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INTRODUCTION

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Dufferin Papers (D1071, D1231 and MIC22)

Table of Contents

Summary	3
Family history.....	4
The Sheridan connection	5
Estate and financial papers.....	6
Personal and political papers, 1760-1867.....	11
Fascination and fright.....	12
Helen Dufferin and Caroline Norton.....	13
The 1st Marquess of Dufferin and Ava	14
The 'Ulster Custom'.....	15
Mission to Syria, 1860-1861	16
Dufferin's Syrian papers.....	17
Under-Secretaryships and the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1864-1872.....	18
Canada, 1872-1878	19
The constitutional powers of the Governor-General	20
The Canadian Pacific Railway	21
The walls and fortifications of Quebec	22
Orangeism in Canada.....	23
Emigration.....	24
Dufferin's Canadian archive.....	25
Official and other papers relating to Ireland	27
Russia, 1879-1881.....	28
Turkey (and Egypt), 1881-1884	29
Papers relating to Russia and Turkey.....	30
India, 1884-1888.....	31
Alienation from the educated Indians.....	32
Afghanistan and Burma	33
Home Rule and home politics	34
The Viceregal printing-press	35

Pitfalls of the Indian papers.....	36
Dufferin and Queen Victoria.....	37
Unexpected gems of the Indian papers	38
Lady Dufferin and India.....	39
Rome, Paris and the Cinque Ports, 1888-1895	40
The 'General Correspondence'	41
Physical arrangement	42
Alphabetical versus chronological arrangement	43
Arabs, Greeks, ex-royals and the like	44
Other problems of identification	45
The letter 'C': a sample of the 'General Correspondence'	46
Miscellaneous papers	48
'Letters of the Blackwood children'.....	49
The 3rd Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (1875-1930).....	51
The 4th Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (1909-1945).....	52

Summary



Coat of Arms

The Dufferin papers comprise c.96,000 documents and c.850 volumes, 1605, 1630 and 1651-1940, relating to the estates and political achievements of the Blackwood family of Clondeboye, near Bangor, Co. Down, Lords Dufferin and Marquesses of Dufferin and Ava.

Most of the text which follows was written by Dr A.T. Harrison, formerly of PRONI, in connection with his work on the list of the Dufferin papers, or in his D.Phil. thesis, 'The 1st Marquess of Dufferin and Ava: Whig, Ulster Landlord and Imperial Statesman' (New University of Ulster, 1983).



Family history

The Blackwoods are of Scottish settler stock. The family had established themselves in Co. Down by the early 17th century, and over the next two centuries they steadily increased their landed property and social and political influence, by 'good sense and sagacity [and sometimes by sharp practice], by advantageous marriages, by caution in politics and conservative temper'. Among their marriages were a late 17th and a mid-18th alliance with the Hamilton family of Killyleagh Castle, Co. Down, formerly Viscounts Claneboye, alias Clandeboye, and Earls of Clanbrassill, from whom they inherited considerable property.

By the late 18th century they were a prominent, though far from dominant, landed family in the county. A large bloc of their acreage lay within the rectangle cornered by the small towns of Killyleagh, Comber, Saintfield and Crossgar, which nestled in the drumlin topography to the west of Strangford Lough. The family also held three other estates in the extreme north-eastern corner of the county. One was on the shores of Belfast Lough, west of the seaside town of Bangor. This estate centred around the family seat of Ballyleidid, later re-named Clandeboye. The smallest estate of all was on the other side of Bangor, at Ballyholme, and the last property – somewhat isolated from the rest – lay on the Irish Sea coast of the Ards Peninsula, composed of a group of townlands in the neighbourhood of the village of Ballywalter. The estate at its fullest extent comprised some 18,000 acres, with a rental of c.£7,000 a year in 1800 and of c.£18,000 a year at the coming-of-age of the 5th and most famous Lord Dufferin in 1847.



Lord Dufferin

In 1763, the Blackwoods (who had parliamentary influence behind them because they controlled the return for the borough of Killyleagh) were created baronets. A recreation of one or other of the extinct Hamilton peerages of Clandeboye and Clanbrassill became the next object of family ambition, but it was as Barons Dufferin that they entered the peerage of Ireland in 1800. This was an Act of Union peerage. But the Blackwoods performed the remarkable feat of securing the peerage, and at the same time perpetuating the myth that they had indignantly refused it!



The Sheridan connection

Up to the mid-1820s the Blackwoods, even though a peerage family, in reality belonged to the provincial gentry, overshadowed in their own county by the more cosmopolitan and much richer Marquesses of Downshire and Londonderry. In 1825 Capt. Price Blackwood, RN, who was the heir presumptive to the Barony of Dufferin (to which he succeeded in 1839) married outside the normal circle of Blackwood wives. His wife was Helen Selina Sheridan, granddaughter of the playwright, Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816), whose family, although also of Irish origin, 'belonged to another class [the English literati], with very dissimilar antecedents and traditions'.

In fact, Helen Selina did not herself participate in the Sheridan family's tendency to excesses, indiscretions and public scandals. She did, however, introduce into the Blackwood family, and particularly inculcate in her son, the future 5th Lord Dufferin, something of the literary tradition of the Sheridans. He soon acquired a reputation as a man of literary skill (mainly through a book published in 1856 on the subject of his Arctic travels), and throughout his public career, his pamphlets, despatches, reports and correspondence were renowned for their easy flow and flourish. More practically, Dufferin's mother introduced the Blackwoods and her son to a wider world of English political, literary and high society, which included such figures as the Rt Hon. Sir James Graham, 2nd Bt, of Netherby, Cumberland (the important Peelite politician), Caroline Norton (Helen Dufferin's sister) and the Duke and Duchess of Somerset (the Duchess was another of the Sheridan sisters).

With these advantages and his own natural ability and charm, Lord Dufferin slowly began to make his mark in the world. He was made a Lord-in-Waiting (to please Sir James Graham) in 1849, and rose rapidly in the peerage. In 1850, 1871 and 1888 he was created (in succession) Baron, Earl and Marquess in the peerage of the UK, the apogee of his UK honours being the Marquessate of Dufferin and Ava, conferred on him in recognition of his services as Viceroy of India, 1884-1888 (Ava was the ancient capital of Burma). The great majority of the archive derives from this cosmopolitan period of family history and from this most famous member of the family, Frederick Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, 5th Baron Dufferin and 1st Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (1826-1902).



Estate and financial papers

Making his mark in the world was an expensive undertaking, especially for a landowner who had not inherited an unencumbered property. Dufferin's rental was already in 1847 encumbered to the sum of £29,261. 10s. 10d – small in comparison to the debts he later ran up, but not an insignificant sum in itself. Although the rental was approximately £18,000, the tenantry were constantly in arrears, and Dufferin had to make abatements and write off bad debts. This £18,000 figure was also eroded in reality by payments on a number of family annuities. In the 6½ years of Dufferin's minority - to December 1847 - the total sum paid in annuities was £30,000, giving a yearly average of £4,615. This represented slightly over 23% of the gross rental (excluding arrears from the reckoning) for the period of £20,000. In the decade April 1847-April 1857 the annuities charged on the Dufferin estates totalled £52,653. 16s. 3d., giving an average of slightly over £5,265 per year, or 29.% of the approximate post-Famine gross rental of £18,000. By late 1862 it would appear, from the evidence of Lady Dufferin's marriage settlement, that the annual annuity charge had fallen to £4,115.12s. 3d. This fall was presumably the result of the demise of some annuitants provided for by the property.

Nevertheless, Dufferin definitely lived beyond his means, as his borrowing shows. He was not satisfied to live as his Blackwood ancestors had lived: Irish country gentlemen funded by the limited income of a moderate Irish estate rental. Given the political impulse by his Sheridan mother, Dufferin could not avoid moving in British high society, as it was his *entrée* into national politics. Such an ambition and lifestyle brought him inevitable expenses. London living was obviously more of a financial drain than a quiet life in Co. Down, and he did not limit himself to the bare essentials - costly as they were - of society life. He indulged for instance in sailing, the new passion of the upper classes, and indeed in the 1850s his social and literary reputation was to a large extent based upon his prowess as an intrepid yachtsman and travel essayist. Expenditure upon his Irish property was also heavy, as he attempted to make his estates, especially the Clondeboye demesne, worthy of a man of his aspirations. Extensive alterations and improvements were carried out to the structure of the house, and Dufferin had grandiose plans drawn up for a replacement mansion on the shores of Belfast Lough. These plans never materialised, as he had to recognise the limitations of his restricted finances. Even so, he claimed during the 1870s that the modifications made to the house in the period 1847-72 cost approximately £24,000 and since he 'came of age ... £60 or £70,000' had been spent 'in establishing the grounds' at Clondeboye. These demesne works included the excavation of an artificial lake, carriageway construction, landscaping, tree planting and folly erection. All of these 'improvements' made the Clondeboye more pleasing to the eye. Other improvements were more practical: the repair of schools and churches and the erection of new schools (the estate schools had been placed under the National system in the late 1840s). Estate roads and laneways were constructed, as distinct from the carriageways, which traversed the Clondeboye beauty spots. Helen's Bay, a picturesque sandy cove on the shores of Belfast Lough, was landscaped, planted and promenaded in the anticipation that it would develop as a commuter villa settlement, when the Belfast middle classes began to desert the town's industrial sprawl at the Lagan's estuary in the middle of the century. The

Belfast merchant and industrial princes would, he hoped, move to rural salubrity but with ready access to the grimy prosperity of their offices, mills, foundries, shipyards, distilleries and warehouses. Alas, Helen's Bay never during Dufferin's lifetime realised the financial potential he discerned in it.

