1878

Thursday 31 January (London)

My successor, Sir M. Beach, is appointed. He called on me and I gave him all the information that I could.[618] The principal subjects on which I spoke were:

1. Governors – Dufferin suggesting Buckingham as successor to Phayre[619] – Hardwicke who wants a Governorship.[620]
2. Honours – G. Cross for Sir F. Williams[621] and C.M.G. for Captain Haig.[622] Knighthoods for Barry and others.
3. Sir A. Cunynghame's affair.
4. Malta – Revd. H. White.[623]
5. Mauritius and Bishop Scarisbrick[624] promised that if he saw his way to an increase in the Roman Catholic clergy I would support.
6. Fiji – explained Gordon's position. Some additional help is possible.[625]
7. West Coast – advised a parliamentary grant.
8. Gold Coast – called special attention to the Gold Coast Corps.
9. Hennessy at Hong Kong needs a careful eye.[626]

[618]Carnarvon told Disraeli earlier in the day, 'I think it will be of some advantage to my successor to talk to me. I can tell him many things in conversation which may be of value and which it is not easy to express in writing' (Carnarvon to Disraeli, 31 January 1878: Hughenden Papers, dep. 100/1).

[619]Sir Arthur Purves Phayre (1812–1895), Governor of Mauritius (1874–1878), was succeeded by Sir George Ferguson Bowen (1821–1899), who had been Governor of Victoria since 1873.

[620]Charles Philip Yorke (1836–1897), 5th Earl of Hardwicke (1873), known as 'Champagne Charlie'. Con. MP for Cambridgeshire (1865–1873), Master of the Buckhounds (1874–1880), declared bankrupt (1881).

[621]William Fenwick Williams (1800–1883), Baronet (1856), Lib. MP for Calne (1856–1859), Commander-in-Chief, Canada (1859–1865), Governor of Nova Scotia (1865–1867), Governor of Gibraltar (1871–1876).

[622]Capt. Arthur Balfour Haig (1840–1925), Equerry to the Duke of Edinburgh (1864–1880).

[623]Revd Henry White (1830–1890), Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen (1870–1873).

[624]William Benedict Scarisbrick (1828–1898), Bishop of Mauritius (1872–1887).

[625]One of Gordon's tasks as Governor, ordered by Carnarvon, was to settle the many outstanding land claims. Gordon's enlightened policy towards the native Fijians caused much worry. See J.K. Chapman, *The Career of Arthur Hamilton Gordon, First Lord Stanmore* (Toronto, 1964), pp. 205–208.

[626]Sir John Pope-Hennessy (1834–1891), Governor of Hong Kong (1877–1882).

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10. Barbados going on well.
11. Straits – needs watching: described Robinson.[627]
12. Canada – British Columbia difficulty.
13. Dwelt particularly on Herbert's merits and capacity and advised him to spare H. in every way.

Wednesday 13 February (London)

Came up and found London in great political excitement, Derby's probable resignation in everyone's mouth.[628] I received a private letter from Sandford[629] telling me that the tail of the Party at the Carlton is furious against him, that a meeting of some 25 members has been held and that on Saturday a much larger one will be held to turn him out or to compel him to take a stronger line.

I had a long talk with Lady Derby in the evening. Poor thing, I am very sorry for her for she had courage enough to have made him act on former occasions and now she plainly sees that he has lost ground and is sinking in public opinion. Meanwhile I am sure that he must be suffering extraordinarily as he finds himself driven on to measures which are intended to lead to war. Salisbury, I suspect, is driving on the coach recklessly, and Lady D. did not scruple to say (as others are indeed saying) with a view to the Foreign Office. What a spectacle as regards the man whom I respected so much. Some things which I have heard (past doubt) are almost incredible. Amongst them I find that during Derby's illness Disraeli took the opportunity of offering Austria the help of subsidies and that Austria having before rejected the offer has since expressed herself ready for them. This looks like action at last on her part.

