1885

Thursday 5 February (Porto Fino)

Wrote an important letter to Salisbury and one to Sir G. Duffy.[897]

Friday 6 February (Porto Fino)

I received this morning a telegram from Herbert to say that "Khartoum has fallen and Gordon probably killed".[898] It is bad news and may lead to the gravest consequences in the East. The delay may jeopardise the whole expedition. It is very sad as regards Gordon and it is only too likely.

Monday 23 February (London)

Meeting at Salisbury's to arrange terms of note of censure in House of Lords,[899] and afterwards general meeting of the Peers. The last was a poor concern. A good many spoke but not one said anything worth hearing.

[897]Following a meeting with the Irish nationalist Sir Charles Gavan Duffy (1836–1903) at Highclere in October 1884, Carnarvon urged Duffy to put down his ideas for a Conservative Party settlement for Ireland. Duffy drew up a memorandum and wrote an article for the *National Review*. Entitled 'An appeal to the Conservative Party' and signed 'An Irish Conservative', it was published in February 1885. Carnarvon enthusiastically supported Duffy's ideas and told Salisbury, 'For my own part [. . .] our best and almost only hope is to come to some fair and reasonable arrangement for Home Rule' (Carnarvon to Salisbury, 5 February 1885 (copy): CP, BL 60760, fos 18–21). Salisbury, replying to Carnarvon's 'most interesting letter', was not encouraging. 'It is possible', he wrote, 'that such a scheme as you hope for may be devised which would give all requisite guarantees for the interests which we are bound in honour not to abandon, and yet would satisfy the separatist feeling. I am not hopeful, for I have been unable to think of any provisions which would answer the above requirements' (Salisbury to Carnarvon, 18 February 1885: CP, BL 60760, fos 22–23).

[898]Gordon, Governor-General of the Sudan, was murdered by the Mahdi's forces on 26 January, after a siege lasting 317 days and two days before relief forces arrived. See J. Marlowe, *Mission to Khartum: the apotheosis of General Gordon* (London, 1969), pp. 289–291.

[899]Deploring the failure of the Sudan expedition and the abandonment of the Sudan after military operations, Carnarvon had a conversation with Salisbury in the House three days earlier and wrote afterwards, 'A vote of censure in our House is decided on, he says, rather against his opinion. I think it is a mistake' (Diary, 20 February 1885).

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In the House I made a short speech on the Colonial offer of military assistance.[900]

Tuesday 24 February (London)

A meeting of the two Houses at the Carlton and an important one, the real object being to protest against the feeble wording of Northcote's vote of censure. I was extremely sorry for Northcote, for he must have felt it. It was an unusual chorus of condemnation and unfortunately his speech had not been of a nature to redeem the charge of feebleness. The result of the meeting was to virtually make Salisbury the Head of the Party. This has been fast approaching, but I look upon the meeting today as decisive. Salisbury showed a great deal of ability as usual, and he was not at all ungenerous, but it was nevertheless a rather painful scene to me. Northcote has filled a position for which he was never really fit. His virtues and his defects were equally against him and in some respects he is too much of a gentleman for the circumstances of his time.

Friday 27 February (London)

Vote of Censure again.[901] I resumed it on our side. I was not myself satisfied with my speech, but I suppose it was fairly adequate as several people came up to praise it to me, which they would hardly have done had I really failed in it.[902] Granville and I had a scrimmage over one part of it. He has grown very irritable.

Salisbury's reply was very powerful, but with too much ceremony as regards Derby, whom he cannot bear, and to whom he never fails to show his dislike.[903]

Saturday 28 February (Pixton)

The Government have only a majority of 14 in the Commons. What a downfall – and how just a punishment.[904]

It is a great question now what they will do. The general idea is that they will go on and probably break up soon. It is a terrible prospect to succeed to such a heritage of blundering and misfortune and I shudder at the idea of a return to Office.

[900]The Australian Colonies: *Hansard*, CCXCIV, 23 February 1885, cols 1013–1014.
[901]Debate on the failure of the Sudan expedition, second day.
[902]*Hansard*, CCXCIV, 27 February 1885, cols 1526–1539.
[903]Ibid., cols 1590–1594. The House divided: Contents 189, Not-Contents 68.
[904]Ayes 288, Noes 302.

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Thursday 9 April (Pixton)

This evening after dinner we had the news of the apparently unprovoked attack by the Russians on the Afghans, and the defeat of the latter.[905] It is very serious news and it determined us to go at once to Highclere and then on Monday to London. And so ends our holiday and our return to politics – alas! But the whole public prospect seems to me darker than it has ever been in my life time.

Monday 13 April (London)

I called at the Colonial Office and saw Herbert on my way to the House of Lords. At the House Cranbrook appeared having just returned from the West Indies, much restored I think and hope in health. He brought me home in his brougham and I had some pleasant talk with him. He gave me some details as to poor Cairns's death[906] which was peaceful and happy.

Thursday 7 May (London)

I was attacked this morning by a sudden fit of gout. I was perfectly well, was at the House and made a short speech on a small bill,[907] walked home and in walking felt a sudden pain in my foot. Since then it has been increasing and the foot is swollen though not very red.

A very curious and confidential communication made to me in the House of Lords by an old friend on the other side. It was made with a very friendly purpose, and the next week will show whether the information is correct.

Tuesday 9 June (London)

At the station the astonishing news of the Government defeat met me.[908] Justice is at last satisfied in Gladstone's downfall, but scarcely.

[905]The Russians had been gradually encroaching on Afghanistan, bringing near the prospect of war with Great Britain. On 30 March, Russian forces attacked Penjdeh, entirely unexpectedly and without provocation, heavily defeating the Afghans (see Sir G.F. Macmunn, *Afghanistan from Darius to Amanullah* (London, 1929), pp. 213–214). For the events leading up to the Penjdeh crisis, see K. Bourne, *The Foreign Policy of Victorian England, 1830–1902* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 41–44.

[906]Cairns had died on the 2 April.

[907]Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment Bill, second reading: *Hansard*, CCXCVII, 7 May 1885, Carnarvon, col. 1818.

[908]On the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, second reading, the Government was defeated by 264 to 252, a majority of twelve: *Hansard*, CCXCVIII, 8 June 1885, cols 1514–1517.

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I feel about him as Jeremy Taylor[909] said of the robber who had committed sacrilege and slept beneath a crumbling wall. His moral and political crimes deserve a severer penalty.

Reached London and found Elsie at the station, waiting for me.

Wednesday 10 June (London)

Great excitement and agitation here over the news, the Carlton I hear like a swarm of bees. Sandon dined with me last night and we had a long and a most pleasant conversation, mainly on the chances of a Conservative Government and the line to be adopted. We agreed extremely well.

I saw Gull this morning. He prescribed for me and said that he thought I was nearly well. At the same time I do not feel strong.

Thursday 11 June (London)

Northcote sent me yesterday evening a message by Lady N: that he was anxious for some conversation with me and offered to come and see me.[910] I said I would not hear of this but would come to him and this morning I called on him and had a considerable conversation on the present state of affairs. It was mainly to ask my opinion on the situation, and the main points in our talk were these:

1. He expressed some doubt as to whether the Liberal Government was at an end and whether we were bound to take office. I said I believed they were at an end and that however disagreeable, doubtful and dangerous it was our plain duty to take office – for the party and for the country.

2. I said that this being clear I thought the whole course and policy of a Conservative Cabinet were involved in their mode of dealing with Ireland, that my view was to throw the responsibility and blame on the Government for placing them in such a position, and that I was disposed to advise giving up all attempt to pass a coercion bill, to

[909]Jeremy Taylor (1613–1667), Bishop of Down and Connor (1660–1667), Vice-Chancellor, Trinity College, Dublin (1661–1667), ecclesiastical writer and literary genius.

[910]The previous evening, Northcote had been summoned by Salisbury to a meeting at which Hicks Beach was also present. Salisbury's scheme was that he would be Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, with Northcote as First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the Commons. Northcote noted in his diary, 'The more I think of the heads of Salisbury's scheme, the less I like it' (Lang, *Life, Letters and Diaries of Sir Stafford Northcote*, II, p. 211).

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appeal to whatever Irish good sense and good feeling there might be, to send as Lord Lieutenant a military man and indicate that if there was a renewal of outrages we must fall back on Martial Law, and to promise that in the meantime the Conservative Government would consider the whole state of affairs in Ireland with a view to a new course of policy. I suggested Wolseley.

Friday 12 June (London)

Salisbury has gone to Balmoral. I heard this in a letter this morning from Northcote and half an hour afterwards saw it in the papers at breakfast.[911] I have been thinking a good deal since then on the contingencies likely to arise from this. My impression now is to this effect that it will probably be the duty and on the whole the interest of the Conservative party to take office; that it is possible that a Conservative Government may pull through successfully and even gain considerable credit (by a short administration as it most probably will be); but that the dangers are great and that the key of the position at this moment is Ireland. If they can preserve peace and order there without coercion and announce the intention of giving a policy there, without at present giving details which would only provoke opposition, they may perhaps achieve a considerable success. If they are obliged to have recourse to coercion they will provoke antagonism, damage their policy when they come to it and possibly fail. This is how it strikes me.