Many of his demesne improvements were used against him in the 1870s and 1880s when some of his tenants, especially those from the Ards estate, attacked him as a rackrenter and a tyrant. They were cited as examples of the extravagance of a two-faced impostor: a 'Liberal' statesman who had set himself up as an expert on Irish land, and who then had done his best to frustrate Gladstonian land reform. But Dufferin's demesne improvements, ephemeral as they might have seemed to his tenantry, provided welcome employment, especially in the Famine and immediate post Famine years, for the labourers and cottiers who nearly equalled the tenant farmers in numbers on his estates. As these improvements were largely centred upon the Clandeboye estate, they may have been particularly resented by the tenantry of the 'outside' estates. In any case, tenant farmers had a narrow interpretation of what constituted an improvement: they expected it to put money directly into their pockets or materially benefit their holdings. Dufferin would no doubt have defended his demesne improvements by pointing out that he was trying in the 1850s and 1860s to remodel his estates, demesne, house, the tenantry and the general rural population in a grand patrician manner. Such a generalised concept of improvement places Dufferin in this, as in much else, in a British context. He was in effect trying to recreate on his estates the civilised and improving atmosphere he found on the estates of his English and Scottish friends.

Despite the criticism of factions of his tenantry Dufferin did spend relatively heavily upon agricultural as against demesne improvements. The 1847-1857 expenditure totals already cited give the respective sums as £29,135.4s.0d and £18,732.0s.0½d. This is a hefty margin in favour of agricultural improvements. When informing his friend, the Duke of Argyll, in 1874 that he intended to sell his estates Dufferin lamented the loss of this improvement expenditure. He was, of course, jaundiced by this time at the manner in which Gladstone's 1870 Land Act was being implemented: '... I shall have to leave something like £150,000 behind me in the shape of improvements, from which I have had time to reap no other advantage than the ameliorated condition of the farmers themselves; but an Irish estate is like a sponge, and an Irish landlord is never so rich as when he is rid of his property. ...'

Long before this, Dufferin had heavily mortgaged his estates in order to finance both his improvements and his lifestyle. The main mortgagee was John Mulholland, later 1st Lord Dunleath, whose subsequent acquisition of the Dufferin estate in the barony of Ards, to the north of Ballywalter, was a matter of foreclosure rather than purchase. In the short term, this was an undignified and even false position for Dufferin to be in, because he was a leading Ulster Liberal and prominent on that side in Belfast politics, whereas Mulholland was a leading Belfast Conservative. In the longer term, however, the arrangement benefited both families, because it contributed to establishing John Mulholland as a major Co. Down landowner and it forced Lord Dufferin to concentrate on what became one of the most important late 19th-century British diplomatic and proconsular careers. By 1867 Dufferin's debts stood at

£254,971.1s.11d, and according to calculations made by his agent in late 1871-early 1872 had by then increased to £299,171. 1s. 11d. Mulholland, though he was in the late 1860s-early 1870s Dufferin's major creditor, did not need to hold all of Dufferin's encumbrances to exert a strong financial influence, which was due, not simply to the bulk of Mulholland's loans, but more perhaps to the manner in which Mulholland manipulated them.

Dufferin began borrowing from the Mulholland family in September 1864 when Andrew Mulholland – father of John – the head of this famous Belfast linen manufacturing firm provided him with a mortgage of £21,000. In 1865 Dufferin obtained two further mortgages from this source: £16,000 on 9 March, and £7,000 on 10 October. Andrew Mulholland had amassed a sizeable fortune by the 1860s. It was boosted by the American Civil War, when, with cotton in short supply, his firm had in linen a product that was in great demand. Investment in Dufferin's debts was probably part of a capital diversification plan by Mulholland. The war in America could not last forever, and the post-war linen market would be easily flooded, as the flax-based textile lost its hegemony on the re-appearance of cotton. Andrew Mulholland died in August 1866, and was succeeded by John as head of the family firm. Dufferin obtained his first mortgage from John Mulholland on 18 October 1866. The sum involved was £10,000, and Mulholland supplied Dufferin with another £20,000 mortgage in February 1868. In the late 1860s he also began to purchase some of the earlier encumbrances charged against the Dufferin estates. In 1867-1868 the Mulholland mortgages were slightly more than 40% of Dufferin's total debt. In 1875 they represented just over 44%. In 1872, the interest payments on these debts alone came to £6,561. 9s. 5d for the year.

The Mulholland loans were all made on very short terms with the principal sums repayable after periods of between 3 and 5 years. This meant that the loans made ... in the middle and closing years of the 1860s were repayable by the end of that decade and the middle of the 1870s. Many of Dufferin's earlier encumbrances – including some of those purchased by John Mulholland – were also due for repayment at the same time. The logical conclusion was inescapable: Dufferin was insolvent. He could no longer continue borrowing having reached the position where his future loans would be paying not just interest charges but the actual capital sums of existing debts. If Mulholland remained his major creditor the ludicrous position would be reached where Dufferin would be borrowing money from Mulholland to pay back to the linen baron interest and capital sums related to earlier Mulholland loans, and the extension of these loans would probably have increased the interest rates payable on them. The only way out of the financial mire was for Dufferin to sell all, or a major portion of his estates, and with the capital so realised to pay off his creditors.

The Dufferin estates sales took place between 1875 and 1880, and Dufferin's correspondence with his agents, secretary and Downpatrick solicitor for this period is dominated by details of the sales negotiations, and their ratification by the Landed Estates Court. At first Dufferin wanted to restrict the sales to established gentlemen, but later as the harsh economic reality of his position sank home, he had to countenance the purchase of his property by men of business and industry like Mulholland. Indeed he drafted a prospectus describing his property which was designed directly to appeal to Ulster's *nouveaux riches* entrepreneurs. ... The

purchasers were largely local men of business – R.G. Dunville the head of the Belfast distilling firm bought land to the value of £125,000 – Dufferin later felt sorry for him when property values fell, in the face of renewed agrarian agitation and further Gladstonian land reform. A more telling illustration of the social changes reflected by these sales is the steady climb of John Mulholland. Mulholland had been defeated in the 1868 parliamentary election in Belfast, and in the late 1860s and 1870s he was trying to develop a solid property, social and political base in Co. Down. In 1874 he became M.P. (Tory) for Downpatrick. By 1876 he owned 6,769 acres in the county with a yearly rental of £10,668. During the sales, he obtained Dufferin's Ards estate, adjacent to his county seat, Ballywalter Park, the ownership of which obviously obviated any social need for him to buy Clandeboye House and its demesne (which Dufferin was, with a heavy heart, prepared to sell). Ballywalter Park, his existing estates, the newly acquired Dufferin acres and his large fortune and public philanthropy, all secured Mulholland's position as an established gentleman. This social success was rewarded in 1892 when he was created Baron Dunleath of Ballywalter.

The Mulholland mortgages had all been obtained by Dufferin through the instrumentality of his Downpatrick solicitor W.N. Wallace, who by allowing such a large bloc of debts to be held by one creditor gave Mulholland great power in relation to the Dufferin property, and severely restricted Dufferin's room for financial manoeuvre. With his skilful handling of the loans – their short term duration and capital repayment over the same period as longstanding debts due against the Dufferin estates – Mulholland gave Dufferin some reason to claim that both the mortgages and the sales had been mismanaged by his solicitor and agent. He thought that the pair were working against his interest at this time, and evidence exists which shows that, on the eve of the sales, the agent, Mortimer Thomson, was discovered by auditors to have been guilty of financial impropriety. Although Dufferin retained Thomson as his agent during the sales, ... all financial authority was taken out of his hands. Dufferin may have feared that Thomson, with his knowledge of the encumbrances on the property, could if dismissed, have sabotaged the success of the sales by leaking the truth of his former employer's parlous finances. He could not prevent Mulholland from knowing the truth, but there was no reason why the other potential purchasers should also gain this insight. Mulholland and the others would undoubtedly have used such knowledge to force Dufferin to a hard bargain when obtaining the acres necessary for their upward social thrust, and what to them would have been shrewd business sense, would to Dufferin have appeared ungentlemanly sharp practice.

John Mulholland, 1st Lord Dunleath died in 1895, and his will was probated at £583,266 gross; by comparison, when Dufferin died seven years later his gross estate was £108,548. This was partly because a further financial reverse had befallen Dufferin in his last years. Following his retirement from the relative financial security of the diplomatic service in 1896, he was tempted by the lucrative offers of a number of financial speculators who wished to use his great public name to attract investors to their shaky companies. Old, increasingly enfeebled, and worried about the family financial situation after his death, Dufferin finally succumbed to the wizardry of Whitaker Wright, becoming the chairman of the London and Globe Finance Corporation, in which he also invested. As a result he died, in February 1902, under

the cloud of the City scandal which surrounded the collapse of the Wright group of companies in December 1900.



Personal and political papers, 1760-1867

The earliest personal and political material derives from the Hamilton, later Rowan Hamilton, family of Killyleagh Castle, Co. Down, one of whom, Harriot Hamilton, married Lord Dufferin in 1862. This includes: a journal of Mrs Jane Rowan's travels in France and Belgium, c.1760; papers of Archibald Hamilton Rowan (the celebrated United Irishman, who was allowed to escape to the USA in 1794), including printed extracts of orders, letters and reports by military forces directed against the United Irishmen in various parts of Ireland, March-July 1798; a printed handbill, 'To such of the People of Ireland as are now in rebellion', 1798; and an account of his career written for the edification (or otherwise) of his grandchildren in 1822.

Personal and political correspondence of the Blackwood family begins with Sir James Stevenson Blackwood, 3rd Bt, who succeeded as 2nd Lord Dufferin in 1808 and died in 1836. His correspondence runs from c.1800 to the latter year. He was succeeded, briefly, by his next brother, Hans, who died in 1839. Hans's son and successor was the Price Blackwood who married Helen Selina Sheridan; he died young in 1841. Through this marriage connection, some correspondence, 1774-1795, of Helen Dufferin's grandparents, R.B. Sheridan and his wife, Elizabeth (née Linley of Bath), comes to be among the Dufferin papers. There is also correspondence of Helen Dufferin's father, Thomas (1775-1817), and of other members of the Sheridan family, 1797-1845.



