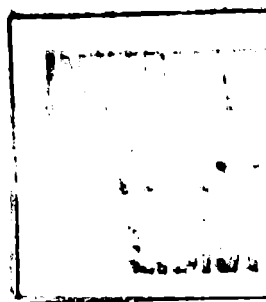


THE POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENCE OF
MR. GLADSTONE
AND
LORD GRANVILLE
1876-1886

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CONTENTS

VOLUME II

LETTERS JANUARY 1883 TO JULY 1886 NUMBERS 944-1861	I
INDEX	465

944. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Jan. 2. 83.

This is the time of cross purposes of all kinds, and a letter from E. Fitzmaurice¹ mentioning one he had from you adds a new one to a batch of others in which I am immersed. I was waiting to hear the result of my circulating letter² before communicating with the Queen as a preliminary to other steps. Fitzmaurice writes me an excellent letter—perhaps he did not accurately interpret what he had from you.

The Dilke trouble³ is not at an end. The Queen complains that his words do not agree with what was promised to her by me with his knowledge: and what is worse is that it is true—I do not say she is right or wise in taking the point but you know how she takes & holds in correspondence every point she can. I am in a most disagreeable position between the two for he does not appear to see that there has been any deficiency on his part—but he makes a kind of offer of resignation which is not the thing required. I wish he would ask your advice, which perhaps I may suggest to him.

It is disagreeable to talk of one's self when there is so much of more importance to think & speak about but I am sorry to say that the incessant strain and pressure of work, and especially the multiplication of these personal questions is overdoing me and for the first time my power of sleep is seriously giving way. I dare say it would soon right itself if I could offer it any other medicine than the medicine in Hood's Song of the Shirt.

945. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 2]

Walmer Castle. Jan 2/83.

I am afraid I have unintentionally made a mistake.⁴

I wrote to you last week⁵ saying that Dilke was pressing for the appointment of an Undersecretary, and asking whether I might write to the

¹ To Gladstone, 1 Jan., on his pleasure in accepting the office of parliamentary under-secretary for foreign affairs *vice* Dilke, Add. MS. 44479, fo. 5.

² See to Lord R. Grosvenor, 26 Dec. 1882, asking him, if he thought that Fitzmaurice should be foreign under-secretary, Cross Indian under-secretary, and Brand Surveyor-General, to send the note on to Granville, Hartington, and Kimberley for their approval, Add. MS. 44315, fo. 99.

³ See vol. 1, p. 467, nn. 2, 3, and no. 915; Dilke accepted the presidency of the Local Government Board, 26 Dec., and in an address to his constituents at Chelsea spoke of the unwise opinions of his political infancy, but the Queen considered this insufficient.

⁴ Granville replies to Gladstone's tel. 2.50 p.m. 2 Jan., asking whether he had not 'done something' about Fitzmaurice's appointment 'prematurely', P.R.O. 30/29/127.

⁵ See no. 933.

Queen, saying that you had informed me that H.M. seemed to view favorably the appointment of Edmond Fitzmaurice as Dilke's successor.

You did not answer, so I did nothing till I got from Kimberley, a note from you to Richard Grosvenor,¹ which I understood as an affirmative answer to my query.

I therefore asked Fitzmaurice to come here, and told him that you had expressed the wish that he should be my Undersecretary, which I liked, and I wrote to the Queen in the sense I had proposed—and having rec[eive]d her answer,² I signed the minute appointing Fitzmaurice.

I hope this will not cause you inconvenience.

946. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Jan 3. 83.

I have not seen, I believe, any writing from you last week about an Under Secretary—may it have been on an 'overleaf'.

I do not apprehend any practical difficulty but I think in both Governments I have invariably written to the Queen and to the person about Under Secretaries. I have also observed a marked distinction in writing to her as to these cases, because I do not ask her formal approval. It is really a relief to me; but I rather stickle for old usages, and I believe your experience as Under Sec[retary] differed from mine. I look upon my authorities, Peel and Lord Aberdeen, as high. I only mention these things with reference to the future *only*. I tel[egraphe]d to E.F[itzaurice] to proceed.

I reluctant[ly] sounded a lugubrious note in my letter yesterday. Last night I improved 3½ hours sleep to 4½ but this is different from 7 and 8 my uniform standard through life. I feel the effect in my head, nowhere else. I have a most kind telegram about it from Rosebery.³

947. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 5]

Walmer Castle. Jan 3/83.

I have asked Spencer⁴ whether he can give any explanation of the correspondence published in today's Standard about Diplomatic relations with Rome.⁵

¹ See p. 1, n. 2.

² See Granville to the Queen, 31 Dec., announcing Fitzmaurice's appointment, marked with her approval, P.R.O. 30/29/41; see no. 949.

³ Of 3 Jan., offering sympathy in Gladstone's illness and releasing him from his engagement to visit Midlothian, Add. MS. 44288, fo. 154.

⁴ Untraced; but see from Spencer, tel. 3 Jan., asking whether he might deny negotiations for British diplomatic representation at Rome; and reply 'yes'; and from Spencer, 4 Jan., suggesting a conversation with Errington as the explanation, P.R.O. 30/29/142.

⁵ Cardinal McCabe, archbishop of Dublin, to Cardinal Jacobini, papal secretary of

948. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 6]
Walmer Castle. [3 January 1883].

I am ready to authorize Dufferin to work out his scheme¹ on the lines he proposes. There seems to be a general consensus in their favour.

949. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 8]
Walmer Castle. Jan 4/82 [*sc.* 1883].

I am very sorry I was in such a hurry, the lymphatic have no excuse for such haste. It was not done with the slightest notion of asserting a right. My only care was to word my letter to the Queen in a way, that did not imply submission.

My theory is that it is an appointment of the Secretary of State, made by his minute—that he could not appoint a political Undersecretary without the sanction of the Prime Minister, and of the leader of the House, in which he is to sit—but that it would be his duty to let the Queen know, especially on big occasions.

The only person, who would really know what has been the practice is the Queen. But if any new one has to be appointed you may depend upon my asking you to do it.

I was so sorry to get your account of sleeplessness.

I without the same causes have lately been a little liable to it. But I believe one is apt to exaggerate the length of the hours one is awake.

Colder weather may be of use, & I hope the personal cause of annoyance will have disappeared.

950. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
Hawarden Castle. Jan 5. 83.

I am so sorry you have taken the trouble to write more re E.F[itzmaurice] but many thanks.

The matter of sleep is with me a very grave one: I am afraid I may have to go up and consult Clark. My habit has always been to reckon my hours rather exultingly, & say how little I am awake.

The difficulties from Osborne are almost incessant.² It is not impossible state, 20 Dec. 1882, asking, allegedly on Spencer's authority, whether the Pope would accept a British representative at Rome; and affirmative reply, 24 Dec., see the *Standard*, 3 Jan., p. 5d.

¹ i.e. for the reorganization of the Egyptian army and other institutions, see from Dufferin, tel. No. 5, 18 Nov., No. 23, 27 Nov., No. 59, 27 Dec., F.O. 78/3455, No. 3, 2 Jan. F.O. 78/3565; Gladstone wrote on no. 948: 'Tel. to Ld. G. Ja. 4. I concur in your proposal on the Dufferin letter of Dec. 26. Should like it considered whether a veto, either absolute or suspensive, cannot be given on new taxation. Would it not be well for C[olvin] to resign Controllorship?'

² i.e. about Dilke's appointment; cf. Ponsonby to Sanderson, 7 Jan., asking for a copy of Dilke's letter to Granville, 3 May 1880 (see vol. i, p. 467, n. 3), P.R.O. 30/29/42.

that I may have to ask you to meet me in London but I will not do this except in necessity.

I think that, to convey a clear idea, I should say I attach no importance to the broken sleep in itself: it is the state of the brain, tested by my own sensations, when I begin my work in the morning which may make me need higher assurance.

951. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*¹ [Add. MS. 44174, fo. 4]

Walmer Castle. Jan 5/82 [*sc.* 1883].

The Times has an article today,² giving the whole account of what we are going to do with the powers.

Chenery must have seen the papers themselves—the only mistake being that he announces as having been done, that which it is our intention to do.

It is very annoying and difficult to know how it can be dealt with.

952. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Jan 6. 83.

The Dilke incident is I think over. The Queen writes reasonably through Ponsonby.³ No present fear of my praying you to meet me on these matters.

Clark comes down to see me tomorrow. Matters are not yet improving.

953. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 11]

Walmer Castle. Jan 6/82 [*sc.* 1883].

It is a question whether we should make a short reply⁴ on the legal point, or wait to use what arguments the Law Officers have given us in our speeches.

¹ No. 951, being dated with the old year's date, has been bound in the Gladstone papers with the 1882 letters; note about a cabinet committee (see vol. i, p. 332, n. 1) gives colour of truth to Granville's date, Add. MS. 44643, fos. 2, 6, but no overture went to the powers in 1882 before 8 Feb.

² 5 Jan., p. 7a, publishing the substance of Granville to the six British ambassadors, 3 Jan., reviewing and defining Britain's Egyptian policy and proposing exchange of views on finance. See correspondence between Hervey and Sanderson, concluding that a cabinet minister was to blame, P.R.O. 30/29/144; and to Chenery, 5 Jan., complaining, P.R.O. 30/29/153.

³ See from Ponsonby, 5 Jan., saying the Queen would waive a public renunciation of Dilke's republicanism if Gladstone were satisfied with his private one; and reply, 6 Jan., Add. MS. 44546, fo. 68, Guedalla, ii. 227.

⁴ i.e. to the French on the abolition of the dual control in Egypt using the law officers' report of 1 Jan.

954. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Jan 7. 83.

I have received the Egyptian financial papers.¹ On them Childers would be the most proper adviser: but in his absence I have considered them. And with a view to further light Colvin's views have been made known to Sir R. Wilson, who is, so to speak, in Cabinet for these matters. He demurs a good deal and makes counter suggestions which look to me safe especially on the political side. It would I take it be hopeless to ask from France, in an Egyptian matter, any thing that she could withhold.

2. I am utterly puzzled about the divulged dispatch.² It came here in a box. I read all & wrote my own suggestions & additions without leaving my chair & sent the messenger back again when I had put all back into the box.

3. Clark has come down this afternoon—his general report is good, but I give you a telegram drawn by him to go to Rosebery.³

'Dr A.C. has come down & says that although my loss of sleep is only temporary the northern journey in present circ[umstance]s must be unconditionally relinquished. My regret is great. He or I will write a letter. Shall it be to you.'

He speaks of rest until the Session but further conversation may throw more light.

I have apprised the Queen⁴ who was in considerable dread of the Midlothian journey.

955. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 13]

Walmer Castle. Jan 8/83.

Freddy writes that you have some thoughts of giving up Midlothian.

It would cause much local disappointment, but there would be great countervailing advantages. It would relieve your mind for the present, it would save you much physical & intellectual fatigue, & I doubt whether there is any real benefit in throwing your cards upon the table before you begin the game.

It is a question whether the 2 D's⁵ have not done this rather too much.

956. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 15]

Walmer Castle. Jan 9/83.

I am delighted with Clark's sensible advice—

¹ Sent in no. 953: Duclere to Tissot (see p. 5, n. 6), law officers' report, Dr. Deane's report, and mem. by Sir E. Hertslet, see Granville's instruction and Pauncefote's note, 6 Jan., P.R.O. 30/29/127.

² See p. 4, n. 2.

³ Sent 7 Jan., Add. MS. 44288, fo. 156.

⁴ 7 Jan., Guedalla, ii. 228.

⁵ i.e. Dilke and Derby, before they came into the cabinet.

I have rec[eive]d a note from Ponsonby telling me that the Queen maintains her objection to the proposal for reduction of English troops made by Lord Dufferin.¹

I have sent it to Hartington.²

It is in answer to a letter of mine³ in which I told her in reply to her question⁴ whether I knew the opinions of the D. of Cambridge, Sir A. Alison & Lord Wolseley—that there seemed to be a difference of opinion—that the Duke appeared to be opposed to the reduction—that Sir A. A[lison] did not strongly object to it, though he would prefer larger numbers—that Lord Wolseley said that when he left Egypt 5000 would have been ample, there was no enemy to guard against that the question was not military but political.

(I did not give Wolseley's political views, which are adverse to leaving a *small* force at all in Egypt)

I told her that Hartington & I agreed that on the political question we must be guided by Dufferin & the civil authorities.

But my arguments seem to have had no effect.

957. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Jan 10. 1883.

I will not enter into the detail of the papers on the abolition of the controul, not being indeed very well up to it but will simply say that my disposition is to go all the length of the Law Officers and even perhaps slightly farther.⁵

Duclerc's dispatch⁶ appears to me little other than pure *rigmarole*, interlarded with an attempt to show that compensation does not mean compensation.

I suspect that the French Foreign Office found it difficult to make an argument.

The contention of those who object to our intention must be that the Khedive has contracted an engagement till the crack of doom subject only

¹ From Osborne, 8 Jan., giving the Queen's opinion that to reduce the forces in Egypt against the advice of the responsible military authorities was very unwise, P.R.O. 30/29/42.

² See Hartington's min., 9 Jan., saying that Wolseley thought withdrawal safe, but that it must be decided on political grounds after an expected dispatch from Dufferin had been received, *ibid.*

³ To the Queen, copy, 7 Jan., as here summarized, *ibid.*

⁴ See Ponsonby to Granville, 6 Jan., *ibid.*

⁵ See vol. i, p. 480, n. 2.

⁶ See to Tissot, 4 Jan., communicated 5 Jan., explaining the meaning attached by France to 'compensation' and other terms used in the recent discussion (see vol. i, p. 480, n. 3) on the dual control and regretting that negotiations had broken down, F.O. 27/2650.

to the chance of being let off by our joint action, and this whatever may be shewn as to the political consequences of the controul; of which, as Martens says in his *Question Egyptienne*¹ the bombardment was the legitimate development.

958. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127

Hawarden Castle. Jan 10. 83.

In my opinion it would be a mistake to ask any General in large terms whether he approves of the reduction of the force in Egypt. The only question proper to be put to him is whether he sees *military danger* in that reduction, & whether he can give the grounds of his opinion. From putting the wider question nothing but confusion can arise: & I hope the matter will be either kept or put upon this footing.

By some accident, Clark's direction was published in London as if it had been confined to the Midlothian business. It was that I was to do no business which I could properly avoid before the Session of Parliament: & he was much disposed to recommend my going abroad as the best method of giving effect to his injunction. I am not sure that I can pluck up courage enough for this purpose.

959. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*²

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. 12: Jan: 83.

I send you for perusal this letter from the Queen;³ and would request you to let Hartington see it on its way back to me.

What is material in it is the marked impression which the new Primate seems to have made upon Her. It is impossible to speak with certainty but it would not surprise me if she were to take him into Her confidence for Church matters and let him in some degree replace Dean Wellesley. At any rate the first fruits are these. My two recommendations⁴ for the sees to be filled are accepted on the day of receipt; therefore, with no reference to any third person, at least so it seems probable; and one of the persons so accepted is Mr Wilkinson whom I recommended in the summer with Dean Wellesley's support.

P.S. Perhaps you noticed Mr Macdonell's No. 99 on Ecclesiastical

¹ See T. T. Martens, *La question égyptienne et le droit international—extrait de la Revue de droit international et de législation comparée* (Brussels, 1882).

² No. 959 is in Hamilton's hand, but signed by Gladstone.

³ To Gladstone, 10 Jan., on his health and describing her conversation with Archbishop Benson, *Letters*, iii. 397-8.

⁴ i.e. G. H. Wilkinson for the bishopric of Truro and Archdeacon Lewis of St. David's for that of Llandaff; see from Wilkinson, 16 Jan., and from Lewis, 18 Jan., Add. MS. 44479, fos. 132, 139.

matters at Munich.¹ I should like with your permission to send it to Sir R. Blennerhassett, and hear what he has to say upon it.

960. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]
Hawarden Castle. Jan 13. 83.

With much reluctance due to inertness I have made up my mind to start from London by the early train on Wednesday with my wife & possibly a son, for Cannes, to which we mean to travel *through*, and where Wolverton is to be our host. I expect to stay a fortnight and to get back on the 3d of February.

The considerations which move me, besides my wife's desire, are Clark's injunction & the fact that it seems so hard in any other way to check the flood of correspondence from which I have never emerged for about six years.

Since the remission a week ago I have been greatly better but it remains to me uncertain whether this was a change or merely a disclosure.

The Queen has written very kindly.²

I am glad to think that things go well in Egypt. The obstinacy of the French about the Controul will compel us (very truly) to make much of the differences, *other than* the mere abolition of dualism, between the old system and the new. The one put Egypt in bondage, the other in all main respects leaves her her freedom.