Meanwhile nothing is known of the fleet, where it is. Pender,[630] it seems, offered the Government for £2,000 to lay a line for temporary use. A Committee of the Cabinet considered the proposal and declined

[627]William Cleaver Robinson (1834–1897), Governor of the Straits Settlements (1877–1879).
[628]The British Fleet had been ordered through the Dardanelles for a third time in three weeks. Derby gloomily wrote, 'There must be an end to the *imbroglio* within the next few months; if not, it will make an end of me' (Millman, *Britain and the Eastern Question*, p. 389). Carnarvon informed Bath, 'I hear that after the last Cabinet Derby said, "Things are looking graver than ever." This for what it is worth' (Carnarvon to Bath, 11 February 1878: Longleat Papers).
[629]Sir Francis Sandford (1824–1893), Assistant Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office (1868–1870).
[630]Sir John Pender (1815–1896), pioneer of submarine telegraphy and Lib. MP for Wick district, Linlithgowshire (1872–1885).

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it on the ground of expense!!! I went to the Cosmopolitan in the evening. Everyone very civil but only one subject of conversation.

Thursday 21 February (London)

Late in the afternoon called on Beach at the Colonial Office to give him what advice I could on various Colonial matters [. . .]. At the close of our conversation he said he hoped I should not think it was an impertinence but he felt strongly that the British Columbia difficulty was very threatening, that it was extremely difficult to settle it, could I be persuaded to undertake the settlement? I said it took me by surprise, that if I remembered rightly the Canadian Parliament would meet shortly, that some proposal would then be made and that I hoped a solution would be found, but that Dufferin's term of office did not expire till after June, that no one was more competent than he to settle it, and that of course I could not do anything to set him aside. I saw, I said, little chance of the necessity arising for my intervention, but that "without prejudice as lawyers say" I would not refuse to consider the matter if the question should come up, but it must be understood that it could under no circumstances be other than a temporary mission, undertaken (if at all) to give him help in a peculiarly difficult affair.[631]

In the House of Lords we had some communications from Derby.[632]

Saturday 23 February (Battle)

The accounts from the East look very threatening. There will probably be an outcry here and a fresh outburst of the war feeling. We are very close to the edge of the precipice and I am very fearful that we shall go over. The Government I fancy are making great efforts to prepare for it. I hear of 20,000 horses being bought and a good many ironclads etc. It looks very bad.[633]

[631]The financial and administrative obstacles to the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway had caused much friction between the government and the Columbians. It was not until 1881 that the contract was finally sanctioned, and a further seven years before the line to Vancouver City was opened.

[632]The Eastern Question. Movements of the Fleet. Conference. Questions: *Hansard*, CCXXXVIII, 21 February 1878, cols 43–45, Derby, cols 44–45.

[633]At the Cabinet meeting on 21 February, Layard's telegram was received, reporting a Russian demand that the Turks should surrender their fleet. In the event of this not being carried out, Russia would occupy Constantinople. The Royal Navy was put on high alert.

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Tuesday 26 February (Highclere)

I hardly know what to think of the news. On the whole I believe it looks peaceful in spite of the warlike declamations of the *Daily Telegraph*.[634] The Russian demands are very high, and exorbitant, and this will raise a strong feeling against them which may help to war or may induce Russia to retreat before taking up an unalterable attitude. The whole situation, from the outside, looks very perplexing.

Thursday 28 February (London)

Came up, had a long talk with Gladstone.[635] His ability, memory, energy surprise me and with them all there is a singular simplicity and even humility of character. In talking to him, when there is nothing to excite or divert him, one feels how very superior he is to the mass of politicians. His obvious and certain desire is to do that which is right, and the moral atmosphere of his society is the exact reverse of that of Disraeli. He said and truly that it is difficult to know what the Government mean – on the one hand Derby's declarations are more or less satisfactory:[636] on the other these announcements of Lord Napier[637] taking the command and suchlike seem to point to war. Gladstone said he could not at present see even a pretext for war.

Sunday 10 March (Highclere)

I find from Lady Abercromby that the Queen is very much out of humour with me, and this I suppose will be the case for a long time at

[634]In a leader headed 'Russo-Turkish War', the newspaper encouraged the Government to 'take every precaution' to discourage the serious encroachment of the treaties of 1856 and 1871: *Daily Telegraph*, 26 February 1878, p. 4.

[635]Carnarvon commented afterwards, 'I do not know that it came to much. What he mainly wanted to hear was as to the course to be pursued by Disraeli and perhaps I was useful to him' (Carnarvon to Bath, 1 March 1878: Longleat Papers).

[636]A view not shared by several members of the Cabinet: 'all our eight heads of hair stood upright on reading the account of Derby's conversation with Shuvalov on the subject of the possible seizure of a Turkish island' (Northcote to Disraeli, 27 February 1878: Hughenden Papers, dep. 107/1).