Fascination and fright

Her son, the 5th Lord Dufferin and 1st Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, was both fascinated and frightened by his Sheridan ancestry. His success as a diplomat and imperial administrator owed much to the Sheridan attributes of wit, urbanity and a facile pen, but he took care not to waste any of his powers by drinking or indulging in other forms of dissipation, and in worldly terms he achieved much more than his Sheridan forbears, R.B. Sheridan's plays excepted. Dufferin kept up a correspondence with his Sheridan relations to c.1884 and later with biographers of his great-grandfather, the playwright-politician. In the years when he was an eminent late-Victorian, the full Regency flavour of R.B. Sheridan did not appeal to him at all. At his instigation, therefore, William Fraser Rae produced a bowdlerised and sanitised biography of Sheridan in 1896, to which Dufferin contributed an introduction, whilst Gladstone, also at Dufferin's instigation wrote a eulogistic article on Sheridan for *The Nineteenth Century*.



Helen Dufferin and Caroline Norton

Helen Dufferin, and her son's devotion to her, are today commemorated by 'Helen's Bay' and 'Helen's Tower'. The former, originally the landing-place for Dufferin's yachts, on the Belfast Lough shore of the Clondeboye estate, is now a smart, residential area, criss-crossed with avenues such as 'Sheridan Drive' and 'Sheridan Grove'. When the Belfast and Bangor Railway Company completed the eight miles of track from Bangor to Holywood, in 1865, a Scottish Baronial style station was built at Helen's Bay and linked to Clondeboye by a four-mile, tree-lined avenue. (The drawings and plans for Helen's Bay station are at Clondeboye.)

Helen's Tower, built by Dufferin at the Helen's Bay end of the Clondeboye demesne, and formerly housing a discrete part of his library, later became famous as the subject of poems by Robert Browning and Alfred Lord Tennyson and as the model for the First World War memorial to the Ulster Division at Thiépval in Belgium. Later still, it was used - somewhat incomprehensibly to those who do not know the Bangor area - by Harold Nicolson as the title of his perceptive and evocative book about Dufferin, whose wife was a sister of Nicolson's mother, published in 1937.

The archive includes family, personal and political correspondence of Helen Dufferin and her two husbands, Price Blackwood, 4th Lord Dufferin (1794-1841), and George Hay, Earl of Gifford (1822-1862), whom she married at his insistence in 1862 when he was on his deathbed. Helen Dufferin wrote both verse and music, which survives along with her correspondence. The latter includes letters from Price Blackwood, 4th Lord Dufferin (her husband), Robert Browning, John T. Delane, Benjamin Disraeli, Lady Harriet d'Orsay,

J.S. Le Fanu, Sir James Graham, Benjamin Robert Haydon, Lord Melbourne, Lady Emily Peel, the Duke of Wellington, and sundry Sheridans, and a great many ribald and entertaining notes from one Frederick Pigou, together with a voluminous correspondence, 1835-1867, with her son, Lord Dufferin. Her influence over Dufferin, which was smothering as well as stimulating, diminished after he married in 1862, but remained powerful until her death in 1867. There are numerous letters of condolence to him on that event.

Her notorious sister, Caroline Norton (Melbourne's sometime mistress), was the estranged wife of the Hon. George Norton, by whom she was the mother of the 4th Lord Grantley. She spent a great deal of her time at Clondeboye and many of her verses and songs survive, together with letters to her from Disraeli, Price Lord Dufferin, Sir Alexander Duff-Gordon, Lady Hermione Graham (wife of Sir James Graham, 3rd Bt), Abraham Hayward, sundry Nortons and Sheridans, and Byron's friend, E.J. Trelawny. Caroline Norton married, as her second husband, Sir William Stirling Maxwell, Bt, and died in 1877.



The 1st Marquess of Dufferin and Ava

The overwhelming majority of the non-estate papers, however, were created by the 5th Lord Dufferin and 1st Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, who was arguably the pre-eminent British diplomat and imperial administrator of the last third of the 19th century, as well as a man of some literary distinction and immense personal charm.

Lord Dufferin's inherited position as an Irish landlord, particularly an Ulster landlord, is critical to an understanding of his career and archive. For a start, because he was only a medium-sized landlord, he could ill-afford to live in the style of his much richer English and Scots friends – like the 8th Duke of Argyll and the 2nd Duke of Sutherland. Living like a British Whig lord on the finances of a substantial Irish country gentleman was something which he could not do forever. His nominal rental of approximately £18,000 was moderate, and in reality rarely came near that mythical total. His tenantry were nearly always in arrears; he frequently had to write off bad debts, which were endemic among them; and he had to start his landlord career in 1847 with an immediate rent abatement to make allowance for the depressed years of the Famine period.



The 'Ulster Custom'

Dufferin came into full control of his estates at the end of his minority in June 1847 and took an immediate interest in their management. At this time, the Famine was devastating large expanses of the south and west of Ireland, and on two occasions Dufferin visited some of the worst-affected areas. These visits along with his own estate experiences led him to make certain conclusions concerning the problems of Irish agriculture and in particular the question of landlord-tenant relations. 'Tenant right', known in his own province as the 'Ulster Custom', he regarded as, not just an incursion upon the property rights and privileges of landlords, but also as an iniquitous usage which in its most extreme aspect took the form of agrarian blackmail on the part of the sitting tenantry. He especially disputed the existence of such a form of custom on the majority of his own property, and cited the estate patents in his archive as proof.

In 1856, he made his mark in parliament with a speech on landlordism and tenant right in Ireland, and in 1867 he published a book, which is now decidedly uncommon, called *Irish Emigration and the Tenure of Land in Ireland*, which had first appeared in part as letters to *The Times*. This book is a broad polemic against the view that the Irish landlords were a parasitic caste mainly responsible for the poverty of the Irish countryside. It amounts to a detailed economic history of the Irish land question, and it compares in an interesting way with modern Irish historical writing which has considerably revised the view Dufferin opposed. Sections at the end consider the questions of tenant right, and small versus large farms, and contain a postscript rebutting Isaac Butt's newly published *The Irish People and the Irish Land*. When the Gladstone ministry of which he was a member gave statutory effect to tenant right in the Land Act of 1870, Dufferin knew that he had reached the parting of the ways with the Liberal leader, and thereafter looked increasingly towards non-political, proconsular or diplomatic employments overseas.



Mission to Syria, 1860-1861

He had already had a taste of such employment. In the autumn of 1860, he had been sent to Syria as British representative on a great-power commission investigating the causes of a civil war (and the resultant massacres) which affected the Ottoman province in the early summer of that year. The commission was also to prepare a scheme for the better government of Syria, with especial attention to the position of the Lebanon, where the civil disorders had been extremely violent and bloody, as the Maronite Christians and the Druse tribes fought another round in an ageless tribal feud. The Druse were the victors on this particular occasion and did not baulk at indulging in wholesale massacres of the rival male population. The Lebanese killings (which took place in an agrarian, village context) were only equalled in Damascus (the capital of Syria) by a general attack and slaughter of the local urban Christian population by the Muslim inhabitants of the town. The Damascus Muslims were aided in their bloody work by the local Turkish military garrison, and by neighbouring Arab and Druse tribes.

Dufferin was remarkably successful in his first major public post, achieving all the objectives, both explicit and implicit, of British policy in the area. He upheld the unity of the Turkish empire, prevented the French from establishing a client Maronite state in the Lebanon, and saved the Druse nation (with whom the British had a long association) from the application of a savage vengeance and severe penal impost. The Turks wanted scapegoats to assuage the outraged feelings of Christian Europe and to direct Europe's attention away from the Turkish policy of divide and rule in Syria. The other three European powers involved in the commission (Austria, Prussia and Russia) were prepared in differing degrees (Russia inclined to support of the Greek Orthodox community in Syria) to countenance repression of the Druse community. Dufferin was sympathetic to the Druse as he felt they had simply carried on the war in a feudal manner, normal to the conventions of the Lebanon, and that the Maronites if they had won would have been just as frenzied and bloodthirsty as the Druse.

Dufferin also obtained the removal, from May 1861 onwards, of a French military force of occupation from Syria (mainly the Lebanon), despite French hopes that this force would remain there long-term. At about the same time the policy-formulating meetings of the commission were wound up in Constantinople (it had formerly met in Beirut). The plan adopted here for the reorganisation of Syrian government was largely that proposed by Dufferin - the Lebanon to be governed separately from the rest of the province of Syria by a Christian subject of the Porte, who was not originally a native of Syria. The commission continued for another couple of years in a purely supervisory role (to see that the agreed reorganisation was implemented fairly), and Dufferin's military aide during his Syrian mission, Colonel A.J. Fraser, took his place as British representative.



Dufferin's Syrian papers

Dufferin's Syrian papers include: copies of his letters from Syria to the Foreign Secretary, Lord John Russell; the original letters that he received there, along with depositions concerning the massacres, notes on the subsequent trials, and petitions from various communities in the Lebanon; and many statistical and historical notes relating to Syria which Dufferin collected. For some years afterwards he corresponded with friends in Syria and advised the British Government on Syrian affairs.

PRONI has also obtained from other institutions microfilm copies of material relevant to Dufferin's Syrian mission. Researchers should be aware of: PRONI MIC320, which contains correspondence with Colonel A.J. Fraser, obtained from the British Library; and PRONI, MIC392, which contains correspondence between Dufferin and Lord John Russell (from Russell's private papers), relating to the Syrian crisis, obtained from the Public Record Office, Kew. These private papers (PRO 30/22/94) duplicate in part material in Dufferin's official Foreign Office correspondence which is held by the PRO under the reference FO. 78, volumes 1624-1630, one of which has been copied by PRONI – MIC381. There is also a certain amount of overlap and duplication between both the Russell private and Foreign Office official papers and the correspondence at D1071H/C/3/46.

PRONI also holds in the Clanwilliam-Meade collection some of the papers of Robert H. Meade (who was later knighted), the Foreign Office official who acted as Dufferin's official private secretary in Syria. Relevant Syrian papers from this collection are Meade's 1860 diary and his Syrian letter book, PRONI D3044/J/7 and D3044/J/13.