I have been much surprised at the churlish tone of Duclerc's answer to your overture about good offices.³ As his Department cannot even write the word press it is no wonder they cannot translate it but he need not have growled about it when he must have seen that the intent was friendly.

I do not mind how many of Dufferin's sub-judges in Egypt are non-English.⁴

961. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*⁵ [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 21]
Walmer Castle. Jan 14/83.

One line to tell you that I have forwarded your note & the Queen's letter

¹ From Munich, 30 Dec. 1882, outlining the history of the Old Catholic party's attempt to acquire a regularly constituted clergy and describing its recent dispute with the municipal authorities, F.O. 9/246; Sir R. Blennerhassett, 23 Jan., commented on Macdonell's dispatch, Add. MS. 44479, fo. 152. ² Not traced.

³ In Madagascar. Duclerc described the last French offer as the extreme limit of concession, in replying to the British overture, made 22 Dec. 1882 through Lyons and he renewed claims to protection of the N.W. coast; to Tissot, 4 Jan., F.O. 48/40.

⁴ See from Dufferin, private, 2 Jan., on his judicial proposals, asking for names of twenty or thirty persons 'of whom some should be non-English', required to man the courts; and note of reference to Kimberley and Northbrook one of whom provoked Gladstone's observation, P.R.O. 30/29/166.

⁵ Granville to Gladstone, 13 Jan., offering a house at Walmer, Add. MS. 44175, fo. 19, not printed.

to Hartington¹—& that I am delighted at three important appointments being made to your satisfaction, and without friction.

I have asked Hamilton to forward Mr Macdonell's letter to Blennerhasset. I believe he is a Roman Catholic.

962. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Jan 15. 83.

Inertly loath as I am to stir[,] my going is now decided upon and we start from London by the morning fast train of Wednesday.²

Of course the Cabinet will meet in my absence should it be necessary.

I hope to return to London on Feb. 3 or 5 and to have the Cabinet on the 6th.

It would be a sorry offer to shake hands with you at Dover on Wednesday morning, but I fear I have nothing better.

My daughter Agnes gives us an account of your son, straight from his school, which delights me: but Lady G. knows it all so I do not enter upon particulars. All good attend you all.

The secondary appointments are all virtually settled.

963. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*³

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret.

Château Scott, Cannes. Jan 22. 83.

Since coming here on Thursday I have actually scored four good nights without intermission. I must not yet count on the future; for, while still at Hawarden, I had an interval during which I was able to write to Clark that my sleep was nearly re-established; after which it wholly gave way again. But I cannot be too thankful for beginnings which are so highly promising. The air, sights, and associations of the place are alike favourable: and I owe much to the unbounded kindness of my hosts, who have not left open a single nook or cranny for any material care to enter. Also I have been spared, substantially, all business from London, and every hope and help have been secured to me for putting the machine into such order as its antiquity will permit.

Today I have been a good deal distressed by a passage as reported in Hartington's very strong and able speech,⁴ for which I am at a loss to

¹ i.e. no. 959 (which is marked by Hartington 'return to Lord Granville') and its enclosure.

² Cf. Hamilton to Granville, 15 Jan., on its being 'a lottery whether this trip would answer', and the need 'to humour Gladstone's inclinations in his present rather nervous state', P.R.O. 30/29/126.

³ Granville to Gladstone, 21 Jan., on his pleasure at the K.C.B. proposed to be conferred on Lyon Playfair, Add. MS. 44175, fo. 22, not printed.

⁴ 'It would be madness . . . to volunteer to give to Ireland more extended self-government unless we can receive from the representatives of the Irish people some assurance

account, so far does it travel out into the open, & so awkward are the intimations it seems to convey. I felt that I could not do otherwise than telegraph to you in cipher on the subject.¹ But I used words intended to show that, while I thought an immediate notification needful, I was far from wishing to hasten the reply, and desired to leave altogether in your hands the mode of touching a delicate matter. Pray use the widest discretion.

I console myself with thinking it is hardly possible that Hartington *can* have meant to say what nevertheless both Times and Daily News make him seem to say, namely that we recede from, or throw into abeyance the declarations we have constantly made about our desire to extend local Government, properly so called, to Ireland on the first opportunity, which the state of business in Parliament would permit.

We announced our intention to do this at the very moment when we were preparing to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* Act.

Since that time we have seen our position in Ireland immensely strengthened, and the leader of the agitation has even thought it wise, and has dared, to pursue a somewhat conciliatory course.

Many of his coadjutors are still as vicious, it may be, as ever, but how can we say (for instance) to the Ulster men, you shall remain with shortened liberties & without local Government because Biggar and Co are hostile to [the] British connection?

There has also come prominently into view a new and powerful set of motives which, in my deliberate judgment, require us, for the sake of the United Kingdom even *more* than for the sake of Ireland, to push forward this question.

Under the present highly centralised system of Government, every demand, which can be started on behalf of a poor and ill-organised country, comes directly on the British Government and Treasury; if refused it becomes at once a head of grievance, if granted not only a new drain but a certain source of political complication and embarrassment, the peasant proprietary—the winter's distress—the state of the labourers—the loans to farmers—the promotion of public works—the encouragement of fisheries—the promotion of emigration—each and every one of these questions has a sting, and the sting can only be taken out of it by our treating it in correspondence with a popular and responsible *Irish* body—competent to act for its own portion of the country.

Every consideration, which prompted our pledges, prompts the recognition of them, & their extension rather than curtailment.

The Irish Government have in preparation a Local Government Bill.

that this boon would not be misused', Hartington to his constituents of S.E. Lancs. at Bacup, 19 Jan., *The Times*, 20 Jan., p. 6c.

¹ Tel. 22 Jan., on his anxiety lest Hartington's speech should mean withdrawal from his previous declarations, P.R.O. 30/29/29 A.

Such a bill may even be an economy of time. By no other means that I can see shall we be able to ward off most critical and questionable discussions on questions of the class I have mentioned.

The argument that we cannot yet trust Irishmen with popular local institutions is the mischievous argument by which the Conservative opposition to the Melbourne Government resisted, and finally crippled, the reform of municipal Corporations in Ireland.

By acting on principles diametrically opposite, we have broken down to 35 or 40 what would have been a party, in this Parliament, of 65 Home Rulers, and have thus averted (or at the very least postponed) the perilous crisis, which no man has as yet looked in the face: the crisis which will arise when a large & united majority of Irish Members demand some fundamental changes in the legislative relations of the two countries.

I can ill convey to you how clear are my thoughts, or how earnest my convictions, on this important subject.¹ Do not hurry any reply, if you find the reply difficult.

One word on another matter, less arduous. I am puzzled about these prosecutions in Ireland,² for speeches: on none of which have we, I believe, been consulted. I wrote to Spencer³ to express my misgivings in the case of the wretched Biggar; but he was already committed. I do not mean to condemn, but am not able at present to express satisfaction.

Should there prove to be a radical difference of opinion, which God forbid, among us as to the propriety of putting forward an Irish local Government Bill, I see no other advisable course for the moment than the use of general terms in the Speech from the Throne, and the adjournment of the final interpretation at any rate until Easter.

I am sorry I have had to write, and to trouble you with, this long letter. One word I must add to amuse. I am civilly invited to use the Club here. Duc de Vallombrosa proposed this at a meeting. One Frenchman opposed it because I had taken so strong a part against Egypt. The others replied that the less said on that subject the better: & the invitation was sent me with one dissentient.

964. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 27]

Walmer Castle. Jan 26/83.

I sent you a warning telegram, as to an appeal to you not to hurry home.⁴

¹ Printed to this point, from Gladstone's copy, by Morley, iii. 553-4; see no. 965.

² The trials of twenty people involved in plotting against the lives of 'members of the government and others' began on 20 Jan.

³ Not traced.

⁴ Cf. Granville's note asking opinions of cabinet ministers whether Gladstone should be encouraged to stay on in France, 24 Jan., and their affirmative replies, 25 and 26 Jan., P.R.O. 30/29/144; for tel. 26 Jan., see P.R.O. 30/29/27 A.

The Queen writes in the kindest way on the subject¹—& thinks that you ought on no account to come home till Easter. I am sure that she is most anxious on the subject of your health. She raises the question whether a peerage would not relieve you of the great pressure of your work.

I hear that Clark would be glad if you remained till the end of March.

All your colleagues with whom I have had communication wish you to follow your doctors advice—& this although some see much difficulty in your absence.

Do not consider this a formal application, as I shall have more to say on the subject.

965. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 29]

Walmer Castle. Jan 26/83.

Although your letter² was marked secret there seemed to be no objection to my sending it confidentially to Hartington. He has asked me to show it, & his answer to me to Spencer, which I have done.

Hartington is very strong on the subject, but he hardly grapples with the strongest points you put forward.³

I will forward to you Spencer's⁴ & Hartington's letters, as soon as I get them back.

Harcourt⁵ at present is violent against local Gov in Ireland.

966. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Cannes. Jan 28. 83.

I reserve my answer to your two notes received today until (probably tomorrow,) I receive a further statement.

At present I do not see my way to the great prolongation although flesh & blood be in its favour. Still less to a change, or pulling-up, in our legislative policy for Ireland.

¹ To Granville, 20 Jan., P.R.O. 30/29/31; and replies, 23, 26 Jan., *Letters*, iii. 399, 401-3.

² i.e. no. 963.

³ See Granville's note, 23 Jan., that he could not answer no. 963 without Hartington's assistance; Hartington's reply, 25 Jan., explaining the grounds of his views and saying he had forestalled the cabinet's discussion because he feared Chamberlain's declaration might commit it in an opposite sense; and Granville's reply, 26 Jan., that he did not meet Gladstone's strong points, P.R.O. 30/29/27 A.

⁴ i.e. to Granville, 28 Jan., regretting Hartington's declaration, arguing that Irish local government was still an open question, and urging that the proposal, right in itself, should not be enacted until Ireland was no longer rebellious, P.R.O. 30/29/29 A.

⁵ See to Granville, 25 Jan., saying more local government for Ireland would put arms into the hands of the enemies of England, P.R.O. 30/29/29 A.

Spencer wrote to me¹ that he expected soon by about this time I think to be out of the Davitt-Healy-Biggar business, and I congratulated him. But I see it stated that they will refuse bail and go to prison. Without any change in my original leanings, or opinion, I do not very well see how, if this course is pursued, he is at once to release them.

For once I wish I could advise a foreign Government and tell the French Ministers and Bureaux that the sooner they throw overboard the whole of the meditated legislation against ex-royalties the better for France, the better for the Republic.

Prince of Wales is come & fell in with us after Church today. Tongues are busy about him.

967. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Private.

Cannes. Jan 31. 83.

I take the opportunity of my son's going home *direct* to send by him some rudiments of a Queen's Speech,² as well as this letter.

Leaves 1 & 2. Introductory.

3. Points suggested for mention as to Egypt.

4-6. Mere titles of possible paragraphs.

7. Paragraph on Irish legislation, proposed to be adopted only in case the Cabinet should not find itself able to announce as it has done before a Local Govt Bill for Ireland.

(N.B. If such a Bill is announced it should not I conceive foreclose the question what the *unit* should be, e.g. whether a County, or a Province.)

8. A. See separate letter.

9. Concluding.

My sending these few Notes for a Speech to be constructed in England will implicitly convey to you that as at present advised I do not intend to start before the 12th of February, when I might be in time for the Speech dinner.

I await the further letter you have led me to expect, and any thing Clark may have to say, before a final determination as to my movements.

In framing the Speech, you will of course have regard to *continuity* with former Speeches.

¹ Secret, 21 Jan., 'I hope that the Davitt, Healy, Quin episode will close this week' and nominal punishments be inflicted for the speeches for which they had been charged under the coercion acts, if not he would release them, Add. MS. 44310, fo. 3; and reply, Add. MS. 44546, fo. 74; refusing to give bail, they were sentenced to six months' imprisonment; Biggar was prosecuted separately for a speech against the viceroy, but the case dropped; Quin was not M.P., but Davitt, Healy and Biggar as M.P.s claimed that the prosecution had a political purpose; cf. no. 398.

² Cf. *Hans. Parl. Deb.* 15 Feb. cclxxvi. 3-6; for 'leaves' as described see Add. MS. 44175, fos. 35-43.

968. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Private.

Cannes. Jan 31. 83.

The points of importance and difficulty, so far as I am concerned, in the formation of a Queen's Speech for the 15th, are two.

As to the first, Local Government in Ireland, I had hoped, until I read Hartington's recent speech, that we all retained in principle our old view. The subject is one on which certainly my own mind is perfectly fixed. I have endeavoured to suggest in my Notes for a Speech what I think the best mode of dealing with the case for the present, should the need exist. There are plenty of Irish subjects which would supply an interpretation for my words.

The other question is, what shall be the principal Bill for the Session.

Two subjects, which have all along been contemplated as belonging to the mission of the present Parliament, are (1) Local Government in Great Britain together with financial changes appertaining to it, and (2) the Representation of the People, in which latter I include Franchise and Redistribution.

Either of these is proper and legitimate, and possibly one of them may be thought necessary. Individually I much desire their passing: but I do not feel myself any longer possessed of the mental force necessary to enable me to grapple, in my present position, with subjects of such magnitude and complexity. Before the Cabinet should proceed to actual dealing with such measures, it would be necessary for me, in all likelihood to retire, say at Easter: and I reserve to myself this liberty if either of them be promised in the Speech, as it well may be. I incline to think however that the Metropolitan Government Bill, postponed for 48 years, and embracing the local enfranchisement of four millions of people, *might* suffice for the present year, if combined with other good & practical measures; especially if with a Local Government Bill for Ireland.¹

Should this be the view of the Cabinet, we have the groundwork of such a measure laid in the able Memorandum, which Harcourt circulated last year.² I am however too strongly committed, and too much attached, to decentralising doctrines, to be a party to keeping the Magistracy and Police of the Metropolitan District, in principle, under the Home Office. It appears to me that the limited exigencies of Court and Parliament as to Police may & should be met by special provisions, perhaps by a power in the Secretary of State to make demands upon, and if needful to override,

¹ The Queen's speech treated (1) as the session's main legislative business, promising to begin with London and to proceed 'to other measures relating to the reform of local government if time permitted', but not mentioning Ireland; see p. 19, n. 4; p. 20, n. 1.

² Of 13 Dec. 1881, advocating a single local authority for all London and the retention of authority over the police for the whole area by the Home Office, see P.R.O. 30/29/27 A.

the Municipal authority within certain limits or for certain purposes. I do not mean that all Police and Magistracy should of necessity at once be transferred, or placed on the footing on which they stand in other municipalities: but a date might be fixed in the Act, within which this should be done. I hope that Harcourt and the Cabinet generally would take this view, for I am very anxious that the Liberal party should be purged of a suspicion which more or less attaches to it in respect of centralising tendencies. Should I unhappily be wrong in this respect, the practical adjustment of the difficulty might in this, as in other cases, be held over until Easter or the final framing of the Bill: none need arise upon the terms of the Speech.

I have now said all that is necessary, so far as occurs to me, on primary matters, and the upshot of the whole is I hope, on the *worst* suppositions, to leave the road open & clear for the present.

P.S. Perusing what I have written, I think it contains all & only my clear & fixed ideas, of course including the qualifications I have stated. I had written it for my son to take with him today, before receiving the message which told me papers from you were coming by messenger.

969. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 46]
Walmer Castle. Jan 31/83.

I am sorry that I have nothing satisfactory to tell you about the Irish local Gov question.

I send you Hartington's letter¹—with which however he himself is not well satisfied.

I also send you a letter from Spencer.² In a short addendum he deprecates the idea that you & I may think, he had been getting up a cabal on the subject.

I have just rec[eive]d from Hartington, Spencer's letter to him. Trevelyan on the other hand has thanked Hartington for having spoken out on this important question.³

I presume you will carry out the suggestion you threw out, of a vague announcement as to local Gov in the Queen's Speech.

I have intimated to Hartington my regret at individual members of the Cabinet publicly announcing their opinions on matters which are to be discussed there.

¹ i.e. of 25 Jan., see p. 12, n. 3; Hartington's dissatisfaction expressed in a covering note also in P.R.O. 30/29/27 A; delay in sending it caused by Granville's attempt to persuade Hartington to soften a phrase, which, 27 Jan., he refused to do, *ibid*.

² i.e. the letter of 28 Jan., see p. 12, n. 4, and short covering letter to Granville in which he denied caballing, P.R.O. 30/29/29 A.

³ Spencer to Hartington, 28 Jan., saying he agreed with his views on Irish local government but was sorry he had committed himself, original in P.R.O. 30/29/29 A.

I have admitted the weight of some of his arguments which deserve full consideration, but I have observed that he does not grapple with your principal points.¹

970. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 50]
Walmer Castle. Jan 31/83.