I shall *myself* go into Office, if I must do so, with a heavy heart: for I foresee many personal difficulties and disagreeables, but I am resolved as far as I can make it a matter of duty and in Elsie particularly I have the greatest help. Her steady judgement and true affection are more than I can describe.

Monday 15 June (London)

A meeting of our ex-Cabinet at Arlington Street to consider the state of affairs. Present – Richmond, J. Manners, Smith, Cross, Sandon, Beach, Salisbury, Cranbrook, Gibson, George Hamilton and myself. R. Churchill was not there and Stanley was in Lancashire.

[911] Northcote to Carnarvon, 11 June 1885: CP, BL 60760, fo. 40. The Queen recorded after the interview, 'Lord Salisbury arrived at 20 m. to 5 pm. (New govt.). Lord Carnarvon for Lord Lieutenant of Ireland who he thought very clever and conciliatory and popular wherever he went' (Queen Victoria, Memorandum, 12 June 1885: Royal Archives, C36/420).

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Salisbury began by reading a telegram from the Queen dictated by him to Gladstone saying that he (S.) would be quite ready to take office etc., the other from Gladstone saying that the late Government were precluded from considering whether they would return to office or not. The telegram on S.'s part was certainly not guarded enough and might seem to indicate too much readiness to take office. This was noticed by Beach, who had evidently had some communication with S. before S. went to Balmoral and who said this telegram was not in accordance with what had been settled between them. This was not a pleasant beginning, and it was succeeded by an equally uncomfortable disclosure as regards R. Churchill. For something having been said as to him I urged the importance of taking him into the Cabinet. Salisbury then said that R.C. had declined to enter it unless certain members were excluded, and this he (S.) would never listen to. He spoke with great warmth. Beach then gave his explanation of the matter which was a different one, viz., that R.C. would not join unless there was a reconstruction of the Cabinet. This however I did not understand till afterwards G. Hamilton explained to Sandon, and me that R.C. had said that it was impossible for Northcote in his state of health to lead and that this was the change meant. And this unfortunately is too true. It is absolutely essential that a change should be made here. Northcote is so frail that he often remains torpid, I am told, during part of the afternoon sitting.[912] In essentials R.C. is right: but he made this case to Salisbury in a way to provoke him and irritate and there is a good deal of ill feeling, and it is not clear to me that the Cabinet will be formed after all – though I think it will.[913]

The points that I urged strongly were:

1. that it should be made clear that we accepted office only as in the last resort.

2. that we should not take it as a mere intermediary Cabinet *d'affaires*, but must make our mark: for that reason we must do something beyond merely passing Supplies.

[912]As understood by Northcote, the changes included a peerage for himself and the exclusion from the Cabinet of Richmond, Cross, Carnarvon, and Manners (see Cooke and Vincent, *The Governing Passion*, p. 264). Churchill was later appointed to the India Office.

[913]Lady Knightley, the wife of a veteran Conservative MP, commented on the situation two days later, 'Sir Stafford is shunted and goes to the Upper House [as First Lord of the Treasury]. Perhaps it is as well but I am *very* sorry for him' (P. Gordon (ed.), *Politics and Society: the journals of Lady Knightley of Fawsley, 1885 to 1913* (Northamptonshire Record Society, 1999), p. 59).

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3. that we ought to exact some pledge from Gladstone to help in passing Supplies and to give us all Government time in the H. of C.

4. with regard to Ireland we are most of us apparently in favour of going on without coercion till the new Parliament but I urged a strong Lord Lieutenant, an indication that we did not intend to tolerate disorder, putting Irishmen in every office, and a statement that in the new Parliament, we should consider the whole state of Ireland.[914]

Wednesday 17 June (London)

We have had a very busy two days. On Tuesday whilst driving round the Regents Park with Elsie I was overtaken by R. Cecil[915] and asked to come at once to see his father. I found Salisbury in[916] who at once plunged in and with some personal compliments asked me to undertake the Lord Lieutenancy with a seat in the Cabinet. I made no answer at first, but then said that it certainly was not a post which I in any way desired, but that if he thought it necessary on public grounds I would consider it and give him my answer that evening. He said that there really was no one to whom he could look but myself. I said that if I did take it, it must be on the understanding that I should accept it as a temporary and provisional office for the next few months only to carry the Government over a crisis.

I returned home and communicated with Sandon, Herbert (and McCraw[917] on the question of expense which is a serious consideration), and at last late in the evening I wrote my acceptance to Salisbury stating the grounds on which I consented.[918] Sandon was really kindness itself. If he had been my brother he could not have done

[914]For details of the discussion, see Harrowby's 'Note for Ex-Cabinet meeting at Salisbury's June 15th/85': Harrowby Papers, 2nd series, lv, fos 195–197.

[915]Edgar Algernon Robert Gascoyne-Cecil (1864–1958), Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (1923), third son of Salisbury.

[916]At Arlington Street.

[917]James McCraw, Carnarvon's financial adviser and agent.

[918]After his meeting with Salisbury, Carnarvon wrote, 'I must ask you to understand that I cannot retain permanent office in Ireland, if the result of the General Election should be favourable towards us; and amongst many reasons for this is that the climate is particularly adverse to me as a matter of health. As a provisional and temporary appointment, however, I will take and keep the Office till after the General Election or the meeting of the new Parliament' (Carnarvon to Salisbury, 16 June 1885 (copy): CP, BL 60760, fos 48–49). As Lady Carnarvon stated, 'He finally decided he could not refuse' (Lady Carnarvon, Diary, 16 June 1885: Herbert Papers, Somerset Archives and Record Service, DD/DRU/317).

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or said more and his advice was most valuable. He came no less than 3 times during the day and evening to confer with me.

Thursday 18 June (London)

I have had a great deal of business already in connection with this Irish affair. Several conversations with Gibson who is very quick and clear and will be I hope a pleasant colleague.[919] A long talk today with Col. Bruce the head of the Irish Constabulary,[920] a very long conversation with M. Beach who is clear and able though I think rather rigid.

Friday 19 June (London)

Applications of every kind and for every sort of place pour in upon me, and when it is useless to ask for a paid place the request is for an honorary one. It is a curious sight. Meanwhile it is very doubtful whether or no we shall really come in. Salisbury has shown me some correspondence between him and Gladstone through the Queen, in which I am bound to say I think G. has rather the best, and which taken as a whole throw doubt over the results. Still my impression would be that ultimately we shall come in.

Saturday 20 June (London)

We were all summoned to Arlington St. this afternoon, but I did not get my summons in time for the beginning of the discussion. It was a serious question to consider Gladstone's last reply to Salisbury's communications. It was a well drawn letter, dwelling on the absence of any remark by Salisbury in the previous letters as to the "spirit" in which Gladstone professed himself ready to act, and then concluding by saying that he and his late colleagues could not bind or compromise the liberties of the House of Commons, which no one had asked them to do.

As far as I could gather, coming late, the general feeling was one of regret that Salisbury had in a previous letter asked for precise pledges

[919]Gibson had been appointed as Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Salisbury had more problems with the Chief Secretaryship. He informed Carnarvon, 'There is considerable doubt about the Ch. Sec. Stanhope, Ridley, Chaplin, Dyke, have all been mentioned' (Salisbury to Carnarvon, 19 June 1885: CP, BL 60760, fo. 57). Hart Dyke was eventually appointed on 28 June.

[920]Col. Robert Bruce (1825–1899), Inspector-General, Royal Irish Constabulary until 1885.

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of cooperation in money matters,[921] but that as he had asked them and the request had been met by a flat refusal, the matter was almost at an end. At the same time they agreed that notice should be taken of the part of G.'s letter in which he complained that he had not been met in his "spirit".

I think myself that the correspondence will not read well. Whatever the cause, Salisbury has hardly been up to his mark. His letters have not been as clear, vigorous, effective as they should be, whilst Gladstone's have been unlike himself, brief, clear and well written. I think some other pen than his must have drawn them.

Sunday 21 June (London)

No news and no change as far as I know in the position of the negotiations. Salisbury is I believe at Hatfield and the only person with whom I have talked is Sandon. He thinks, and I am *inclined* now to do, that the communications will come to nothing and that we shall have a Liberal Government patched up. He thinks that Salisbury is not anxious to take Office, Randolph Churchill very anxious, Beach not eager for it, Gibson anxious and this I believe to be a true diagnosis. For my own part I believe the matter really rests with Salisbury and the tone of the letter in which he replies to Gladstone. In my opinion he has been worsted in the correspondence as yet: but he has it in his power to make a very good final reply either in the way of accepting office or of breaking off all further communications.

For myself, apart from all public considerations, I shall be very much pleased to see Ireland vanish out of sight, and if it does I think that Elsie and I shall within the next ten days start for Schwabach. I am much better, but still far from strong and this change may set me up.

McCraw came and had a long talk with me on Ireland and *I think* I see my way more clearly here on the financial part of the question.