Under-Secretaryships and the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1864-1872

Having been offered, and having refused, the Governorship of Bombay in 1862, Dufferin remained out of office until 1864. In that year he failed - in reality he was not even a serious contender - to obtain the Irish Viceroyalty, but he was given a crumb of comfort by being appointed Under-Secretary at the India Office. In 1866 he was transferred to the equivalent post at the War office, which office he held for only four months, when Russell's 1865-1866 ministry (the last to be led by a Whig) fell from power.

Dufferin consciously endeavoured to make himself an Irish expert in the middle years of the 1860s, and contributed at the same time to the political revitalisation of Ulster Liberalism. This led to substantial general election advances in 1868, including the return of a Liberal for one of Belfast's two parliamentary seats. In these circumstances Dufferin considered he had a claim upon the Gladstone-headed ministry which took office in December 1868, and he - along with many friends, relations and political observers - though that the claim would be met by his appointment as Irish Viceroy. In the event Gladstone did not send Dufferin to Dublin for reasons of Irish policy, and Dufferin did not push his claim for the appointment very hard. This lack of political aggression had for long held back his career, and it was again evident throughout his occupancy of the non-Cabinet office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (1868-1872) when he found himself unable to cope with the political, as distinct from the administrative, demands of the post.

Dufferin's correspondence as Under-Secretary successively for India and for War, 1864-1866, is not extensive. His correspondence, 1868-1872, as Chancellor of the Duchy (and Paymaster-General) amounts to c.1,500 letters. The main topics of discussion are the appointment of magistrates, routine Duchy administration, and clerical and other patronage exercised by the Chancellor. Dufferin was pressed by local Liberals to redress the heavy imbalance in favour of Tory magistrates in the Duchy. He refused to do so, although many of his Liberal correspondents pointed out the clear local political advantages to be gained by such action, because he judged magistracy appointments on the criteria of social position and property rather than political expediency. (See also the list of PRONI's MIC331, which contains transcripts of Dufferin's letters to Gladstone including some related to this issue of the Duchy magistracy and to the attempted usurpation of clerical patronage in the Duchy by the Crown.) Dufferin's original correspondence as Chancellor of the Duchy was formerly held in three contemporary 19th-century 'stringed' folders which were in poor repair. These three folders have been replaced by six volumes - two per folder - in which the correspondence, after conservation by PRONI, has been bound.

During his period of office as Chancellor of the Duchy, Dufferin acted as government spokesman on Irish affairs in the House of Lords, and served as Chairman of the Military Education Committee, 1869-1870, of the Naval Construction Committee, 1870, and of the Committee on the Design of Ships of War, 1871. All these areas of responsibility are represented in the archive.



Canada, 1872-1878

Because of his growing alienation from Gladstone over home and particularly Irish policy, Dufferin's appointment as Governor-General of Canada was of crucial importance to him in career terms. It was of crucial importance in financial terms as well. In 1872 his debts amounted to almost £300,000. After the sale of most of his estates had paid off his creditors, he was left with a surplus of £54,000 in 1880 and, because of the smaller size of his agricultural estates, a much reduced rental income. He received a substantial salary in Canada (£10,000 a year) which he managed to have supplemented by extra allowances to cover certain of his expenses as Governor-General. Had he remained at home, he could not have continued to live the English society life he had led in the 1850s, 1860s and early 1870s. The Canadian Governor-Generalship was not therefore just the start of his great pro-consular and diplomatic career of the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s; it was also his social and financial salvation. Furthermore, he was for career reasons genuinely glad to go to Canada in 1872; for it was obvious, most of all to himself, that he would never become a Cabinet Minister in any Liberal ministry led by Gladstone.

Dufferin made a great success of his period in Canada (1872-1878). He raised the Governor-Generalship to a position of high social importance after his two predecessors in the post, Lords Monck and Lisgar, had, in his view, done little since the establishment of the Dominion in 1867 to make the external aspects of the office commensurate with its constitutional significance. Largely because he was the type of man he was – a dignified showman who gloried in pomp, circumstance and public approbation – Dufferin decided that he would as Governor-General assume a much more active role and involve himself as far as possible with the people of the Dominion. If the Governor-General acted in this manner the constitutional link with Britain, and the internal unity of the Dominion, would also, he reasoned, be greatly strengthened. This policy of active involvement in Dominion affairs he pursued with vigour, travelling widely throughout all the various provinces of Canada, ready on every occasion to make a stirring speech extolling the virtues of region, province, Dominion and wider empire.



The constitutional powers of the Governor-General

He also involved himself to the limit - sometimes beyond- of his constitutional powers in the political processes of the Dominion. During the Canadian Pacific Railway crisis of 1873, after initially misjudging the part played in the affair by the Conservative Premier, Sir John Macdonald - whom he thought the only really capable politician in the Dominion - he managed, or so he thought, to help the Ottawa legislature to settle the scandal according to the civilised rules and precedents of British-style parliamentary procedure. Initially worried, after MacDonald's fall, about the ability of the new Liberal administration led by Alexander Mackenzie, to govern effectively, Dufferin endeavoured to help his Liberal ministers, who he thought were pursuing a seriously mistaken policy. The Liberal Cabinet reacted forcefully. Mackenzie proved a strong defender of the ministry's prerogatives, and the brilliant but unstable Edward Blake, with his lawyer's training, provided the intellectual arguments which countered the Governor-General's inflated analysis of his constitutional position in the still young Dominion.

In this and many other ways Dufferin impressed his mark upon the Governor Generalship, and as a result his successors inherited a post which had a definite public aspect and functional structure where previously there had only been vague outlines. Dufferin did not share the views of those Liberals who looked to the day when the bonds of empire would dissolve by the common consent of the constituent units of the imperial structure. He was a Whig imperialist who wanted to see those self-same bonds tightened as Britain moved into the high imperialist phase of the late Victorian and Edwardian era.



The Canadian Pacific Railway

The issue of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was of immense political, constitutional and economic importance. This railway had been promised to British Columbia as part of the Dominion settlement of 1867. British Columbia, with its almost limitless natural resources, was isolated on Canada's western seaboard. The promise of a trans-continental railway to link Atlantic and Pacific influenced British Columbia's population in favour of entering the Dominion, but the vast logistic, technical, economic and political problems inherent in such a feat of engineering proved almost insurmountable. In 1873 Dufferin was forced to prorogue the Canadian Dominion Parliament at Ottawa during a series of intensely acrimonious debates in which Sir John MacDonal'd's Conservative Government was accused by the Liberal opposition of financial impropriety in relation to the scheme. Dufferin established a commission of inquiry which found against the Government, and MacDonal'd fell from power, although he returned to office in 1878.

The Dufferin papers in PRONI contain numerous references to the C.P.R. scheme, and to the 1873 scandal - including references to the effect the scandal had in stimulating the rise of a secessionist spirit in disgruntled British Columbia.



The walls and fortifications of Quebec

In 1875 Dufferin was appalled to discover that the town council of Quebec had started to demolish the walls and fortifications which surrounded the 17th-century section of the town, one of the oldest settlements on the North American continent. Accordingly he used his influence as Governor-General to stop this act of civic vandalism, and managed to ensure that the walls were restored and repaired. In this project he obtained the services of the Belfast Architect, W.H. Lynn, who had formerly carried out work at Clondeboye, and who had drawn up plans for an extravagant replacement for Clondeboye on the shores of Belfast Lough. This dream castle was never constructed because of the prohibitive cost of the venture. The Quebec improvements, however, gave Dufferin and Lynn a chance to put into execution some of their Gothic fantasies, and at public expense.

There are in the Dufferin papers some letters (and related drawings) from Lynn to Dufferin on this topic and other material demonstrating Dufferin's awareness of the need to cement together the fragile Dominion of the 1870s, by instilling into the Canadian people a sense of national history and pride. This was a constant theme of his most important Canadian speeches.



Orangeism in Canada

The Dufferin papers contain important references to Orangeism in Canada. In the 18th-century, Ulster Protestants had tended to settle in those colonies which formed the United States of America after the War of American Independence. In the 19th century, however, Ulstermen increasingly sailed to Canada, which offered them a loyal imperial home in which to settle, whilst Southern Irish Roman Catholics tended to opt for the great republic south of the 49th parallel. Once settled in Canada, Ulster Protestants found, or sought out, similar religio-political conditions to those which had existed back home in Ulster; they liked to equate the Roman Catholic French Canadian section of the population with the 'disloyal' Roman Catholic nationalists they had opposed in Ireland (in spite of the fact that the French Canadians had in general opposed the Fenian incursion into Canada in the later 1860s). The development of a strong Orange movement in Canada gave Ulster immigrants a sense of identity, and social and vocational connections, and acted as a channel for material help to get them established in their new country through mutual aid and charitable schemes. As such it fulfilled the functions of the strong Irish Roman Catholic church societies which developed in Boston and New York and the other industrial cities of the north eastern United States.

Dufferin had been anti-Orange in the early and mid 1860s, but changed this attitude by 1872, when a few months before departure to Canada he helped obtain the passage of a parliamentary bill repealing the Party Processions Act. He never became actively pro-Orange, because he looked down on the Order as a basically plebeian movement. But because he had helped win the Orange right to march, William Johnston (MP for Belfast), the great Co. Down Orange martyr (who had been imprisoned for violating the Party Processions Act), assured him that he would receive a warm welcome from the Orangemen of Canada.



Emigration

On the topic of emigration/immigration generally, there are excellent humorous references in Dufferin's correspondence to his sailing to Canada on a ship carrying emigrants from Londonderry. There are numerous references in his letters and speeches about the great prospects emigrants would find in Canada, and there are also letters written to him discussing various schemes to attract emigrants to Canada – schemes put forward by labour leaders, men of business, etc. Some of these schemes were designed to alleviate working class poverty in Britain and Ireland, others to tap Canada's vast natural resources.



Dufferin's Canadian archive



Lord Kimberley

The main series of Canadian correspondence are 6 letter-books and 3 bundles of loose letters, together comprising Dufferin's correspondence, 1873-1878, with the successive Colonial Secretaries, the Earls of Kimberley (1873-1874) and Carnarvon (1874-1878), and Lord Carnarvon's successive Under-Secretaries, Robert G. Wyndham Herbert and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. There are also 5 letter-



Lord Carnarvon

books and 4 bundles of loose letters comprising copies and originals of Dufferin's correspondence, 1873-1878, with the successive Prime Ministers of Canada, Macdonald and Mackenzie. Governor-General's outward letter-books, 1873-1878, comprise a further 9 volumes.