All the Cabinet (excepting the Chancellor and I have no reason to doubt his being of the same opinion) have informed me of this wish that you should allow yourself to be guided by the best medical opinion as to your further stay in the South of France. Several of them have done this separately & spontaneously, those who see in the strongest light, the difficulty of the position in your absence, are as strong as others in holding that your health is the first object—and that you ought to be guided by medical opinion.² I know that Clarke [*sic*] wishes you to remain over Easter.

The Queen is very strong in her opinion & her wish that you should have the full benefit of rest till Easter.

Nothing can be more friendly, than her solicitude on this matter.

971. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 44]
Secret. Walmer Castle. Jan 31/83.

The Queen insists³ much upon your diminishing the amount of labour thrown upon you. She is of opinion that your acceptance of a peerage would relieve you of the heavy strain, which the House of Commons necessarily throws upon you.

I have told her that personally I should be delighted to see you in the Lords, but that I had great doubts whether you would be willing.

972. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 55]
Secret. Cannes. Feb. 3. 83.

As to removal into the House of Lords, I think the reasons against it, of general application, are conclusive, at least I cannot see my way in regard to them. But at any rate it is obvious that such a step is quite inapplicable to the circumstances created by the present difficulty.

It is really most kind of the Queen to testify such an interest and the question is how to answer her. You would do this better and perhaps more easily than I, but I suppose the substance would be to express my gratitude, to say that thus encouraged by her I shall not scruple to open the subject if I should find reason to believe it would be beneficial but that viewing my age & all other circ[umstance]s I do not at present anticipate it.

¹ i.e. in his reply of 26 Jan., p. 12, n. 3.

² Cf. no. 963.

³ Not traced.

973. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret.

Cannes. Feb. 3. 83.

1. I forgot to mention among *Speech* subjects, the Criminal Code Consolidation.¹ This in the Autumn we intimated our intention to refer to the Grand Committee on Law.

There is also the Law on Agricultural Holdings, which the Cabinet may, if they see their way think it right to mention. It will I think be expected, both for England and for Scotland.²

2. I send you copies of letters which I have written to Hartington and to Spencer.³ Also I return their letters to you.

3. I have not in writing to H. noticed his closing sentence, in which he implies—perhaps half-consciously—that we have been partially destroying the property of the Irish Landlords. My belief is that we have been saving it: that we have really and successfully contended with what the Duke of Wellington declared no Government had the means of contending with: and that the resulting reduction of rents has on the whole quite fairly corresponded with the general values of land at the present time, and with the tendency to excess of rent which has in many cases been incidental to the peculiar state of Ireland.

4. I hope I may assume that the question of Local Govt. in Ireland will at any rate not *burn* before Easter. Of course there is this advantage in my position, that I (and no one else) can in good faith retire without alleging a political cause. I think the experience of the interval may probably throw light upon the subject.

On the matter of my return, I need only refer to my telegram of yesterday.

I send you copies of my letters to Spencer & to Hartington.

974. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 58]

18, Carlton House Terrace. Feb 4/83.

‘The fault of politicians is being suspicious’

W.E.G.

I hasten to communicate to the author of this apogthem [*sic*] an illustration of his view.

A little bird⁴ has told me that you suspect Hartington[,] Harcourt[,]

¹ Included among a number of consolidating and amending bills promised in the Queen’s speech, but failed to pass owing to pressure on time.

² Named separately in the Queen’s speech after the paragraph on local government, but also failed to pass.

³ On 3 Feb., on Irish local government noted in Add. MS. 44546, fo. 75, but not copied; copies are in P.R.O. 30/29/29 A, but separated from no. 973.

⁴ See Harcourt to Granville, 2 Feb., reporting suspicion caused by a note from Mrs. Gladstone, P.R.O. 30/29/27 A.

Selborne & myself of having entered into a little plot to keep you away till Easter, in order to shelve Irish local Gov.

I can only say that this suspicion is absolutely unfounded.

When I saw you at Dover, I thought you looking well, but was seriously alarmed by your tone in speaking of your health.

Harcourt the next day in London, told me there was serious alarm on the part of some of your surroundings. He spoke with much feeling, acknowledged the great difficulty caused by your absence, but urged that your health was the primary consideration—& that every thing must give way to it.

I find that he was surprised subsequently at the tone of a note from Mrs Gladstone—which seemed to resent his suggestions.

Hartington, whom I have not met, & I have been as near a quarrel over his speech as two such intimate friends could be.

Of the strength of his wish that you should stay away, you may judge by the enclosed note¹—which I did not forward to you, because I thought it might induce you to come at once, even if you did not feel sufficiently well.

As for myself, I felt that the Irish local Gov difficulty could only be satisfactorily settled by your being present either now or at Easter. I never was so glad in my life as when I got the news of your early return. Firstly as a proof of your good health: and 2dly as the means of avoiding all sorts of difficulty.

Not one single word has ever passed, that I know of, connecting your absence with the shelving of the Irish measure. I have heard nothing from the Chancellor on the subject of the Irish measure, or of your stay at Cannes. He was in bed for several days with a feverish cold.

I have had no communication with Andrew Clarke, [*sic*] nor do I know of any minister who has.

It was Hamilton who told me of the pith of his opinions.

I am inclined to say with Seaton '(expletive) if ever I do a good natured thing again'.

Seriously I am sure you will dismiss the idea of this petty intrigue—the more easily, as your maxim applies less to you than to any public man I know.

Stephen's account was excellent. He did not seem the worse for the awful buffeting he must have had during the passage.

[P.S.] Most of the Cabinet will be here today. All tomorrow. I hope to write to you tomorrow evening.

¹ There are letters from Hartington, 30 Jan., stating that Gladstone's 'weighty arguments' for local government reform in Ireland were dreams and, 3 Feb., insisting on cabinets and not mere informal meetings in Gladstone's absence, in P.R.O. 30/29/27 A.

975. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 67]

Foreign Office. Feb 6/83.

I did not like to answer your telegram of the 2d¹ till I had consulted my colleagues. They were unanimous as to the answer they wished me to send—they thought great sacrifices ought to be made, if you thereby could have had a really long rest, and could come back, after the cold of the early spring here, but that it was not tanti, for you to miss the opening,² & yet come over a few days later.

On the question of the Irish Local Gov bill, there were three shades of opinion.³ Harcourt and Hartington who are evidently hostile to extending local Gov, in Ireland.

The majority of the Cabinet who are in different degrees favorable to the plan, but doubtful of the expediency or possibility of passing a measure for the purpose this year.

Chamberlain and Dilke are both strong as to the impossibility of passing either an English or Irish local Gov bill this session. But anxious that both should be mentioned in the Queen's Speech.

It was argued against them that it was absolutely dishonest to promise bills which were not prepared & which no one present today at the Cabinet thought it possible to pass.

It ended by a compromise, & I telegraphed⁴ you the phrase drafted by Childers, and amended by others. I shall not be surprised if you object to it.

We are to have another Cabinet on Friday to consider the Bradlaugh question.

Harcourt proposed a commission to examine into the Crofter question in Scotland. Some objected to the extension of the commission beyond Skye, & it was generally agreed that the question was not ripe for discussion.

The Attorney General attended to give some explanations as to whether the provisions of the criminal code bill are to extend to Ireland. He is to have further communication with the Irish Law officers.

Spencer was present[,] well & cheery.

Dilke took Bright's chair. Derby Forster's. They were both at their ease, & took their share of the conversation. Derby asking me to obtain silence for him.

¹ Leaving the decision whether or not he was to come back for the opening of parliament to Granville, P.R.O. 30/29/29 A.

² i.e. of the parliamentary session on 15 Feb.

³ i.e. in the cabinet of 3 Feb.

⁴ On 6 Feb., proposing a paragraph in the Queen's speech which, avoiding mention of Ireland, should promise the reform of local government in London first and measures relating 'to local government in the counties' if time permitted, P.R.O. 30/29/126.

976. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/27 A]

Cannes. Feb. 7. 83.

If suspicion be the vice of politicians, let credulity be their virtue, and I beseech you now to be credulous enough to believe me when I tell you that the idea which the ill-omened Bird imputes to me, and which has so taxed your patience & your incomparable & unconquerable temper, *never* presented itself to my mind, until I read it in your letter today.

The worst, or the most, which I have imputed to my colleagues, in the singular mark of kindness & regard which they have given me, was that they had planned, or plotted if a plot it be, to keep me as long as they could. This was a design which it would be hard indeed to construe adversely.

With regard to Local Government in Ireland, as it was to be the subject of a separate and special arrangement, with a view to keeping the question open and subject to no prejudgment, it would have been hardly possible, even if otherwise tolerable, to suppose any thing serious could depend on my presence or absence.

I am sorry that an erroneous supposition should have caused you the trouble of writing so much at length, though one can never be *altogether* sorry that a friend should have occasion to show how gently & kindly he can handle an untoward incident or rumour.

I answered this morning your Telegram on the Paragraph about local Govt for the Speech. The amendment I suggested¹ was intended to leave it *wholly colourless* as to the Irish question, and I thought the introduction of the word Counties tended to close *one* point in the question for Ireland.

With regard to the question of staying or coming, I see I am to expect a letter from you by the next post, so I postpone my final reply till tomorrow, only saying that at once in deference to your Telegram I abandon the notion I had had in my head, which was, as you suppose, prolonging my stay to a *fixed and early* date, so that I shall take one of the alternatives you place before me either coming for the opening, or staying here with that limit removed.

It is a matter of some nicety, but I shall weigh it carefully; I am rather under an impression that my presence at the opening might be a temptation to enemies to accentuate the difference which will be presumed, on the ground of Hartington's speech,² to exist among us with respect to local Government in Ireland.

[P.S.] Thanks for the inclosed.

977. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

1. Speech.

Cannes. Feb. 8. 83.

I like the draft of speech very much. My new notes are little more than

¹ See tel. 7 Feb., proposing the phrase adopted (see p. 14, n. 1), P.R.O. 30/29/126.

² See p. 9, n. 4.

verbal and can be freely dealt with. As respects the more considerable point in Par[agraph] 7,¹ you will understand that my aim is to leave open the whole question, part of which seems to be rather closed by the present phrase. This was the aim of my words. There is however another way in which my purpose could be effected, and which I mention for choice, as I think it has no semblance of colour.

Instead of the words 'local government in Counties' say 'the local government now subsisting in the Counties.'²

So much for comment in detail. On the substance, I think it plain that there can be no English Local Government Bill this Session.

The question whether there shall be an Irish one may (though also it may not) be disposed of for us by the progress of events between this time and Easter.

I entirely agree with you that it is contrary to rule and indeed to principle to announce in the Speech measures which there is no hope of dealing with in a practical manner.

The Commission for Scotland³ is a question of great difficulty, which I have no doubt you will all weigh with a proportionate care. I would only say that if there is to be a Commission there ought to be in view some fair probable solution of the question with which it has to deal.

I *hope* it will be found possible to include Ireland in the criminal code Consolidation Bill.

Forgive me all the trouble I cause and believe me . . .

978. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

No 2.

Cannes. Feb. 8. 1883.

My telegram, just sent off⁴ will convey to you in few words the conclusion I have arrived at on a matter far from easy to decide.

I remain here, as seems on the whole right, and as you all desire, according to Clark's wish, neither more nor less; that is to say with the view of spending abroad, on grounds of prudence, the five weeks of session which have to pass before the Easter vacation; but subject to the power and duty of my colleagues to *recall* me, should the state of business, in the House of Commons or otherwise, appear to require it; a contingency which I regard as rather probable than otherwise, and in regard to which I have only to ask for as much *notice* as can conveniently be given.

To people who have asked me about my stay, I have hitherto said nothing was settled: but the question arises what language is to be held

¹ i.e. that on local government.

² Not adopted, see p. 14, n. 1, and no. 979.

³ See no. 975.

⁴ Saying he had determined not to come back for the opening of parliament, P.R.O. 30/29/126; cf. Granville to the Queen, 8 Feb., sending Gladstone's tel. with the remark that he presumed this meant 'staying till Easter', P.R.O. 30/29/42; *Letters*, iii. 406-7.

in England. I suppose you would not say any thing of Easter, but would say generally that my stay would be prolonged for some weeks, unless public business should require my return home.

You will not be surprised at my reference to the reserved power of recall, as Clark's opinion included the admission that I might come back for public reasons.

It is hard to anticipate what may happen in the House of Commons, but a little time will soon enable our colleagues there to feel their way. As far as our proposals are concerned, all seems to be for the time sufficiently plain sailing, but no one can anticipate what may be sprung upon us in the House of Commons. I am not free of apprehension in connection with the proceedings against the M.P.s.¹

It is possible that the question of Local Government in Ireland may be touched, and our colleagues may be pressed at once for an answer. The general line to be taken seems to me clear enough: this namely, that we have, in the Queen's Speech, opened our intentions so far as the present state of business renders it desirable; we therefore decline to say more of what we shall or shall not do on such questions, but at a future time when the House has made some progress, and a better estimate can be formed, we shall be prepared to say more.

979. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*² [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 79]

Foreign Office. Feb 9/83.

The Cabinet are only anxious that you should consult your health & comfort, as to the exact date of your return.

They considered³ the question of licensing, and it was agreed that the clauses on this subject should be reinserted in Harcourt's London bill. We have not discussed this bill otherwise. Harcourt was to write to you on the subject of an article in the Times.⁴

(Surprise was expressed at the Times having published the substance of Dufferin's report,⁵ before it had arrived in England. This could not be an indiscretion of the Egyptian Gov. I have called Dufferin's attention to it.)

Childers raised the question of the Indian contribution—the consideration was postponed till Tuesday's Cabinet.

¹ i.e. Davitt and Healy, see p. 13, n. 1.

² Granville to Gladstone, 9 Feb., thanking for an untraced note and regretting Wolverton's (Gladstone's host) illness, Add. MS. 44175, fo. 78, not printed.

³ For Granville's report to the Queen on this cabinet, 9 Feb., see P.R.O. 30/29/27 A.

⁴ Harcourt to Gladstone, not traced, but see no. 981 and 'London Municipal Reform' outlining the expected contents of Harcourt's bill and confidently anticipating that the status of the metropolitan police would not be altered, *The Times*, 9 Feb., p. 6a.

⁵ See to Granville, No. 47, 6 Feb., received 14 Feb., enclosing his report on the reconstruction of the Egyptian administration, printed copy, F.O. 78/3565; MS. original F.O. 78/3566; and *The Times*, 8 Feb., p. 9a.

It was agreed to introduce on the first day of the session a bill permitting a M P to make a declaration instead of an oath.¹ Bradlaugh is not to be informed of this by the Gov, but an indiscreet paragraph will appear in the Daily News.

We went over the speech again, we adopted your verbal criticism on the Local Gov paragraph, & some others of no importance. It is left to me to adopt the amendments suggested by you, & which will arrive tomorrow unless there is anything which requires the opinion of some of our colleagues. They agreed to a commission confined to the Isle of Skye.² I have had a note from 'Eliza'³ answering about Central Asia. Full confidence in you, Harcourt, Dilke & me about Egypt—is afraid Dodson said something injudicious.

I sent her your note,⁴ not being able to improve on it—She is much pleased at the kind way, you have taken her suggestion.

980. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 82]

Foreign Office. Feb 14/83.

We had a conference yesterday at 3,⁵ which obliged me to leave the Cabinet a little before its close,⁶ & a meeting at the War Office which kept me beyond post time.

I have nothing important to report—a few further verbal amendments in the Speech. Our English has rather exercised Hamilton's mind.

A Committee appointed to frame compensation bill⁷ Derby[,] Northbrook, Dodson[,] Chamberlain & Lefevre.

The Chancellor mentioned the heads of a bill as to Contempt of Court, it was thought not to go quite far enough. He has promised to circulate a bill.

Speaker to be informed that it will be desirable to call the notices before the members. B[radlaugh]h to be privately informed of the affirmation bill.

¹ The Affirmation bill, arising out of the Bradlaugh difficulty, was announced by Hartington, 15 Feb., read a first time, 19 Feb., and defeated on its second reading, 3 May, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxvi. 66, cclxxviii, 1821; see also *Daily News*, 10 Feb., p. 4f-g.

² See nos. 975, 977, and p. 32, n. 2.

³ Lord Clarendon's nickname for the Queen; see the Queen to Granville, 8 Feb., *Letters*, iii. 407-8; missing from P.R.O. 30/29/42 which has, however, Granville's copy of report of a consultation on Central Asia, 9 Feb.

⁴ i.e. no. 972.

⁵ i.e. the third session of the European conference, 8 Feb. to 10 Mar., to extend and renew the jurisdiction of the international commission on the Danube river mouths.

⁶ Granville's report to the Queen of the cabinet of 13 Feb. not traced.

