

# “I Am Pleased with the Lambton Loot”: Arthur George Doughty and the Making of the Durham Papers



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**RÉSUMÉ** Cet article se sert du concept de « l’histoire d’archives » (« *archive story* »), élaboré par Antoinette Burton, pour explorer comment Arthur George Doughty a constitué la collection des Durham Papers. Il fait revivre « l’histoire d’archives » de Doughty, qui avait été reléguée aux archives de l’institution même qu’il avait tant œuvré pour fonder. Cette histoire de Doughty montre que les archivistes, ces gens qui acquièrent, classent et décrivent les matériaux dont les historiens se servent pour écrire leurs ouvrages, *façonnent* eux aussi l’histoire. L’intérêt que portait Doughty pour l’administration de Lord Durham et les vingt ans de travail qu’il a consacré à l’acquisition des documents qui ont constitué la collection des Durham Papers ont fait en sorte que les voûtes des Archives publiques du Canada purent accueillir la collection d’un des gouverneurs généraux les plus controversés au Canada, tout en démontrant que la mission de Durham dans l’Amérique du Nord britannique en 1838 fut un moment important dans les annales de l’histoire nationale canadienne.

**ABSTRACT** This article uses Antoinette Burton’s concept of the “archive story” to explore Arthur George Doughty’s making of the Durham Papers. It resurrects Doughty’s “archive story” from the archives of the very institution that he worked tirelessly to create to argue that archivists – the individuals who collect, arrange, and describe the materials that historians rely on to write their histories – also *make* history. Doughty’s interest in Lord Durham’s administration, and the twenty years he spent collecting the documents that became the Durham Papers, secured a place in the vaults of the Public Archives of Canada for one of Canada’s most controversial Governors General and established Durham’s 1838 mission to British North America as a “milepost moment” in the annals of Canadian national history.

\* I began my exploration of Arthur G. Doughty’s relationship with the Durham Papers for a paper that I presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association in 2008. That paper has since been significantly transformed. My sincere thanks to Kristine Alexander, Becky Beausaert, Bettina Bradbury, Craig Heron, Dan Horner, Sarah Glassford, Jill McConkey, Angela Rooke, and Heather Steel for reading previous versions of this article, and Mike Wilton, for living with it. Their suggestions were, as always, great. I would like to acknowledge the financial assistance of both the Canadian Historical Association (travel) and the Avie Bennett Historica Dissertation Scholarship that made it possible for me to present and conduct the research this article is based upon. The editor of *Archivaria*, Carolyn Heald, provided encouragement and excellent feedback, as did the journal’s two anonymous reviewers.

## Introduction

In May 1914, at the annual meeting of the Royal Society of Canada in Quebec City, Arthur George Doughty, the Dominion Archivist and Keeper of Public Records for Canada, delivered a paper entitled “The Preservation of Historical Documents in Canada.” Doughty told those in attendance that it was not merely his job, but his duty, to gather new “raw materials” for the Public Archives of Canada. Once raw materials had been found, gathered, sorted, and preserved by archivists, explained Doughty, they could be moulded and fashioned by historians, into “vivid pictures of the past.” Unfortunately, declared the archivist, among students of history in Canada’s universities there existed “a lack of interest to know more” that ran contrary to the growth of the Canadian archives and the professionalization of history in the early twentieth century. Doughty told the elite members of the Royal Society of Canada that two years earlier, in 1912, a professor at one of Canada’s largest universities took a ballot as to the popularity of several courses of study and found that “history in general stood lowest on the scale, and of the branches of that course, Canadian history rested ignobly at the bottom.”

The underrated status of Canadian history did not rest well with Doughty, who, by the time of his retirement in 1935, had spent over thirty years of his life collecting, cataloguing, and conserving documents in an effort to archive Canada’s national history. Who was responsible for this lack of interest, Doughty inquired of his 1914 audience: Was it the “curious insensibility” of Canadian youth or the “failure” of historians to “rise to the height of the stories they take it on themselves to tell?”<sup>1</sup> He concluded that both students and historians were to blame for the poor reputation of Canadian history but that it was up to the historians to tell more interesting stories!

The remainder of Doughty’s lecture detailed how a professional historian could employ the raw materials housed in the Public Archives to sketch vivid pictures of the past that would intrigue students of Canadian history. The vivid picture of Canada’s past that Doughty painted in 1914 hinged upon various “milepost moments”: the creation of New France; the Expulsion of the Acadians; the Battle of the Plains of Abraham; the 1774 *Quebec Act*; the 1791 *Constitutional Act*; the 1837–38 Insurrections; the 1840 *Act of Union*; and finally, Confederation. Doughty’s milepost moments remain fixtures in contemporary narratives of the Canadian past; these political events reflect an early-twentieth-century fascination with moments when white French and English colonizers encountered each other.<sup>2</sup> What was striking about these

1 Arthur Doughty, “The Preservation of Historical Documents in Canada,” *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd Series, Vol. XVIII (May 1924), pp. 63–64.

2 H.V. Nelles, *The Art of Nation-Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec’s Tercentenary*

moments for Doughty was the important role that individuals, albeit elite ones, played as historical actors. Individuals, families, and societies were as central to Doughty's national history of Canada as were the political changes that they ushered in, reacted to, and lived through. The *Quebec Act*, Doughty argued that day, so often seen as the charter of the French Canadians, was to be the charter of the "English in Canada as well." Doughty argued, however, that without the papers of Lord Dartmouth that contain early drafts of the bill, such "a fact could scarcely have been established."<sup>3</sup> By archiving private papers like those of Lord Dartmouth, Doughty sought to encourage the writing of Canadian history, separate from the competing French and English interpretations of the early twentieth century, and to create, as Carl Berger observed, a common patriotism.<sup>4</sup>

Doughty's efforts to secure original documents for the Public Archives of Canada not only helped to establish the primary source as the foundation of the Canadian historian's craft. His work also determined the sources upon which future historians would be able to base their histories. Doughty explained to his audience that it was primary documents, and in particular, private papers that gave "life and colour" to these milestone moments.<sup>5</sup> To further substantiate his claim, Doughty provided the elite male members of the Royal Society with numerous examples that illustrated, in his opinion, the value of private papers and the importance of archival research to the production of history. In early-twentieth-century Canada, writing history based upon original documents housed in a publicly funded national archive was a new and emerging methodology connected to international ideas about "modern" and "scientific" history.<sup>6</sup> As both Carl Berger and Ronald Rudin make clear for the Canadian and Quebec contexts respectively, this trend was not only visible in the work of historians Lionel Groulx and Adam Shortt but was encouraged

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(Toronto, 1999). For an early-twentieth-century understanding of French–English race relations in Canada, see George M. Wrong, "The Two Races in Canada," *Report of the Annual Meeting/Rapports annuels de la Société historique du Canada*, vol. 4, no. 1 (1925), pp. 21–27.