Dufferin's other c.100 correspondents while in Canada are as follows (alphabetically arranged): Sir Adams George Archibald; E.M. Archibald; Robert Banks; Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie; Hewitt Bernard; Edward Blake; W.A. Bruce; Isaac Burpec; A. Campbell; Sir Joseph Philippe Ren, Adolphe Caron; Sir George Etienne, Bart Cartier; Sir Richard John Cartwright; Joseph Edouard Cauchon; Hugh Childers; John Mortimer Courtney; Frederic William Cumberland; A. Currie; Charles Dewey Day; J.T. Delane; Citizens of Detroit; Sir Charles Hastings Doyle; J.W. Dunscombe; John Dyde; Col. H.C. Fletcher; Sir F.C. Ford; Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt; Sir John Hawley Glover; Sir Charles Good; Sir James Robert Gowan; J.W. Griffen; Sir William O'Grady Haly; Gen. W.B. Hamley; Thomas Heath Haviland; R.P. Haythorne; Robert G. Wyndham Herbert; St Leger A. Herbert; Col. H. Hewitt; Sir Stephen Hill; E.J. Hodgson; Sir Robert Hodgson; W.T. Holland; Sir William Pearce Howland; Lucius Seth Huntington; Edward Jenkins; Sir Henri Gustave Joly De Lotbinière; Thomas C. Keefes; John Kidd; Edward Kimber; R. Kimber; T.A. Rodolphe Laflamme; David Laird; Sir Hector Langevin; John Langton; Luc Letellier De St Just; E.G.P. Littleton; D.A. Macdonald; Gen. Sir Patrick Macdougall; William G. Macdougall; W.H. Malcolm; Joseph Marmelle; George G. Marten; S.R. Masson; R.H. Meade; E.A. Meredith; Sir W.C. Meredith; Peter Mitchell; Harry Moody; E. Moreau; Alexander Morris; Sir Oliver Mowat; C. O'Connor; L. Oliphant; Louis de Plainval; Henry Reeve; Albert Norton Richards; Sir William Johnstone Ritchie; Sir William Cleaver Francis Robinson; Col. T. Robertson Ross; G.W. Ryland; Sir Richard William Scott; Sir Albert James Smith; Joseph Smith; William Smith; Col. E. Selby Smyth; T.B. Strange; Sir Edward Thornton; Sir Samuel Leonard Tilley; Alpheus Todd; Sir Charles Tupper, Bt; William Berrian Vail; George A. Walkern; W.W. Walkern; R.G. Watson; W.F. Witcher; and Sir William Young.

In addition to correspondence, there are numerous papers concerning the British Columbia question and the C.P.R. scandal, the latter including a copy of a message from Dufferin proroguing the Canadian parliament in advance of news of the scandal, 1873. There are also household accounts and receipts, and wages books for employees and tradesmen in the Governor-General's service, 1872-1875.

These PRONI sources can be supplemented by papers available in various other archives, for example: the Colonial Office papers held at the PRO; the Kimberley papers in the Bodleian Library Oxford; the Carnarvon papers in the British Library and the PRO; and the Delane papers in the archive of *The Times*.



Official and other papers relating to Ireland

During these years, and indeed throughout his career at home and abroad, Dufferin continued to interest himself in Irish affairs, and Irish affairs continued to have a bearing on his overseas postings, as they already had in Canada. Papers reflecting his position as a major Irish landlord and his attitude to the Irish Land Question, include: correspondence, 1870-1898; papers about the 1870 Land Act and about land cases and tenant right disputes on his own estates, 1877-1901; and correspondence, speeches, press reports, etc, relating to his contribution to the Irish Landowners' Association, 1896-1897. His papers also abound in pamphlets concerning the political and economic life of the country, and correspondence and draft memoranda relating to the Maynooth Grant, education (Dufferin was Chancellor of the Royal University of Ireland, 1886-1902), and the Church of Ireland (in whose disestablishment he acquiesced in 1868-1869). In addition there are many letters and papers, 1857-1880, concerning militia and other local affairs in Co. Down and in Belfast, mainly reflecting Dufferin's role as Lieutenant of Co. Down (1864-1902).



Russia, 1879-1881

On his return from Canada, Dufferin was appointed Ambassador to St Petersburg, in 1879, further alienating Gladstone by accepting this office at the hands of Disraeli. In 1880, when in St Petersburg, he began to speculate that he might be appointed Viceroy of India – the high point of any proconsular career – as successor to Lord Lytton. He was not in the event offered the Viceroyalty: Gladstone, returned to power for his second spell as Prime Minister, decided to send Lord Ripon to India largely because, as a convert to Roman Catholicism, Ripon could not be accommodated in the Cabinet. When Gladstone passed his more radical Irish Land Act of 1881, any lingering loyalty Dufferin felt to Gladstonian Liberalism was effectively severed. The extremely revealing series of letters exchanged between Dufferin and the Duke of Argyll during the drafting and passage of this Act make it very clear that Dufferin's abhorrence of the measure was equal to that of Argyll, who resigned from Gladstone's Cabinet over the head of it. Dufferin, because of the diplomat's professional separation from party politics, decided - after briefly considering resignation himself - to remain as Ambassador to Russia and keep his sights fixed on his career, especially the Viceroyalty of India.



Turkey (and Egypt), 1881-1884

In 1881, he was appointed Ambassador to Constantinople. During his time there, and later in Cairo, he was the instrument of the Gladstone government's imperialist occupation of Egypt in 1882-1883. By his skilful diplomacy Dufferin successfully denied Turkey any military involvement in Egypt. A report on Egypt which he wrote in 1883 provided a plausible, if not completely practical, plan for the future development of the Egyptian administration which made allowance for the progressive involvement of the Egyptian people in the offices and procedures of state. Dufferin also ensured that the trial of Arabi Pasha, the former Egyptian Minister for War, was speedily concluded and made sure that Arabi was sent into exile and not executed, in spite of Gladstone's and the Cabinet's initial call for Arabi's blood.

These two postings, as Ambassador to Russia and then to Turkey, gave Dufferin a better awareness of Britain's imperial place in international affairs, and the Russian embassy was also useful for the future in familiarising him with the Russian threat to British India.



Papers relating to Russia and Turkey

Papers relating to his residence in Russia concern in the main his social life there. They include inventories of plate sent to St Petersburg in 1879 and returned to London in 1881, and his reports of the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in the latter year. Those accumulated in Turkey and Egypt, however, are more extensive. They include copies of Dufferin's despatches to the Foreign Office, and letters to him from Lords Salisbury and Granville. Also included are: Chancery papers, 1883-1884; reports and telegrams from The Times correspondent in Constantinople; miscellaneous reports, memoranda and despatches arising from Dufferin's appointment as Special Commissioner to Egypt, 1882-1883, including a confidential report on an alleged plot to assassinate Dufferin, 1882; and papers about the Soudan Railway.



India, 1884-1888

The Dufferin papers contain a vast amount of India-related material. The importance of these papers stems from the fact that Dufferin's Viceroyalty (1884-1888) came at a crucial period in Indian political development. The previous Viceroy, Lord Ripon (1880-1884), had attempted to put into effect a Gladstonian inspired reform policy, which had angered Anglo-India, and raised the nascent hopes of educated, native India. All sections of Indian society, Anglo-Indian and native, waited to see how Dufferin would approach the problems of Indian government. Would he resurrect Ripon's Liberal policies? Would he be an arch-imperialist like Lord Lytton (Viceroy, 1876-1880)? Or would he try to steer a middle course, taking a neutral stance on Indian political matters, and preferring an administrative to a politically innovative role?

Dufferin's policy was dictated to him before he left London by Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for India. He had to take the white heat out of Indian politics. On a personal level, Dufferin was in sympathy with this policy. Anglo-India he found slightly boorish; its members were not quite gentlemen. The native classes who had been western-educated he considered precocious and an, as yet, relatively insignificant group in Indian society who had inflated views of their own importance, partially attributable to Ripon's flattery. Dufferin was most at home with the princely representatives of bygone feudal India. They were men of breeding and rank like himself. With all these groups, and with the official and military classes of British India, he intended to maintain the best of personal relations, and if charm and social diplomacy could restore Indian tranquillity then Dufferin would work the trick. A cautious career diplomat and imperial administrator, he also wanted to avoid the political scrapes that both Lytton and Ripon had brought upon themselves. He had still one ambition: the premier embassy to France, and he wanted no Indian upset to block the road to Paris.




Alienation from the educated Indians

Dufferin therefore tried to avoid being drawn into matters of internal Indian politics. This policy led him into conflict with educated, native India, which came to regard him as maintaining the stranglehold of Anglo-Indian officialdom on the Indian government and administration. Educated India also became alienated from Dufferin by the annexation of Upper Burma (1885-1886), and his strengthening of India's military defences in the North West to meet the Russian threat. Both these developments were viewed by native political activists as imperial sabre-rattlings which plundered India's feeble finances. Indian political organisation accelerated during Dufferin's Viceroyalty, the meeting of the first all-India Congress taking place in 1885.

The process of alienation worked two ways. Dufferin was proud and aristocratic in a paternalistic Whig manner, and he found educated India's newspaper attacks upon his administration slighting and offensive, from both a personal and political standpoint. He also viewed the sending of Indian nationalist envoys to Britain - where they spoke on radical electoral platforms and condemned his policies - with extreme disfavour. Dufferin was further alienated from educated India by his stormy relationship with Alan Octavian Hume, an Anglo-Indian renegade who was an influential figure in nationalist circles. Hume had been flattered and cultivated by Ripon, who realised the man was something of a charlatan, but appreciated the occasional accuracy of his assessments of Indian political sentiment. Dufferin adopted a coldly formal attitude to Hume, and Hume published a number of anonymous pamphlets attacking Dufferin's administration.