Monday 22 June (London)

A long waiting day of suspense, and some feeling of anxiety and wish that the question of Office or no Office should be settled one way or the other. This evening however Sandon came across and his news seems practically to decide it as I have from the first expected it would

[921] On 19 June in the Lords, Salisbury refused to proceed with the final stage of the Redistribution Bill. Both Houses adjourned until 23 June. A further communication was received by Gladstone on 20 June from Salisbury, through the Queen, demanding Liberal support in allowing the Budget to press for an 8d. income tax (Bahlman, II, p. 890).

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be, viz., that we take Office. The Queen has really by her vigorous sense decided the question as she last autumn decided our fight over the Redistribution and Franchise Bills and little as I am disposed myself to enter on the work of Ireland I believe the decision will be best for the Country.[922] For, apart from all other considerations, if we fail there is a great chance that Chamberlain and the Radicals may somehow form a government which would be Radical in its general character. I hear that the Irish members are well disposed towards us and to me, that they will not give trouble during the winter and that their hatred of Spencer[923] is so great that they are inclined to be civil to me. I hope it may be so, as it may render my task easier.

Wednesday 24 June (London)

My birthday – how different from what I had imagined it would be. I look forward to my new Office with great anxiety and doubt as to the future. We went down to Windsor, the usual course of kissing hands being followed. A large crowd at Paddington and Windsor cheered us as they will probably cheer our successors. The Queen looked well and much pleased at being free of her old Ministers.

In the morning I had a long and interesting conversation with Cardinal Manning[924] at the Archbishops House at his request. I have made elsewhere a note of what passed.

Also during the day important conversations with Jenkinson[925] the head of the criminal department as to Irish matters, and also with Spencer, who was very frank and open in all his communications,

[922]Manners, who became Postmaster-General in the new Government, attended a meeting at Salisbury's together with Hicks Beach, Richmond, and Cranbrook, 'to read and discuss a letter from the Queen in answer to Salisbury's communication of Saturday. In it H.M. begged us not to desert her, pointed out that Gladstone's language was susceptible of a favourable interpretation, and offered to express in a letter to be made public that she attached that meaning to his letter.' Ponsonby, acting as a messenger between the two leaders, brought the crisis to an end. Manners wrote, 'The Rubicon is therefore passed, and we are virtually in office' (C. Whibley (ed.), *Lord John Manners and his Friends*, 2 vols (London, 1915), II, pp. 212–213).

[923]John Poyntz Spencer (1835–1910), Viscount Althorp (1845), 5th Earl Spencer (1857). Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1868–1874, 1882–1885, 1886), Lord President of the Council (1880–1882), First Lord of the Admiralty (1892–1895).

[924]Cardinal Henry Edward Manning (1808–1892), joined Roman Catholic Church (1851), Archbishop of Westminster (1865–1892), Cardinal (1875), Member, Royal Commission on Housing of the Poor (1885). Manning told Carnarvon that the Irish bishops were in favour of union with England, and of local government in the provinces, but not of a central parliament (see Hardinge, III, pp. 161–162).

[925]Sir Edward George Jenkinson (1835–1919), Irish civil servant, Lord Spencer's private secretary (1882–1885), Assistant Under-Secretary for Police and Crime in Ireland (1882–1886).

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some of them were very important. It has been a very hard and harassing day and I was obliged to send to the Archbishop an excuse on the ground of overwhelming business.

Thursday 25 June (London)

A hard day's work.

McCraw and Col. Caulfield[926] all the morning settling details as to the Household, which promises to be expensive in spite of all pruning and reducing. A Commission in House of Lords. Forster to consider some points of private business and Trench[927] in the evening, who discussed some Irish questions. He is against the removal of the Crimes Act.

I hope I shall get hardened to my work. At present I seem to feel it more than I should.

Friday 26 June (London)

Cabinet

Our first Cabinet. First question our position as to Afghan and Russian boundary.[928] It appears that there is only a small part of the line on which there is now any controversy, but that the whole line (R. Churchill says) is worthless both in a military and political point of view. Lumsden's line was a good one, this is of no use.[929]

Next question whether the troops which have already evacuated Dongola should be stopped in their further retirement. Smith to get information.[930]

A long talk with Jenkinson as to secret police, conspiracies etc. Afterwards he gave me his own views as to ultimate government of Ireland. His notion is – and it is worth considering as a principle – a *gradual* adoption of Home Rule.

[926]Lieut.-Col. John A. Caulfeild, formerly Spencer's Comptroller of the Household.

[927]H. Cooke Trench, Irish land agent, son-in-law of Sir William Heathcote.

[928]On supporting the Afghan claim to the head of the Zulfiqar Pass, the most southerly point reached by the Russians.

[929]Lieut.-Gen. Sir Peter Lumsden (1829–1918), member of Council of India (1883–1893), British Boundary Commissioner, Afghanistan. Gladstone looked for a compromise with Russia and opened negotiations in London on the general line of the frontier. Lumsden was put in an invidious position and asked to withdraw from the Commission, expressing himself with some force. See W.K. Fraser-Tytler, rev. M.C. Gillett, *Afghanistan: a study of political developments in central and southern Asia*, 3rd edition (London, 1967), pp. 165–166.

[930]In reply to Smith, now Secretary of State for War, Wolseley ordered the rearguard not to leave Dongola (Wolseley to Smith (Wolseley No. 324), 26 June 1885: TNA, PRO WO 33/4 Pt II, p. 413).

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Saturday 27 June (London)

A very busy day, and I went to bed tired out.

Amongst others I have talked a good deal to Howard Vincent,[931] who is very cordial, and anxious to be of help. I think that he may be very useful from his personal knowledge of Irish things and men.

An important conversation with Salisbury on Irish matters. I told him my ideas of dealing with different parties in Ireland, and he agreed.

Monday 29 June (Ireland)

Elsie and I started by the 7.15 a.m. train, Dyke and Jekyll accompanying us, and Stafford and Rachel[932] and Herbert coming to the station to see us off. A prosperous journey and easy crossing.[933] On landing at Kingston I was received by rather a large assemblage and much cheered: and on reaching Dublin we passed through the streets with a good many marks of respect. No show of opposition anywhere except that some groups did not take off their hats as we passed. On the whole the reception was generally good.[934]

Tuesday 30 June (Ireland)

I was today sworn in before the Lords Justices as Lord-Lieutenant; Lieutenant-General of Ireland, a scene with many historic memories hanging about it and striking – perhaps still more striking if it is, as it may be, the last occasion of the kind. The troops drawn up in the Castle Yard, the scene in the Council chamber and Throne room to receive the descendant of Sir H. Sidney[935] made a curious and to me an interesting picture.

[931] Sir Charles Edward Howard Vincent (1848–1908), first Director, Criminal Investigations Department, Metropolitan Police (1878–1884), Con. MP for Central Sheffield (1885–1908).

[932] Edward Stafford Howard (1851–1916), Lib. MP for Cumberland East (1876–1885) and for Thornbury (1885–1886), Under-Secretary of State for India (1886, in Gladstone's government). Howard was Elsie's brother, and had married Lady Rachel Campbell in 1877.

[933] For an account of their arrival, see *Freeman's Journal*, 30 June 1885, p. 5.

[934] The two short ceremonies are described by Lady Carnarvon in her Diary, 30 June 1885: Herbert Papers, Somerset Archives and Record Service, DD/DRU/3/7.

[935] Sir Henry Sidney (1641–1704), Secretary of State (1690–1691), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1692), 1st Earl of Romney (1694).

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Wednesday 1 July (Ireland)

A great deal of business, long conversations and conferences with Sir R. Hamilton,[936] Gibson the Lord Chancellor, and the Law Officers on the non-renewal of the Crimes Act.

I held another Privy Council to swear in Gibson and give him the great Seal and Purse.

Saturday 4 July (London)

A hard day's work.[937] We had a Cabinet at which we did a good deal of business, much of it Irish. I laid before them the state of Ireland as regards crime and made them understand that it is a serious, most serious experiment that we are trying in not renewing the Crimes Act and set before them the balance of advantage and disadvantage. It was agreed *not* to renew it. I also got their consent to allude to a Land Purchase and a Labourers Bill in my statement on Monday.

Conversation with Jenkinson, mainly as to the police protection to be given to Spencer for some time. He does not like it, but I said I thought it was necessary up to a certain extent arranged. A very important letter from Cardinal Manning which I answered.[938] Also a visit from Gavan Duffy. I agreed to his making some enquiries from certain parties, but only from himself and keeping me and my name altogether out of it.

Sunday 5 July (London)

The stars seem to be fighting in their courses for me and unless any accident arises a prospect really seems opening. A very important occurrence to me this thro' H.V.[939] for a meeting tomorrow privately

[936]Sir Robert George Crookshank Hamilton (1836–1895), Permanent Secretary to the Admiralty (1882–1883), Permanent Under-Secretary for Ireland (1883–1886), Governor of Tasmania (1886–1893).

[937]Carnarvon left Ireland early the previous night, arriving in London 'between 6 and 7, very tired' (Diary, 3 July 1885).