- 3 Doughty, "Preservation," p. 65. Many of Doughty's mileposts were also subjects of his published work. Arthur Doughty, George Parmelee, and Frederick Würtele, *The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham* (Quebec, 1901); Arthur Doughty and Narcisse-Eutrope Dionne, *Quebec Under Two Flags: A Brief History of the City from Its Foundation Until the Present Time* (Quebec, 1903); Arthur Doughty and William C.H. Wood, *The Fortress of Quebec, 1608–1903* (Quebec, 1904); Arthur Doughty, Adam Shortt, Duncan A. McArthur, and Norah Story, eds., *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada* (Ottawa, 1907); Arthur George Doughty, *The Cradle of New France: A Story of the City Founded by Champlain* (London, 1909); and Arthur Doughty, *The Acadian Exiles* (n.p., 1915).
- 4 Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing Since 1900* (Toronto, 1979), p. 27.
- 5 Doughty, "Preservation," p. 64.
- 6 Marlene Shore, ed., *The Contested Past: Reading Canada's History* (Toronto, 2002).

in their seminars at the Université de Montréal and at Queen's University in Kingston.<sup>7</sup> It was this combination of archival research and the seminar, which, as Bonnie Smith's work on the gendering of history reminds us, set the standards for the professionalization of historical writing. It made the "arduous quest for objectivity" (encouraged in the seminar and found in the archive) a masculine one.<sup>8</sup>

This article examines Doughty's role in the making of the collection he identified in his 1914 lecture to the Royal Society of Canada as an "outstanding example of the value of private papers."<sup>9</sup> That collection was the Durham Papers, the private papers of John George Lambton, the first Earl of Durham and one-time Governor General of British North America. Lambton, as his family and friends called him, is better known to students of Canadian history as Lord Durham, the Radical British statesman who, in January 1838, was appointed by Queen Victoria to inquire into, and report on, an insurrection that was believed to have transformed the civil subjects of Lower and Upper Canada into uncivil ones.

Durham arrived in Lower Canada at the end of May 1838. He was enthusiastically welcomed by both francophone and anglophone Canadians. That Durham repeatedly promised to ignore distinctions of party, race, and politics successfully garnered him the "conditional loyalty" of the Canadian population. However, Durham's efforts in the Canadas were increasingly met with opposition from imperial statesmen. This "meddling" and "interference" in colonial affairs – as this opposition was identified by Durham and the Canadian press – ultimately undermined the confidence colonists had placed in his administration. In response, Durham hastily resigned his office that October and returned to England on 1 November 1838.<sup>10</sup> The following day, a second rebellion in less than twelve months broke out in Lower Canada. In 1839, he published his *Report on the Affairs of British North America* (the Durham Report), which proposed to reunite Upper and Lower Canada, "assimilate" the French Canadians, and grant limited self-government to the new colony.<sup>11</sup> Although Durham is often celebrated in English Canada and

7 Berger; and Ronald Rudin, *Making History in Twentieth Century Quebec* (Toronto, 1997).

8 Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and the Historical Practice* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 104–105.

9 Doughty, "Preservation," p. 69.

10 Jarett Henderson, "Uncivil Subjects: Metropolitan Meddling, Conditional Loyalty, and Lord Durham's 1838 Administration of Lower Canada" (PhD diss., York University, 2010).

11 John George Lambton, *Report on the Affairs of British North America* (London, 1839). Since its publication the report has been the subject of an extensive historiography: G.M. Craig and J. Ajzenstat, afterword G. Laforest, *Lord Durham's Report: An Abridgement of Report on the Affairs of British North America* (Montreal and Kingston, 2007); G.W. Martin, *The Durham Report and British Policy: A Critical Essay* (Cambridge, 1972); D. Bertrand, A. Lavallée, and A. Desbiens, *Le rapport Durham* (Montreal, 1969); G.M. Craig,

across the former British Empire as the harbinger of responsible government, his controversial proposal to assimilate French Canada has continued to ignite criticism from francophone nationalists since the 1840s.

As Doughty described the outstanding collection of private papers that detailed the history of Durham's administration to his distinguished audience, the sombre tone with which he started his lecture vanished. He explained, "Since 1839, [Durham's] report has been the classic on colonial government. But here, as sometimes happens, the man has been overshadowed by the monument [and] we know much less of Durham than we do of his report." However, as Doughty pointed out, "The mass of papers, which accompany his [Durham's] despatches, amply supply this omission ... [and] the [Durham] papers give much more than this. [T]he material gathered will provide the student the means for obtaining an exact and satisfying picture of the situation as it appeared to many eyes."<sup>12</sup> Ten years later, Doughty once again reiterated these sentiments in *The Canadian Archives and its Activities* in which he argued that, "A study of the Durham Papers discloses much regarding the man himself, much of the conditions in Canada during the troublous [*sic*] period of his administration, and much of the manner in which Durham reacted to the circumstances which confronted him."<sup>13</sup> Doughty hoped that the Durham Papers would shed light on this important, if misunderstood, encounter between French and English Canadians, and provide insight into both Durham and his mission. To ensure such a result Doughty endeavoured to fill the Durham Papers with both official state documents and personal papers.

Focusing upon Doughty and his making of the Durham Papers, one specific archival collection, this article will reveal how Doughty understood both history and his role as an archivist as well as his hopes for the documents he collected. This article resurrects Doughty's "archive story" about the making

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*Lord Durham's Report: An Abridgement of Report on the Affairs of British North America* (Toronto, 1963); M.-P. Hamel, *Le Rapport de Durham* (Montreal, 1948); R. Coupland, *The Durham Report: An Abridged Version with an Introduction and Notes* (Oxford, 1945); C.P. Lucas, *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America*, 3 vol. (Oxford, 1912); F. Bradshaw, *Self-Government in Canada, and How it was Achieved: The Story of Lord Durham's Report* (London, 1903); R. Hanson, *Report of the Earl of Durham: Her Majesty's High Commissioner and Governor-General of British North America* (London, 1902). This same attention has not been paid to Durham's administration: B. Curtis, "The 'Most Splendid Pageant Ever Seen': Grandeur, the Domestic, and Condescension in Lord Durham's Political Theatre," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 89, no. 1 (2008), pp. 55–88; C.W. New, *Lord Durham's Mission to Canada: An Abridgement of Lord Durham: A Biography of John George Lambton, First Earl of Durham* (Toronto, 1965); and W. Kennedy, "The Centenary of Lord Durham's Mission to British North America, 1838–1938," *Juridical Review*, vol. 50, no. 2 (1938), pp. 136–41.

12 Doughty, "Preservation," p. 69.

13 Arthur Doughty, *The Canadian Archives and its Activities* (Ottawa, 1924), pp. 11–12. In 1925, this was republished as *Les archives canadiennes et leur champ d'action* (Ottawa, 1925), pp. 12–13.

of the Durham Papers from the archives of the very institution that he worked tirelessly to create, and thus contributes to both Canadian and international literatures on the writing of history and the role of the archive. This international literature has elevated the archive to a new analytical status. It has shifted historians' attention away from the "archive-as-source" and encouraged the examination of the "archive-as-subject."<sup>14</sup> Ann Laura Stoler's work reminds historians that it is important to scrutinize the archive not only for its role in reconfiguring the boundaries of colonial or imperial rule, but also for the effects that archive-making has had, and continues to have, on the histories that historians write.<sup>15</sup> In what follows, I employ Antoinette Burton's concept of the "archive story" that she identifies as the narrative of "how archives are created, drawn upon, and experienced by those who use them to write history"<sup>16</sup> to understand Doughty's making of the Durham Papers. I illustrate that archivists, too, experienced the archive, shaped their content, and in the process, made history. Doughty's archive story not only reveals how his understanding of Canada's national history shaped his collecting, arranging, and describing of the Durham Papers; it also illustrates that historians have not shared Doughty's sentiments or produced the histories that Doughty envisioned: histories that would fuse personal and political history, and unite French and English Canadians.

Studies of the evolution of historical writing in Canada have tended to focus on the work of historians at the expense of archivists who collected and classified the material on which their histories were grounded.<sup>17</sup> Doughty's making of the Durham Papers reveals that what Carl Berger has identified as "one of the most venerable themes in Canadian historical literature" – self-government – a theme that was the object of the historian's gaze from the Victorian period until after the First World War – was also shared by Doughty. Berger argues that historians of self-government, writing at the turn of the twentieth century, directed their attention to the governorships of Lords Sydenham, Bagot, Metcalfe, and Elgin, to the formation of the Baldwin–LaFontaine ministry in 1848, and to Lord Elgin's signing of the *Rebellion*

14 Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, 2009).