[637]Gen. Robert Cornelis Napier (1810–1890), 1st Baron Napier of Magdala (1868), distinguished soldier in Indian, Abyssinian, and Chinese campaigns. Commander-in-Chief, India (1870–1876), Governor of Gibraltar (1876–1882).

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least to come. It seems that at my last visit to Osborne[638] when I had such an extraordinary scene with her before dinner she was greatly put out at dinner. I noticed indeed that she was a little ruffled but I talked on just the same as usual and fancied that she had recovered herself, but this it seems was not the case.[639]

Disraeli appears to be more and more in her confidence on all subjects, public and private alike. This I hear on all sides from those who know the relations and I do not doubt it. One of the strongest evidences of his power over her is his inducing her to write to Leaders of Opposition. I *suspect* she has written to Forster of late and that he has not been able to resist. It is clear that many of these men, Cross and Northcote particularly, are quite powerless and surrender or suppress their opinions under this royal pressure.

Wednesday 13 March

I had a long conversation with Lady Derby. I see that there has been a great deal of fighting in the Cabinet, and that Derby has maintained his ground by stubbornness and his old plan of "wet-blanketting" each proposal as it is made. She said that he felt absolutely alone and missed me much.

Salisbury I fancy is very violent in language.

As to the Canadian offer, it seems clear that it was made by arrangement with Disraeli. It did not come from Beach alone and it was therefore I think somewhat of a trap. Derby was it seems astonished when Disraeli announced to him that there was some chance of my taking the Governor Generalship!!! and naturally – but it shows how far the matter had gone.[640]

[638]On 3 January, Disraeli sent a telegram at 2.20 p.m. that day to the Queen, 'I have brought the Speech of the Colonial Secretary before the Cabinet today. He has departed for Osborne much excited' (Royal Archives, H18/T6).

[639]Carnarvon, after his resignation on 24 January, had offered to attend for an interview with the Queen. She informed Ponsonby, 'The Queen does certainly not wish to see Ld Carnarvon, who finds sympathy with no one for his selfish conduct – leaving his Post at such a moment' (Queen Victoria to Ponsonby, 17 January 1878: Royal Archives, L14/30).

[640]According to Hardinge, II, p. 339, on 10 March, Carnarvon was asked by the Government 'to undertake a mission to Canada'. Lady Derby had previously written to Carnarvon, ' I thought the offer of Canada had been made and almost accepted. Stanley certainly understood so' (Lady Derby to Carnarvon, 10 March 1878: CP, BL 60765, fo. 171).

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Friday 22 March (London)

I dined at Carlingford's and had some various conversation.

1. Hartington thinks it probable that there will be further and important discussion as to the Treaty between Russia and Turkey, the text of which appears in today's papers.
2. Borthwick[641] declared that he believed there would be war. He dwelt on the probability of collisions between the Fleet and the Russians.
3. Lady Waldegrave[642] believes in war. I asked her why? and she said Disraeli told her so. Lady W. is a Jewess and though the fact that Disraeli said this proves nothing yet it is an indication.

Trutch[643] of British Columbia called on me and I gave him leave to refer to me any application to Bench.

White also called on me and explained all his Malta and Savoy difficulties.

Saturday 23 March (Babraham)

Before coming here I called on Lyons who is at Norfolk House. Our conversation was short, but it leaves in my mind the distinct impression that he is very little hopeful as to the results of the Congress, if a Congress[644] there is, and that he feels anxious as to war. In the *Pall Mall* this afternoon there is another of the special articles written as if to prepare everyone for war;[645] altogether the outlook is not promising. Bath tells me that he had a conversation with Lady Salisbury, who says that the Russians are extremely anxious and indeed obliged to get their troops away from Constantinople on account of illness. This may be so, though probably exaggerated, and if it is so, the Government are, I doubt not, taking advantage of it to press their demands on Russia.

[641] Algernon Borthwick (1830–1908), proprietor of the *Morning Post* since 1876.

[642] Frances Elizabeth, Countess Waldegrave (1821–1879), whose fourth husband was Lord Carlingford, a leading Liberal politician. A great society hostess, she was on very friendly terms with Shuvalov. See O.W. Hewett, *Strawberry Fair: a biography of Frances, Countess Waldegrave, 1821–1879* (London, 1956), p. 256.