[938]Manning had impressed upon Carnarvon 'the danger of interference' in the appointment of a new Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, since William Walsh, President of Maynooth College since 1881, was given the post by Pope Leo XIII. See V.A. McClelland, *Cardinal Manning: his public life and influence, 1865–1892* (London, 1962), p. 185.

[939]Howard Vincent.

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at his home with J.M.[940] It may produce nothing but it looks very like something substantial.[941]

Chamberlain alas is likely to go head over heels into the mud. He is going to Ireland in a very bitter mood; which is likely to set up the Irish feeling against him. I hear on all sides that my refusing all military escort has produced a very good effect.

Monday 6 July (London)

A most important and private interview with Justin McCarthy at Howard Vincent's of which I have elsewhere kept a note.[942] Our conversation was very friendly and promises to lead to considerable results. I told everything to Salisbury and this led to a very serious talk with him.

He said he individually was prepared to go to the extent of provincial councils in Ireland but not a Central one: that he thought it likely many in the Party would be ready to accept very forward views but that he would not play Peel's part in 1829 or 1845. He then said "I must stand aside, but you could carry it out." I said, "That my dear Salisbury is not practical. I can do nothing of the sort"; and I added "If we had [not] had this conversation would you still have wished me to undertake this task?" He said, "Yes, because no one else could have undertaken it in all the same way." I said, "Very well, remember you pressed it upon me: but we must not have any divergence, and we must be perfectly frank with each other and have a complete understanding." I think he was frank.

In the House I made my statement.[943] It was listened to with the deepest attention, but I do not think our Irish peers or for that matter most of our supporters really liked it. It was hardly likely, I fear, they

[940]Justin McCarthy (1830–1912), writer, Irish MP for Longford (1879–1886), Leader of the Irish National Party (1890–1896).

[941]According to Vincent, at a dinner at Portman Square with Carnarvon and his wife at the end of June, he had been asked for his opinion on the state of Irish affairs. Vincent replied that 'I had always felt that although any rapprochement with the Irish leader [Parnell] was difficult and dangerous [. . .] it was a mistake to keep them entirely at a distance and not to endeavour to see if any arrangement could be made with them [. . .]. The Viceroy was taken with the idea, and in subsequent interviews asked me to see if a meeting could be arranged between him and Parnell.' Vincent wrote to McCarthy to set up a meeting. See S.H. Jeyes and F.D. How, *The Life of Sir Howard Vincent* (London, 1912), p. 177.

[942]See 'Conversation with J.M', CP, BL 60829, fo. 74.

[943]Carnarvon: Government position on Irish affairs: *Hansard*, CCXCVIII, 6 July 1885, cols 1658–1662.

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should. Gibson (Lord Ashbourne) said it was quite right. I expect that it will tell in one direction if not in the other.[944]

Wednesday 8 July (Ireland)

A very hard day's work of all kinds but a ride in Phoenix Park later, the weather much finer.

An interview with Dr Walsh,[945] the Archbishop of Dublin, and Father Molloy.[946]

The Archbishop first had a private interview in which he pressed

(1) Some provisions in our Land Purchase bill.
(2) Some enquiry into Spencer's action in Maamtrasna case.[947]

To the first I expressed myself favourable, to the latter I said we could not enter into this question.

Afterwards a long talk over the Queen's College and higher education, Sir R. Hamilton being present.

Later some important talk with the Chancellor on state of affairs and our own future policy. He fears some trouble from M. Davitt.[948]

Saturday 11 July (Ireland)

This week has been a very hard one in point of business, much letter writing, and much talking. It is remarkable how all government of the whole country unites in the Lord-Lieutenant. I do not understand how in former times the business was carried on with men who only amused themselves and played at royalty.

Monday 13 July (Ireland)

Received two deputations at the Castle, one from Trinity College, the other from the Irish Academy of Arts.[949] I made them both speeches

[944] 'If you can hear at the Carlton or elsewhere what is thought, especially by Orangemen, of my statement, will you send me one word' (Carnarvon to Harrowby, 6 July 1885: Harrowby Papers, 2nd series, iv, fo. 16).

[945] Dr William Joseph Walsh (1841–1921), Archbishop of Dublin and Primate of Ireland (1885–1921).

[946] Father Gerard Molloy (1834–1906), Rector, University of Dublin (1883–1906), Commissioner, Inquiry into Educational Endowments, Ireland (1885–1894).

[947] See below, p. 393, n. 960.

[948] Michael Davitt (1846–1906), Irish Nationalist imprisoned for treason in 1870 and released seven years later on 'ticket of leave', MP for Meath North (1892), for Cork North-east (1893), and for Mayo South (1895–1899).

[949] Carnarvon told Ashbourne, 'My deputations passed off well enough, like this generally uproarious day is, I hope, passing' (Carnarvon to Ashbourne, 13 July 1885: Ashbourne

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instead of the ordinary formal replies and on the whole this seems to be best liked.

In the afternoon I had a visit from and conversation with Dr Delany[950] the head of University College as to the general question of higher education. What struck me most was the evident intention of one day assailing the endowments of Trinity College. What his reason for disclosing this so plainly I do not quite know. It may have been to induce me to come to some arrangement complete and final. It has been on what is said to be Bismarck's principle – speaking the truth in order to deceive. He is no doubt a clever man, and a good representative of the Jesuits; but I did not take as much liking personally to him as Molloy and some others whom I have seen. His relations with the Bishops were evidently not perfect.

I wrote to H.V. enclosing a letter for J.M.,[951] this being the result of a conversation with the Chancellor who has been to London and has talked to Salisbury and who agreed to my writing but recommended the minimum of writing.[952]

Thursday 16 July (Ireland)

A day of great anxiety and work. The failure of the Munster Bank threatens to be most severe and to assume still larger proportions.[953] I summoned over Vernon[954] and with him and Hamilton spent a great part of the night in discussion as to what should be done. We finally agreed on a plan of a Government guarantee of one half deposits and current accounts. I made up my mind to exclude myself from all advantages in the case. But I fear that my own loss may be considerable, and anyhow the inconvenience is very great.[955]

Papers, B25/6). Ashbourne, for his part, reported that 'the University men were greatly pleased at your reception of the Deputations' (Ashbourne to Carnarvon, 13 July 1885: CP, TNA, PRO 30/6/58, fo. 123).

[950]Revd Dr William Delaney (1835–1924), President, Catholic University College, Dublin since 1883.

[951]'It would be a pleasure to meet [Parnell] at the end of this month or quite at the beginning of next' (Carnarvon to McCarthy, 13 July 1885: CP, BL 60829, fo. 79). McCarthy's account of subsequent events are described in his *Reminiscences*, 2 vols (London, 1899), II, pp. 110–114.

[952]Ashbourne wrote to Carnarvon afterwards, 'He [Salisbury] is in favour of the minimum of writing and thinks it best for some friend to *say*, rather than write, a reply to the effect that you would be glad to have a chat with your correspondent when next in London' (reproduced in Hardinge, III, p. 174; the original letter cannot be traced).

[953]This refers to the undermining of the already weak Hibernian and National Banks. A director of the Bank had embezzled £70,000 and then disappeared.

[954]John Edward Vernon (1816–1887), Director of the Bank of Ireland (1867–1885).

[955]Carnarvon had put £3,000 of his own money in the Bank (Carnarvon to Salisbury, 17 July 1885 (copy): St. Aldwyn Papers, D2455 PCC/78).

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Friday 17 July (Ireland)

This banking crisis is most grave. All the morning has been spent in considering it and writing on the subject. I conferred with Vernon who acts for the Bank of Ireland and agreed to recommend the guarantee of one half of the deposits and current accounts if the Bank of Ireland would advance another £200,000 to the Hibernian to tide this latter over the difficulty. It may save them.

I took the responsibility and did so, telegraphing and writing fully.[956]

It is now 6.30 p.m. and I have just seen Hamilton and the crisis seems for the time abating in severity. I spoke to a deputation on the subject and what I said seems to have produced rather a quieting effect. I only hope that my words will not be taken in too large and favourable a sense. They were guarded and I talked them over with Hamilton just before saying them.

Saturday 18 July (Ireland)

Shaw the M.P.[957] called to see me on the banking crisis. After consultation I declined to see him and Hamilton saw him in my place noting all that passed.[958]

The reports of last night's debate on Parnell's[959] motion are to hand.[960] As regards Beach's speech I cannot complain, assuming the line adopted to be right.[961] Randolph Churchill was I think unfortunate

[956]After the Cabinet meeting of 18 July, Cranbrook wrote, 'Then Carnarvon & his guarantee of deposits. Consternation, but refusal to support means dethronement & no one wanted that so our hand is forced into unknown liabilities without knowledge of assets because the Irish are "emotional" & cannot take care of themselves! Oh dear' (Johnson, p. 569).

[957]William Shaw (1823–1895), Lib. MP for Co. Cork (1874–1885) and chairman of the Munster Bank; declared bankrupt (January 1886).

[958]Hamilton, Memorandum, 18 July 1885: CP, TNA PRO 30/6/63, fo. 18.