15 Ann Laura Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," *The Journal of American History*, vol. 88, no. 3 (December 2001), pp. 829–65; and Ann Laura Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham, 2006).

16 Antoinette Burton, "Introduction," in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, ed. Antoinette Burton (Durham, 2005), p. 6. A review of this book appeared in *Archivaria* 69. See also Antoinette Burton, "Archive Stories: Gender and the Making of Imperial and Colonial Histories," in *Gender and Empire*, ed. Philippa Levine (Oxford, 2004), pp. 281–93.

17 Shore, *The Contested Past*.

*Losses Bill* in 1849.<sup>18</sup> Neither Durham nor his 1838 mission was included in this national narrative that celebrated responsible government. As a result, Doughty's making of the Durham Papers stands out in contrast. Moreover, this archive story indicates Doughty's determination to secure a place for Lord Durham and his 1838 mission to British North America, if not in the annals of Canadian history, then in the national archives so that one day such histories could be written. In 1914, while lecturing on the importance of the Durham Papers, Doughty explained that, "of the man [Lord Durham] at work, the man who achieved these results [self-government], we have hitherto had scarcely a glimpse."<sup>19</sup> Yet Doughty's reference to the poor state of early-twentieth-century literature on Durham eerily reverberates in the twenty-first century; for it can be readily applied to analyses of Doughty or Durham, both of whom occupy marginal positions within histories of Canada. To understand the making of the Durham Papers, it is first necessary to provide a glimpse of Doughty's own personal history as a civil servant, historian, and archivist.

### **"The Most Interesting Man ... in Ottawa": From England to Quebec to the Public Archives of Canada**

Students of Canadian history, to employ one of Arthur Doughty's frequently used phrases, know very little about the archivist or his experiences of the materials that he collected, arranged, and described. Although Doughty is often praised for placing an ever-increasing number of primary documents within the reach of the Canadian historian, he has rarely been the object of significant historical inquiry.<sup>20</sup> Doughty does not have an entry in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Yet when Mackenzie King met Doughty at the Archives in January 1906, the future prime minister was clearly taken with the man and his work ethic. King recorded in his diary that Doughty was "the most interesting man I have met in Ottawa, a great enthusiast in his work and as a scholar."<sup>21</sup> Twenty years later, at a dinner of the Canadian Historical Society in London, England, and after Doughty had received an honorary doctorate from Queen's University, King repeated his earlier private musings publicly.<sup>22</sup> King proclaimed to his audience that, "in the public service of

18 Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History*, p. 33.

19 Doughty, "Preservation," p. 69.

20 Donald A. Wright, *The Professionalization of History in English Canada* (Toronto, 2005), pp. 41–45.

21 Library and Archives Canada [hereinafter LAC], William Lyon Mackenzie King Fonds, MG26 J, Diary 1906, Wednesday, 3 January 1906, p. 3, available at [www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/king](http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/king) (accessed on 10 January 2009).

22 LAC, National Archives of Canada Fonds [hereinafter NA Fonds], RG37, vol. 299, File A.G. Doughty, Gordon to Doughty, 11 April 1912. Doughty also received an honorary doctorate from the University of Ottawa in 1931. See [www.president.uottawa.ca/doctorates.html](http://www.president.uottawa.ca/doctorates.html)

Canada no one has devoted himself more entirely, more energetically, or more disinterestedly to his work than has Dr. Doughty.”<sup>23</sup> In 1937, Doughty’s obituary, published in the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, recognized him as a “supremely great collector,”<sup>24</sup> a characterization that continues to guide historical studies of the archivist and his work.<sup>25</sup> Today, a statue of Doughty sits on the grounds of Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa, keeping watch over an institution that historical literature has accredited to his momentous labours.

That students of Canadian history know little about Doughty’s intimate and personal experiences archiving Canada’s past is further compounded by the archival silence that surrounds his life prior to his appointment to the Archives Branch. The official *Canada Gazette* announced that his appointment took place on 16 May 1904.<sup>26</sup> In the House of Commons, Liberal Minister of Agriculture Sydney Fisher defended Doughty’s appointment and declared that he had “no hesitation in saying that Mr. Doughty stands out as probably the most qualified man for this position in the Dominion.”<sup>27</sup> Conservative Member of Parliament George William Fowler, reflecting the nativist ideals that predominated in early-twentieth-century Canada, thought that it would have been better to appoint a “native born Canadian” to such “an important office.”<sup>28</sup> At the time of his appointment, however, Doughty

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(accessed on 6 April 2010).

- 23 Mackenzie King, reprinted in Doughty, *The Canadian Archives*, p. 31; and Doughty, *Les Archives canadiennes*, p. 36. On King and Doughty’s friendship, see Ian E. Wilson, “‘One of the Closest and Truest Friends I Have Ever Had’: Mackenzie King, Arthur Doughty, and the Public Archives of Canada,” in *Mackenzie King: Citizenship and Community*, eds. John English, Kenneth McLaughlin, and P. Whitney Lackenbauer (Toronto, 2002), pp. 1–17.
- 24 “Obituary: Arthur George Doughty,” *Proceedings and Transactions of The Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd Series, Volume XXXI (May 1937), p. XV.
- 25 Jim Burant, “Doughty’s Dream: A Visual Reminiscence of the Public Archives,” *Archivaria* 48 (Fall 1999), pp. 117–30; Danielle Lacasse and Antonio Lechasseur, *The National Archives of Canada, 1872–1997*, Historical Booklet No. 58 (Ottawa, 1997); Ian Wilson, “‘A Noble Dream’: The Origins of the Public Archives of Canada,” *Archivaria* 15 (Winter 1982–83), pp. 16–35; Ian E. Wilson, “Shortt and Doughty: The Cultural Role of the Public Archives of Canada, 1904–1935” (Master’s thesis, Queen’s University, 1973); Duncan McArthur, “The Canadian Archives and the Writing of Canadian History: Presidential Address,” *Report of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1935), pp. 5–17.
- 26 *The Canada Gazette*, vol. XXXVIII, no. 2 (9 July 1904), pp. 54 and 85.
- 27 *Debates*, House of Commons (Ottawa, 1904), p. 2731.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 2731. On the hostility directed toward English migrants in the early twentieth century, see Ross McCormack, “Networks among British Immigrants and Accommodation to Canadian Society: Winnipeg, 1900–1914,” *Histoire sociale/Social History*, vol. 17, no. 34 (November 1984), pp. 357–74; Ross McCormack, “Cloth Caps and Jobs: The Ethnicity of English Immigrants in Canada, 1900–1914,” in *Ethnicity, Power, and Politics in Canada*, eds. Jorgan Dahlie and Tissa Fernando (Toronto, 1981); Stewart Basil, “*No English Need Apply*,” *Or, Canada as A Field for the Emigrant* (London, 1909).



had lived in Canada for nearly twenty years, having arrived from England in 1886 at the age of twenty-six. He had been educated at New Inn Hall, Oxford, and spent ten years working as the drama critic for the *Montreal Gazette*.<sup>29</sup> In 1890, he made a failed attempt at publishing a shorthand transcription of Lord Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* before he relocated to Quebec City in 1896 where he joined the provincial civil service.<sup>30</sup> In 1901, he was promoted to the post of Joint Legislative Librarian for the Province of Quebec, the position he held until his federal appointment three years later.

