I first went there and I found this place threatened with one when I arrived here'. A further original entry book of letters covers the period February 1797 - November 1798, with Henry Dundas, Admiral Sir Hugh Christian and Colonel Brooke on St Helena as Macartney's principal correspondents. There is also a set of his proclamations as Governor, some papers relating to his pension in 1799 and a letter of 1801 in which, from retirement, Macartney stresses the commercial importance of The Cape (MIC221: originals in the Rhodes House archive, Bodleian Library, Oxford).

Letters and memoranda (c.80) relating to Macartney's period as Governor of The Cape, 1797-1798, with a few relating to the capture of Grenada in 1779 (MIC177: originals in the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa).

Letters (54) from Macartney, as Governor of The Cape, to Sir Hugh Christian, February-October 1798 (T3442: originals in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich).