[959]Charles Stewart Parnell (1846–1891), Nationalist MP for Co. Neath (1875–1880) and for Cork City (1880–1891), imprisoned in Kilmainham Gaol (1881–1883), Leader of the Nationalist Party (1880–1890).

[960]Parnell's motion condemned the actions of Lord Spencer in 1882 for sentencing to death two alleged murderers at Maamtrasna. Despite the fact that the Conservatives (in opposition at the time) had supported Spencer's action, Randolph Churchill, now a Minister, attacked the former Lord Lieutenant. For Parnell's motion, see *Hansard*, CCXCIX, 17 July 1885, cols 1064–1085. For a first hand account of the events see W.S.J.F. Brodrick, Earl of Midleton, *Records and Reactions, 1856–1939* (London, 1939), pp. 61–65.

[961]Hicks Beach and Sir John Gorst had supported Churchill and Parnell in the debate. Four days earlier, Hicks Beach had requested Carnarvon to re-examine the evidence of the Maamtrasna case, but had counselled caution. See Hicks Beach to Carnarvon, 13 July 1885: CP, TNA, PRO 30/6/57, fos 148–151; Carnarvon to Hicks Beach, 15 July 1885: St Aldwyn Papers, D2455 PCC/78.

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in requesting Parnell to withdraw. It implied a fuller inquiry than is desirable. Anyhow the load left on my shoulders is heavy.

Later in the afternoon came a telegram from Salisbury saying the Cabinet were alarmed at my proposals as regard the banking crisis (which I of course expected) but assenting to any promise I had given or action taken [. . .].[962] The effect of my short speech to the Deputation seems to have been very great.

Jenkinson arrived. He is anxious as to some Fenian outrages which are in course of preparation and which may be expected in about 6 weeks.

Sunday 19 July (Ireland)

I think this has been the hardest day I have yet had.[963] It has been impossible to go to church and I have been all day from breakfast to dinner time writing, telegraphing, consulting on this Bank business. Sir G. Kellner[964] arrived, a capable financier I think and a strong Conservative, charged with the fears and anxieties and communications of the Government in London. He and they thought that we had been precipitate and unwise in our action here, but he had not been long in the house before he changed his mind and admitted that there was little room for taking any other course. However, after much discussion I modified my line to this extent that I got the Bank of Ireland (through Vernon) to make their advances to the "Hibernian" being backed and guaranteed by the Government instead of letting the Government guarantee in the first instance. It really comes to the same thing, but the Government is not made a prominent figure in the transaction.[965]

Hamilton, the Solicitor-General, Gibson (Ashbourne's brother),[966] Kellner, Vernon were with me nearly all day.[967]

[962] 'They look with serious apprehension on the precedent which proposed action for the future' (Salisbury to Carnarvon, 18 July 1885 (copy): Hatfield House Papers, 3M/E).

[963] Carnarvon told Harrowby, 'The crisis is politically far more serious than is understood in England and the question must not be too closely measured by prudent and official rule' (Carnarvon to Harrowby, 19 July 1885: Harrowby Papers, 2nd series, lii, fo. 123).

[964] Sir George Welsh Kellner (1825–1886), Assistant Paymaster-General in Chancery (1884–1886). Kellner had been selected by the Cabinet on 18 July to help Carnarvon (Hicks Beach to Carnarvon, 18 July 1885: CP, TNA, PRO 30/6/63, fo. 13).

[965] Carnarvon remained pessimistic: 'What I have done and said has *so far* arrested the ruin', he informed Ashbourne, 'but the run on the Hibernian is considerable, and I do not feel sure that we shall succeed in keeping it up' (Carnarvon to Ashbourne, 19 July 1885: Ashbourne Papers, B 25/9).

[966] John George Gibson (1846–1923), Solicitor-General for Ireland (1885–1886, 1886–1887), Attorney-General for Ireland (1887–1888).

[967] Carnarvon to Hicks Beach, 19 July 1885: St Aldwyn Papers, D 2455 PCC/70.

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Fig. 6 Earl of Carnarvon with his elder son by his second marriage, Aubrey Herbert, aged five, 1885.

Monday 20 July (Ireland)

This morning I received a deputation from the shareholders of the Munster Bank. It was large, important and had representation from many parts of the South. They asked for a loan to revive the bank. I was obliged to tell them that Government could not do this and to indicate what might be done. Sir G. Kellner quite agreed afterwards in what I said.

Matters today look perhaps slightly better: but the deputation were evidently disappointed. With sanguine Irish natures they had anticipated some great Government intervention. Sir G. Kellner is very reasonable and satisfactory to deal with, Beach and Smith in

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London less so. They look at things from an English or Scotch point of view.

Tuesday 21 July (Ireland)

Matters again gloomy today. Sir G. Kellner has gone to London. I felt he would be more useful there. I received two deputations at the Castle. Elsie went over a hospital and seems to have charmed everyone by what she said and did.

I had also a conversation with Father Molloy as to the Educational Endowments Bill and the course to be taken on the Linen College Estimates. I arranged for a meeting between him and Dyke.

Wednesday 22 July (Ireland)

A very important conversation with Duffy, of which I have kept a memorandum elsewhere.[968] He and Lady D. lunched here. His letter to me appeared in the *Freeman's Journal*, an able paper, and likely I think to produce some effect, very complimentary to me personally.[969]

Received also a telegram in cypher from Salisbury, saying the Cabinet were averse to touching the Queen's Colleges question and were to sit on Monday in case I can attend. I am not surprised, but at the same time it is a cardinal point in my Irish policy. If no undertaking is now given to consider and deal with the question I shall lose the whole support of the Roman Catholic clergy and with it all chance of keeping the country quiet and holding the extreme people in hand. Further, the change will very soon be made, and it will be made in such a way as to leave Trinity College unguarded. By making an arrangement now I hope Trinity may be saved.[970]

Tuesday 28 July (Ireland)

I had to receive an address at the Zoological Gardens [. . .].

[968]Carnarvon, 'Memorandum of conversation with Sir C. G. Duffy, 22 July 1885': CP, BL 60825, fo. 38.

[969]'The price of peace in Ireland', *Freeman's Journal*, 22 July, 1885, pp. 5–6.

[970]The Queen's Colleges were established by Robert Peel in 1845 to provide higher education in Ireland. They consisted of three institutions – Belfast for Presbyterians, and Cork and Galway for Roman Catholics. Sir Robert Hamilton had suggested a careful reconstruction of these colleges (Hamilton to Carnarvon, 9 July 1885: CP, TNA, PRO 30/6/58, fos 122–128).

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Afterwards on my return home I had a long conversation with the Chancellor, who has returned.[971] He gave me an interesting account of all that had gone on in the Cabinet since he had left Ireland and we finally had a long, unreserved and important talk as to the future prospects of legislation for Ireland and as to a certain [action] of which I had spoken to him and in which he concurs. It was an important talk.

Friday 31 July (Bretby – London)

A mournful, melancholy day.[972] Spent all through the morning in assuming new responsibilities and giving instructions. Alas! what a crowd of sad memories are called up. The funeral was less painful than I expected [. . .].

Reached London in time to dine with Herbert at the Travellers' and heard from him some news, and later had a visit from H. Vincent and settled everything as tomorrow.[973] He is a most willing ally, and has offered to go through Ireland for me to collect opinions.

Saturday 1 August (London – Hatfield)

This afternoon at 15 Hill Street I had a remarkable meeting and conversation the details of which I have noted elsewhere.

Later I came down to Hatfield with Salisbury, with whom I have had much and serious conversation. Personally I think everything is right, politically, I see some very black clouds ahead. S.'s relations with Beach and R. Churchill are also not satisfactory. He says Beach is under the control of R.C., and that though this latter is manageable as regards India, he is very hard to control or guide in home matters. He repeated that he thought we should be out with the Elections and that his position was so disagreeable he did not care for himself, but that he thought the House of Lords would be in an intolerable situation.

I talked long and anxiously with him as to Irish matters. He entirely concurred in the line that I am pursuing in Ireland, though he reverted to his gloomy anticipation of what would ensue on the Dissolution.[974]

[971] Ashbourne had travelled to Boulogne on 25 July and arrived back in Dublin on 28 July (Ashbourne to Carnarvon, 25 July 1885: CP, TNA, PRO 30/6/56, fos 184–186).

[972] Lady Chesterfield, Carnarvon's mother-in-law by his first marriage, had died on 27 July.

[973] Carnarvon told Vincent that, because of business connected with Lady Chesterfield's death, he would be able to meet Parnell earlier than expected (Carnarvon to Vincent (copy), 29 July 1885: CP, BL 60829, fo. 48).

[974] The meeting with Parnell lasted one and a quarter hours. See Carnarvon to Ashbourne, 1 August 1885: Ashbourne Papers, B25/12 (reproduced in Hardinge, III, pp. 178–181).

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Sunday 2 August (Hatfield – London)

A great deal of conversation with Salisbury as to Irish affairs. I drew up and showed him a memorandum of my "conference" of yesterday. He accepted it all.[975]

I returned to London in the evening and dined with the Harrowbys, which was very pleasant after all the worry and fatigue of the last few days.