⁷ A committee for Central Asia consisting of Hartington, Northbrook, Kimberley, Dilke, and Granville was also set up.

Contribution of 500,000£ to Indian Gov for war expenses to be announced immediately by a supplementary estimate.

We are in the dark as to the intentions of the C[onservativ]e & Irish oppositions on the address. It was also decided, according to Spencer's strong wish to call out the Irish militia.

981. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Private.

Cannes. Feb. 14. 83.

Mrs Crawford¹ I find has been at work, and has included in her report a mass of secondhand matter. It contains serious errors.

1. Municipal police. Here Crawford has told the Daily News what apparently Clemenceau told her that Ribot said! Amid all the stir & row at Nice I was between R[ibot] & C[lemenceau] and R. said (which I did not then know) so you are going to have a London Bill—what will you do with the Police? I said we had decided nothing yet as to the particulars of the Bill & I could not tell what the Bill would be but my personal opinion was opposed to retaining in the hands of the Imperial Govt the police of four millions of the British people. Clemenceau said across me to Ribot, Ah! if Mr G. were minister in France, & acted thus for Paris, you would vote to turn him out; which R. said something to parry rather ineffectually. This was all in French & I have given it shortly but my own declaration fully.

It is certainly wrong that a deputy should tell a correspondent what he had heard extracted from me by a direct question, even apart from the accidental exaggeration. But when I spoke as above, I had not the least idea that there could be in the Cabinet any disposition to hold the converse of my proposition. Harcourt has written to me that he has a strong opinion on the subject, and I am afraid he means one differing from mine. But how far differing I know not. A Bill which in principle & in permanence gave the *ordinary* management of police in the Metropolitan District to the Home Secretary, while it constituted a representative municipality, would cut straight at the root of all I have ever felt, said, or done, in such matters.

2. I was about to write to you or Harcourt to say that I had not observed any intimation to warn the public that the account given by the Times was unauthorised, & that the acceptance of its account might lead to inconvenient consequences.

I see that P[all] M[all] G[azette] lays hold of the statement of Mrs Crawford and uses it in a contrary sense. The public will have before it two statements, both incorrect. Probably a question may or will be put in

¹ Paris correspondent of the *Daily News*; for her report of the conversation at Nice between Gladstone and Clémenceau at which Ribot was also present, see the *Daily News*, 12 Feb., p. 5c.

Parliament; and I suppose the proper answer will be that the time has not yet arrived for the decision of the question by the Cabinet, and that I am *wrongly* stated to have said it had been decided.

Please let Harcourt see this soon.

I will send you slight annotations on other parts of Mrs Crawford's account, which are of less importance. It includes much which Clemenceau did not say to me; and omits much which he did for our principal conversation was on Egypt, about which he spoke in a most temperate and reasonable manner.

The only thing in which I find fault with C. (who is decidedly pleasing) is that in telling me he abstained from voting on the *Bill*, he did not tell me he voted for Floquet. Perhaps he thought I knew it.

982. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Cannes. Feb. 15. 83.

1. I send my further comments¹ on Mrs Crawfords Cannes letter in the Daily News.

2. I do not quite understand why the Times—really an anti-reforming paper—is (apparently) the most successful in getting hold of anticipations of Government Measures.

3. You must have a great deal to do and I hope you will write nothing to me for form or ceremony or my fancy, but only what you think needful.

4. In the Wolseley case,² I think the unbroken course of precedent, together with the evident reason of the precedents, so strong, that there is no alternative but to decline the request with regret. I will so write: but you can stop the letter.

5. The first few days in the House of Commons may I think possibly throw light on the question of my future movements: but my part will be simply to remain as agreed upon, unless I hear from you to the contrary. I wish I felt entirely easy as to what may happen after Easter.

983. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 84]

Private.

Foreign Office. Feb 16 [1883].

The speeches of our mover & seconder were certainly above the average³—that of Reay full of thought.

¹ With no. 982 in P.R.O. 30/29/29 A, not printed.

² See Wolseley to Gladstone, 10 Feb., asking that the grant, which parliament was to make to enable him to support his peerage, should be a lump sum instead of an annuity; Hamilton's min. favouring the breaking of precedent, 15 Feb., Add. MS. 44479, fo. 209; a lump sum was voted by parliament in April.

³ For speeches of Lords Durham and Reay moving and seconding the address in answer to the Queen's speech, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxvi. 7-25.

Sarum¹ evidently did not mean much mischief. There were very injudicious speeches on the part of Milesian Landlords.²

The owner of Panshanger³ spoke with great force and spirit—impossible to coerce with remedial measures.

I am told that the Commons was as flat as possible, & that it would have ended at an early hour, if it had not been for Sir Wilfrid Lawson.

This evening Sarum attacked me for misrepresentation.⁴ I did my best in reply. He spoke again when the new Earl Selborne⁵ rolled him into a cocked hat—concluding with

‘The noble Marquis would have done better to leave the matter alone.’

984. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

[Cannes.] Feb 17. 83.

1. I am not at all surprised or dissatisfied at the decision to introduce an Affirmation Bill⁶ under the present circumstances of the case, and it is probably better out of my hands than in them, on account of my having steadily maintained that the action of the House of Commons is contrary to the law. If, however, as is possible, a stiff resistance be offered to this Bill in the House of Commons, it may seriously affect the plan of business for the whole Session.

Since this was written I have read Cross's notice,⁷ which goes to verify my apprehension.

2. *If* it be true that the Zulus have a strong sentiment in favour of the integrity of their country, it would be a good & promising sign for the future. In such a case I suppose it might be well to see whether John Dunn & the other chiefs for whom parts of the country have been retained could be bought out of their portions of sovereignty by means of some tax of a temporary kind paid by the whole country.⁸ But I go upon newspaper report only and this hardly warrants my writing to Derby on the subject.

3. I have seen Sir G. Elliot today on his way to Egypt. He rather confirms the idea that Beaconsfield had no desire to possess it: but says Salisbury told him ‘the pear was ripe & ready to drop into our mouths’.

¹ The marquis not the bishop of Salisbury, *ibid.* 25–34.

² Especially Waterford and Abercorn, *ibid.* 43–49, 50–56.

³ i.e. Lord Cowper, *ibid.* 49–50.

⁴ For Salisbury's personal statement rebutting Granville's charges, in the debate on the address, that he had been inconsistent and inaccurate about Egypt in his speech at Edinburgh, see *ibid.* 155–60.

⁵ Created Earl of Selborne Dec. 1882; for his reproof see *ibid.* 163–4.

⁶ See p. 23, n. 1.

⁷ The starred sentence was added later by Gladstone; for Cross's notice that he ‘would offer the strongest opposition in his power’ to the second reading of the Affirmation bill, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxvi. 66.

⁸ See vol. i, p. 445, n. 2.

(There is a wise man!) He is much pleased with what the Government have been doing, & with the state of things there.

4. You will soon I suppose be asked what you mean to do about a Ministry of Commerce & of Agriculture. I think it would be unwise to declare particulars till we are ready to take a vote: but it will be needful I suppose to revive the plan of last year,¹ about which Chamberlain knows particulars. It involved I believe an appropriation of the Salary of the Privy Seal, which, after proposing a new salaried office, it would be difficult to hold. What shall we do with the Privy Seal itself? Attach it to the First Lordship when held by a Peer? When otherwise, to the oldest Peer Secretary of State?

985. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 86]
Foreign Office. Feb 17/83.

You will be disappointed by the division on Egypt.² It does not signify at home, but it may produce an impression abroad, where the facts are not known.

It was a complete surprise—the usual notice was not given by the Conservative whip to Richard Grosvenor, who assured Hartington that it was merely ‘kidding’ and he allowed many of our members to go off to the country. At one moment it looked as if we should be beaten by the union of the Tories & the Home rulers. A few of our men walked out of the house on a mistaken notion that the division was on the Lawson & not on the Balfour amendment.

The Cabinet³ was informed of J. Carey being admitted as Queen’s evidence on the grounds of his treachery exciting such immense dismay, and its being necessary in order to get at higher game, including some of the officials of the Land League. I suppose Harcourt & Spencer will write to you on the subject. The Cabinet generally approved. Hartington said hardly anything, but did not seem to like it—The Chancellor & I thought the 2d reason justified it, but not the first.

We settled that a quantity of little bills might be brought into the House of Lords.⁴

¹ See vol. i, p. 348, n. 4.

² The Opposition in the second night’s debate on the address in the Commons moved an amendment regretting that measures had not been taken to make the Egyptian campaign unnecessary and carried it by a majority of 35 in a house of 323, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxvi. 178–250; Lawson had moved a more hostile amendment from the liberal side.

³ For Granville’s report to the Queen of the cabinet of Sat. 17 Feb. see P.R.O. 30/29/27 A; and Harcourt to the Queen, 17, 18 Feb., *Letters*, iii. 408–10; for Harcourt and Spencer on Carey, 21 Feb., see copy of extract in Spencer to Granville, 21 Feb., P.R.O. 30/29/29 A.

⁴ On Scottish Peerages, on the Protection of Young Girls and Women, regulating fisheries, naval discipline, the Medical Council, and Education in Wales, and to amend the Factory Acts, see statements by Granville and Hartington, Mon. 19 Feb., *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxvi. 280, 308.

It was settled after some discussion that the affirmation bill should be retrospective, with a possible chance of agreeing to an amendment on that point, if it became necessary.

It was agreed to refuse to produce Ripon's despatch¹ as to contribution to military expenses, and Sir Ch. Wilson's² report on the preliminary enquiry in Egypt.

To refuse a Commission into the industrial resources of Ireland.³

There was a discussion & doubts as to how to argue the case about local rates, and the reasons to be given for the postponement of the Local Gov. bill.⁴

Derby has the great merit in a Cabinet of taking a great interest, and knowing a great deal about every subject that crops up. Sanderson tells me he is in the 7th heaven in the Col. Office. Kimberley likes India better—larger questions and cleverer people to deal with. Par parenthese Hartington & I were much struck at the masterly way he crammed the movers and seconders about Zululand.

The Prince of Wales gives a very good account of you.

986. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*⁵

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Cannes. Feb. 19. 83.

1. About Carey, the spectacle is indeed loathsome, but I cannot doubt that the Irish Government are distinctly *right*. In accepting an approver [i.e. informer], you do not incite him to do what is in itself wrong: only his own bad mind can make it wrong to him. The Government looks for the truth—approvers are I suppose for the most part base, but I do not see how you could act on a distinction of degree between them. Still one would have heard the hiss from the dock with sympathy.

2. As to Egypt I hope & think the exact amount of majority is not minutely scanned abroad. If it be, men will perceive that it was not a full House, & thus the exact numbers are of less importance. I presume that the Front Bench took Balfour's motion as a way of getting out of the affair, & probably you will hear no more of it.

¹ For Hartington's refusal, 19 Feb., to give time for D. R. Onslow's motion for correspondence between Lord Ripon and the secretary for India on India's share of the costs incurred by the use of Indian troops in the Egyptian campaign, see *ibid.* 390.

² No parliamentary request for Sir Charles Wilson's report nor the report itself has been traced.

³ For Trevelyan's confirmation, 19 Feb., of Gladstone's reply, 3 Nov. 1882, to Capt. J. E. F. Aylmer (Maidstone) refusing a royal commission, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxvi. 299–300.

⁴ Not raised in parliament during the next week, owing to the deflection of the debate on the address to Ireland.

⁵ Granville to Gladstone, 18 Feb., that the Speaker would yield to pressure not to retire, Add. MS. 44175, fo. 89, not printed; see below nos. 1143, 1144.

3. Every day, almost every hour, I think of the oddity of my position here. And am sometimes reminded of it. Lady Queensberry brought a dear little girl of 7 or 8 to tea. I made friends with her & we had bread & butter together. Lady Q. afterwards explained in an inartificial way, who I was, and declared me boldly to be governor of England. She asked 'But how can he govern England and eat bread & butter here with me?' Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings.

4. Lady Salisbury is here in great good humour & is invited to dinner. I understand she gives a *bad* account of Northcote's health for the purposes of business and leadership.

Much pleased with your account of Derby. The Speaker writes approving my stay here. I see nothing at present to make your recalling me more likely. Nor can I pretend to dislike being away from the H of C. though I should be sorry to be shirking duty.

987. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 91]

Private.

Foreign Office. Feb 19/83.

I have just heard, which I wish I had done earlier that there is an opportunity of writing to you.

I telegraphed this morning to you¹—[' we ['] meant Hartington, Harcourt[,] Dick Grosvenor—The telegram was approved by all to whom I mentioned it excepting Derby who with characteristic caution is much afraid of influencing you—your judgment being the best.

Harcourt is jumping violently with the cat in a state of great excitement against the Irish. Carlingford[,] Northbrook & I have done our best to calm him, and make him avoid saying foolish things in the House—but I do not know with what success.

We are in a critical state as to the Danube Commission.² We have agreed to certain concessions to Russia, but not to all. I doubt her having any practical object, but she wishes to destroy another clause of the Treaty of /56.

Hartington I am told is doing well in the house.

988. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Early.

Cannes. Feb. 21. 83.

I have received your letter explanatory of the summoning telegram. I do not feel sure I know the exact reasons which have prompted you &

¹ Suggesting Gladstone's return to England because the subject of the Kilmainham 'treaty' had been raised in the debate on the address in the Commons, Add. MS. 44175, fo. 90.

² See no. 989.

my other colleagues; but as nothing, except their suggestion and request, could have warranted my staying here during any part of the session, so it is quite plain that the request or suggestion conveyed in the telegram is sufficient to dispose of the whole matter. For as regards my health there is no excuse—It has got better and better as I have staid on, and is now I think on a higher level than for a long time past. My sleep for example is now about as good as it can be, and far better than it was during the autumn sittings, *after* which it got so bad.

The pleasure I have had in staying does not make an argument at all, it is a mere expression or anticipation of my desire to be turned out to grass for good.

My plan is to set out on Monday¹ for Paris direct, where we ought to arrive on Tuesday: and, unless I hear any thing from you to change my views, to remain there a little, say about a couple of days.

Before receiving your letter, I thought the Opposition might meditate something strong about Sheridan:² but this idea derives no confirmation from your language in the letter.

989. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 94]

Foreign Office. Feb 22/83.

We are all delighted to hear³ of your arrival next week, though with a twinge of conscience at having contributed to that resolution. I send you a line from Derby.⁴ He tells me that he rather expects Cetewayo will take John Dunn as his prime minister.

I am [told] Northcote is not well, but they say he is not aware of it himself.

The anarchy is great in the opposition. Chaplin's vote on the first reading of the Bradlaugh bill,⁵ Raikes speeches,⁶ & Gorst's language⁷ do us much good.

¹ i.e. 26 Feb.

² A released Irish suspect for whose re-arrest a warrant had been issued. It was alleged that the government had agreed to Parnell's seeing him in order to get information about the Dublin secret societies.

³ See Gladstone to Granville, tel. 21 Feb., announcing his plans as in paragraph 3 of no. 988.

⁴ To Granville, 22 Feb., on his uncertainty whether Cetewayo's return to Zululand was popular there and his readiness to extend his territory if the Zulus wished it, but not to hold out hopes yet, P.R.O. 30/29/27 A; see also no. 984.

⁵ For Commons' proceedings, 19 Feb., on the Parliamentary Oaths Act (1866) Amendment bill (the Affirmation bill) see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxvi. 384-90.

⁶ i.e. of 20 and 22 Feb., questioning Hartington on the procedure of Grand Committees to which, to the general satisfaction, certain bills were to be referred under the new rules of procedure, *ibid.* 412, 413, 414, 594, 595.

⁷ i.e. in moving an amendment to the address on Irish policy, 20 Feb., *ibid.* 414-25.

But still Lady Queensberry's daughter is right—Chaplin gave a cabinet bet to a friend. Salisbury Prime Minister. He was modest about himself to whom he assigned no place, but the only office he omitted to fill was the Chancellorship of the Exchequer & the leadership of the Commons.

The Russians made an unacceptable proposal¹ to the conference. I am about to make an amendment on Saturday, which Austria & France will support. Bismarck will probably instruct Munster to follow suit.

I hope therefore that an acceptable arrangement will be arrived at, or that Russia will be left alone.

Barrere,² the French Plenipo[tentiary] has been most useful.

990. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 98]

Private.

Foreign Office. Feb 24/83.