For the thirty-one years that Doughty was employed by the Government of Canada, he worked to acquire official state records and the private papers of colonial administrators; he also oversaw the transcription of documents housed at archives in Great Britain, France, and across Canada.<sup>31</sup> But Doughty's ambitious archival program was not limited to textual records; it also included the acquisition of photographs, maps, engravings, and paintings which, as Danielle Lacasse and Antonio Lechasseur observe, undoubtedly marked the establishment of what became known in Canada as the "total archives" concept.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to overseeing such an expansive program of accessions, Doughty submitted annual reports chronicling his work and progress to the federal minister responsible for the Archives Branch. These reports reflect the changing role and interests of the Canadian state in the early twentieth century as well as the government's effort to encourage the production of a "national history" in the young Dominion. Doughty initially submitted his reports to the Department of Agriculture; however, in 1912 following the passage of the *Public Archives Act*, responsibility for the Archives Branch came under the purview of the Secretary of State. These annual reports were printed and bound, and described new materials deposited in the archives. They occasionally reproduced what were called "calendars." These calendars, however, as the former president of the Canadian Historical Association Duncan McArthur noted in 1935, "[were] at best deceptive."<sup>33</sup> Although McArthur was referring to the process of reducing original documents to a summary – a critique that emphasized the importance of original archival documents to the writing, and by extension, the professionalization of history in the early twentieth century – he could have easily been acknowledging that Doughty's annual reports were more than mere indexes of new materials deposited in the Public Archives of Canada.

29 Wilson, "Shortt and Doughty," p. 24.

30 Robert J. Hayward, "Sir Arthur Doughty, Shorthand, and Alfred, Lord Tennyson," *Archivaria* 21 (Winter 1985–86), pp. 103–110; Baron Alfred Tennyson, *Idylls of the King*, ed. Arthur Doughty (Montreal, 1898).

31 Wilson, "Shortt and Doughty."

32 Lacasse and Lechasseur, p. 7.

33 McArthur, p. 12.

Doughty's annual reports, as Ian Wilson has suggested, are valuable historical sources in their own right.<sup>34</sup> I consider them here as a *contact zone*, a site of cultural transfers and encounters through which we can read both Doughty's archive story with the Durham Papers as well as early-twentieth-century understandings of Canada's colonial past.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, they detail the role one archivist played, not as an abstract gatekeeper of knowledge, but as an individual who actively shaped the archives and the national narrative as he himself worked to build them. Yet Doughty has left a scattered archival record of his involvement in the making of the Durham Papers. Like Wilson, I rely upon Doughty's annual reports but supplement these with his published works, lectures, and speeches. Although it contains detailed information about Doughty's making of other archival collections, the National Archives of Canada Fonds holds few details of his making of the Durham Papers. In fact, it is in the Arthur George Doughty Fonds, in his private diaries and personal letters, where his intimate involvement with the Durham Papers is recorded. From these diverse sources, this article reconstructs three distinct episodes (or chapters) in Doughty's archive story with the Durham Papers, a collection that was repeatedly described by Doughty, and the public, as historically significant.

### **“One of the Most Critical Years in Canadian History”: The Establishment of the Durham Papers as Historically Significant**

Doughty articulated his interest in, and the importance of, the Durham Papers in his annual reports, in his public lectures, and in his publications on the Public Archives of Canada. He was not, however, the only one to do so. Newspaper coverage of Doughty's work repeatedly identified the Durham Papers as a collection of historical significance. Knowledge that the Durham Papers were considered pivotal to Canada's national history was not confined to the limestone walls of the new Public Archives building; it reverberated throughout the social worlds of the early twentieth century. Newspaper columnists, civil servants, and Doughty himself repeatedly pointed out that the Durham Papers documented “the events of one of the most critical years in Canadian history – 1838.”<sup>36</sup> As Ian Wilson has shown in his study of Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty, who together edited the 23-volume *Canada and its Provinces* between 1914 and 1917, the archives once occupied a central role

34 Wilson, “Shortt and Doughty.”

35 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York, 1992); Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, eds., *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham, 2005); and Burton, *Archive Stories*.

36 Arthur Doughty, *Report of the Work and Progress of the Archives Branch, 1911 and 1912* (Ottawa, 1912), p. 71.

in the creation of Canadian culture and history that the public no longer recognizes in the same way.<sup>37</sup> A variety of newspaper articles, lectures, and public addresses delivered by Doughty and others emphasized the social and cultural importance of the Public Archives, and in doing so identified (and advertised) the Durham Papers as a collection of utmost importance housed within this invaluable national, and publicly funded, institution.

In 1910, *Saturday Night*, which was central to the creation of “society” in early-twentieth-century Canada, and Toronto in particular,<sup>38</sup> published a two-page article on the Public Archives in Ottawa as a tourist destination. The article, accompanied by numerous black and white photographs, appeared in the Women’s Section and was entitled “The Dominion Archives: A Treasure House for the Canadian Historian.” It detailed the collection of old Canadian prints, engravings, oil paintings, and maps that lined the interior walls of the archives, and posited that such booty was “far from being the most valuable part of the fine collection in the Archives Building.”<sup>39</sup> It was the historical papers, of which there were “thousands of volumes,” that made the archives “a perfect treasure-house for the future historian of this country.” Some of the private collections, notably the Durham Papers the article explained, were “extremely valuable” and gave “a most valuable insight into the workings of that troubled time.” That the Durham Papers were comprised of documents written “just after the Rebellion of 1837” and offered insight into that “troubled time” made this collection one of the archives’ prized possessions. The conclusion of the *Saturday Night* article made clear that it was Doughty’s work, his ability, and his “untiring energy,” which had placed before the public a collection as valuable as the Durham Papers.<sup>40</sup>

An undated 1924 article from the *Winnipeg Free Press* that Doughty clipped and fastened to the lined pages of his diary praised the value of those documents that comprised the Durham Papers and Doughty’s work in securing these important materials. John W. Dafoe’s article further noted that the Durham Papers, which “run to ten thousand pages,” were a “very notable addition to Canada’s wealth of historical documents.”<sup>41</sup> However, because one of Doughty’s central endeavours while he occupied the post of Dominion Archivist was to acquire archival documents housed outside of North America, news of his labour was not confined to the pages of the Canadian press. In fact, it was this international aspect of his archives work that, as we will see,

37 Wilson, “Shortt and Doughty.”

38 Keith Walden, “Toronto Society’s Response to Celebrity Performers, 1887–1914,” *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 89, no. 3 (2008), pp. 373–97.

39 *Saturday Night* (22 October 1910), p. 25.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

41 LAC, Arthur George Doughty Fonds, MG30 D26, vol. 8, Diaries 1923, Diary IV, “Canada’s Historic Past!”

not only led to the final accrual that completed the Durham Papers, but also allowed non-Canadian newspapers the opportunity to reflect upon Doughty's archive work. On 5 September 1921, the *London Times* reported that under Doughty's tenure, the Public Archives of Canada had secured from the present Lord Durham the papers of the Durham administration.<sup>42</sup>

Throughout the 1920s, and as part of his mandate to establish in Ottawa a total archives that contained all the material that a student of Canadian history required, Doughty established two European branches of the Canadian Historical Society, one in England and one in France.<sup>43</sup> These branches, inaugurated in 1923, were to maintain an interest in Canada and its history among the descendants of those elite families who contributed to the building of Canadian institutions, to procure historical sources for the Canadian archives,<sup>44</sup> and as Doughty noted in his booklet *The Canadian Archives and its Activities*, to "work together" for the "common good" of "[the] great country [these] two nations founded."<sup>45</sup> Later that year, Toronto's *Mail and Empire* hoped that these European associations would "drain the scattered sources of early Canadian history and pour their contents into Canada's Archives" so that "English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians are [drawn] closer together to make happier and more splendid the course of this Dominion's history."<sup>46</sup> It appears that Doughty was not alone in seeking to rethink past encounters between French and English Canadians, and in particular, Durham's 1838 mission.