Monday 3 August (London)

An extremely busy day. A long talk with Jenkinson on Irish police matters and on a recrudescence of dangerous Fenianism which is threatening.[976] He urged me to take all reasonable precautions as to myself and I promised I would do so.[977] I also later saw Dyke and gave him the caution and requested Jenkinson to see that he had a detective attached to him.

Lunched with Lady M. Charteris[978] who talked much of poor Lady Chesterfield and Bretby matters.

Then a Cabinet at which strange to say Salisbury whether from forgetfulness or some other cause never asked me to say anything as to the state of Ireland. I had nothing to propose or to ask for a decision, and so I did not raise the question and at last the time came for the House of Commons and the Cabinet broke up. Curious! The Cabinet was understood to be summoned for the purpose of hearing my opinion on Irish matters and I had staid on in London after consultation with Salisbury in order to explain. Very curious![979]

I dined at the Travellers' with Herbert and left by the night mail, Jekyll and Mrs. J. accompanying me.

[975]Before leaving for Hatfield the previous evening, Carnarvon wrote to his wife, 'Randolph [Churchill] has done as much as anyone to upset my Irish policy by making people think that he was ready to intrigue with the Irishmen and make any concession to them' (Carnarvon to Lady Carnarvon, 1 August 1885: CP, BL 61054, fos 42–43).

[976]See Jenkinson's lengthy letter to Carnarvon, 5 August 1885: CP, TNA, PRO 30/6/62, fos 1–12).

[977]Carnarvon set out his proposed rearrangement of the police and divisional magistrates to Cross, the Home Secretary (Carnarvon to Cross, 4 August 1885: CP, TNA, PRO 30/6/64, fos 24–25).

[978]Lady Margaret Charteris, daughter of 2nd Earl of Glengall.

[979]Later the same day, Carnarvon described the original plan for the Cabinet: 'He [Salisbury] had spoken to me of what I was about to say and had in certain measure arranged it with me' (Carnarvon to Harrowby, 3 August 1885: Harrowby Papers, 2nd series, lii, fo. 137).

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Monday 17 August (Galway)

A prosperous journey to Galway,[980] considerable crowds at the stations. I got out and walked about at most of them. The people very respectful.

We reached Galway by 2.30, and found a great concourse at the station and of its kind very representative. Mr. Hallett the High Sheriff was the principal person, but with him all the respectable and propertied class. We adjourned to a large hall room close to the station and there I received 4 Addresses and made 4 speeches.

Wednesday 19 August (Kilkerran and Clifden)

Landed at Kilkerran and drove about with Father Flanary. We went into many cottages, some of the poorest I have yet seen; earthen floors, hardly any windows, only one room in which the cow and the children and the old mother were the principal occupants. One old woman who was born before /98 came out and shook hands with me and wished me a long life. Some of the expressions they use are pretty. The man wished me "a long life and a happy death," and when at Clifden I was entirely mixed up with the crowd, I heard some one near me say in answer to something which had been said by a neighbour, "We are his guards."

Our visit to Clifden was a great success. The people welcomed me with green boughs and acclamations and the reception was the most cordial and sympathetic that we have had. After we had seen the Convent, the whole appearance of which was most satisfactory, and driven about we had a great collection of people in front of the Hotel or Inn. Major d'Arcy made me a long speech of welcome and I then got on a chair and made the best reply I could. It was a curious scene and rather a comical one in some ways. I imagine that I am the first Lord-Lieutenant who has harangued with much applause an Irish crowd on a chair in the market place.

Thursday 20 August (Westport – Achill)

We landed after some misadventures from the blowing up of part of the boiler of the steam launch, were met by Lord John Brown, Lord

[980]Accompanied by his wife and daughter, Carnarvon made a tour of south and west Ireland from 17 to 22 August. He was the first Lord Lieutenant to visit this district. The itinerary included the Arran Islands, Kilronan, Clifden, Belmullet, and Sligo. See 'Vice-regal tour in the West: Lord Lieutenant in Galway', *Freeman's Journal*, 18 August 1885, p. 5.

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Sligo's brother and agent,[981] the High Sheriff, Mr. Livingstone, the principal merchant and Chairman of Harbour Commissioners etc. All went off well and we had a very good reception. Several addresses were presented and as I stood under the trees beside the river and the crowd all round me I replied to them all in one speech [. . .].

We went on to the Convent, that had the industrial girls school. Everything satisfactory. The nuns besought me to certify the school for more, I think 20 or 30. Lord Sligo has been a great benefactor and has given land and help on every occasion. His house and park are great features, whilst Croagh Patrick, where St. Patrick exorcised the serpents, towered up above everything.

Thence to Achill, the details of which I have noted elsewhere. Most horrible housing of human beings near the seacoast, a Protestant colony beyond. But the colony and Mission of which it is a part would have done better had they first brought light and cleanliness and decency into these savage abodes before preaching a propaganda of religion to them. It was to me a melancholy, miserable scene.

Saturday 22 August (Sligo – Vice Regal Lodge)

A great success to crown the whole expedition. The whole population turned out, a very large crowd welcoming us on our landing and cheering continuously. Colonel Cooper[982] as Lieutenant of the Cr: was there with two carriages, the Mayor and all persons, R.C. and Protestant, of any rank. A succession of addresses in the Town Hall followed and then we drove after some other places to the Convent and Industrial School, where the Bishop Gillooly,[983] received us. Everything was as friendly as it could be, and after more speeches etc. we dined at the Convent with the Bishop. It was a most successful day and on our way back to Dublin we had an oration at the large stations, at Boyle being presented with an address by Col. King Harman[984] and a large assembly. We arrived here at 10 p.m.

Saturday 5 September (Vice Regal Lodge)

It is very hard work to keep abreast with all the business, which is very multifarious.

[981] Lord John Thomas Browne (1824–1903), brother of George John Browne, 3rd Marquess of Sligo (1820–1896).

[982] Col. Edward Henry Cooper (1827–1902), MP for Co. Sligo (1865–1868), Lord Lieutenant of Co. Sligo (1877–1902).

[983] Laurence Gillooly (1819–1895), Bishop of Elphin (1858–1895).

[984] Col. Edward Robert King-Harman (1838–1888), Con. MP for Co. Sligo (1877–1880), for Co. Dublin (1883–1885), and for the Isle of Thanet (1885–1888), Lord Lieutenant for Co. Roscommon (1878–1888).

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The work is very interesting and extremely varied; but it is hardly possible without spending a great deal of time over it to write down every day a faithful record of what passes, interviews with important people consume much time.[985] I do not do much in writing as at the Colonial Office. I hardly ever write a minute: and dictate a great many letters.

Tuesday 29 September (Vice Regal Lodge)

A conference on convict matters and the choice of Galway as the place. Present: Du Cane[986] from England, Chief Justice Morris,[987] Dyke, Hamilton, Charles Bourke[988] and myself.

A vexatious letter also from Beach as to Treasury matters. He is very tape-bound and official; and apparently is trying to save money by small economies in questions of important policy.

Friday 2 October (Vice Regal Lodge)

I had yesterday a long and interesting talk with R. Churchill.[989] He gives one the idea of being frank in saying what he thinks, and it seems to me as if Salisbury was gaining an influence with him. He showed me a letter from S. to him entering at some length into the present position of foreign affairs and evidently written for the purpose of pleasing him. Randolph in speaking to me of S. said that he was an enigma to him, that at times S. was so open and intelligible that at another time he dropped a veil over his thoughts.

He told me another thing which I had certainly never heard before, viz. a story that Disraeli was the real father of Dufferin, and he declared that when he was in India and saw much of Dufferin, D. said and did many things which indicated or bore secret evidence to the relationship. Curious!

[985] 'Irish matters are the first and last and middle thought of every day [. . .]. I can think of nothing else' (Carnarvon to Cranbrook, 2 September 1885: Cranbrook Papers, HA3 T501/262).

[986] Sir Charles Du Cane (1825–1889), Chairman, Board of Customs (1878–1889).

[987] Michael Morris (1827–1901), 1st Baron Morris (1889), 1st Baron Killanin (1900). Lib. MP for Galway (1865–1867), Solicitor-General for Ireland (1866), Attorney-General for Ireland (1866–1867), Judge of Common Pleas for Ireland (1867–1887), Lord Chief Justice of Ireland (1887–1889).

[988] Charles Fowler Bourke (1831–1899), Chairman, General Prisons Board, Ireland (1878–1895).

[989] Churchill had arrived in Dublin the previous day and was staying with Hugh Holmes, the Irish Attorney-General.

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I see in today's papers Lord Shaftesbury's death, another of my old friends gone.[990] I knew that he could not last long. He was a contemporary of my father's at Christ Church.

Monday 5 October (London)

Long conversation with Salisbury at Foreign Office.[991] I explained the whole Irish position, and told him the only solution in my opinion.[992] He said that before coming into Office Sir M. Morris had painted Ireland to him nearly the same colours. He reminded me of his own opinion. I said I had not forgotten, and that for my part I desired to avoid all division or difference in the party.[993]

Then talk with Herbert as to Ireland, Jekyll, etc. Then a long and rather disagreeable talk with Beach, who is simply odious to do business with. All on Treasury questions.