Dufferin's alienation from educated or nationalist India was intensified by the Irish Home Rule crisis of 1886. As a member of the Irish Protestant landowning ascendancy (and perhaps more importantly an Ulsterman) Dufferin was strongly opposed to Home Rule, and he began to view Indian nationalists as 'Home Rulers' on the Irish model. However, he remained publicly silent, despite his growing anti-nationalist convictions, until very nearly the end of his Indian reign. On 30 November 1888, at a St Andrew's day dinner at Calcutta, a few weeks before leaving India, he delivered a withering speech attacking the pretensions of educated and nationalist India. India's population, he claimed, was deeply divided by race, religion and social development, and the westernised, educated native gentlemen represented a 'microscopic minority' of that population, alien to the broad mass of the peasantry. He had a number of reasons for making this speech, among them the hope that it would divide the moderates from the extremists in the educated native camp, and thus clear the air for the incoming Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne. Dufferin realised that the British administration in India had to try to win moderate educated Indian support. He therefore drafted as one of his last despatches from India proposals to the Secretary of State for India that the Indian legislative councils should be reformed, and Indian representation increased.

Dufferin's relationship with educated India is much more important in retrospect than he would have considered it at the time. The bulk of his papers refer to the day-to-day administration of the subcontinent, or to the 'Imperialist' problems of Burma and the Russian threat. The intractable problems of India's finances also feature prominently. 

Afghanistan and Burma

Dufferin's initial hopes that his Viceroyalty would be a quiet period of unspectacular policy development had been dashed by two external crises: the Russian advance to Penjdeh on the north-western fringe of Afghanistan; and the problem of Upper Burma. Upper Burma was adjacent to British Burma and India and, though traditionally a British sphere of influence, its diplomatic and trading links with Britain had weakened to the benefit of ascendant French influence. During the policy formulation period in relation to both these crises Dufferin showed himself to be motivated by a mixture of Whig imperialist considerations and professional career ambitions. He was prepared to adopt a forward stance in Afghanistan if the Russian military threat to that turbulent state – in the form of a direct attack – materialised, although there is reason to believe that he did not consider this threat and any substance to it. He also proved himself ready to go to war against King Thibaw and the Kingdom of Ava, to depose that monarch and, eventually, to agree to the annexation of Upper Burma and its incorporation within the administrative structure of British India.

His contributions to the policy-making process were cautious and flexible. He never committed himself unreservedly to any one policy, and always showed himself willing to accept the directives of the three Secretaries of State for India he served between December 1884 and December 1888. This aspect of his Indian rule is best illustrated by his acquiescence in the annexation of Upper Burma, over which he vacillated, but which he accepted when it was forcefully advocated by Lord Randolph Churchill during the latter's brief period at the India Office between June 1885 and February 1886. Dufferin's flexibility over policy was ideally suited to British political realities, with the Home Rule crisis producing three changes of government in the one year, June 1885-July 1886. It was Dufferin's sensitive appreciation of domestic political factors which kept him in India when Salisbury and the Tories came to power in June 1885 and again in July 1886. That, and his personal, although not publicly known, rejection of Gladstonian Liberalism and Home Rule, made him happy enough to serve a Conservative government. By his adaptability, he not only retained the Viceroyalty, but also in the end secured further diplomatic employment at Rome, which in turn led to the premier embassy at Paris.

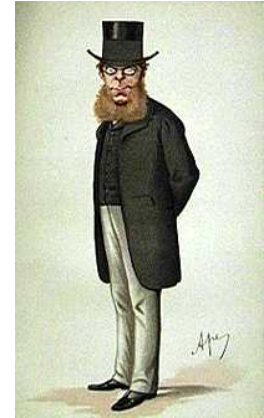


Home Rule and home politics



Lord Kimberley

Dufferin's Viceregal correspondence is relevant not only to a study of Indian affairs. His correspondence with the three Secretaries of State for India contains numerous references to political affairs in Britain itself, especially the Home Rule crisis, and it reflects the personalities of the three Secretaries of State – Lord Kimberley, Lord Randolph Churchill and Lord Cross. Kimberley and Cross were cautious administrators, while Churchill was difficult and unpredictable, and ready (much to



Lord Cross

Dufferin's consternation) to use Indian affairs for party political advantage. He also made Dufferin's life difficult by flattering educated India when on a visit to India shortly before his appointment in June 1885, and then when in office damning the 'babus' and their precociousness. Cross was a chief with whom he felt at ease, and the two worked together amicably for the last two and a half years of the Viceroyalty.

The private correspondence between Dufferin and non-official contacts in India, Britain and elsewhere contains references to almost every subject possible in the 1880s, and, again, are particularly rich in Home Rule references.



The Viceregal printing-press

Indian Governor-Generals and Viceroys always printed their correspondence - and not just their official or Indian correspondence – on a Viceregal printing-press which was available for that purpose. The following are the basic divisions observed in the organisation of these printed papers.

Correspondence, letters and telegrams from and to Monarch.

Correspondence, letters from and to Secretary of State for India. These letters are purely private correspondence between the Viceroy and Secretary of State, and should not be confused with despatches which were official communications sent to the Secretary of State by the Viceroy and his Council. The Viceroy was allowed to retain the private correspondence with the Secretary of State as a personal record of his Indian sojourn. Official despatches were retained by the government.

Telegrams from and to the Secretary of State for India.

Correspondence, letters and telegrams from and to persons in England and abroad.

Correspondence, letters and telegrams from and to officials and persons in India and Burma.

The Viceregal printing-press was initially used from the second half of the 19th century as a means whereby Governor-Generals were provided with copies of their outgoing letters. Probably for the sake of the uniformity of their private archives, they then began to print copies of inward correspondence as well, and to bind them in volumes in the divisions already described. This process became more refined with the passage of time, until by the 20th century a colour scheme had been developed to distinguish the bindings of the various sections of correspondence. The general quality of the printing and format also improved during the period. The Dufferin papers, it would appear, come about midway in this process. They are divided into the five basic sections of Viceregal correspondence, but were not apparently bound according to any colour scheme.

In respect of the amount of private correspondence printed by Dufferin, the Dufferin papers again do not appear to be unique. The amount of material printed increased as the system became more efficient, and Dufferin had more correspondence printed than earlier Governor-Generals and Viceroys, but less than later holders of the Viceregal office.



Pitfalls of the Indian papers

Researchers using the original printed papers contained in the Indian section of D1071H (D1071H/M) should be aware that the private correspondence with persons in India, and with persons outside of India, are incomplete. Complete printed sets of these papers are available on microfilm only, and researchers should consult the list of MIC22. The microfilm consists of 53 reels covering 78 bound volumes of correspondence, the originals of which remain in Dufferin family possession. The microfilming was carried out under a joint scheme involving PRONI and the then India Office Record Office and Library (now the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library), and the two institutions hold sets of the microfilm. Complete printed sets of both the royal correspondence and of the correspondence between Dufferin and the three Secretaries of State for India are available in both D1071 H/M and MIC22 and on the open shelves in PRONI's Public Search Room.



Dufferin and Queen Victoria

The royal correspondence gives a good idea of the relationship between Viceroy and Monarch. This was especially friendly in Dufferin's case, because Queen Victoria and he had been on good terms since he had held office as a Lord-in-Waiting during the period 1849-1852.

PRONI has supplemented these letters by obtaining from the Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, microfilm copies (MIC340) of c.200 selected items from the correspondence of Queen Victoria, c.1860-1900, relating to Dufferin's career, including: the originals of the letters from Dufferin to the Queen (which, when studied in conjunction with the Queen's letters to Dufferin in D1071H, reveal the part which the Queen played in advancing his career); correspondence between the Queen and various politicians (Lords Palmerston, Cross, etc), and one letter to her from the Prince of Wales, all discussing Dufferin's appointment to various posts; and one letter to the Queen from her private secretary, Sir Henry Ponsonby, 28 March 1872, discussing Dufferin's suitability for the Governor-Generalship of Canada. (This microfilm and the PRONI transcript of it can be examined only after permission has been obtained from the Keeper of the Royal Archives. PRONI's calendar does not transcribe the documents in chronological order, but follows the order in which they appear on the microfilm.)



Unexpected gems of the Indian papers

The Indian Viceregal papers contain some unexpected gems for the researcher of imperial or Indian history, two of which are particularly worthy of note.

When Dufferin began to worry about the growth of Indian nationalism he formed, with Lord Cross's approval, a special intelligence unit to monitor the activities of individual Indian political activists and the organisations to which they belonged. This unit was known as the 'Special Branch of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department', and a surviving volume of its papers is a valuable source for the study of the growth of Indian nationalist organisations. Dufferin should not have retained this volume as it bears a 'top-secret' classification, but his doing so is the scholar's gain. It can be found in the microfilm set of the Viceregal papers (MIC22).

As part of the information-gathering and monitoring scheme, Dufferin received printed volumes of extracts (D1071H/M12/1-16) from native newspapers in the various Indian presidencies. There are series of 'news letters' from Herat, Kandahar and Meshed, and of reports on Indian newspapers for the provinces of Bombay, Madras and Bengal. These volumes do not appear on the microfilm set of the Viceregal papers.

Other sections of the Indian papers contain papers relating to the native volunteering issue, recruitment to the Burma police, various boundary disputes, the work of the Afghan Boundary Commission, etc., along with a host of pamphlets and speeches relating to Indian affairs, and multifarious reports on Nepal, the North-West Frontier and Siam. There are also reports of a conference between the Viceroy and the Amir of Afghanistan in 1885, correspondence, maps, reports, etc, relating to the conduct of the war in Burma, 1886-1887, and programmes of fêtes, entertainments, etc, given by the Viceroy, 1886-1887.



Lady Dufferin and India



Countess of Dufferin

Lady Dufferin's papers as Vicereine, and her subsequent Indian papers, are also of importance. They include 53 photographs and negatives taken from an album entitled 'My first efforts in photography, India, 1886, Hariot Dufferin'. The photographs show aspects of life in India and Burma during Dufferin's viceroyalty. There are also papers relating to the Countess of Dufferin's Fund (administered by the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India), comprising minutes, 1885-1913, accounts, 1888-1913, correspondence, 1885-1914, annual reports, 1888-1916, and speeches, appeals, addresses, publications and newspaper cuttings about the work of the Fund, 1887-1915. In addition, Lady Dufferin kept a long series of journals, 1872-1896, some of them edited and published by her during her very long widowhood, and many of them constituting an important addendum to her husband's successive official missions.