At the inaugural meeting of the Canadian Historical Society in London, England on 7 November 1923, which was attended by the elite descendants of prominent "Canadian" families, Doughty publicly declared the pleasure he derived in making the Durham Papers: "I do not propose to refer to all the company, as that would entail some chapters of Canadian history but I am particularly happy to have with me this evening Lord Durham, who in the last few months has evinced his continued interest in the country which his grandfather had so much to do with, in presenting to the archives of Canada data and material which will in very truth alter the history of Canada."<sup>47</sup> The third Earl of Durham was a fitting example of Doughty's hopes for the European branches of the Canadian Historical Society: one that had secured not only for Doughty, but also for Canada, a collection of historical documents as valuable

42 *London Times* (5 September 1921), p. 11.

43 Doughty, *The Canadian Archives*, p. 7; and Doughty, *Les Archives canadiennes*, p. 8. For a general account of Doughty's overseas acquisitions, see Wilson, "Shortt and Doughty," pp. 118–37.

44 *London Times* (2 June 1923), p. 13.

45 Doughty, *The Canadian Archives*, p. 25.

46 *Mail and Empire* (5 December 1923), p. 6.

47 Doughty, *The Canadian Archives*, p. 27.

as the Durham Papers.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King also addressed the audience that night. King declared that he was a direct descendent of events of that critical year, 1838.<sup>48</sup> In his speech he expressed sentiments very much aligned with those of Doughty, sentiments that located the value of the Durham Papers in their detailing of a milestone moment in Canada's past. The Durham Papers would yield new histories of the uprisings that accompanied responsible government, argued King, because they contained "documentary material of the utmost importance to Canadian history." The Durham Papers were a "great gift" that "Canada will always greatly treasure." King thanked Lord Durham for having "so generously presented to Canada this valuable collection of manuscripts which belonged to his grandfather, and which will undoubtedly lead to the re-writing in part of that period of Canada's history."<sup>49</sup> Doughty, who shared King's hope that a rethinking of 1838 would accompany the making of the Durham Papers, explained: "No period, certainly no one year of Canadian history, it may be said without exaggeration, was fraught with graver possibilities and more imminent dangers." His views had not changed since 1912 when in his annual report he lamented that "None, perhaps, has been so unfairly dealt with as the year immediately succeeding the rebellion of 1837."<sup>50</sup> As the three chapters comprising this archive story reveal, Doughty hoped the "intimate and particular information"<sup>51</sup> contained in the Durham Papers would lead to a rethinking of Durham's mission, remove animosity between French and English Canadians, and promote a common patriotism.

### Chapter 1: The Creation of the Durham Papers, 1905–1908

In the wintry days of February 1905, Doughty received a letter from Lord Minto, the former Governor General of Canada who had been actively involved with the Canadian Archives during his administration. Minto's letter to Doughty chronicles the beginnings of the Durham Papers. In the letter, Minto reveals his knowledge that, from the start of his tenure as Dominion Archivist, Doughty had a keen interest in the first Earl of Durham and his 1838 mission. Moreover, this letter indicates that he was aware that Doughty desired to know whether the current Lord Durham "knew of any journal kept by

48 Mackenzie King's grandfather and namesake was Upper Canadian reform leader William Lyon Mackenzie. King repeatedly returned to the years 1837 and 1838 in his diaries as events that shaped his political and personal identity. See [www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/king](http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/king) (accessed on 30 January 2009).

49 Doughty, *The Canadian Archives*, p. 31.

50 Doughty, "Report 1911 and 1912," p. 69.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

his grandfather.”<sup>52</sup> Etiquette, however, had prevented Doughty from communicating directly with the third Earl of Durham and Minto, a mutual acquaintance of both men, wrote the Earl on Doughty’s behalf. On 6 February 1905, the grandson of John George Lambton wrote to inform Minto that he had “never seen a diary or journal of [his] grand-father’s and very much doubted if he kept one.” “All his papers, etc.,” the earl continued, “have been for many years with a Mr. Stuart Reid who at last! professes to be nearly through the work.”<sup>53</sup> The following day Minto forwarded this letter and its unfortunate news to Doughty. In the meantime, Doughty had set out to establish the “outstanding” value of the Durham Papers in his 1905 annual report. “The Durham Papers, which, no doubt will prove of special value,” he informed Minister Fisher, “have been placed at our disposal for transcription, and the present Earl of Durham has generously offered to present some original documents to the Archives Branch.”<sup>54</sup> Doughty reported that the next year’s report would contain selections from the Durham Papers that the student of Canadian history would find “exceedingly instructive.” “It would prove more useful and economical to print the full text of the documents,” explained Doughty, rather “than to publish a [calendar] summary of them.”<sup>55</sup>

Reid’s two-volume *Life and Letters of the First Earl of Durham* was published in 1906.<sup>56</sup> That September, Doughty, intent on securing a copy of Reid’s study for the Public Archives of Canada, wrote to Eben Picken, a bookseller in Montreal, who had previously supplied Doughty with a copy of Lord Durham’s report.<sup>57</sup> Doughty wrote Picken again the following month, frustrated that his two copies of *Life and Letters* had not yet arrived.<sup>58</sup> Picken’s reply, dated 25 October 1906, explained that “Reid’s ‘Life of Lord Durham’ was only published in London on Saturday last ... we may expect to have the two copies here, in about three weeks.”<sup>59</sup> When Doughty learned that others in Ottawa had already received copies of Reid’s work, he wrote Picken a final time: “I would be glad to get ours as early as possible.”<sup>60</sup> Doughty did not receive his copies of *Life and Letters* until November. The *New York Times* reviewed the book in February 1907 noting that Reid’s publication was a

52 LAC, Doughty Fonds, MG30 D26, Minto to Doughty, 7 February 1905, Reel M-2444.

53 Ibid., 6 February 1905.

54 Arthur Doughty, *Report Concerning Canadian Archives for the Year, 1905* (Ottawa, 1906), p. xiv.

55 Ibid., p. lxxxvi.

56 Stuart J. Reid, *Life and Letters of the First Earl of Durham, 1792-1840*, 2 vols. (London, 1906).

57 LAC, NA Fonds, RG37, vol. 328, 30 August 1905 and 25 September 1906.

58 Ibid., Doughty to Picken, 5 October 1906.

59 Ibid., Picken to Doughty, 25 October 1906.

60 Ibid., Doughty to Picken, 5 November 1906.

timely one, for Lord Durham had received “an unusual degree of neglect at the hands of the professional conservators of fame.”<sup>61</sup> Historians such as Harriet Martineau had been interested in Lord Durham for a long time;<sup>62</sup> however, in the early twentieth century, with the publication of “professional” histories like Reid’s, the work of female historians such as Martineau was actively devalued as amateur in an effort to make the historical profession more scientific and, as Bonnie Smith argues, manlier.<sup>63</sup> Doughty remained intent on securing Durham and his 1838 mission a place in this new masculine, “objective,” and “scientific” history and by extension, as a milestone moment in Canada’s national history.