[643] Sir Joseph William Trutch (1826–1904), Surveyor-General of British Columbia (1864), Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia (1871–1876).

[644] Russia had agreed to hold a Conference of the Great Powers in Berlin to reconsider the Treaty of San Stefano signed in March, which ended the Russo-Turkish war.

[645] 'The treaty from an English point of view', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 March 1877, p. 1: 'Is it possible an English Government can formally allow to Russia, along with the Armenian territory which the treaty gives her possession this fatal right of protectorate over the rest? We say that to do so may be possible, but that it would be a blunder absolutely criminal.'

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I came down here to the Cadogans.[646]

Monday 1 April (London)

I had made an appointment with Townsend and had a long talk with him on arriving. He believes that it is war beyond doubt and Schouvaloff also believes this: Salisbury goes to the Foreign Office, Hardy to India Office and Stanley to War Office.[647] Townsend says that there will be very great defection of the Liberals in the House of Commons, that they fear for their seats, and that a large part of the middle class who before were all in favour of peace have now been converted to war. It is a very bad look out. I dined with Phillimore. Gladstone is very strong on the subject but beyond this I heard nothing.

Thursday 4 April (London)

Dined at the Ripons. After dinner talked to Bylandt[648] who does not believe in war, but he seems to found his belief on our Government withdrawing or modifying Salisbury's circular despatch. That despatch has in its own line and way had a very great success, but it seems to me a fatal document, for it places the Russian Government in the dilemma of yielding or fighting.

I had some talk with Derby this afternoon.[649] He was very friendly and after a good deal of conversation he agreed to speak and speak early on Monday. He recapitulated to me his speech and if he says it as he said it to me it will do very well.[650] My fear is that when it comes to the point he may water it down: at the same time, I think he is nettled by F. Stanley's appointment,[651] by the stories circulated of himself, by Salisbury's taking his place and by the general circumstances. I shall not therefore be surprised if he makes a good speech. It seems that the

[646] George Henry Cadogan (1840–1915), 5th Earl Cadogan (1873), Under-Secretary of State for War (1875–1878) and for the Colonies (1878–1880), Lord Privy Seal (1886–1892), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1895–1902).

[647] The Cabinet changes, following Derby's resignation on 27 March, were announced on 2 April.

[648] Charles Malcolm Bylandt (1818–1893), Dutch diplomat.

[649] Derby reported, 'Carnarvon [. . .] low in spirits [. . .]. He does not understand the complete change of opinion on Salisbury's part within a year; nor do I, except through female influence. Lady Salisbury has always, since Constantinople, desired to be at the F.O. and has not concealed the wish' (Vincent, *Derby*, IV, p. 2).

[650] *Hansard*, CCXXXIX, 8 April 1878, Derby, cols 789–801.

[651] Frederick Stanley had been appointed Secretary of State for War on 2 April, the same day that Salisbury was appointed Foreign Secretary.

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reason of his resignation was a sudden proposal, which was carried unanimously, for the annexation of Cyprus and the landing of English troops "at some point on the Syrian Coast" (probably Scanderoon)[652] without the consent of the Porte. This scheme was (like so many other schemes) suspended. Meanwhile however military preparations are going on as though for an expedition somewhere.

Wednesday 10 April (London)

A long talk with Lady Derby in the morning. We spoke much of Derby's speech and she said that was now a break with the party and "There is nothing for you both but to look to some Liberal alliances." I said, "It is the fault of the present Government that they drive us away by their conduct, but I intend to keep myself very free as regards the future." The family discord, if that is not too strong a word, with F. Stanley and the Salisburys is a cause of pain.[653]

In the evening I met the Derbys again and the Gladstones at dinner with the Abercrombys.[654] Mr. Gladstone said incidentally that Lady Salisbury was in high spirits at having the Foreign Office.

Tuesday 14 May (London)

I had an important conversation with Derby as to the present. He feels very keenly his recent treatment and all his old distrust and distaste to the Conservatives as a party have returned to him. It is small wonder. He said to me that the present creed of the Government seemed to be High Church, High prerogative and High taxation. He is resolved himself to keep himself clear of all ties, that he is free now, and that though he is not anxious to be back in Downing St., he will have clearly no reluctance in taking office again if the proper opportunity arises. I was unable to agree with him on all this, except as regards the "High Church" part of the matter, saying that I too felt myself quite free and proposed to reserve myself for the various contingencies that might arise. There was a tacit but unexpressed understanding that we should as far as possible act together. He spoke

[652]Port, formerly named Alexandretta, in North Syria. For details of the proposed operation, see J. Headlam-Morley, *Studies in Diplomatic History* (London, 1930), pp. 203–204.