Finally long talk with Sandon as to Ireland. He quite agrees with me.

Tuesday 6 October (London)

A most important Cabinet. It was almost entirely occupied with Irish matters.[994] I made a very long statement of about ½ hour, Ashbourne followed confirming me and G. Hamilton confirmed all my facts. My suggestions and indications of future policy found no real supporter, some expressed opposition. I note the general statement elsewhere. I believe I made my own position clear and understood.[995]

I dined afterwards with R. Churchill, Ashbourne, Lytton, W. H. Smith (who has I think grown very intent and rather dull), Beach,

[990]Shaftesbury had died on 1 October.

[991]Carnarvon had crossed over from Ireland on 3 October in preparation for the first Cabinet since the summer, on 6 October.

[992]Carnarvon had previously written to Harrowby, 'I have told Salisbury that I wish to see him on Monday [5 Oct]. Perhaps my greatest difficulty lies with one section of the landlords who think the Government is bound to keep them no matter how harsh they themselves may be' (Carnarvon to Harrowby, 28 September 1885: Harrowby Papers, 2nd series, lii, fo. 45).

[993]On 30 September, Salisbury – who was to make a major policy speech at Newport on 7 October – told Carnarvon that he 'should be glad for any material for the defence of our Irish position. Can you bring with you on Monday anything to show that 1) Boycotting went on vigorously while the Crimes Act was still in existence. 2) That its present prevalence could not be materially checked if the Crimes Act were still in existence' (Salisbury to Carnarvon, 30 September 1885: CP, BL 50760, fos 69–70).

[994]For details, see Hardinge, III, pp. 192–195.

[995]Cranbrook commented, 'Carnarvon's picture of Ireland was in the gloomiest of colours [. . .]. His remedies almost none & present action, though all that the law allows, does not promise much' (Johnson, p. 576).

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who never has much to say, Rothschild and some others. R.C. is extremely civil.

Thursday 8 October (Highclere – London)

A great deal of business of all kinds, public and private. We came up to London and found piles of letters and red boxes.

The Queen is very anxious to see me.[996] I have had telegrams and letters from Ponsonby and a further pressing letter through Northcote: but I cannot. I must go back to Ireland tomorrow even though it involves a journey to Balmoral from there next week.

Friday 9 October (London)

Cabinet, a good many miscellaneous subjects discussed, foreign, Indian, home, Stead's prosecution, Skye crofters, some Treasury disagreements between me and Beach in which the Cabinet decided at once for me, etc. No Colonial question.

Afterwards I walked up to the Carlton with Salisbury and lunched there with him. I showed him my memorandum of what I said on Tuesday in the Cabinet about Ireland and asked him whether it seemed to him quite correct. He said it was and suggested I could add to it what Cranbrook had said.

Afterwards a rather interesting conversation with R. Churchill, who told me a curious story as to the Duke of Connaught's wish to be Commander-in-Chief in Bombay.[997]

Later Elsie and I and Esmé[998] left by night train for Ireland, a good passage.

[996] 'The Queen feels very anxious about Ireland and would be very glad to have seen Lord Carnarvon before he returned to Ireland' (Queen Victoria to Salisbury, 6 October 1885: Buckle, *Letters*, III, p. 700). Carnarvon excused himself from going to Balmoral to talk particularly on boycotting (Carnarvon to Queen Victoria, 8 October 1885: Royal Archives, D37/94).

[997] Arthur William, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn (1850–1942), third son of Queen Victoria. He followed an army career and, as a major-general, commanded a brigade in the Egyptian expedition of 1882 and fought at Tel-el-Kabir. See Sir G. Aston, *His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn: a life and intimate study* (London, 1929), pp. 124–130. The wish to be Commander-in-Chief in Bombay was never granted.

[998] Sir Esmé William Howard (1863–1939), Carnarvon's brother-in-law by his second marriage, diplomat (1885–1892), Consul-General to Crete (1903–1906), 1st Baron Howard of Penrith (1930).

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Tuesday 20 October (Vice Regal Lodge)

A long conversation with Capt. Slack and Capt. Plunkett[999] with Sir R. Hamilton on the state of affairs in their districts. The account is not good as [to] boycotting. They do not recognise as yet any improvement.

Afterwards a conversation with Harrel.[1000] No special cause for anxiety at present: but there is no doubt that the old bad lot in Dublin are supplied with money, just enough to help them. It is probable that they are being held in reserve for whatever may be needed.

Monday 26 October (Vice Regal Lodge)

A very good natured letter from the Queen through Sir Henry Ponsonby releasing me from my journey to Balmoral and saying she will expect me at Windsor instead, when she goes there. A great relief.

We paid a visit to the rooms of the Royal Academy, a fine Library and collection of very valuable MSS. and books, and a magnificent collection of old Irish silver and gold ornaments. It is exclusively Irish, with no foreign admixture and is a most remarkable one.

Saturday 7 November (Vice Regal Lodge)

A considerable conversation with Gibson on future policy. I explained my view of the situation and its extreme danger and difficulty. He admitted it all, but argues for a staving off policy in the hopes that the Irish Parliamentary Party will be unable to hold together above one session.

Thursday 19 November (London)

I had a long and interesting conversation with Cardinal Manning on Irish matters. I have made a note elsewhere of it.

Saw Dyke who is rather sanguine as to Election prospects and the *Pall Mall* has a strange article prophesying very great Liberal reverses and a strong Conservative reaction. A conversation also, later, with Greenwood, which I have taken a note.

[999]District magistrates.

[1000]Sir David Harrel (1841–1939), Chief Commissioner, Dublin Metropolitan Police (1883–1893).

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Friday 20 November (London)

I had a long and very important conversation with Salisbury this morning, the details of which I have noted elsewhere.[1001] It was personally very friendly, in substance it has left me no option as to the course to be pursued if the Government come out unharmed from the Elections. But he is evidently in very indifferent health and there may be several unexpected and strange endings to his political prominence.

We lunched afterwards with Lady D. Nevill – F. Leveson[1002] there, very Granvillian in tone and manner.

Saturday 21 November (London)

Conversation with Herbert on my own case and later with Dyke on the position of affairs. He says that the parliamentary prospects are brightening all round, that there has been a great improvement in the last ten days and that almost anything is possible. On the other hand he describes the mental condition of the Party as regards Ireland as one of Cimmerian darkness. They know and understand nothing, hate the subject, but hate still more a proposal to make any change.

A long business talk with Mr. Roberts.[1003] Nothing can be worse than the agricultural outlook.

Monday 23 November (Windsor)

A talk with Jenkinson on his own position, salary etc, on which I wrote a long letter to Ridley[1004] to be communicated to Beach.[1005]

[1001]Salisbury met Carnarvon at Arlington Street at midday to discuss the consequences for the Government if the latter should retire after the next general election. Carnarvon offered to waive his retirement if Salisbury was willing either to set up a Joint Committee of both Houses to consider the future government of Ireland or to establish an Educational Council for Ireland and a fuller measure of self-government. See Carnarvon, Memorandum, 'Conversation with Lord Salisbury', 20 November 1885: CP, BL 60760, fos 73–77.

[1002]Edward Frederick Leveson-Gower (1819–1907), Lib. MP for Derby (1846–1847), for Stoke-upon-Trent (1852–1857), and for Bodmin (1859–1885).

[1003]J.D. Cramer Roberts, Carnarvon's London agent and financial adviser.

[1004]Sir Matthew White Ridley (1842–1904), 5th Baronet Ridley (1877), Viscount Ridley (1900). Con. MP for Northumberland North (1868–1885) and for Blackpool (1886–1900), Under-Secretary to the Home Office (1878–1880), Financial Secretary to the Treasury (1885–1886), Home Secretary (1895–1900).

[1005]Jenkinson, of whom Carnarvon thought highly, had had an interview with him on 31 August about his future position. It emerged that Cross had no opening for him in a permanent position at the Home Office (Cross to Carnarvon, 3 September 1885: CP, TNA PRO 30/6/62, fo. 20). After Jenkinson saw Hicks Beach at the end of the year, Carnarvon warned Hicks Beach, 'It is simply impossible for the Government to give up the machinery

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Afterwards an important conversation with Salisbury as to myself and Irish matters. I gave him to read a long memorandum which I had drawn up since I last saw him.[1006]

Later Elsie and I came to Windsor. The Queen most kind and gracious. She kissed Elsie and talked with her for some time about Ireland after dinner, and before dinner I had a long audience. For the first time she made me sit down as she was sitting, a sign perhaps that she is not quite as strong as she once was; but in other respects she looked very well. In the evening after dinner came a telegram from Hamilton announcing the murder of a caretaker in Co. Cork. I trust it is not the beginning of a new series.