I gave the Cabinet³ a message from the P of Wales, through Sydney . . .⁴

I asked what was to be done about a special Embassy for the Russian coronation—it was thought better to send a Royalty—as this would be done by Germany & Austria, and would be cheaper for the public as he did not require to be lodged, or to entertain—they thought the Queen had better be asked whether she would permit a son, or the Duke of Cambridge to go.⁵

It was settled as I telegraphed to you⁶ to regret Northcote's motion,⁷ & not to give him a day—the Tories will make much of what you said in November,⁸ but the answer on this point seems sufficient. Nearly the whole of the debate on Gorst's motion turned upon this matter and was decided by a large majority.⁹

¹ i.e. that the international Danube commission should be excluded from the Kilia branch of the river: see protocol 4, Tues. 20 Feb., *B.F.S.P.*, 1882-3, p. 1253; for Granville's amendment, yielding the substance to Russia while saving the authority of the commission, see protocol 5, Sat. 24 Feb., *B.F.S.P.*, 1882-3, p. 1265.

² Later Delcassé's right hand and one of the makers of the Franco-Italian *entente* of 1902.

³ No report to the Queen of the cabinet of 24 Feb. has been traced.

⁴ About the behaviour of cabinet ministers at the levée.

⁵ See Granville to the Queen, copy, 19 Feb., Ponsonby to Granville, two letters, 19 Feb., proposing the Duke of Edinburgh, but insisting that the country and not the privy purse pay for it, since the Queen was indifferent and it would go for political reasons, P.R.O. 30/29/42; cf. no. 661; took place, 27 May, and the Duke of Edinburgh represented the Queen.

⁶ See Add. MS. 44175, fo. 102.

⁷ For Hartington's refusal, 26 Feb., to allow time (since the debates on the address from 20 Feb. had exhausted the subject) for Northcote's motion for a select committee to inquire into the release of Parnell, Dillon, and O'Kelly from Kilmainham, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxvi. 850.

⁸ When he challenged inquiry, see vol. i, p. 455, n. 1.

⁹ For Gorst's motion for an amendment to the address expressing the hope that no further attempts would be made to purchase the support of the disaffected in Ireland, defeated by 83 votes, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxvi. 414-98, 504-64, 597-687, 716-811.

The opposition now pretend that they have made this move in consequence of a challenge from Hartington. But on reading Hartington's words, they are safe—and the fact is that the move was settled before Hartington spoke.

Compensation for Agricultural improvements has been considered by the committee I mentioned,¹ & a bill is to be drafted according to their recommendation.

I think Harcourt was the only member who wished to make it unnecessary for the tenant to have the leave of his landlord for permanent improvements.

The Lord Advocate was brought [in] to convince the Cabinet that it was necessary to have a Commission of Enquiry on the disturbances in Skye.² I repeated the caution which you had sent me, and which I had previously mentioned to Harcourt. But it is necessary to give an answer on Monday. H. & the L. A. did not agree as to what the Commission would do. Harcourt thinks there are great evils to be redressed, the Lord Advocate thinks enquiry is required by public opinion, and will show that most of the accusations are false. Neither could suggest the remedy which the Commission would propose. I was obliged to leave the Cabinet for the conference, which nearly settled the Danubian question. I hear Cross is preparing an attack on the subject. Both Dilke & Fitzmaurice know the subject well—the latter is hitherto a success in the House, and at the Office.

It will be a real pleasure having you at No 10—But I condole with you all the same.

991. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Château Ste Anne, Cannes. Feb. 25. 83.

I write a line from Mr Vyner's house, in an envelope which he is addressing for me, with a view to appeasing your apprehensions of the French P.O.

Of course it is very difficult for me to form a judgment at this distance & with incomplete information on the point of procedure, but I cannot be surprised at the decision of the Cabinet:³ & this not only because I remember its old leanings, but on account of the lapse of time[,] the abandonment of just opportunities, the many days you have been compelled to squander on debates which so far as I can see are likely to do much more harm than good, & the division already taken. Still, my idea is

¹ See no. 980.

² See nos. 975, 977; for report of the royal commission appointed, 19 Mar., to inquire into the condition of crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, see *Parl. papers* (1884) xxxii–xxxvi.

³ Not to give time for Northcote's motion on the Kilmainham 'treaty'.

that on account of the language I have formerly used it is best that I should not come on the ground until the Kilmainham business is disposed of, as I should fight the question with less advantage than others.

This was the foundation of my telegram of last night which you will get today.

But I may be wrong, and if you think me so I shall of course learn it at Paris (if not sooner) and direct my movements in all likelihood accordingly.

Argyll & Wolverton have laid their heads together and say (with much truth) that I am like a boy going back to school after the holidays not in the least consoled by pocket money and jam.

I am however glad to think I shall somewhat lighten the burden on your's & H[artington]'s shoulders. Other matters when we meet.

992. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Ambassade d'Angleterre, Paris. February 27. 83.

My telegram to you this morning on arrival at Paris was founded mainly on the belief that I am better away than on the ground until the debate on the Address and Report is well over.¹ There are indeed things which I could say, and probably must say, if present, which however if said would tend to stir up the fire again and thus lead to a further waste of time, which now seems in itself a leading object with the Tories.

Lord Lyons has received us here with the greatest kindness and I hope it may not be intruding on him too much, if we remain here until Friday morning. I think that, after the Address and Report are over, the next steps will be the taking [of] Bills which are not matters of party contention. I am of course in for a dose of Bradlaugh.

I have been with L[or]d Lyons to see Grévy & Challemel Lacour. Grévy's conversation consisted of civilities & a wonderful lecture on the political history of France, with many compliments to the superiority of England. Challemel thought the burdens of public life intolerable & greater here than in England: which is rather strong. Neither made the smallest allusion to present questions, & it was none of my business to introduce them. We called on Ferry, but he was out.

993. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 103]

Foreign Office. Feb 27/83.

I telegraphed to you today in reply to your query, that Hartington does not yet know of there being anything important in the house. I condole

¹ Ended 1 Mar., *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxvi. 1246.

with you on beginning cabinets again. I do not know of anything likely to be troublesome in these, excepting the question on which you & the grandson of the Archbishop¹ differ.

On Saturday we thought the Danube question as good as settled. But the inhabitant of Chesham Place,² much against his will, has kicked over the traces. If the respective Govs are as firm as their RRs [i.e. representatives] are here, he will be left alone.³

Indeed the position is untenable for his employers, unless they repudiate him altogether for the admissions which he has already made.

If you see Challemel Lacour pray tell him the immense use Barrère⁴ the 2d French Plenipotentiary has been to us. He is a very clever handy fellow & working zealously with us.

994. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

[Paris]. Feb. 28. 1883.

I hear there is a Council at Windsor on Saturday and I should think it may be well for me to go. If you can do the same, so much the better.

I inclose a Memorandum, drawn by Hamilton, on the manner in which the Privy Seal has heretofore been held.⁵

Harcourt & I have exchanged letters,⁶ and I will look carefully into the whole matter. I *think* he is wrong in (apparently) supposing that when he circulated his able paper⁷ I concurred or acquiesced as to the police; the management of which, in any normal state of things, is as I conceive the first duty of municipal & local authority.

I am to see Challemel again this evening & will endeavour to convey your message about Barrère which I take for granted implies nothing against Tissot.

Lord Lyons is exceedingly kind as a host: we do not think he looks in strong health.

¹ i.e. Harcourt; the question was that of local government in London.

² i.e. Mohrenheim, the Russian ambassador.

³ For Mohrenheim's objection to the 5th article of Granville's proposed compromise, which obliged Russia to communicate the tariff of proposed tolls on the Kilia branch of the river to the international commission, see protocol 5, 24 Feb., *B.F.S.P.*, 1882-3, p. 1265; see nos. 980, 989, and 997.

⁴ See no. 989.

⁵ See vol. i, p. 348, n. 4, and no. 984.

⁶ Harcourt, 24 Feb., said that he understood the cabinet was favourable to the opinion in his mem., submitted Dec. 1881, against transferring the London police to the new municipal authority, Add MS. 44198, fo. 3; Gladstone replied, 27 Feb., deferring the subject until he returned, Add MS. 44546, fo. 82.

⁷ See p. 14, n. 2.

995. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 106]

18, Carlton House Terrace. Feb 28/83.

The enclosed from a clerical friend¹ of mine may interest you.

Thanks for your letter.

It is pleasant to hear, that Frank says you were never fitter for work. You will see that Northcote has delayed his question about the Committee till your return.²

I am sure Lyons will be delighted to keep you as long as possible.

It would have been difficult for you to say anything political to Ch[allemel] Lacour, & it is certainly not an object to *us* to reopen Egyptian or commercial negotiations at present.

I must ask you to let me have a few minutes at the Cabinet, on the question of the principle as to commercial negotiations on which the F.O. for the future is to act.³

Dilke & Chamberlain are more for treaties than you & I—Childers is half way—the others do not seem to have thought about it.

I am told that the Tories in the Commons are rabid—our party in a good state of mind.

[P.S.] You would have been a good clergyman, a first rate lawyer, and the greatest of generals, but you would have been an indifferent Fouché in dealing with the post office.⁴

996. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Paris. March 1. 83.

Many thanks for your note of yesterday. The 'clerical friend' is altogether too favourable. In particular, I, who regard the work of a general in the field as the *most* formidable that is ever laid upon men, am certain that I should not have made a good general, from want of rapidity in perceiving at the moment what the situation requires.

Frank reports quite correctly I think of my condition & in conformity, certainly, with my own impression.

Nothing could be more friendly than the tone of Ferry's conversation,

¹ Possibly a further eulogy of Gladstone from the Rev. Mr. Sicklemore, whom Granville described in sending an earlier eulogy as 'one of the few liberal clergymen in Kent', Add. MS. 44171, fo. 265.

² For Northcote's notice to postpone the committee of inquiry into the releases from Kilmainham, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxvi. 27 Feb., 1017; for its abandonment, 8 Mar., when Gladstone also refused time, see *ibid.* 1754-5.

³ For cabinet meeting, 5 Mar., and decision on commercial treaties that a declaration against them should not be made, but that the foreign secretary should not commit the country without fresh authority, see Add. MS. 44644, fo. 2.

⁴ See Granville's comment on the first paragraph of no. 991 that it was the address and not the handwriting that would interest the French Post Office.

full of civil things: but we did not touch any practical or pending question. I told Challemel what you said about Barrère which pleased him much. He thought the affair was on the part of Russia one of *amour propre*.

Please to settle, and instruct Hamilton, whether there is to be a Cabinet on Saturday, or on some later day—So far as I am concerned what I want is to pick up from you & from Hartington respectively the actual situation which I should do best in personal conversation. I have written to him¹ about the Northcote question.

Leon Say talked regretfully but with much good sense and not sulky acquiescence about the tunnel. Waddington did the same about Egypt: much lamenting the loss of position: admitting the fault was on their side not ours: holding that for France as an African power an influence at Cairo, as the centre of Mahometan *mind*, was necessary; but satisfied that should be a moral influence; not one set forth in, or purporting to be secured by, stipulations.

997. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 109]
Foreign Office. [7 March 1883].

It was laid down by Tissot and agreed to that anything said by all the Plenipo[tentiarie]s, in a protocol signed by all, had the same force, as the Treaty. I stated, & it was agreed to by Mohrenheim and by all the Plenipo[tentiarie]s, that it resulted from the text of the 5th article, that the consent of the Powers was necessary, before the regulations for tolls could be put in force.²

998. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 111]
18, Carlton House Terrace. March 8/83.

Layard³ paid me a visit this morning. Said nothing that I could complain of.

I told him that there were replies to much that he had urged, but that I would adhere to my rule of not discussing the matter with him.

He asked me whether I had any objection to his seeing you—that he did

¹ 1 Mar., sending a draft of what he proposed to answer to Northcote, Add. MS. 44546, fo. 84.

² For the solution of the difficulty raised in the Danube conference on 24 Feb. (see no. 993) and the two fresh points raised during the work of the drafting committee, see protocol of 7 Mar., *B.F.S.P.*, 1882-3, p. 1275.

³ He had been placed *en disponibilité*, Mar. 1880, before he had earned a diplomatic pension; when obliged to retire, at 65 in 1882, he sought either a pension or re-employment; cabinet, 5 Mar., decided against his appointment to Rome, Add. MS. 44644, fo. 2; see also Layard to Gladstone, 9 Mar., replying to Gladstone's assurance that he bore him no resentment, Add. MS. 44480, fo. 11.

not do so as an appeal against me, but that he wished to give you explanations of what had passed between you & him, which he thought would be satisfactory to you—

I told him that I could have no possible objection to his seeing you but that I doubted your liking to converse on a personal matter.¹

I added that I must depart so far from the rule that I had laid down for myself, as to tell him that you were perfectly friendly, & that you did not bear the slightest ill will to him.

999. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. March 8. 83.

On Dufferin's letter of the 25th Feb.² I would remark that while I think there is some solid ground for the wish expressed in his closing sentence, the terms used appear to me too large: but that is a matter for consideration hereafter.

On his letter of the 27th (financial),³ I hope it may be found practicable—if the order has not already been given—to make a further reduction of the force. It is as Clemmenceau [*sic*] said to me, the *drapeau*, which is the pledge of present security.

1000. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. Mch 10. 83.

Here is the letter about Derby and Madagascar.⁴ I think it will recall to your mind all the circumstances. I did not disapprove the *opinion*, and an independent Peer could be open to no objection in stating it, but if it were viewed as proceeding from one virtually in office the renunciation *beforehand* of title or intention to interfere was matter for regret. So I think we both felt.

¹ See no. 1001.

² To Granville, strictly personal and private, on the European community's alarm at Hartington's talk of withdrawing the army from Egypt within six months and suggesting that Britain should publish her intention 'to protect against all-comers the régime set up' when she went, P.R.O. 30/29/166.

³ To Granville, personal, on Wilson's scheme for dealing with the Alexandria indemnities, reporting Cherif Pasha's fresh plea for a reduction of the British force and giving his own opinion that '2000 out of the present 9000 could be spared at once', *ibid*.

⁴ i.e. Gladstone to the Queen, 15 Dec., replying to her protest against Derby's admission to the cabinet (vol. i, p. 468, n. 2) not traced; see also Granville to the Queen, 10 Mar., saying that he had sent to Gladstone her letters urging a protest against the French ultimatum to Madagascar and the cabinet had considered her wish and decided against it, Add. MS. 44644, fo. 9, P.R.O. 30/29/42, *Letters*, iii. 415-16.

1001. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44546, fo. 88]
[Copy] March 13/83.

I have seen Layard, a mournful business.

(1). He says he will *not* be entitled to pension.

(2). He says you told him he was right in declining a Mission: as to the acceptance of which he said nothing either way.

(3). He says the impression that he has offended me has been his ruin. I told him that this was at variance with all such information as has reached me. Also that I was ready on any proper occasion to assure the House that there was no offence whatever on my part.

1002. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44546, fo. 90]
[Copy] 18. March/83.

Will you kindly return to me a Memo. by Hamilton on the tenure of the office of Privy Seal.¹

What shall we do with it?

Shall Carlingford keep it for the moment?²

Any annexation of it to another office, unless purely provisional, should be considered by the Cabinet.

How strange this Dixie business³ from whatever point of view. H.M. will be in a state about it because of the nearness to Windsor.

1003. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 114]
March 18/83.

I thought I had returned Hamilton's Mem on Privy Seal.

I will enquire at once. I should think it would be better for Carlingford not to resign it, till you have settled how to deal with it. If it be held with another office, why should it not be the office of Prime Minister.

I have not heard the details of Lady Florence's case—she is absolutely without fear, & her life is not of much value to others. She is *capable of refusing to take precautions which competent persons may believe it to be her duty to take*.

¹ See p. 34, n. 5.

² Carlingford was lord president and lord privy seal from Mar. 1883 (taking the lord presidency from Spencer, who from Apr. 1882 had combined it with the Irish vice-royalty) until Feb. 1885; the cabinet, 17 Mar., discussed the functions of the lord president and the lord privy seal together with proposals to create ministries for commerce and agriculture and for Scotland and agreed to appoint a committee of inquiry on Scotland; Granville wrote to Gladstone that he had advised Carlingford not to speak to him about his anomalous position, Add. MS. 44644, fos. 11, 12, 17.

³ Cf. Harcourt's statement that Lady Florence Dixie's story of an attack upon her, by two Irishmen whom she took to be Fenians, she being notorious for her denunciations of Irish terrorism, was uncorroborated, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxvii. 994.

The attack upon her must rightly or wrongly strengthen the suspicion of malversation of the League funds.

1004. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]
10, Downing Street. Mch 22. 83.

On reading what Dufferin says¹ of a Colonial Governor I think it is not without force. What he wants appears to be the possession of quasi Parliamentary habits in business, and these would be of value, though they need not necessarily be the paramount consideration.

I like the idea of his looking in as he goes back to the East.

1005. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44546, fo. 92]
[Copy] 23: March/83.

I am reminded by some notices in the papers today that I had often thought of writing to you about Armenia. I do not recollect that we have yet made a serious general representation to the Sultan to point out to him as a whole the weakness of his position, the time which has elapsed, the efforts made to work upon him, the total absence of result, the entirely conditional nature of the Anglo-Turkish Treaty & the danger to his Empire from a continuance of the existing state of things. If I am right in my recollection may not the time have come for a review of the whole case?²

1006. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
Holmbury. Mch 27. 83.