[653]Derby wrote in his Diary on 15 May, 'In afternoon, talk with M. as to whether any overture should be made to C.S. [Constance, Frederick Stanley's wife] of whose unfriendly language and conduct we have more evidence than enough' (Vincent, *Derby*, IV, p. 15).

[654]Sir Robert William Duff Abercromby (1835–1895), Commander, RN (1865), Lib. MP for Banffshire (1861–1893), Lib. Whip (1882–1885), Governor of New South Wales (1893–1895), and his wife, Louisa.

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of Salisbury as one who would not get on with anyone else in the Cabinet. I suspect this is prompted by the recollection of Salisbury's treatment of him which certainly was in my time often disagreeable and which I imagine afterwards was much more so.

Sunday 26 May (London)

Townsend dined with me, full of information as usual [. . .]. A very curious piece of news which, as he said, he ought not have known and which of course is perfectly private, but which entirely agrees with all that I think probable. The telegraph desk (at Osborne or Windsor) wrote to his brother the other day saying that if the public generally knew the messages which passed from the Queen to Lord Beaconsfield, there would "be an end to the monarchy," or something equivalent. This very likely – Townsend had seen the letter.[655] Another volume of the Queen's diary is in preparation, and in it she says, "William III was a very great ruler but Prince Albert was a greater." Theodore Martin[656] has persuaded her to omit this.

Monday 17 June (London)

The agreement between the English and Russian Governments, which was published in Saturday's papers, will do the Government harm.[657] Lord Grey, who walked down to the House with me, said it was "disgraceful", mainly however because on the 8th. of this month it seems he asked Salisbury if there was any truth in the statement which had appeared in the *Globe* that Bessarabia was to be given to Russia, and that Salisbury had begged him not to ask any question as the Government were doing all they could to preserve it to Roumania, – but now that it appears that on the 30th May they had signed this

[655]Gladstone had a conversation with Carnarvon the previous day and made a note of the latter's observations: 'It has happened repeatedly that Cabinet Ministers have been sent to her to receive "wiggings" from the Queen which as he [Carnarvon] said is their affair and fault, if they allow it to impair their independence, but communications have from time to time been received by the Cabinet warning it off from certain subjects and saying she could not agree to this and not agree to that' (Gladstone, Memorandum marked 'Secret', 26 May 1878: BL, Gladstone Papers 44763, fo. 130).

[656]Sir Theodore Martin (1816–1909), who prepared *The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort*, 5 vols (London, 1874–1880), for Queen Victoria. See St Aubyn, *Queen Victoria*, p. 250.

[657]The text of the Anglo-Russian Convention dealing with Bulgaria and Batoum, largely the work of Salisbury and Shuvalov at the Congress of Berlin, was leaked by Charles Marvin, a clerk at the Foreign Office, to the *Globe*. It appeared in the newspaper on 14 June. See C. Marvin, *Our Public Offices* (London, 1879), p. 203.

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document and yielded up the point. It certainly was a very shifty answer, and it is only one more of the many things of late which place Salisbury in a very new light. We had a very curious scene in the House later, Richmond being questioned whether the agreement was authentic or not and declining to give a distinct answer.[658]

Wednesday 19 June (London)

An interesting dinner at Escotts.[659] I met amongst others Yates,[660] Chamberlain[661] and R. Earle.[662] Yates is not unlike what I expected, a rather coarse, rough, shrewd man. Chamberlain with a good deal of refinement both of manner and mind, and great moderation of language, but I doubt whether there is as much force of character as he has been credited with. Amongst other things he described himself in the course of conversation as a radical but as no revolutionist, and as having been greatly alarmed at the risks which war with a divided public opinion would entail on the older and settled institutions of the country. He said he did not believe that there was much socialism in any class and he praised the singular absence of envy in all classes of Englishmen. He attributed this to the fine graduation of one class from or into another. Earle struck me as much older than when I knew him and as having gone through a great deal of trouble or illness, I do not know which. I do not know whether I like him or whether he is a man to be trusted; he is certainly clever.