On 30 January 1907, Doughty wrote directly to the third Earl of Durham. The earl replied from Lambton Castle in Northern England that once Mr. Reid had returned his grandfather’s papers, he would send them to the archivist. For the time being, however, Doughty would have to be satisfied with “some commissions to the Canadian militia in 1838 signed by Durham & Charles Buller, but never issued, owing ... to Durham’s resignation.”<sup>64</sup> A month later, he posted the documents, telling Doughty to “Please dispose of them as you wish.”<sup>65</sup> This acquisition necessitated the creation of the Durham Papers Fonds. Later that year, a “preliminary report” presumably based on the anticipated contents of the Durham Papers was prepared by W.D. Les. Les’s report divided the collection into nine sections that reveal its expansive scope: (1) background to Canadian grievances; (2) addresses and replies; (3) drafts and copies of despatches; (4) documents on Upper Canadian political prisoners; (5) correspondence regarding American boundary; (6) commissions and copies of commissions; (7) military correspondence; (8) miscellaneous correspondence; and (9) a variety of printed statutes, proclamations, and pamphlets.<sup>66</sup> In 1905, Doughty had intimated that excerpts from the Durham Papers would be included in an upcoming annual report; however, none would be reprinted until 1924.

61 *The New York Times*, “THE DICTATOR: A Life of Lord Durham of Reform Bill and Canadian Fame” (23 February 1907), p. 106.

62 Harriet Martineau, *History of the Peace* (London, 1866) and Harriet Martineau, *Autobiography: With Memorials* (London, 1877), have substantial chapters on Lord Durham before and during his Canadian administration. See also, Harriet Martineau, “Confidential Memorandum,” in LAC, Lambton Fonds, MG24 A27, vol. 36.

63 Smith, *The Gender of History*.

64 LAC, Doughty Fonds, MG30 D26, Durham to Doughty, 30 January 1907, Reel M-2444.

65 *Ibid.*, Durham to Doughty, 26 February 1907.

66 LAC, Lambton Fonds, MG24 A27, vol. 1.

## Chapter 2: The Expansion of the Durham Papers, 1910–1912

If 1838 was a pivotal year in Doughty's national history of Canada, then 1910–11 stands out as "the most critical year" in his archive story with the Durham Papers.<sup>67</sup> After having received his first communication from the third Earl of Durham in 1905, which led to the creation of the Durham Papers Fonds in 1907, Doughty and Durham continued a sporadic, cordial correspondence through the remainder of Doughty's career. An invitation to a luncheon with Lord Durham and his sister Lady Anne on 6 July 1910 led to the accrual of two documents in particular that mark the apex of this chapter in his archive story. Doughty's reaction to these two documents indicates that he not only valued the Durham Papers because of their content and scope, but also that he had a particular vision of how such "fertile sources" ought to be employed by historians to rethink this milestone moment. In a private letter to Doughty penned one month after their July lunch date, Lord Durham granted the archivist "permission to publish any of the documents I have given you, including Lady Durham's journal and Charles Buller's memorandum. I hope you will be able to come here one day to purloin a few more papers!"<sup>68</sup> Durham was referring to the diary of Lambton's wife, Lady Louisa Lambton, as well as the 1840 memorandum by his private Secretary, Charles Buller describing the mission. Doughty must have been ecstatic at the possibility of securing further papers as well as receiving permission to publish his most recent additions to the Durham Papers; however, the journal and the memorandum did not arrive in Canada for another sixteen months or so. At the end of July 1911, nearly a year after his initial offer, the third Earl of Durham, "horrified" by his poor manners, hastily wrote Doughty. He expressed his regret to the archivist for not posting the materials he had promised and offered, as an apology, to send "a bundle of Canadian documents to atone for [his] rudeness" that winter.<sup>69</sup>

It was not until 1912 that Doughty could report the secure arrival of Lady Durham's journal and Charles Buller's memorandum. In his annual report for that year, Doughty articulated the pivotal role that private documents played in his understanding of history. Lady Durham's journal may not have been the journal that sparked Doughty's initial desire to commence work on the Durham Papers, but one could not be "sufficiently grateful, either to the writer or to those who have placed it within our reach," he explained in his report.<sup>70</sup> As the remainder of his 1912 report makes clear, it was the combined accrual

67 Doughty, "Report 1911 and 1912," p. 71.

68 LAC, Doughty Fonds, MG30 D26, Durham to Doughty, 7 August 1910, Reel M-2444.

69 Ibid., Durham to Doughty, 31 July 1911.

70 Doughty, "Report, 1911 and 1912," p. 69.



of Lady Durham's journal, Charles Buller's memorandum, *and* the diary of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Grey, Lady Durham's brother who had accompanied the Lambton family to British North America in 1838, that made 1911 a pivotal year in Doughty's archive story. Both the journal and the memorandum were included in what were then the rapidly expanding Durham Papers, while the diary of Charles Grey was deposited in the equally important Grey Family Fonds.<sup>71</sup> Doughty explained to Martin Burrell, the new Minister of Agriculture, that the diary kept by Colonel Grey while he was stationed at L'Acadie near Montreal contained "many interesting references to current events" and "may be said to supplement Charles Buller's and Lady Durham's accounts of the critical year 1838."<sup>72</sup>

Doughty's reactions to his acquisition of the journal, memorandum, and diary also reveal his conception of what history ought to include, and those historical documents that should preserve that history. In addition, they provide evidence of the re-gendering of history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a professional and masculine pursuit.<sup>73</sup> Doughty's report distinguished between feminine sources such as Lady Durham's journal and masculine one's such as Charles Buller's memorandum: "This account of Lord Durham's secretary, of the events of one of the most critical years in Canadian history – 1838 – is of even greater interest and importance than Lady Durham's Journal, with which it should be compared at every point, inasmuch as each lends a singular corroboration to the other. The intense sympathy of the wife, it will be found, has caused little divergence, in the estimation of fact, from the broader view of the Secretary."<sup>74</sup> That Doughty distinguished between the manly "fact" of Buller's memorandum and the feminine "sympathy of the wife" contained within Lady Durham's journal in his report, did not negate the value of Lady Durham's journal. Her journal remained a valuable contribution to the Durham Papers, as it, argued Doughty, "admits us behind the scenes, and shows us the chief personage of the period as he appeared to the one person, of all others, who knew and understood him best." It was Doughty's hope "that the formation of a sound opinion ... will be not a little hastened by making accessible [Lady Durham's] account of the inner history of Lord Durham's mission to Canada."<sup>75</sup> Although Doughty situated the journal and sketch within a gender order that distinguished between professional male voices and narratives, and those of amateur women, he was careful not to

71 See LAC, Grey Family Fonds, MG24 A10, Charles Grey, Diary. The diary was eventually republished as William Ormsby, ed., *Crisis in the Canadas, 1838–1839: The Grey Journals and Letters* (Toronto, 1964).

72 Doughty, "Report 1911 and 1912," p. 72.

73 Smith, p. 104.

74 Doughty, "Report 1911 and 1912," p. 70.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

undermine the value of Lady Durham's journal. It mattered little to Doughty that its author was a woman: this did not alter the fact that it, like the memorandum, was a private document penned by an individual intimately bound to the first Earl of Durham. Lady Durham knew "him" best!