1. Here is an excellent letter from Rosebery³ which though it may leave behind the question what is to become of him for the moment seems to take the whole *virus* out of the affair, to my great comfort.

I have read Harcourt's Memorandum on the Police,⁴ which takes up the

¹ To Granville, private, 13 Mar., advising a colonial governor, rather than a diplomat or Indian official, 'to exercise surveillance' over Egypt after the end of his mission, P.R.O. 30/29/166; Malet was promoted to Brussels and Sir E. Baring appointed to Cairo.

² See to Dufferin, No. 108 confidential, 5 Apr., instructing him to refer 'in the most judicious manner to the state of Armenia' and continuing as proposed in no. 1005, F.O. 78/3504; for Dufferin's silence since Jul. 1881, see nos. 500, 513, 674, 676.

³ To Gladstone, 24 Mar., explaining the tone of his complaints (see nos. 920, 925, 929, 930, 932, 937, 940, 942) as due to his having thought appointment as home under-secretary was to lead to the headship of a new Scottish department and apologizing 'in the amplest manner', Add. MS. 44288, fo. 161.

⁴ See Mem. on Police Organization in London, printed for the cabinet, 1 Mar. repeating his view (p. 14, n. 2), Add. MS. 44629, fo. 16; and Gladstone to Granville [? 17 Mar.] 'you spoke to me last night of some argument on paper put out by Harcourt on London Police. I have not seen any'; and reply, 'I will ask him about it', Add. MS. 44644, fo. 15.

question on new and high grounds. It leaves me totally unconvinced, and confirmed in the belief that the specialities of the Home Minister's position ought to be provided for by special enactments & not by assigning to him the ordinary police of a vast mass of people, now 4 to 5 millions, and 50 or 60 years hence probably 9 or 10. But I do not think I have pith in me to write on the question at length, or vanity enough to suppose it would do any good. I am thinking over the matter to see if I can frame a suggestion which would provide a *common ground* for us all to take. He kindly offers to postpone his Bill.¹ And this I think may prove to be now or after a while necessary. But I should be sorry that the Govt should be driven to this alternative by a difference of opinion.

This house is as ever kind & warm within: but there is still winter, a fight of sun & snow, without.

1007. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. Mch. 28. 83.

A Cabinet² will be necessary *before* Thursday for the Budget but I am aware of no reason for one on Saturday & from tomorrow to Monday I am accordingly engaged to be at Sandringham.

The Charity Commissionership is a most difficult affair & will have to be settled in council with Ld R. Grosvenor and others. The Nonconformists press much for one of their men. Meantime nothing but a few civilities can be said in answer to any one.

Our visit to Holmbury was not inferior to any former one, and that is saying much.

I am ruminating much as to the best mode of proceeding about the Police question.

1008. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 120]

Walmer Castle. March 29/83.

I am very glad that Rosebery has written the letter which I return. It is in in [*sic*] good taste.

There is much in Harcourt's memorandum as in Dufferin's report,³ which do not deserve so flattering a description.

¹ See from Harcourt, 23 Mar., avoiding argument on the control of the London police, but insisting on the cabinet's agreement or the postponement of the bill, Add. MS. 44198, fo. 19.

² Gladstone replies to an undated note from Granville [? 27 Mar.] sending Lord Lawrence's application for the Charity Commissionership, resigned by Lord Colchester, and hoping no cabinet would be summoned that week, Add. MS. 44175, fo. 116, not printed; for budget cabinet, Tues. 3 Apr., see Add. MS. 44644, fo. 20; the cabinet did not meet either on Sat. 24 or Sat. 31 Mar.

³ See p. 22, n. 5.

I have such unbounded confidence in your power of construction, that it would not surprise me if you were able to suggest, an efficient & practical division of the powers over the police, but none occur to me.

We have a heavenly day here & lunch at the new hotel.

Lady G. from the account in the papers, suspects you of a visit to the Hog's Back.

1009. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Private.

10, Downing Street. Ap. 2. 1883.

I have taken time to turn over in my mind the question of the Municipal Police, but an ominous paragraph of disclosure, or leakage, in yesterday's *Observer*¹ warns me that I must take no more.

There can be no doubt that Harcourt's matured or present opinion is to the effect that permanently & on principle the Police of the Metropolis, however vast it may be, should be under the controul of the Home Office. My own opinion, as far as ordinary operations of Police are concerned, is that it should not.

I have refrained from arguing the question, because I despair of an approximation, when I take into account the language he uses as alone adequate to express his conviction.

He has most kindly offered to postpone the Bill, but I earnestly desire that we should remain *free* to go forward with it if time permits.

There is one and I think one only way in which we can join hands: it is by maintaining the *status quo* for a time, and postponing the ultimate solution until Parliament shall have had experience of the new Municipality. I am quite ready to agree that the powers now possessed by the Secretary of State shall remain in force for five years.

I conceive that, if this basis be adopted, the new Municipality ought to retain for the present the controul of the City Police, which is now worked without glaring mischief or (I believe) inferiority by the old Corporation. As a question of Parliamentary tactic, there would I think be risk in proposing to destroy this controul; and there would be anomaly in the act, for if we reserve the general question between the two methods of government, neither of them should, I apprehend, be condemned in anticipation.

On the same principle it might be right even to maintain in the same way the present enormous extension of the Police limit of the Metropolis which goes much beyond the boundaries of the proposed Municipality.

You will see that I attempt nothing in the way of a division either in

¹ Announcing that Gladstone favoured the control of the police by the proposed new London municipality, Harcourt its control by the Home Office, the *Observer*, 1 Apr.; see also Hamilton to Gladstone, 2 Apr., asking whether the Cabinet would need to consider the paragraphs in the *Observer* and the *Daily News*, 2 Apr., Add. MS. 44644, fo. 22.

duties or local limits, for in truth I agreed as matter of principle with Harcourt's original plan, that to transfer the controul bodily & at once would be premature and inconvenient. What I should like would be that we should enact the transfer with all proper reservations, but give the Crown a period of years for carrying it into effect, and a very large discretion as to the reservations which it might make. Under the pinch and pressure of the case, notwithstanding the firm conviction I entertain, I can waive the advantage of the occasion and accept the postponement.

All this I write to you, without any scruple, as you told me you leaned to Harcourt's ideas, and I should like to see or hear from you before you take any other step upon this letter.

I am sorry to hear you have Lumbago.

1010. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. Ap 4. 1883.

1. I must call your attention to the Congo Debate¹ and I hope you will think I was right *under the circ[umstance]s* in the promise which I gave²—after consulting Dilke and Fitzmaurice. The alternative was a thorough beating: and the case was peculiar. Forster I think meant well, but, when he got on his legs, he turned out wicked.

2. I hope that on the basis of my letter, you see day light in the question of Metropolitan Police. Harcourt will expect to hear from me soon.³

1011. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 124]

Private.

18, Carlton House Terrace. April 4/83.

Speaking for myself, I should be perfectly satisfied with such a compromise, as you indicate, so that at the end of the five years, it does [not] make it more difficult for the Gov for [*sic*] to retain the Police in their own hands than it is now, if on the merits of the case it is thought desirable.

I ought to be very thankful to you for having prevented the beating which seemed imminent on the Congo.

I am not quite sure how far you gave up the treaty making power of the Crown.

¹ 3 Apr., on Jacob Bright's motion against the signature of the proposed treaty with Portugal recognizing her sovereignty on the west coast of Africa northwards beyond the Congo mouth to 8° south, *Hans. Parl. Deb.*, cclxxvii. 1284-1332.

² i.e. that if the treaty were signed it would be submitted to parliament before ratification and 'with the intervention of such an interval that parliament will be able to exercise an independent judgement on it', *ibid.* 1325-6.

³ i.e. in answer to his letter of 23 Mar.; see also to Harcourt, 4 Apr., sending him no. 1009 above; and Gladstone's answer, 5 Apr., explaining further the compromise proposed in no. 1009 and rejected by Harcourt, 4 Apr.; Add. MS. 44198, fos. 23, 29, 30, 38.

I will have some talk with you about how we can reconcile the offer we made to the Portuguese of recognizing their jurisdiction on certain conditions, with the maintenance of all the rights of the Chiefs.

I have asked for a memo on the treaties.¹

The Doctor thinks I am in for lumbago for 3 or 4 days.

1012. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 127]

18, Carlton House Terrace. April 6/83.

Minto has a question about Scotch arrangements which stands for today.²

Shall I ask him to put it off on the score of my lumbago, or shall I ask one of my colleagues to give an answer.

I am better.

1013. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 128]

18, Carlton House Terrace. April 6/83.

I spoke confidentially to Colvin about Sir Ch. Wilson.³ He said he is a first rate man, but he raised two objections 1° that he had been put forward for a very unpopular thing, the saving of Arabi's life, & 2° that he was so quiet & silent that he hardly filled the eye.

Northbrook & I do not think much of either of these objections—but it occurred to us that possibly Lansdowne might take the post for a time. His ability, Treasury & India office experience, & his social position would give him great weight, & with the help of either Wilson, or Walter Baring he would make an excellent successor to Dufferin & Malet.

The importance of the work might make him accept what might be thought a small position for him.

Should you have any objection to my sounding him.

¹ See E. Hertslet's mem. on infraction of treaties by the Portuguese government, chiefly that of 1842 against the slave trade, 20 Apr., F.O. 84/1805; arose out of Jacob Bright's reasons against the recognition by treaty of Portuguese claims to the Congo coast; see no. 1163.

² i.e. whether a secretary of state for Scotland was to be appointed, whether his business would include education, and how business purely Scottish would be distinguished; for Kimberley's answer, as proposed in no. 1014, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxvii. 1617-21.

³ Proposed by Dufferin as successor to Malet at Cairo (see p. 39, n. 1) if Sir E. Baring could not be had, Dufferin to Granville, 3 Apr., P.R.O. 30/29/166; now considered for the post of financial adviser to the khedive when Colvin should be withdrawn and the dual control formally ended.

1014. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret.

Ap. 6. 83.

1. I think an answer to Minto might be made today in the sense of mine yesterday¹ viz. that we hope soon to announce our intentions.

2. I have not the least objection to your trying Lansdowne if you think there is a chance of his accepting.

3. I forward a further & still stiffer letter from Harcourt.²

I should like to tell you what I hear as to the Parliamentary prospects of Harcourt's plan. To me as *now* announced they seem hopeless.

1015. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 132]

18, Carlton House Terrace. April 9/83.

Would it not be well for you to see Trevelyan and settle with him what he is to say on Wednesday³ to Healy, so as to prevent him[,] while avoiding saying anything which might be interpreted as yielding to alarm at the recent discoveries, from saying anything fatal to the principle of future self Gov reforms, such as might call for an explanation from you.

1016. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

18, Carlton House Terrace. April 10/83.

Lansdowne declines⁴ solely on the question of the wife & especially of the children.

We have agreed to keep it quite quiet.

I send you what Dufferin finally says about Wilson.⁵ If I do not hear to the contrary, from you, I will telegraph to the latter to come over from Dublin.⁶

I propose sending Parkes (Japan) to succeed Wade in China.

¹ i.e. to Dalrymple's question whether parliament would have an opportunity to express an opinion about the administration of Scottish affairs, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxvii. 1504.

² To Gladstone, secret, 6 Apr., insisting that he be able to declare it was the government's view that the Metropolitan police should be under the Home Office and that he had the united support of the cabinet in so declaring, Add. MS. 44198, fo. 42; see no. 1009.

³ Trevelyan stated, 11 Apr., that the government supported the principle of the bill to establish elected county councils in Ireland, moved by Barry in Healy's absence, but opposed this particular measure, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxviii. 3-30; see also discussion in the cabinet, 7 Apr., Add. MS. 44644, fo. 25.

⁴ Appointment to Cairo *vice* Malet; cf. p. 43, n. 3.

⁵ No further letter from Dufferin, on Sir Charles Wilson traced.

⁶ Where Wilson had resumed work as head of the ordnance survey, 1 Apr.; Gladstone's reply written on the letter: 'I can make no objection. But I hope that when

1017. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Immediate. 10, Downing Street. Ap. 14. 83.

Only last night, Hayward happened to call my attention to a passage, copy of which is inclosed, from an article in the *Quarterly Review* of Jan 1882.¹

I had never heard of it and it now seems out of date: yet it is so absolutely beyond all the bounds of political licence that I am inclined to write to Murray, in the general interest of decency, and demand an apology.

The question of time is the only argument the other way.

The matter is not large & I ought to act at once if at all.²

1018. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. Ap 14. 83.

Please to read these³ and after reflection to give me your opinion in writing or by word of mouth.

1019. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. Ap 19. 83.

Should not Rustem[']s term⁴ be in any case provisionally prolonged, to give time for the consideration of the question whether he, or who else, should be the permanent man. I venture this suggestion because Wyndham's No 38⁵ touches the latter point only, and because time seems to press greatly.

D[ufferin] sets about harmonising the Consul and the Inspector he will not describe the affair in the *Railway Carriage* as [in a phrase of Baker's] "indirect advances" W.E.G. Ap 10/83'; Wilson, 11 July, accepted appointment as financial adviser in Egypt but relinquished it when Cherif Pasha objected and asked for a trained financier, see correspondence, 11, 20, 21 July, P.R.O. 30/29/170; and p. 90, n. 4.

¹ Accusing him of causing it to be understood that the war in the Transvaal was an unrighteous one, so that 'the bereaved were told that' their dead had died dishonoured, in unsigned article 'The Liberal Work of Two Years', *Quarterly Review*, cliii. 267.

² See Granville to Gladstone, undated, 'it is perfectly disgraceful, but at the same time it is such contemptible trash, that I should especially, after the lapse of time, take no notice', Add. MS. 44644, fo. 30.

³ Papers on London Government bill: mem. by J. F. B. Firth, M.P., with mins. by Chamberlain and Dilke, 13 Apr., Add. MS. 44480, fo. 157; Harcourt to Gladstone, secret, 13 Apr., that the heaviness of work at the Home Office, owing to the Fenian outrages, was a reason for postponing the bill, Add. MS. 44198, fo. 46; see also no. 1009.

⁴ i.e. as governor of the Lebanon.

⁵ From Constantinople, tel. No. 38, 18 Apr., F.O. 78/3506.

1020. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*¹ [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. Ap 24. 83.

Only on account of your affection for Lansdowne I send you Derby's note before answering it.² Do you approve?

1021. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 136]

Foreign Office. [24 April 1883].

My affection for 3 generations of Lansdownes does bias me a little in favor of the present couple, but I believe my appreciation of this one's character & ability does not go beyond what all our colleagues in the Lords feel. I suspect that Kimberley would have made the same proposal.

I suspect there will be objections at Court, not as against Lansdowne, but in favour of Albany.

Albany for Canada, Lorne for India, are coming on [I] fear.

1022. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*³ [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. May 5. 83.

An admirable dispatch,⁴ I think. See my brief pencil notes, the purpose of which, whether verbal only or also mitigatory will be apparent on the face of them.

1023. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44767, fo. 35]

Imm[ediat]e. 10 Downing Street. My 10. 83.

This is awkward and I do not quite see my way. Of course were Pr. Leopold to take it⁵ he must do so under all the usual forms and liabilities: the liability for example to monition, or even reproof or recall. If this were

¹ Granville to Gladstone, 23 Apr., on the protection of English girls in Belgium, Add. MS. 44175, fo. 134, not printed.

² Derby to Gladstone, 24 Apr., proposing Lansdowne *vice* Lorne as governor-general for Canada, Add. MS. 44141, fo. 63.

³ Gladstone to Granville, 30 Apr., asking whether Dufferin should have the G.C.B. on leaving Egypt, P.R.O. 30/29/127, not printed; see no. 850.

⁴ To West, No. 102, 12 May, for communication to the American secretary of state, reviewing all the British representations about Fenian plots hatched in the United States, F.O. 5/1863; for cabinet discussion, 28 Apr., and approval, 7 May, see Add. MS. 44644, fos. 43, 49.

⁵ Governor-generalship of Canada, proposed for Prince Leopold by the Queen who did not press the suggestion and approved Lansdowne, 16 May, *Letters*, iii. 422; see nos. 1030, 1032, 1034; cf. Gladstone's min., 11 May, of reasons against the appointment, Add. MS. 44767, fo. 36.

absolutely accepted, I am not sure that there is not a case. Would it be well that you D[erby] & I, & perhaps Hartington, should meet on this matter.

How about health.

Have we not understood that Prince L. is peculiarly liable to suffer from cold (& has suffered at Balmoral).

1024. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

May 12. 1883.