Conversation ranged over many subjects, chiefly political. All agreed that the publication of the Agreement had made a great difference in the situation, and all agreed that Salisbury's political position was much damaged.[663] The general impression I see is that he has calculated on Disraeli's speedy demise, and that now that D.

[658]The Eastern Question. The Congress – Alleged Agreement between Russia and England: *Hansard*, 17 June 1878, CCXL, Richmond, cols 1569–1572.

[659]Thomas Hay Sweet Escott (1844–1924), journalist, editor of the *Fortnightly Review* (1882–1886).

[660]Edmund Yates (1831–1894), editor of *The World* from 1874.

[661]Joseph Chamberlain (1836–1914), Lib. MP for Birmingham (1876–1886), Lib. Unionist MP for Birmingham West (1886–1914), President of the Board of Trade (1880–1885), President of the Local Government Board (1886), Secretary of State for the Colonies (1895–1903).

[662]Ralph Anstruther Earle (1835–1879), former private secretary to Disraeli (1858), Con. MP for Berwick (1859) and for Maldon (1865–1868), Parliamentary Secretary to the Poor Law Board (1866–1867).

[663]See C. Howard and P. Gordon, *The Cabinet Journal of Dudley Ryder, Viscount Sandon*, Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Special Supplement No. 10 (November 1974), pp. 25–33.

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is physically to all appearances much better he finds himself in much difficulty. Yates thinks D. is at the height of his success. He seems, I think, to anticipate a very considerable success from the Congress and an early dissolution.

Monday 1 July (London)

Came up by early train. Greenwood, with many other guests, came to lunch. He was shy and nervous at first, but Eveline's geniality soon dissolved this and he became happier and talked freely. There is evidently a plan for a President at Constantinople, a protectorate of a great part of Asia Minor, a treaty with Russia to respect as final the new Armenian boundary (such treaty probably to be more or less taken note of by the Congress), and perhaps an annexation of Cyprus or some territory near Aleppo contemplated. There is also an Anglo-Austrian agreement, but he thinks that this has already broken down and failed.

Afterwards I went to a meeting on the Armenian claims in the Jerusalem Chamber, the Dean of Westminster in the chair.[664] I spoke and rather more strongly on the Eastern question than I have yet spoken, but was warmly received. The meeting was extremely friendly. I think it was successful.

Monday 8 July (Hurstbourne)

This evening I received a telegram from R. Herbert telling me that Cyprus is to be taken over and G. Wolseley to go out as first governor;[665] and a few hours afterwards I read in the *Daily Telegraph* the announcement not only of this but of a defensive alliance with Turkey and a protectorate of Asia Minor.[666]

[664]Meeting of the Anglo-Armenian Committee, where Carnarvon moved a resolution for the creation of a separate Armenian Province.

[665]Salisbury and Disraeli had secretly negotiated with the Sultan the cession of Cyprus to Britain in return for a defensive alliance with Britain. It was signed on 4 June. Because of the publication of the Convention in the *Daily Telegraph*, the Cabinet decided to announce details of it in both Houses of Parliament (Johnson, p. 378). For the full text of the Cyprus Convention, see C.W.J. Orr, *Cyprus under British Rule* (London, 1918), pp. 35–41.

[666]'England and Turkey: a defensive treaty', *Daily Telegraph*, 8 July 1878, p. 5.

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It is a tremendously large measure of policy, a *casse-cou politique*, proving at least Disraeli's absolute ascendancy over his Cabinet. It alters all my plans and I must give up Devonshire for the present.[667]

Tuesday 16 July (London)

This afternoon Disraeli made his triumphal entry into London. I hear it was a considerable affair – nosegays, a vociferatory crowd, carriages, red cloth etc.[668]

Lady Derby called here to tell me that Derby wishes to speak after Granville on Thursday. I at once assented. She told me among other things that Derby had written to F. Stanley to tell him that he must not depend upon him at the next Election, in other words, that Derby's influence would be against him. A fraternal conflict is not a pretty sight, but it must be admitted that F.S. deserves this.[669]

Disraeli and Salisbury returned this afternoon, receiving an ovation from a very motley assemblage, Salisbury completely effaced by Disraeli and patronised by him, a very curious spectacle, and how different in everything from Salisbury's return from Constantinople when Lady Derby drove down to the station to receive him and he came and dined alone with me in Bruton Street. How wonderful are all these revolutions of the wheel of Fortune. The political future is as strangely uncertain as it can be. The Whigs are in a state of disintegration; it is very much the result of their hatred of Gladstone.