Rome, Paris and the Cinque Ports, 1888-1895

In December 1888 Dufferin left India to take up the post of Ambassador at Rome. For this appointment, the 'official' papers mainly comprise material relating to the furniture in and the refurbishment of the British Embassy. There is official correspondence amounting to c.500 letters, 1891-1896, between Dufferin and the successive Tory and Liberal Foreign Secretaries, Lords Salisbury, Rosebery (1892-1894), Kimberley (1894-1895) and, again Salisbury, but this principally relates to the Paris Embassy, to which Dufferin transferred in 1892.

Other papers relating to these appointments include: drafts of a secret clause to be inserted in the Italo-Britannic Protocol, for the definition of the Egyptian-Abyssinian boundary, 1891; papers concerning Dufferin's appointment as Ambassador to France in 1892, including his correspondence with Lord Kimberley, the Foreign Secretary; accounts and memoranda, 1894-1896; and maps, reports, etc, relating to affairs in Siam, 1894.

Between 1892 and 1895 Dufferin held the Lord Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, with an official residence at Walmer Castle, Dover, Kent, and there is some official Cinque Ports correspondence for this period about the appointment of local magistrates.

Lord Salisbury was his successor in that office, so in relation to Rome, Paris and the Cinque Ports, the Salisbury papers at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, contain important complementary material, as in relation to Rome and Paris do the Rosebery papers in the National Library of Scotland and the Kimberley papers in the Bodleian.



The 'General Correspondence'

The dearth of 'official' material for these two embassies, and indeed the incompleteness of all the other 'official' sections of the Dufferin archive, are to be explained by the presence of a vast section (D1041H/B) misleadingly called the 'General Correspondence' of the 1st Marquess (which was originally called, even more misleadingly, his 'Private Correspondence'). This is a hotch-potch, which can be justified only on the basis that it formed part of his own archival arrangement or lack of it. It contains c.40,000 letters on public/official business as well as on social, artistic, literary and personal matters, varying in significance from the important to the totally trivial and in correspondents from maharajahs to inhabitants of Bangor.

Basically, the content of the 'General Correspondence' overlaps with that of the 'official' or 'topic' sections of the archive (e.g. 'Estate Correspondence', 'Canada', 'India', 'Papers of Harriot Lady Dufferin', etc) at almost all points. The only near-certainty is that all the 'official' or 'topic' sections with the exception of 'India' contain material relating almost exclusively to that office or topic, and that more of the same – even for the period when Dufferin held a particular office – will be found among the 'General Correspondence'. 'India' is an exception even to this commonsense rule, because the existence of the Viceregal printing-press means that printed copies of virtually all the 'General Correspondence' for the 1st Marquess's Indian years (1884-1888) exist in the 'India' official section (D1071/M). The basic position is that the 'General Correspondence' is necessary to complete the sense of all the other correspondence in the archive and vice versa.



Physical arrangement

Even if the 'General Correspondence' were not archivally justified as an entity in Dufferin's own arrangement, it would be physically impossible to re-distribute it because much of it was at his behest bound into letter-books and the rest seems to have been destined for that treatment. Within the 'General Correspondence' there is a good deal of inconsistency – part of it original and part of it the product of subsequent events – in format, arrangement and location, as will be apparent from the following summary of the way in which it is divided up:

8 volumes of in-letters, 1846-1857 and 1862-1863, chronologically arranged, with tables of contents and indexes in each. Although present in the original in PRONI, these are not suitable for production to the public in that format, since the letters have been so haphazardly inserted in the volumes that they are vulnerable both to damage and theft. The contents of the volumes have therefore been microfilmed (MIC22, reels 1-7 and 13), and only the microfilm copies will be produced to the public.

10 volumes of the same, 1857-1862 and 1863-1864 (originals in family possession: microfilm copies in PRONI, ref. MIC22, reels 7-14). These too have tables of contents and indexes, and the more 'significant' letters have been calendared in detail by PRONI.

10 volumes of the same, received by Dufferin when Viceroy of India, 1884-1888 (originals in family possession: PRONI copies at MIC22, reels 16-26). Same format as the foregoing.

3 volumes of copies of most of the original letters at 3 above, printed on the Viceregal printing-press, but beginning later in 1884 than the originals and also including copies of Dufferin's out-letters for 1887 and 1888 only (originals in family possession: PRONI copies at MIC22, reels 51-53).

Loose, printed copies of 375 out-letters and telegrams from Dufferin, 1885-1886 (D1071H/M6/1-2). These, although really belonging to the 'General Correspondence', are part of the official 'India' section of D1071. M5 and M6 also include printed copies of in-letters, 1885-1888, and of replies, 1887-1888, but these almost certainly are incomplete duplicates of items 3 and 4 above.

Volume of bound out-letters, 1889-1890, and 33 loose out-letters 1890-1891, written during the Rome embassy (D1071H/N1/1-34). These, though 'General Correspondence', are part of the official 'Rome' section.

68 loose out-letters, 1892-1897, written during the Paris embassy (D1071H/O3), and part of the official 'Paris' section.

c.40,000 loose in-letters, mainly 1864-1884 and 1888-1902, but including some letters back to c.1840 and a very few letters received during the Indian Viceroyalty (D1071H/B/1-Z).



Alphabetical versus chronological arrangement

These c.40,000 in-letters constitute the bulk of the 'General Correspondence', and because of their sheer volume an attempt has been made to arrange them alphabetically by the c.12,000 correspondents. They occupy 95 PRONI boxes, the contents of which are gradually being listed in detail. Currently, work has reached the letter 'F'. The remainder have been box-listed according to the names which begin and end the alphabetical arrangement of each box, and innumerable identifying details and pr,cis of content have been jotted on or clipped to the letters or the PRONI envelopes containing them.

It was clearly Dufferin's intention that these letters should be bound in a series of chronologically arranged volumes (on the model of the 28 volumes described at paras 1-3 above), because tables of contents exist for each of these intended volumes, and the numbering system recorded in these tables corresponds to the numbers marked in ink on all the letters. The evidence of the tables of contents has frequently been vital to the dating of undated or incompletely dated letters and to the identification of correspondents.

An alphabetical arrangement was thought appropriate for the loose 'General Correspondence', partly because its great bulk made it difficult to sort the correspondents on any other basis, and partly because such an arrangement makes it possible for enquiries to be answered and individual correspondent-bundles to be produced, in advance of a complete listing of the whole of D1071H/B. Nevertheless alphabetical arrangements, particularly where c.12,000 different correspondents are concerned, are notoriously difficult to establish. The major problem is accuracy, because if a name, particularly its initial letter, is misread (as many undoubtedly will have been in the present instance), it is in effect lost and gone forever. A subsidiary problem is consistency, to get round which it is important that the principles determining the alphabetical arrangement be stated.



Arabs, Greeks, ex-royals and the like

The great majority of the correspondents have been filed under their surname, though this may not always have been done successfully in the case of Arabs, Greeks, Indians and Turks. Moreover, British double- and treble-barrelled names inevitably give trouble. The nobility of Continental Europe have been filed under title (because of the difficulty, in most cases, of ascertaining what their surname was). Members of ruling families everywhere except India have been filed under Christian name, although difficulties have been encountered over ex-ruling families (the Orleans and the Dukes of Schleswig-Holstein), morganatic branches of ruling families (Battenbergs and Tecks) and various other borderline cases. Indian princely families have been filed under their principality (e.g. Benares, Hyderabad, etc).

The part of the correspondent's name which has determined his or her place in the alphabetical sequence has been typed in capital letters, for ease of recognition; and, as listing proceeds, an attempt will be made to resolve most of the discrepancies by cross-referencing. Nevertheless, there is likely to remain a significant number of unrecognised and therefore unresolved problems – e.g. changes of name arising in the case of women from first, second or third marriages, and in the case of men from succession to property. Even these problems are not of course insurmountable, on the assumption that the enquirer knows about and investigates every conceivable name under which the object of his enquiry might have been filed.



Other problems of identification

There is no problem in identifying Dufferin's correspondents for the period 1846-1864 and 1884-1888, because the tables of contents and/or indexes to the 28 volumes of bound correspondence described at 1-3 above have been transcribed. The first 18 volumes have both tables of contents and indexes: the next 10 (or Indian) volumes have either one or the other but not both. The alphabetical order observed in the indexes is a great deal cruder and less consistent than that established for the loose correspondence (e.g. peers are indexed under title, not family name). However, granted a degree of resourcefulness, the indexes can easily be used.

The tables of contents or indexes to the Indian volumes were printed on the Viceregal printing-press, and so are highly legible (even though they contain some obvious errors). The same cannot be said of the tables of contents and indexes to the first 18 volumes, which are written in an atrociously illegible hand - obviously that of a fairly low-level employee who often could not decipher or interpret the signature on a letter and seems deliberately to have written unclearly in order to cover up his mistakes. The typescript transcriptions of these are therefore very far from satisfactory, and as yet have not been checked against the original letters. However, with all their imperfections, they are still a very useful ready reckoner, not only of the contents of the volumes concerned but of who Dufferin's major correspondents were and therefore who is likely to feature in the loose correspondence (at any rate up to 1888). The 'official' and 'topic' sections of D1071H also throw light on correspondents and content in the 'General Correspondence' (just as the latter is indispensable to mastery of the 'official' and 'topic' sections).