I have circulated a short Memorandum¹ setting out the exact ground I have taken about the Municipal Bill, without any argument.

The recent defeats and miscarriages, though none of them very great in themselves, have made the abandonment of the Bill, if it take place, a rather weighty matter.

So that I wish the Cabinet to be fully informed as to the facts before finally deciding *whether* to abandon, and *why*.

At Harcourt's request I circulate with my Memorandum a letter of his upon it.² He is copious, and likes the last word: or I should have said on his letter that there may be an anomaly in taking away the City Police from the Municipality and at the same time fixing a term for the reconsideration of the question, but that this is the only way in which he will have a chance of getting the City Police out of the hands of the Municipality.

I am firmly convinced that we as an united Cabinet should be absolutely unable to carry a measure uniting the three following features

1. The Municipality for the whole Metropolis
2. Municipal controul of City Police extinguished
3. Secretary of State made permanent head of Police for 4 million people here who in two generations more will probably be eight millions.

The Cabinet should very carefully on its re-assembling consider the entire situation, & I hope *you* will fully consider your share of the work—I have said my say, and am in this matter *functus officio*.

¹ See Add. MS. 44198, fo. 60; and to Harcourt, 11 May, explaining the intention to elucidate the conversation in the cabinet of 5 May, *ibid.*, fo. 58; for cabinet's decision, 28 Apr., to postpone the London Government bill until the Affirmation bill was passed and the move to abandon, 5 May, on which Gladstone noted 'reserve this point; state urgency of supply', see Add. MS. 44644, fos. 43, 49.

² From Harcourt, secret, 11 May, stating the reasons why he considered Gladstone's compromise (no. 1009) inadequate, Add. MS. 44198, fo. 62.

1025. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

No 2.

Hawarden Castle. May 12. 83.

I should be glad if you would communicate with Hartington¹ on my letter of today about the Metropolitan Bill.

He will I think look at the question impartially.

I have been in hopes that Harcourt would meet my suggestions with suggestions on his own side which he would know much better how to make: but nothing has proceeded from him.

In his Memorandum of last year² he distinctly treated the question as one fit to be further considered in the future.

1026. *Memorandum by Lord Granville for Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 139]

Holmbury, Dorking. May 12/83.

The position appears to be this.

Mr Gladstone objects to the principle of a great Municipal Corporation being deprived of the management of the ordinary police, though he does not object to the Sec[retary] of State reserving certain powers.

Sir W. Harcourt objects to any division of controul and believes that it is necessary that the powers as regards the Metropolis should be concentrated in the hands of the Secretary of State.

Mr Gladstone consents to postpone any proposal to bind Parliament in his sense. He says he is quite willing to leave the matter without prejudice, for future consideration, so that he is not a party to the destruction of his principle.

Harcourt denies that the form of compromise leaves the matter an open one, and thinks there are other reasons, why it would be inexpedient to propose it.

I see no disadvantage in the Cabinet discussing the matter.

1° Whether it is desirable to introduce the bill.

2° Whether this can be done with any reasonable prospect of success—

[3°] Whether if there be such a prospect, (which I should think doubtful), the correspondence does not prejudice the question.

4° If so, whether any other compromise could be worked out.³

¹ Granville to Hartington, not traced, but see Hartington's min. on no. 1024: 'this correspondence points to the necessity, on other grounds almost inevitable, of abandoning the Bill for the session. H. 12/5' and Northbrook 'I agree with Hartington. N/12/5', Add. MS. 44146, fo. 188.

² See p. 14, n. 2.

³ See no. 1029.

1027. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. May 13. 83.

The draft sent me from the F.O. on the Suez Canal,¹ *without* your initial, in one point does not correspond with my recollection of the upshot of our conversation on Friday. I understood that we were to deal quietly & mildly with the matter of increased share in the management, but were to *appuyer* more on the reduction of dues in which our real main interest lies. The draft mentions the subject of dues vaguely and generally, but on the management asks *plump* to supply half the Directors: a strong, not to say an extravagant demand. If the object is to reduce *French* influence as such, when we come to formulate a demand I would suggest a very moderate minimum for England & (if necessary) a fair proportion of non-French besides. While the domicile continues to be in Paris, it would be very difficult for us, even with half the Directors to exercise half the power. As between Directors and practical officers, I should attach more importance to our proportionate share of the latter class.

Spring here as forward I think as in London: fair stock of horse-chestnut blossom.

1028. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 142]

Holmbury. May 14/83.

I have sent your 2 letters to Hartington.²

I put into the circulation box a minute,³ the pith of which was the desirability of a full discussion of the whole subject. The point on which I should like most to hear counsel is whether your proposed compromise can be so framed as to leave the matter without prejudice for the future.

1029. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. May 14. 1883.

I send you herewith a copy of a letter I send today to Harcourt.⁴ Its object is to show to what a minimum my demands are reduced. It surely is

¹ Became, after alterations, Granville to the British Suez Canal Directors, No. 21, 16 May, authorizing them to negotiate with the Company's Council (*a*) to improve accommodation in the Canal, (*b*) to reduce tolls (Granville added 'substantially' after receiving no. 1027), (*c*) to give Britain increased share in the government of the Company, (*d*) to promise in return support in Cairo for the construction of a second canal, (*e*) to define what was meant by an increased share in the government of the Company (modified by Granville after receiving no. 1027 to leave it in very general terms), F.O. 78/3594.

² See nos. 1024, 1025 and p. 48, n. 1.

³ i.e. no. 1026.

⁴ Copy, 14 May, re-defining his compromise on the control of the London police and expressing the hope that Harcourt would accept it, in Add. MS. 44198, fo. 65.

extravagant before the new Municipality is created to determine its incompetence and set a final seal on a system thoroughly exceptional.

See also Mem. within.¹

1030. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 143]

Holmbury. May 16/83.

I sent your letters, nos 1 & 2 to Hartington. He returned them but without any observations.²

I am very glad to have your letters of the 14th to me & to Harcourt, & I have taken the liberty of sending them both to Hartington.

I had 2 long letters from the Prince of Wales,³ & the Duke of Albany. I answered them on the lines of Derby's to the Queen⁴—the Prince of Wales rejoined, that it would be a great disappointment to the Duke, especially as no reasons were given.

I shall tell him when I see him that the Queen is entitled to any explanations she may require, but that it is obviously inconvenient for the person who is responsible for patronage, to argue the case with the candidate who asks for it.

I have a letter from the Queen this morning.⁵ She does not allude to Albany—but sends to me, as his relation an application from Lorne for India—a subject on which I suspect she will give you & Kimberley some trouble.

The weather here today is divine.

1031. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden. May 16. 83.

The Archbishop spoke to me soon after his appointment about an Episcopal arrangement north of the Alps.

The upshot of our conversation was that I disliked the plan of a See at Heligoland and was not able to say any thing as to the legal question under the Suffragans Act but saw nothing in principle to hinder him from opening the matter by a communication to you.

It will be a pity if legislation is required. But I think the plan of Episcopal superintendence round the Mediterranean seems to have worked

¹ Not traced.

² See nos. 1024, 1025, p. 48 n. 1, and no. 1028.

³ See Prince Leopold to Granville, 12 May, stating his wish to be governor-general of Canada, and the Prince of Wales to Granville, 12 May, stating the same and, 13 May, regretting the refusal especially as no reasons were given, P.R.O. 30/29/27 A; see p. 46, n. 5.

⁴ Not traced, but probably answering Ponsonby to Derby, 10 May, *Letters*, iii. 922.

⁵ Not traced.

well, and to be appreciated by the congregations: though more care might with advantage have been taken in *some* of the appointments.

I am glad that the idea is favourably received at the Foreign Office.

One suggestion I would venture to offer: it is that the word jurisdiction, which has a strong technical meaning, is quite inapplicable to arrangements of this kind. It was used in the Jerusalem Bishopric Act, I think very improperly: and all England was indignant when a few years after the Pope did the same thing within our borders.

I see two phrases used in these papers which seem to me preferable. One is 'spiritual superintendence': the other 'customary authority'.¹

1032. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Private.

H[awarde]n. May 17. 83.

1. I send you herewith more matter about Prince Leopold.² He has certainly much fibre, and means either to live, or to die hard. I think the Queen dislikes, but is afraid, & wants us to extinguish the claim for her.

2. I do not think that Harcourt's views could have taken any prejudice under any of the proposals I have made to him. All I struggle for is that the opposite view should not suffer a practical extinction.

3. It is certainly desirable to have this year some one measure to rouse and rally the party, as well as to test the earnestness of the House of Commons about coping with its difficulties.

4. Lorne's claim was mentioned to me some time ago by the Prince of Wales. Ripon ought certainly to have for a successor the best man the field will yield.³

5. Farmers here in excellent spirits.

Please send Leopold *No 2* to Derby for perusal.

1033. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. [18 May 1883].

I send another letter from Harcourt, and mine, my first long one, in reply.⁴

¹ Cf. Granville to the bishop of London, copy, 9 Apr., sending him a letter from Amptill giving reasons against establishing a bishopric in Heligoland; and reply that he had always discouraged the idea, P.R.O. 30/29/151.

² See p. 50, n. 3.

³ Dufferin was officially appointed, 21 Oct.

⁴ See to Gladstone, 16 May, rejecting again his compromise, no. 1009, which the modifications in no. 1029 had not rendered more acceptable since it was the substance and not the form he opposed; and reply, 18 May, arguing *ab initio* and suggesting a meeting between Harcourt and some of the cabinet, Add. MS. 44198, fos. 66, 73. The date of no. 1033 could be read as 15 May, but enclosures make it 18.

I think you will feel that (in the absence of any kind of helpful suggestion from him) I have carried the matter as far in the way of concession as from my point of view is possible. He has over-persuaded himself into an exaltation of mind, which I cannot follow. I do hope he will at any rate act upon my suggestion to take counsel.

1034. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 146]
Holmbury. May 19/83.

The Queen ordered me to Windsor—a long beautiful journey from these parts.

She wishes to see you on Wednesday. I suggested Thursday or Friday, but she said she could not manage it—& Ponsonby told me afterwards that Wednesday afternoon will suit you.

She soon got upon Albany—abondant dans notre sens—She approved the decision, & expected it—Her chief objection the difficulty, (except as a soldier) of the Queen's sons taking orders from a Sec[retar]y of State. But not quite consistently, she afterwards asked whether something might not be said, in answer to her question whether he was always to be excluded from employment.

I indiscreetly said that I was afraid it was a disappointment to the Duke, and to the Prince of Wales. 'What has the Prince of Wales to do with it, why is he to be consulted.'

She touched (lightly) upon Lorne for India. I told her that it was the most important appointment she had to make, hardly less important than that of Prime Minister. She rather assented. I did not tell her that Lorne's own reasons seemed scarcely sufficient 'that it would probably suit Princess Louise's health & enable him to buy a country house at the end of the term.'

Harcourt is coming here this afternoon, so I may have something more to say to you about Municipal Reform.

[P.S.] Do not commit the same mistake as I did, at your audience on Wednesday. Do not, like the prize fighter, come up smiling.

1035. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 150]
Holmbury, Dorking. May 20/83.

Harcourt spoke to me at once about his bill, & volunteered to show me your letter.¹ He argued on the same lines as before. He did not ask my advice. I pressed him to meet a few of his colleagues at your house. He does not seem to like the idea, but did not give any definite answer—He

¹ See last note.

mentioned Kimberley & Dilke as agreeing with him. I asked 'then why not bring them with you to Gladstones'.¹

His strongest point is the difficulty of passing so important a bill so late.

I am sorry I cannot give you a clearer view of the result of our conversation.

1036. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

H of C. May 29. 83.

1. It seems there is no doubt that the desire for the C[hancellor] of E[xchequer]ship exists as you suppose;² but I understand it is combined with an idea, almost a condition, as to the succession to the office now held; & here another set of considerations are [*sic*] raised.

2. I turn to the subject of honours. Will you think me mad if I put the question of a Knighthood for *Irving*?³ if at all, on his going to America, or a promise then to take effect on his return.

3. You may remember that Sir Thos. Acland has repelled the notion of a Peerage. Would it not be proper to recommend him for a P.C. ship?⁴ He is I think 74, and his health had a premonitory failure last year.⁵

1037. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 153]

Secret.

18, Carlton House Terrace. [30 May 1883].

1. I dare say that one of the motives is that which you mention—but he could hardly name it as a condition—& I doubt the office conferring a greater claim in itself than the Home [Office]—Hartington told me not long ago, that if you & he were out of the way, that H[arcourt] would be a bad choice, but inevitable.

¹ For meeting of Harcourt with Kimberley, Dilke, Hartington, Childers, and Dodson and decisions (*a*) to introduce the London Government bill, as Gladstone wished, and to carry it in an autumn session, and (*b*) to keep the bill as Harcourt wished with Home Office control of police, see Harcourt to Gladstone, secret, 24 May, Add. MS. 44198, fo. 77; Gladstone was thus defeated by his own cabinet, since, in these circumstances, he did not insist on the bill's introduction and it was abandoned, see his note of the cabinet, 26 May, Add. MS. 44644, fo. 55.

² See Granville to Gladstone, confidential, House of Lords, 29 May: 'In our talk this afternoon, no one alluded to Harcourt's strong wish to be Chancellor of the Exchequer', Add. MS. 44175, fo. 152; see also vol. i, p. 460, n. 3.

³ Honours made: 6 Aug., Andrew Clark, the physician, and P. G. Hewett, the surgeon, baronets; 19 July, five men knighted including a physician, a surgeon, and a dentist, *London Gazette*, pp. 3916, 3699; Irving was sounded but refused in 1883; see no. 1051 and p. 59, n. 1, and p. 87, n. 2.

⁴ Made P.C. 23 Aug.; see also Gladstone to Granville, 7 June, sending Acland's reply 'as an indication of the man', Add. MS. 44546, fo. 124, not printed.

⁵ But it held up well enough for him to outlive Gladstone by ten days.

No 2 Irving is a very able man, an excellent impresario, & stands high in public favor.

I do not know that it is an objection that in my opinion, & in that of many better judges, he is almost the worst actor I know. I have nothing to say against knighting an actor, but should have preferred Grevy not having just set the example.

3 I am not quite competent to speak about Acland's position in the Commons. If he did not refuse the peerage on the score of poverty, I should have thought the offer was an adequate compliment, but your old personal friendship is an important element.

1038. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. May 30. 83.

This¹ is surely a mistake on the part of Carlingford. Perhaps I cannot do better than ask R. Grosvenor, not on the merits, what reception would be given to such a proposal in the House of Commons.

Irving could only be done after much consideration.

P.S. 1. I have seen R.G. who says the thing is *impossible*.

2. He gives me a note from Blake M.P. to which he attaches weight.² Would it be well to mention the subject of Errington & Rome in the Cabinet?³

1039. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 158]

10, Downing Street. June 13. 83.

I have received the inclosed from Lord Randolph Churchill.⁴

Shall I reply that upon our receiving any charges, with evidence in support of them, against H.H. the Khedive, the first step must necessarily be for the Sec[retary] of State to make them known to Sir E. Malet with an instruction to him to report upon them.

2. That on our receipt of such report it would be our duty to consider whether any and what further steps were necessary, and what communications we should make to Parliament on the subject.

¹ i.e. Carlingford to Gladstone, 29 May, asking whether the salary of the lord president might be increased since he was henceforward to have no salary for the office of lord privy seal which he also held, Add. MS. 44123, fo. 171; see vol. i, p. 253, n. 1, p. 355, n. 4.

² Cf. Blake to Gladstone, 31 May, asking on behalf of a number of Irish M.P.s that the Queen should be moved to confer the C.B. on Mr. Brady, Inspector of Irish Fisheries, Add. MS. 44481, fo. 99.

³ Done in the cabinet of 2 June, see Gladstone's note, Add. MS. 44644, fo. 62, which does not record a decision.

⁴ To Gladstone, 11 June, giving him notice of the question he proposed to ask in the Commons that afternoon, whether the government intended to inquire into the charges against the khedive of complicity in the Alexandria massacres, July 1882, Add. MS. 44481, fo. 163.

1040. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 159]
18, Carlton House Terrace. [13 June 1883].

I thought your guarded answer,¹ which R.C[hurchill] quotes, was good. Is it necessary to go beyond it or to explain it.

I rather doubt our engaging to forward to Malet, any charges against the head of the Egyptian state.

Would it not be sufficient to say that you have nothing to add to your statement, or that if he forwards any valid evidence, it will be considered by H.M.'s Gov.

Shall I consult the Chancellor.

1041. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 161]
10, Downing Street. June 13. 83.

I replied directly to a former letter to the Khedive: but I incline to think that I had better make an answer to this² in general & respectful terms through Sir E Malet. There might grow up a jealousy of half official correspondence between the Khedive and me.