Friday 26 July (London)

Came up to town by early train. Saw Bath who has lately provided with all information, political and social.

Rosebery[670] brought on his question as to the Secret Anglo-Russian agreement. He spoke with very considerable ability and though he is not popular in the House, he is certainly very clever.[671] Salisbury's

[667]Carnarvon's subsequent disillusionment with the Convention is described in D.E. Lee, *Great Britain and the Cyprus Convention Policy of 1878* (Cambridge, MA, 1934), p. 145.

[668]Disraeli had signed the Treaty on 13 July. He arrived back in London three days later. See Buckle, *Disraeli*, VI, pp. 345–346.

[669]See Vincent, *Derby*, IV, p. 31 for further details.

[670]Archibald Philip Primrose (1847–1929), 5th Earl Rosebery (1868), Under-Secretary of State at the Home Office (1881), Lord Privy Seal (1885), Foreign Secretary (1886, 1892–1894), Leader of the Liberal Party (1894–1896), Prime Minister and Lord Privy Seal (1894–1895).

[671]*Hansard*, CCXLII, 26 July, 1878, cols 344–351.

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answer was a vindication of his own veracity, but it was not successful though clever: he avoided all the broader parts of the question.[672] I then spoke. The House was not in a very sympathetic condition but they listened with a great deal of attention, the Government Bench evidently not liking my criticisms. I cut short a great deal I had intended to say, but perhaps I said enough. I hope so.[673] Bath spoke, in parts with a good deal of ability but as usual unequally.[674] The Government made no reply and the evening generally I should say was a damaging one to them.

In *The Times* of today my correspondence in the Middlesex magistrates case appears. It is not pleasant reading for the Government; one or two people spoke to me of it.[675]

Friday 9 August (Highclere)

A lovely day. We had tea at the Lake.

How curiously Disraeli has thrown his spell over everyone. My Uncle,[676] in walking down to the Lake, got on the subject of politics and entreated me not to abandon my own side to join the Liberals, showing that this is a subject which is sometimes under discussion in Liberal Society. He then went on to talk on this matter but in such a way as to show me that on the whole he sympathised far more with Disraeli's policy than with that of the Opposition. Later Fan[677] began eulogising the annexation of Cyprus.

The truth is the Liberal Party are desperately demoralized and broken; the leaders have lost all courage and I suspect all heart and faith in themselves. Bryce[678] told me the other day that Forster, and someone

[672]Ibid., Salisbury, cols 332–339.

[673]Ibid., Carnarvon, cols 359–366.

[674]Ibid., Bath, cols 371–381.

[675]At the end of June, Carnarvon had been offered the chairmanship of the Middlesex Court of Quarter Sessions, a post previously held by Salisbury. On learning that ten magistrates had formed a committee to secure another candidate, Carnarvon immediately declined. See 'Middlesex Sessions', *The Times*, 26 July 1878, p. 10.

[676]Not identified.

[677]Possibly Frances G. C. Herbert (d. 1885), Carnarvon's cousin.

[678]James Bryce (1838–1922), 1st Viscount Bryce (1914), lawyer, historian, and statesman. Professor of Civil Law, Oxford University (1870–1893), Lib. MP for Tower Hamlets division (1880–1885) and for Aberdeen South (1885–1906), Chancellor, Duchy of Lancaster (1892–1894), President of the Board of Trade (1894–1895).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116309990248 Published online by Cambridge University Press

else whose name I forget, said to him that they did not anticipate a return of the Liberals to Office for 15 years. If they really think this they are for the present gone as a party.

Sunday 1 September (The Moult)

A lovely day. In the afternoon I took a long walk with Froude and I sat up late into the night after dinner in conversation with him. He is a very interesting character and one with which I have only come into close, perhaps intimate contact, during the last three years. His own sorrows and mine perhaps made the first tie[679] and then his mission to South Africa brought us into very confidential relations. I have found him to be entirely trustworthy, to be on many subjects very much in sympathy with myself and replete with ability, information and mental elasticity. At times, as recently when in rather confidential moods and relations, he betrays an almost weariness of life, but at other times he is extraordinarily fresh and elastic, entering into almost every occupation and interest. Physically he is very fresh, swimming, walking and shooting: mentally he turns from one subject to another with great rapidity and ease. He is now writing a *Life of Julius Caesar* and I see how his mind is constantly working on it.[680]

Monday 14 October (The Coppice)

I found Phillimore brimming over with the Afghan question,[681] but he is looking at it only from the International Law side and though I think the Government have set the principles of International Law at defiance as they have every other principle I do not think either that the Ameer can be treated exactly as the independent sovereign of a European country nor do I believe that English people are prepared

[679]Froude's wife had died in February 1874.