Tuesday 24 November (Windsor)

An interesting morning in the Library with Mr. Holmes the Librarian[1007] who showed us the miniatures. Later an interesting conversation with the Queen and an important one. I explained to her my position and the agreement with Salisbury.[1008]

Wednesday 25 November (London)

The first returns out of the General Election. We have undoubtedly done well. We have lost few and won many seats and we are exactly equal with the Liberals.

of which Jenkinson is the head [. . .]. We shall probably have very serious trouble before long and it would be nothing short of madness to weaken in any way the one agency that exists for the detection and prosecution of gross political crime' (Carnarvon to Hicks Beach, 30 December 1885: CP, TNA, PRO 30/6/62, fo. 45). Hicks Beach replied, 'I do not think it is my business to settle Jenkinson's case' (Hicks Beach to Carnarvon, 3 January 1886: Hatfield House Papers, 3M/E). In the end, the Home Office dispensed with Jenkinson's services. See C. Townshend, *Political Violence in Ireland: government and resistance since 1848* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 196–197; S. Ball (ed.), *Dublin Castle and the First Home Rule Crisis: the political journal of Sir George Fottrell, 1884–1887*, Camden 5th series 33 (Cambridge, 2008).

[1006]CP, BL 60780, fos 78–80.

[1007]Sir Richard Rivington Holmes (1835–1911), Queen's (and King's) Librarian, Windsor Castle (1870–1906).

[1008]Carnarvon found the Queen 'very much alive to the whole subject' of self-government for Ireland. At the meeting, she showed him Gladstone's memorandum of 25 May, setting out the options relating to Irish policy. See H. Gladstone, *After Thirty Years* (London, 1928), p. 395; Shannon, *Gladstone*, II, p. 360. Carnarvon replied two days later (Carnarvon to Queen Victoria, 26 November 1885: Royal Archives, D 37/99). Salisbury wrote to Ponsonby on 29 November expressing his disapproval of Carnarvon giving the Queen his views on Ireland: 'These opinions of Lord Carnarvon have been mentioned at the Cabinet and they were repudiated by all the Ministers who spoke.' The Queen subsequently informed Salisbury that she had invited Carnarvon to give his views. Salisbury did not mention the incident to Carnarvon. See A. Ponsonby, *Henry Ponsonby, Queen Victoria's Private Secretary: his life from his letters* (London, 1942), pp. 199–200.

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Elsie and I came to London, lunched with Mrs. Jeune and travelled to Dublin in the evening.

Saturday 5 December (Vice Regal Lodge)

The Liberals have drawn very much ahead. This morning they were close upon a majority of 50 as against Conservative, excluding the Irish.

Thursday 10 December (Vice Regal Lodge)

The anniversary of my poor father's death.

Dyke returned from England. He tells me he urged on Salisbury the expediency of our retiring from Office as soon as we can,[1009] and that S. said he thought it would be the best thing for us to be out of it.[1010]

Friday 11 December (London)

I came over by myself, a very smooth passage and a good journey. Met Herbert at the Travellers' and dined with him.

He is, after hearing the whole case, clearly of opinion that on all grounds, personal, financial, political, it is best for me to claim my release under Salisbury's engagement with me and my letter of 16th June.[1011]

[1009] Hart Dyke's statement hardly tallies with a conversation he had the following day with Ashbourne, who reported, 'A long talk with Dyke today. He thinks that it would disadvantage our friends, and particularly the great towns which supported us, if we resigned before the meeting of Parliament' (Ashbourne to Carnarvon, 11 December 1885: CP, BL 60857, fo. 104).

[1010] At the general election, the Liberals won 334 seats, the Conservatives 290, and the Irish Nationalists 86. Thus the Conservatives could continue only with Irish support. Carnarvon pointed out to Salisbury, 'We must govern by and through the Irish, and unless we are ready to come to some understanding with them, they will play us off against the Liberals, and reduce us to the sorest difficulties' (Hardinge, III, pp. 203–204).

[1011] Carnarvon had come over from Ireland the previous day to lobby for home rule in the Cabinet on 14 December. Before leaving Dublin, Carnarvon wrote to Harrowby, 'I have found the copy of my letter to Salisbury which I wrote on the acceptance of Office, as you will remember greatly at your suggestion and with you, and I am delighted at it. It really seems as if it had been written in exact anticipation of present circumstances: and is so full and emphatic that if made public, it must, I think, carry conviction that I am retiring in accordance with a long formed conclusion without any reference to present questions' (Carnarvon to Harrowby, 10 December 1885: Harrowby Papers, 2nd series, lii, fos 153–154).

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Saturday 12 December (London)

I had a talk with Cranbrook and explained all my own position. He is disturbed, and wishes me much to stay on, fearing my retirement may break up the Government. This I said I would not permit and though the difficulty is considerable I do not see that it need come to such an issue.[1012]

Sunday 13 December (London)

In the afternoon I went to Hatfield and had a very long conversation with Salisbury [. . .].

He was very friendly, deplored my retirement, but professed his inability to turn any of his colleagues out to make room for me, which of course I said I was the last person to desire. At the same time he was he said most anxious to find some mode of convincing everyone that there was no discord of opinion, so at last I said feeling that if I did not suggest something he had no resources and that unless I really persuaded him to let me go he might never get a successor, that if he liked I would take a seat in the Cabinet without a portfolio at all events for the present. He immediately caught at the idea, said it was an excellent one and seemed so much pleased at it that I am obliged to believe that he really was very sorry to lose me. So now I trust that matters are in a fair way of settlement.

Monday 14 December (London)

Long discussion [with Salisbury] as to resignation at once or meeting Parliament at once but to challenge a vote of confidence before the Address, a strange and novel proceeding, suggested by Beach and R. Churchill.

Then a discussion on Ireland, the result of which was that the Cabinet would do nothing and announce no policy, but they would not debar themselves from proceeding later by Committee, if circumstances should favour this. Lastly my retirement, in accordance with my letter of last June 16th. to Salisbury mentioned by him. He said he much regretted it, but it was part of an engagement; but that he had offered me and that I had accepted a seat in the Cabinet without

[1012]Cranbrook wrote in his Diary, 'I cannot help seeing that the burden of it and of dealing with the Irish question is really at the bottom of it. I told him that he wd upset the Coach for who would take his place in the existing circumstances' (Johnson, p. 584). Carnarvon told his wife, 'I have had neither letter or telegram from Salisbury [. . .]. I have been kept in suspense' (Carnarvon to Lady Carnarvon, 12 December 1885: CP, BL 61054, fo. 46).

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portfolio. A good deal of discussion etc., Gibson much regretting. At last I promised to consider it again to see if I could hold on till the vote of confidence was taken.[1013]

Dined at the Jeunes and had a long and interesting conversation with Goschen. His whole notion as to Ireland consists in giving next to nothing and coercing. It is the view of most of my colleagues only more vigorously thought out and expressed.

Tuesday 15 December (London)

Cabinet

A long talk again on Ireland. The Cabinet will do nothing and they only say that if and when a great change comes it must be done by other hands.[1014] I had some talk with G. Hamilton afterwards who I think sees all the danger of this course but is bound by family and local traditions to resist it. Gibson (the Chancellor) generally supported me but all the rest of the Cabinet, some of whom I know agree with me, remained dumb, a curious but usual feature in Cabinets on such occasions.

My own position was made clear. I have agreed at their urgent wish to waive my immediate retirement and to stay on till the vote of confidence is disposed of, the understanding being that I should anyhow be free by the end of January. If the Government then fell we fall together. If they survive I retire but take a seat in the Cabinet without portfolio.[1015]

Left for Ireland this evening.

Monday 21 December (Greystoke)

After travelling all night, Elsie, Vera and I with Esmé arrived in the early morning. A wonderful change in the feeling of the air, here so keen and bracing, in Ireland is relaxing and soft.

[1013]Salisbury sent an account of the proceedings to the Queen. 'The Irish question was then considered [. . .]. Lord Carnarvon expressed his earnest desire to retire from office, in accordance with an understanding entered into with him when he took it. The feeling of the Cabinet however was that at this moment such a retirement would be misunderstood and he was strongly pressed to remain' (Salisbury to Queen Victoria, 14 December 1885: Royal Archives, A63/93).

[1014]Carnarvon presented his highly secret Irish University Bill but no action was taken on it (Cooke and Vincent, *The Governing Passion*, p. 293). He commented to Harrowby, 'I regret and shall always regret that they make no effort – if only to feel their way towards a settlement of this question [. . .] but a Cabinet is like a Council of War, it is very timid' (Carnarvon to Harrowby, 18 December 1885 (copy): CP, TNA, PRO 30/6/55, fos 144–145).

[1015]Carnarvon to Queen Victoria, 15 December 1885: Royal Archives, C37/1.

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Thursday 24 December (Greystoke)

Elsie's attack was bad yesterday, today I am thankful to say she is much better.

I have not yet heard anything from Salisbury as to the Vice Royalty. He has become a very bad correspondent.

Sunday 27 December (Greystoke)

Yesterday I wrote to Salisbury as to my successor: this morning I have heard from him, and on the whole satisfactory.[1016]

[1016]Carnarvon to Salisbury, 26 December 1885 (copy): CP, BL 60702, fo. 118. Salisbury's reply has not been traced.

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