Doughty made it clear that it was the combination of private and political documents contained within the Durham Papers that should lead to a rethinking of Durham and his 1838 mission to British North America. "Private letters, journals, and family papers have always proved fertile sources of intimate and particular information, for which the student of history might otherwise search in vain," explained the archivist in his introduction to his summary of Lady Durham's journal and Charles Buller's memorandum in 1912. Without these types of sources, Doughty continued, the student of Canadian history "is in constant danger of wrongly estimating or misinterpreting causes, motives, and events." Private documents were of particular value to studies of this milestone moment, for "in none, it may be added, have the motives and proceedings of the principal actors been more bitterly or more cruelly assailed."<sup>76</sup> Two years later at Quebec City, in front of the elite members of the Royal Society of Canada, Doughty publicly declared these sentiments. He argued that a study of the Durham Papers would furnish a "complete picture of the conditions that prevailed in the country, and of the causes of the well nigh universal discontent from all varieties of angles." Furthermore, he suggested that in some points "it will be found that the student will arrive at conclusions in sharp contrast to those set down by Durham in his Report."<sup>77</sup> To truly understand, or even appreciate Durham's report, it was necessary that students of Canadian history understand his 1838 administration. This was the very rethinking that Doughty hoped the private documents contained with the Durham Papers would encourage; however, studies of Lord Durham's mission pale in comparison to those of his report.<sup>78</sup>

In 1915 the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, of which Doughty was a member, published Lady Durham's private journal.<sup>79</sup> The preface to the *Journal*, penned by an anonymous member of the society, thanked Doughty for his work and described the text as "of a very private nature," and one "never intended for the public eye" with only a "a few references to the then disturbed condition of the Upper and Lower Provinces" occasionally cropping up.<sup>80</sup> The Society then undermined both the value of the journal as a historical source and Doughty's notion that history contained both intimate

76 Doughty, "Report 1911 and 1912," pp. 69–70.

77 Doughty, "Preservation," p. 69.

78 This has begun to change. See Henderson, "Uncivil Subjects"; Curtis.

79 Louisa Elizabeth Grey, Countess of Durham, 1797(?)–1841, *Lady Durham's Journal, Canada*, ed. Literary and Historical Society of Quebec (Quebec, 1915).

80 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

and particular information – both people and political events – by bluntly stating that: “Few references will be found in it to matters of great importance, no startling revelations nor indications of public policy. It is a simple narrative of daily occurrences, of incidents of travel, of impressions of men and things, of solicitude for the health and comfort of her distinguished husband, whom she worshipped.”<sup>81</sup>

The reaction of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec to Lady Durham’s journal reflected the gendered hierarchy that simultaneously ordered documents and accompanied the professionalization of history in the early twentieth century. Although both Doughty and the Society engendered Lady Durham’s journal in a similar manner, the archivist located more value in it because it, like Charles Buller’s memorandum, contained “intimate and particular information.” In Doughty’s total archives, the type of document, or that a document existed at all, was fundamentally more important than the sex of its author.

### **Chapter 3: The Completion of the Durham Papers, 1920–1924**

In 1923, nearly twenty years after he had secured the un-issued commissions for the Public Archives, Doughty left Canada for a nine-month archival trip to England and France. He recorded his travels throughout Europe in four leather-bound diaries now preserved in his personal fonds and not in the official records of the National Archives itself. Doughty’s recollections in these diaries fuse his private sentiments with the particulars of his travels, those individuals he met, the documents he secured, as well as a smattering of newspaper clippings pasted to the diaries’ pages that publicized his European archival work. In March 1923, Doughty, then in the early days of his travels, noted the arrival of a letter from the Earl of Durham inviting him to Lambton Castle to peruse what would become the final contribution to the Durham Papers. This brief diary entry hints at those intimate ties that had bound Doughty to the Durham Papers for over twenty years: “Letter from Lord Durham asking me if I would like to hunt through his papers at Lambton!! Would. Yes!”<sup>82</sup> Doughty’s excitement burst off the page. He arranged to visit Lambton Castle for four days at the end of May.<sup>83</sup> According to his diary, the Earl of Durham did his best to ensure that Doughty’s stay at Lambton would be a memorable one, although it rained every day and was “miserably cold.” When Doughty left on 1 June 1923, he scrawled in his diary that he took with him “two bundles of the Durham Papers” a treasure which he estimated was

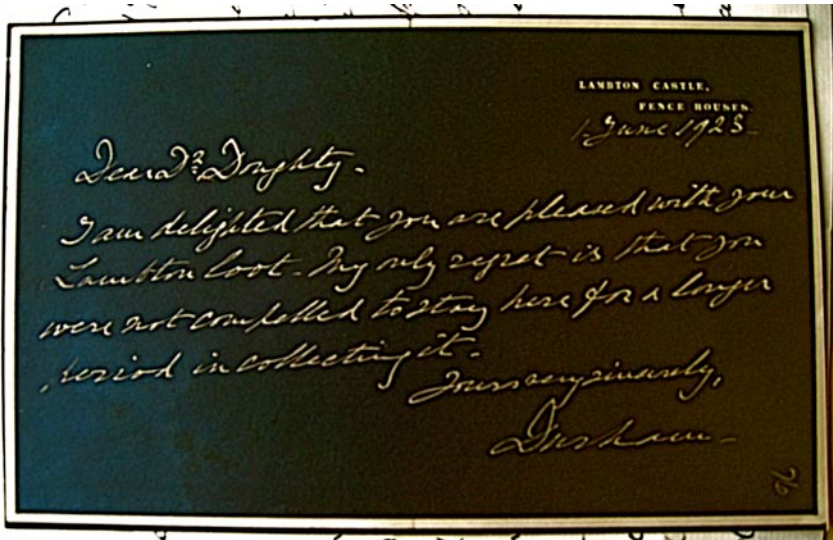
81 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

82 LAC, Doughty Fonds, MG30 D26, vol. 8, Diaries 1923, Diary I, 23 March 1923.

83 *Ibid.*, Diaries 1923, Diary II, 15 May 1923.

worth somewhere between £4000 and £5000. The Durham Papers, he noted, were “really wonderful material.”<sup>84</sup>

Upon his return to London, Doughty received another letter from Lord Durham penned on the day of his departure from Lambton Castle. This letter contained the Earl of Durham’s thoughts on Doughty’s stay. It also shows the degree to which Doughty enjoyed performing his archival work and that he had much invested personally in the making of the Durham Papers. “I am delighted,” wrote the earl, “that you are pleased with your Lambton loot.”<sup>85</sup> This letter is preserved not only in its original form in the Doughty Fonds, but also in Doughty’s diary. Doughty was so affected by this letter that he transcribed it directly into his private diary: “Letter from Lord Durham – delighted that I am pleased with the Lambton loot; but regrets that I was not compelled to stay longer to collect it.”<sup>86</sup>

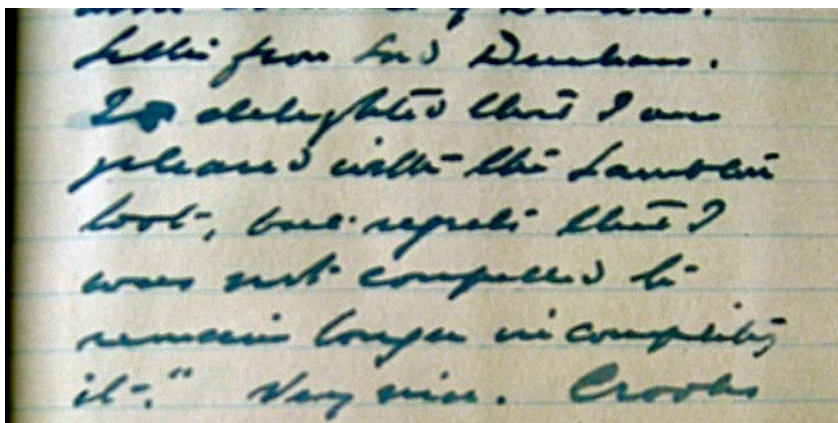


**Figure 1:** Letter from John George Lambton, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Durham to Arthur George Doughty expressing his pleasure with the “Lambton loot,” 1 June 1923. Library and Archives Canada, Arthur George Doughty Fonds, MG30 D26, volume 2. Reprinted with the permission of LAC.