[680]Published as *Caesar: a sketch* (London, 1879).

[681]On 3 August, the Cabinet had agreed that the Ameer of Afghanistan should accept a British mission to Kabul, and dismiss the Russian mission already there. On 8 September, Lytton sent troops under Gen. Sir Neville Chamberlain to enforce these demands but was halted at the Khyber Pass. Hardy, now Cranbrook, as War Minister, favoured Lytton's initiative. Salisbury had in fact earlier written to Cranbrook, requesting him to stop the mission. See M. Lutyens, *The Lyttons in India: an account of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty, 1876–1880* (London, 1979), p. 133. On 26 October, the Cabinet agreed to an ultimatum being given to the Ameer unless the British mission was accepted. As no reply was received, troops were ordered to advance on 20 November.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116309990248 Published online by Cambridge University Press

so to treat him. To my mind neither the politics nor even the morality of the question require such a course on our part. But the position of affairs is very serious. I have heard from Townsend on the subject and I do not doubt his information – Lytton says that two years ago (at least) he had secret instructions to seize Afghanistan or a part of it, that he took steps accordingly and that now when he was ready for the blow he has been stopped by the Home Government. But apparently the Home Government have only delayed action for a while and are prepared to go on this rash enterprise in the spring of next year – Salisbury it is said telegraphed to Lytton to delay and that he (Salisbury) "*could/would* utilise the six months in Europe", an extraordinary telegram, but one which T. assures me was sent. Lytton is however very angry at the counter order and has been proclaiming his dissatisfaction right and left.

It is a question perhaps whether Salisbury knows of these secret instructions. I think he must have known them, for it is hardly possible that Disraeli and Lytton could alone have been cognizant of such a matter. But if so, what falseness on the part of Salisbury to the principles of action which he was always announcing, and to me personally when in repeated conversations he professed to tell me everything as to Indian politics, etc.

Sunday 8 December (London)

A long and important talk with Townsend as to the general state of politics and as to my own individual position. I am not seeking, I do not desire to return to Office just now. I should prefer to be a while quiet and have a little home rest, and my vote and speech tomorrow night will be given without any personal views, but the Liberals are talking of a Coalition government and at dinner where T. was a few days ago, with Gladstone, Childers, Mundella[682] and some others there were five who said they could accept such a ministry of which I was the head. All this is I think most chimerical and unlikely, as unlikely as anything could be, but it is important just so far as it shows that I

[682]Anthony John Mundella (1825–1897), Radical MP for Sheffield (1868–1885) and for Sheffield, Brightside division (1885–1897), Vice-President, Committee of Council on Education (1880–1885), President of the Board of Trade (1886, 1892–1894). Sharing Carnarvon's views on the Eastern Question, Mundella had regretted Carnarvon's resignation earlier in the year, calling him 'our watchdog in the Cabinet' (W.H.G. Armytage, *A.J. Mundella: the Liberal background to the Labour movement* (London, 1951), p. 182).

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am trusted and liked and believed in sufficiently for such a purpose by some of the leading men on the Liberal side. Tomorrow night will be a step and a very distinct one I think to take me over to the Opposition side, and I asked T. how he thought I should be received wherever I did, or do, go. He said he had no doubt most warmly: that my position was fully understood and had been.[683]

[683]A vote of censure by the Opposition in both Houses on Government policy had been fixed for 9 December. The Liberals were confident of success, particularly in the Lords. Carnarvon was received '*on the whole* with less unfriendly exhibition than I expected' (Diary, 9 December). The next day, the Government triumphed in the Lords by 210 to 65. A week later, Disraeli wrote whimsically to Lady Chesterfield, 'The name of the new party: A.B.C.D. party, Aberdeen, Bath, Carnarvon and Derby!!!' (Zetland, II, p. 198).

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