The letter 'C': a sample of the 'General Correspondence'

It may be helpful to provide a sample of what the 'General Correspondence' contains, and the letter 'C' has been chosen at random. The 'C's include: George Henry Cadogan, 5th Earl Cadogan, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1895-1902 (25 letters, 1895-1900); Sir Vincent Caillard, President of the Council of Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt, 1883-1898 (6 letters, 1883-1893); Sir Hugh McCalmont Cairns, 1st Earl Cairns (9 letters, 1864-1884), mostly about the Irish land question; George Douglas Campbell, 8th Duke of Argyll, Lord Privy Seal and, from 1868-1874, Secretary of State for India (159 letters, 1858-1902, plus others from other members of the Argyll family), about all aspects of Liberal policy at home and abroad, with particular reference to the Irish land question; John Douglas Sutherland Campbell, Marquess of Lorne and 9th Duke of Argyll, Dufferin's successor as Governor-General of Canada (66 letters, 1868-1902), many of them about Canada and one (1890) about the embarrassing circumstances under which the sculptor, Sir Edgar Boehm, died at the feet (or some said in the arms) of Princess Louise, Argyll's wife; Ulick John de Burgh-Canning, 1st Marquess of Clanricarde (3 letters, 1866-1867), about Irish land legislation; Edward Cardwell, Secretary of State for War, 1868-1874 (10 letters, 1864-1873), mainly about the Military Education Committee of 1869; William Carleton, the novelist (1 letter, 1867), about an increase in Carleton's pension; Joseph Cauchon, from 1877 Lt-Governor of Manitoba (8 letters, 1872-1877), about Canadian politics, with particular reference to the Roman Catholic Church in Canada; Spencer Compton Cavendish, Marquess of Hartington and 8th Duke of Devonshire, among other things Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1871-1874 (27 letters, 1870-1901), mainly about Irish politics and Irish land; Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury, Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary three times within the period 1885-1902 (75 letters, 1868-1902), about diplomatic and Cinque Ports affairs; Edwin Chadwick (5 letters, 1881-1889), mainly about medical matters; Joseph Chamberlain (6 letters, 1895-1902), including an interesting one about the Governorship of New Zealand, 1896; Henry Chaplin (8 letters, 1889-1894), mainly about the financial and testamentary affairs of the 2nd Duke of Sutherland; Alexander Chauveau, Judge of the General Court of Sessions of Quebec (8 letters, 1889-1896), discussing Canadian affairs long after Dufferin's period of office in Canada; Cherif Pasha, President of the Council of Ministers and Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs (2 letters, 1883), about Arabi Pasha and other matters; General Sir George T. Chesney, Member of the Indian Executive and Legislative Council (18 letters, 1888-1891), about Indian affairs following Dufferin's departure; Hugh C.E. Childers, among other things First Lord of the Admiralty (35 letters, 1869-1895), many of them about Admiralty and Duchy of Lancaster business; Lord Randolph Churchill (7 letters, 1890-1894), about Indian and foreign affairs; Sir Auckland Colvin, British Commissioner of the Egyptian Debt and subsequently Governor of the Northwest Provinces of India (32 letters, 1882-1902), mainly about Egyptian and Indian affairs; Lord William Compton, later 5th Marquess of Northampton, who was Second Secretary at the British Embassy during Dufferin's time in St Petersburg and afterwards private secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (26 letters, 1879-1896), mainly about Russian and Irish affairs; Thomas L. Connolly, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Halifax (3 letters, 1874-1875), about the affairs of Manitoba; Benjamin Constant, the French portrait-painter (38 letters, 1892-1900), mainly about his portraits of Dufferin and

Lord Ava; Vincent E.H. Corbett, one of Dufferin's Secretaries of Embassy at Rome (57 letters, 1890-1900), about diplomatic affairs; Senator Count L. Corti, Italian Ambassador to Turkey (14 letters, 1881-1884), mainly about Turkish affairs; Baron Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the Olympic Games (4 letters, 1892-1898), one of them about an international athletics meeting; John D. Crace, the interior-designer (9 letters, 1862) about Crace's designs for ceilings, door-cases, furniture, etc; Colonel R.G. Sharman-Crawford of Crawfordsburn, near Helen's Bay (31 letters, 1891-1901), some of them about land cases and the North Down Militia; Sir Charles H.T. Crosthwaite, Chief Commissioner of Burma, 1887-1890, and thereafter holder of various posts in the Indian Government (29 letters, 1888-1902) about Burmese and Indian affairs; Sir Philip Henry Currie, Lord Currie, a senior Foreign Office official and subsequently an ambassador (64 letters, 1879-1896), about Russian affairs and all manner of Foreign Office business; and George Nathaniel Curzon, Marquess Curzon, Under-Secretary for India, 1891-1892, Viceroy of India, 1898-1905, etc (24 letters, 1892-1901) about French and Indian affairs.



Miscellaneous papers

In addition to all the material described above, Dufferin's papers and those of his wife, Hariot, include: miscellaneous private papers such as an illustrated journal of a visit to Lebanon, 1859-1860; various yachting papers, log books and accounts, 1870-1903; and papers of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association (Ulster District), of which Hariot, Lady Dufferin, was President and Treasurer, comprising administrative and financial records, correspondence, etc, 1900-1902 and 1914-1916.



'Letters of the Blackwood children'

One major component of the main deposit of Dufferin papers (D1071/K), and an exclusive component of a subsequent deposit (D1231), is correspondence, 1863-1932, between and among Lord and Lady Dufferin and their children. The Dufferin children were as follows:

Archibald, Viscount Clandeboye, later Earl of Ava (1863-1900). A career soldier, died as a result of wounds received in South Africa, January 1900.

Lord Terence Blackwood (1866-1918), 2nd Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (1902-1918). Married an American, Flora Davis (1908). Served as a clerk in the Foreign Office. Died of pneumonia in London, February 1918.

Lord Basil Blackwood (1870-1917). Trained as a lawyer. Served as a special correspondent in South Africa (1900-1901), and stayed on as a member of the administration of the Orange River Colony, 1901-1905. Appointed Governor of Barbados, 1907. Killed in action in France, July 1917.

Lord Frederick Blackwood (1875-1930), 3rd Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (1918-1930). A career soldier, served with the 9th Lancers in the Boer War, 1899-1901, and was wounded in 1900. Served on the staff of the Military Secretary to the Viceroy of India, 1904-1905. Married Brenda Woodhouse (1908). Appointed Military Secretary to the Governor-General of Australia, (1914). Speaker of the Senate of the Northern Ireland Parliament, 1921-1930. Died as a result of an aeroplane crash, 1930.

Lady Helen Blackwood (1865-1941), married Ronald Munro-Ferguson, later Lord Novar (1889).

Lady Hermione Blackwood (1869-1960). Trained as a nurse, qualifying in 1901. Served in France and Belgium 1914-1918 and was awarded the Medaille de la Reconnaissance Francaise for her work during the war.

Lady Victoria Blackwood (1873-1938) married William-Lee Plunket, 5th Lord Plunket (1894).

These letters and papers include: papers relating to the Earl of Ava's military career, 1889-1896, among them letters to his family from Ottawa and Lucknow in the 1890s, and letters and photographs relating to his service in the Boer War and death at Ladysmith in 1900; letters from Lord Basil Blackwood to his family, written during his service as a special correspondent in South Africa, 1899-1900, and as Deputy Judge Advocate of the Orange River Colony, 1900-1902, and letters written during his service with the British Expeditionary Force in Belgium and France, 1914-1917, terminating with his death in the latter year; Boer War letters from Lord Frederick Blackwood, 1899-1901, his diary, 1902, and subsequent letters from him in India (1904-1905) and elsewhere; letters from Lady Hermione Blackwood to her mother, Harriot, Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, c.1885-1918, describing holidays in Spain, North Africa, Switzerland, etc, c.1885-c.1896, and her experiences as a nurse in

France in the First World War, 1916-1918, including the certificate of her French medal awarded for her work in French and Belgian hospitals; and c.1,000 miscellaneous Blackwood family papers, including pamphlets, programmes, photographs, etc, from the late 19th to the early 20th century. The letters of all 'the Blackwood children' also have significant Irish political content.



The 3rd Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (1875-1930)

Lord Frederick's own papers, as a younger son and later as 3rd Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, include title deeds, leases, etc., relating to property in Curzon Street, London, 1901-1925, correspondence, accounts and newspaper cuttings of his wife, Lady Brenda Blackwood, later Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, 1901-1930, and a memorandum on the refurbishing of Clondeboye House, 1924.



The 4th Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (1909-1945)

Basil, 4th Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, who was killed in action in 1945 (ironically, in view of the origin of 'Ava', while fighting in Burma), is the last member of the family to be represented in the archive.

The 4th Marquess's political career was interrupted, first by the war, and then by his early death. Educated at Eton and Balliol, his first significant appointment was as a member of the Indian Franchise Committee in 1931-1932, which was soon afterwards accompanied by appointment as PPS to the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India, the Marquess of Lothian. Lothian resigned later in 1932, and Dufferin shortly afterwards became PPS to Lord Irwin, later 1st Earl of Halifax, first at the Board of Education, November 1932-June 1935, then at the War Office, June to November 1935, and then as Lord Privy Seal, 1935-1936.

During these years, Dufferin's most important contribution appears to have been an unofficial one in the sphere of Indian affairs, to which the bulk of his papers relates. He also must have had some responsibility for Home Office business in the House of Lords, although the only evidence for this is his own papers (he is not mentioned in the *DNB*, so the only other printed source of information is *Who's Who* and *Who was Who*). Between 1936 and 1937 he served as a Lord in Waiting, and in 1937 he received his highest appointment, that of Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office, which he held until 1940.

His papers comprise c.1,000 documents and one volume, 1931-1940, and include: letters and papers of the Indian Franchise Committee, of which Dufferin was a member, 1931-1932; correspondence about Indian affairs, 1932-1940, including correspondence with the India Office during and after Dufferin's service there as PPS to the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India; papers relating to the royal household, 1932-1939, collected during and after Dufferin's service as Lord-in-Waiting, 1936-1937; correspondence with the Conservative Party Central Office, 1935-1938, about Dufferin's support for Conservative parliamentary candidates; and correspondence, 1936-1939, relating to the Oxford University Appeal of 1936. Dufferin was a political associate of R.A.B. Butler (later Lord Butler of Saffron Walden), from whom there are a number of letters in this concluding part of the archive.