84 Ibid., Diary II, June 1923.

85 Ibid., vol. 2, General Correspondence, 1919–1937, Durham to Doughty, 1 June 1923.

86 Ibid., vol. 8, Diaries 1923, Diary II, June 1923.



**Figure 2:** Excerpt from 1923 diaries of Arthur G. Doughty, reiterating his pleasure with the “Lambton loot,” June 1923. Library and Archives Canada, Arthur George Doughty Fonds, MG30 D26, volume 8, Journal III. Reprinted with the permission of LAC.

As his European travels drew to a close, Doughty further reflected upon his acquisitions in his diary: “Looking over the items that I have collected on the present trip, they are more numerous than I supposed they would be.” He thought many of his finds were outstanding. Four pages at the end of his diary list the names of those collections that he had either begun or added to while in Europe. The list contained nearly fifty “outstanding items” and perhaps tellingly, the collection that occupied the number one position atop the list was “The Durham Papers.”<sup>87</sup> An unidentified newspaper clipping that Doughty had pasted into his diary during his European travels stated that the most important collection deposited in the archives for this year was “the comprehensive collection of documents relating to the Canadian administration of LORD DURHAM.”<sup>88</sup> In his annual report following his travels, Doughty reported with pride to Secretary of State A.B. Copp, that during the past year the Public Archives had been fortunate in securing “a number of collections of exceptional interest to students of Canadian history.”<sup>89</sup> The three collections to which Doughty drew attention were the letters of Montcalm and the journals of Captain Bell, Aide-de-camp of Wolfe, which detailed the events on the Plains of Abraham; the Monckton Papers detailing the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755; and the arrival of the remainder of the Durham Papers.

87 Ibid., Diaries 1923, Diary III, n.d.

88 Ibid., Diary IV, “Pages of History.”

89 Arthur Doughty, *Report of the Public Archives for the Year 1923* (Ottawa, 1924), n.p.

Doughty further boasted in the report that “The Earl of Durham has donated the remainder of the papers collected by his grandfather during his mission to Canada in 1838. These, with the contribution of the gift of papers in 1907, complete the Durham Papers. They furnish in large measure the material for the study of a momentous period in our history.”<sup>90</sup>

That year a detailed calendar of the Durham Papers was finally included in Doughty’s annual report. It had been nearly twenty years since Doughty first promised Sydney Fisher that documents as valuable as those contained within the Durham Papers would be reproduced as direct transcriptions and not calendar summaries. Yet, this calendar, which had been first sketched out in April 1907 and completed and published in 1924, intricately detailed the contents of the Durham Papers. It summarized documents, identified all the individuals with whom the first Earl of Durham had corresponded, and partitioned the Durham Papers into seven thematic divisions that better reflected the content of the collection and the extent of Doughty’s work: (I) Letters and Despatches to Durham from Britain; (II) Letters and Despatches from Durham to Britain; (III) Correspondence between Durham and British North America, the United States of America, and Bermuda; (IV) Political Disturbances; (V) Lands, Clergy Reserves, Emigration, Education and Charities; (VI) Miscellaneous Correspondences; and (VII) Military Commissions. But a calendar was better than no calendar, and the meticulous detail with which it was composed (it listed the name, date, location, and content of every piece of correspondence) confirmed, as Doughty had argued in 1912 and 1914, that the private papers of individuals played a fundamental role in the making of history. Doughty’s momentous labours transformed the Public Archives of Canada and secured Durham’s 1838 mission an eminent place in this national treasure house.

## Conclusion

The structure of the Durham Papers Fonds has been transformed since 1924 when Doughty deposited the last of his Lambton loot in the vaults of the Public Archives of Canada. The original nine divisions that were replaced with seven in 1924 have since been re-arranged into fifty-three volumes of material that measure 1.93 linear meters. Although the volume numbers of the Durham Papers have been altered, the content of this historically significant collection is much as Doughty left it upon his retirement on 22 March 1935, his 75th birthday. In fact, Doughty’s persistent correspondence with the third Earl of Durham led to the acquisition of forty-five of these fifty-three

90 Ibid.

volumes.<sup>91</sup> When the collection was renamed the John George Lambton Fonds and re-ordered in the late twentieth century, the original divisions that symbolized Doughty's work could not be erased. The frame that appears before the microfilmed transcription of Lady Durham's journal forever marks Doughty's archival work and his personal connection to the Durham Papers. It reads: "An accurate copy from the original. AGD."<sup>92</sup>

Few appeared to share Doughty's archive fever. Fewer still shared his belief that Durham's mission required rethinking. By the time Doughty retired in 1935, the Durham Papers had not led historians to rethink this most critical year. Canadian historians did not write histories that united French and English Canadians around Durham's administration, nor did they, as Doughty had in his 1912 annual reports, express much interest in the "inner history" of the Durham mission that brought together the personal and political.<sup>93</sup> By the late 1920s, political and constitutional history – that well-trod trek from governance to self-government – was eclipsed by the new focus of Canadian historians: economic and geographic history.<sup>94</sup> Even Chester New's 1929 biography of Lord Durham, the first "professional" history to employ the Durham Papers, did little to re-orient studies of this critical year. That *Lord Durham, A Biography* remains the only study to pay sufficient attention to Durham's time in Canada indicates the lack of interest that generations of Canadian historians have shown in Durham's administration.<sup>95</sup> Even those historical commemorations marking the centenary of 1838 that occurred after Doughty's death returned to earlier historiographical traditions and celebrated Durham's report at the expense of his mission, which had become, by the late 1930s, nearly universally understood as a failure.<sup>96</sup>

Although the making of the Durham Papers remains but one chapter in a much longer and untold archive story, this article has indicated how Doughty's archival work attempted to secure Lord Durham's mission a pivotal place in Canada's national history. Doughty repeatedly insisted that one could paint a vivid picture of Durham's administration that removed mistaken impressions by employing both the state papers and private papers of those intimately, personally, and politically connected to the Governor General. Moreover, Doughty's desire to secure private documents such as Lady Durham's jour-

91 LAC, Lambton Fonds, MG24 A27, Finding Aid No. 1333.

92 *Ibid.*, vol. 48, Reel C-1859.

93 Jarett Henderson, "I would not lift a finger to help the Gov't: Lady Louisa Lambton and the "Inner History" of the Durham Mission to British North America," unpublished paper presented to Canadian Historical Association, University of British Columbia, 3 June 2008.

94 Berger.

95 Chester New, *Lord Durham, A Biography of John George Lambton, First Earl of Durham* (Oxford, 1929).

96 See the articles in the special issue celebrating the centenary of the publication of the Durham report: *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 20, no. 2 (1939), pp. 113–94.

nal or Charles Buller's memorandum because they fused the intimate and the particular, and the excitement he expressed when he successfully did so, guided his making of the Durham Papers. In spite of recent historical scholarship that has turned to the archives, very little attention has been paid to the labours of archivists like Doughty, whose determined collecting of documents fundamentally affects the histories that historians can write.<sup>97</sup>

Archive stories such as Doughty's making of the Durham Papers suggest that archivists, those very individuals who acquire, arrange, and describe the materials that have become the foundation of the historian's craft, not only *make* history, but also have their own conceptions of history that shape its making. By examining the making of the Durham Papers, one of the many collections that Doughty "made" between 1904 and 1936, this article has shed new light on the work and experiences of Arthur George Doughty, on the establishment and growth of the Canadian archives, on the professionalization of history in the early twentieth century, and lastly, on the creation of Lord Durham's 1838 mission as a "milepost moment" in the history of Canada.

97 Students of colonial history may only be starting to learn this lesson; see for example, Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, 2002); Ballantyne and Burton; and Adele Perry, "The Colonial Archive on Trial: Possession, Dispossession, and History in *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*," in *Archive Stories*, pp. 325–50.