I might also express my pain at the revival of the charges made by Lord R. Churchill.

1042. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 162]
18, Carlton House Terrace. [13 June 1883].

I do not see much objection to your writing again direct to the Khedive.

If not, perhaps it would be better to communicate through me, who would forward your message to Malet.

1043. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]
10, Downing Street. June 15. 83.

As a reward for your good behaviour in going to Birmingham³ I send you 'English as she is spoke' a little book which I hope will make your sides ache with laughter.

¹ i.e. to Churchill's question, 11 June, promising full and impartial inquiry, into the charges against the khedive, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxx. 230-4.

² The khedive to Gladstone, 29 May, not traced.

³ i.e. for the celebration, 13 June, of Bright's 25th year as M.P. for the city; the occasion of Chamberlain's speech contrasting the simplicity of the welcome to the real 'ruler of the people' with the tsar's coronation and calling for a new reform bill, see *The Times*, 14 June, p. 6d-f; and nos. 1055, 1056.

I will write to the Khedive direct as you suggest, or if you think it better through you.

As regards the trial of the Khedive there can be no doubt I think in substance as to our course, and I think you are quite right in deprecating any mention of Malet.

I send herewith a new draft for cons[ideratio]n.¹

What I thought was that we should of course go to Malet to obtain from him what he can learn with a proper observance of all *convenances*: but this should not be *announced*.

I cannot come to the Levée on account of the morning sitting.

We need not as far as I know have a Cabinet tomorrow.

1044. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 163]
House of Lords. [16 June 1883].

1000 thanks for the charming present.

I generally value such from you & keep & cherish them but I am not sure that in this case, I shall not send it away at once to Nicholas Pahlen.

I think an answer direct from you to the Khedive would be the most gracious.

All the leading men at Birmingham, excepting Chamberlain's brother in law, who spoke to me about his speech condemned it as not one fitting to a Cabinet Minister, and as in bad taste in the attempt to supplant Bright as the hero of the occasion.

1045. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]
10, Downing Street. June 19. 83.

I have framed this letter to the Khedive and send it for your review. In the passage at the top of p.3, I have followed the words of my letter to R. Churchill, which he will pretty certainly publish.

The Khedive does not mark his letter 'private'.

1046. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 165]
Foreign Office. June 19/83.

Subject to your much better judgment, I would prefer that Hamilton should write out for your signature the Letter to the Khedive, without the 3 paragraphs relating to Lord Randolph.²

It is doing too much honour to him to be named in a letter from one potentate to another, & it will make the Khedive rather uneasy.

¹ To the khedive, 19 June, copy in P.R.O. 30/29/127; holograph draft with corrections, Add. MS. 44481, fo. 283.

² The suggestion was adopted, see correction in Gladstone's draft.

The rest of the letter seems to me to be perfect, & leaves us quite at liberty to deal with Randolph's evidence in any way that is likely.

If you like to insert my name, it might come into the last paragraph.

1047. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*¹ [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Foreign Office. June 19. 83.

I said that the Cabinet Members of the House of Lords agreed with their colleagues in the House of Commons who had all voted for abolishing the unjust & unwise differences of the franchise in the Boroughs & in the counties, and with most of them who had stated that such a bill would be accompanied or followed by one for some distribution of seats. That the views of the Gov would be best made authoritatively known by the bill which I hoped & believed would be introduced during the present Parliament.

Is she right in saying that she has never heard anything about it.²

1048. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 167]

10, Downing Street. June 23. 83.

I find I have an *unbreakable* engagement at 12 which may keep me till near half past.

Please to begin³ at once, & to consider either

a. Ashburnham collection—(I do not wish to interfere)

b. Suez Canal (Childers)

c. Transvaal (Derby) on which a new fact has arisen.

1049. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Immediate.

10, Downing Street. June 26. 83.

Please to read the inclosed letter from R. Churchill⁴ and the reply which I shall send if you approve it.

Pray alter freely if you see cause.

E. Fitzmaurice has seen my letter.

¹ No. 1047, recording Granville's language in conversation with the Queen, is marked by Sanderson: 'To Mr. Gladstone, but not seen by Mr. G.'

² Cf. the Queen to Granville, tel. 19 June: 'Am much surprised at your announcing new Reform Bill. I have had no notice of it. What does it mean?'; and reply, tel. 6.40 p.m., 19 June, that he had been misrepresented, having said not during the present session, but during the present parliament, P.R.O. 30/29/42.

³ i.e. the cabinet meeting, noon, Sat. 23 June; these less contentious subjects were taken first, leaving the Commons' and Irish business to be taken after Gladstone arrived, Add. MS. 44644, fo. 77.

⁴ 26 June, appealing to him to fulfil his pledge to the Commons by intervening in the trial of one of Arabi's associates, Add. MS. 44481, fo. 308; and reply, 26 June, denying that intervention was necessary or the trial likely to be unjust, Add. MS. 44546, fo. 129.

1050. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 168]

Foreign Office. June 26/83.

Your letter seems excellent,¹ but on the hypothesis that it was a reply to Halifax or Goschen, who on the strength of their position as old & respected supporters, took upon themselves to advise & insist upon certain things being done in the administration of one of the great offices.

This correspondence of Churchills² appears to me to be a piece of calculated impertinence, which it is better not to encourage, & by it to give him a locus standi as accuser of the Egyptian Gov & a defender of Egyptian criminals.

I should be inclined to write

I have to acknowledge the rec[eipt] of your letter of this day, and regret that I cannot meet your wish, or and regret that I cannot request the Sec[retar]y of State to take the course you propose or which I have forwarded to the proper Dept or some other shorter & neater snub.

But there may be House of Commons considerations which may make it desirable to allow ourselves to be drawn by him.

[P.S.] The substance of the reply would make an excellent answer, if he puts the question in the house.

1051. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. June 27. 83.

1. I have consulted with R. Grosvenor, and, for *H. of C. reasons* which you anticipate as possible, I send on my note to R. Churchill.³

2. I send herewith for your perusal, & advice if you have it to give, a curious communication from a D. News correspondent in Egypt.⁴ Both R. G. & I think it rather important.

3. Have you any final opinion to give about my referring to the Queen the question of a Knighthood for Irving? Sir Walter James decidedly *approves*.

4. I am to see Paget today about medical honours.

5. Then there is the difficult question of Art honours. Query

(a) Baronetcies for Millais & Watts?

¹ i.e. to Carlingford, 26 June, asking him to put on paper the heads of objections to a motion for the establishment of a separate ministry of education, Add. MS. 44546, 129.

² Before 26 June: to Gladstone, 12 June, asking how to interpret Gladstone's reply in the Commons (nos. 1039, 1040) and whether investigation meant only a 'departmental correspondence' between Granville and Malet; and answer, 13 June, postponing reply until he had seen Granville; and to Gladstone, 16 June, thanking for assurance that he could have confidence in the government's impartiality, Add. MS. 44481, fos. 177, 246.

³ See p. 57, n. 4.

⁴ Not traced.

(b) add Leighton?

(c) any Knighthoods?

I am loath to leave matters as they are. Not much inclined to (b) but I think you & James were both for it & I could give way. But (c) is not without difficulty. It seems hard to pass over a man like Herbert—yet very doubtful whether a knighthood would please him. Also *three* Baronetcies are rather a large order, where there have been none for over 150 years.¹

1052. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 171]

House of Lords. [28 June 1883].

I think we cannot be too careful to avoid giving Churchill, Blunt, & Labouchere who are all acting together, any chance for mischief.

I should therefore be glad to avoid all reference to the word 'evidence'; and substitute some words to the effect of what I have written in pencil, for the last paragraph of what seems to me a good letter.

1053. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. June 30. 83.

Notice the word independent. Does it call for any step on my part: or will you telegraph to Egypt to state no description of our intention *except our own* is of any weight. Or what else.

1054. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

7 Pm. June 30. 83.

I should be disposed to say that no promise such as is described in the telegram has been given & that what has passed on the subject will be forwarded by post.

Letters herewith.

NB 81 pages of charges have just come in from Lord R[andolph] C[hurchill].²

¹ i.e. in the medical profession, see p. 53, n. 3; G. F. Watts was sounded and refused, Sir Frederick Leighton, already a knight (1878), was made baron in 1896, Millais was made a baronet, 16 July 1885.

² 30 June, Add. MS. 44481, fo. 313; and 'Papers substantiating the justifying the charges against the Khedive of Egypt made by Lord Randolph Churchill in the House of Commons on May 11 and June 12th 1883', F.O. 78/3617; the whole published in the *Morning Post*, Thurs. 5 July; no. 1053 comments on an enclosed newspaper cutting printing a tel. of Churchill announcing an independent British inquiry into the complicity of Tewfik; no. 1054 is written on Granville's draft tel. to Malet denying the truth of the inquiry.

1055. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

The Durdans, Epsom. July 1. 83.

*I have read with care Chamberlain's speech of last night,*¹ as well as the briefer utterances, and Dilke² by way of comment. I leave aside the question which arises as to the Club, & which Dilke notices, and only say a few words on the main matter, which is so delicate that I do not like to say any thing to stir up dissatisfaction, and am not willing only but desirous to be persuaded that no serious mischief remains, and I did not begin the perusal with adverse prejudice, for Rosebery had told me, and after hearing me he is still of opinion that substantially the Speech may be accepted as a rectification of what formerly had been objected to. I give then my first impressions, subject in every way to correction. They are not however quite such as I could wish. *Am I right or wrong in understanding the speech as follows. He admits without stint that in a Cabinet concessions may be made as to action. But he seems to claim an unlimited liberty of speech. Now I should be as far as possible from asserting that under all circumstances speech must be confined within the exact limits to which action is tied down. But I think the dignity & authority, not to say the honour & integrity of Governments require that the liberty of speaking beyond those limits should be exercised sparingly, reluctantly, & with much modesty and reserve. Whereas Chamberlain's Birmingham speech exercised it largely, gratuitously, and with a total absence of recognition of the fact that he was not an individual but a member of a body. And the claim made last night to liberty of speech must be read with the practical illustration afforded by the Birmingham discourse, which evidently now stands as an instance, a sort of normal instance of the mode in which liberty of speech is to be reconciled with limitation of action.³

In order to test the question, must we not bear in mind that the liberty claimed on one wing of a Cabinet may also be claimed on another, and that while one Minister says I support this measure though it does not go far enough, another may just as lawfully say, I support this measure though it goes too far.

For example Argyll agreed to the Disturbance Compensation Bill in

¹ At the Cobden Club dinner where he was to have made amends for his Birmingham call for parliamentary reform, see p. 55, n. 3; to Chamberlain, and reply, 2 July, Add. MS. 44125, fos. 188, 190; for his assertion that what the radicals yielded was liberty of action for the present, what they claimed was liberty of speech for the future, see *The Times*, 1 July, p. 6a.

² Thorold Rogers and Dilke were also speakers; Dilke is not reported in *The Times* as referring to the secession of members which took place when Chamberlain was elected president.

³ See also J. L. Garvin, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain* (1935) i. 396-8; Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 87-89; S. Gwynn and G. Tuckwell, *The Life of Sir Charles W. Dilke* (1917) i. 526.

1880 mainly out of regard to his colleagues & their authority—what if he had used in the House of Lords language like that I have just supposed. Every extravagance of this kind puts weapons into the hands of opponents, and weakens the authority of Government, which is hardly ever too strong, and is often too weak already.*¹

This is perhaps a dyspeptic view. We must however in any case consider what is to be said to the Queen, either spontaneously, or when she reverts to the subject. I should like if it suits you that you Hartington & I should meet tomorrow at the House in my room after questions, say at 5.30 probably. Pray bring any Peer colleague with you who, you may think, feels a special interest in the matter. No one would take a more unbiassed view than Northbrook.

I presume you sent a telegram last night to Alexandria.²

1056. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. July 2. 83.

Considering the manner in which the public seem to accept the speech of Chamberlain I can see my way to closing with it, should that in your and Hartington's opinion be the right method of proceeding. See Ponsoby within.³

I have to speak to you further about pensions;⁴ and either before or after meeting at the House to open the subject of R. Churchill's very voluminous papers.⁵

1057. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 172]

18, Carlton House Terrace. [9 July 1883].

The Vice President of the Suez Canal Co is arrived, and his father Sir Ferdinand de Lesseps will be in London this afternoon. No definitive arrangement has been arrived at, but a basis has been agreed upon, which gives reasonable hope of an arrangement being concluded, which may be

¹ The starred parts of no. 1055 are printed in Morley, iii. 113-14 from Gladstone's copy.

² See to Malet, tel. No. 43, 9.30 p.m. 30 June, 'referring to alleged telegram from Lord R. Churchill, no such promises given', F.O. 78/3561; and reply, tel. No. 59, 1 July, 'I have not heard of any telegram from Lord R. Churchill', F.O. 78/3562.

³ Not traced.

⁴ Cross renewed, 20 June, his application for a civil list pension, and was told, 4 July, that Gladstone would not depart from precedent (see vol. i, p. 274, n. 2, and p. 431, n. 1) and would keep the vacancy unfilled; see Add. MSS. 44481, fo. 290, 44482, fo. 16.

⁵ See nos. 1049-54; cf. Hamilton to Sanderson, 2 July, sending Churchill's 81 pages for 'regular and searching examination by the F.O. authorities' and saying that Gladstone had read them, the marks in the margin being his, F.O. 78/3617.

satisfactory to all the interests concerned—(repeat assurance in identic terms as to nothing being final, without publicity).¹

1058. *Memorandum by Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 173]

18, Carlton House Terrace. [11 July 1883].

I am summoned as a witness at the Queen's Bench.² I hope to be with Gladstone before 11.45. In the meanwhile I suggest that he must give³ the pith of the telegram⁴ & say that I saw the French Chargé d'Affaires within an hour of its receipt—That I asked him to telegraph at once how much affected by it, he had found me and that I requested him to ask his Gov, to send me as soon as possible, the information which they have rec[eive]d and the explanation which they can give as to so serious a matter.⁵

1059. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44546, fo. 135]

[Copy]

11 July 83.

Harcourt is anxious [that] Sat: should be clear. We might meet on Friday 2.30 at H. of C. if Madagascar should then require it.⁶ I know of nothing else.

1060. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. July 13. 83,

I have read the papers⁷ in this box in relation to Lord R. Churchill's

¹ No. 1057 is Granville's sketch for Gladstone's statement, 9 July, on the provisional agreement between Britain and the Suez Canal Company, to be signed, 10 July, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxi. 796; for substance, see p. 49, n. 1; text see *B.F.S.P.*, 1883-4, p. 418.

² In *King v. Halim Pasha* (brother of the deposed Egyptian khedive) settled out of court.

³ Gladstone recounted the French occupation of Tamatave, the proclamation of a state of siege, the death of the British consul after a French ultimatum calling upon him to leave the consulate within 24 hours, and the imprisonment of the missionary Shaw, and announced that Britain awaited a communication from France, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxi. 1097-9.

⁴ i.e. Capt. Luxmore from H.M.S. *Dryad* at Tamatave to Admiralty, 10 July, recounting these events, F.O. 48/42; cf. the Queen to Granville, tel. 11 July, 'is this to be tolerated with impunity', P.R.O. 30/29/42.

⁵ See to Lyons, No. 60 Africa, 11 July, F.O. 48/42.

⁶ The cabinet met Fri. 13 July, and discussed an answer to a Commons' question, the Irish Sunday closing bill and the Suez Canal, Add. MS. 44644, fo. 86.

⁷ i.e. Dufferin to Pauncefote, 4 July; Pauncefote to Selborne, 4 July, sending the 81 pages; min. by Selborne, 5 July; draft to Malet; all in F.O. 78/3617.

so-called evidence: and I have suggested some softening changes in the draft dispatch to Sir E. Malet.¹

But I am inclined to suggest for consideration, in lieu of sending that dispatch at the present time, another method of proceeding, as follows—

To send the papers to Sir E. Malet.

To say that they have suggested to the Govt certain conclusions but that before stating those conclusions they wish to give him the opportunity of making any remarks which he may conceive to be called for by any among those portions of the papers which bear upon the conduct of His Highness the Khedive or those persons to whom he may have given his confidence.²

But let him understand that in giving him this opportunity we are anxious that he should avoid any act or communication which could tend to disparage the Khedive or his Govt in whom we feel an undiminished confidence.

Separately and privately to suggest for Malet's consideration whether it would be well to sift the case of the pretended telegram from Tewfik.³

(It would certainly be important for Parliamentary purposes to blow up and expose effectually some one part of these wild charges. The rest would then go to the ground like a house of Cards).

I also incline to think (with Dufferin, apparently) that Mr Broadley's suggestion about calling for originals might well be acted on.

1061. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. July 14. 83.

Might it not be well that I, or else that you, should give Northcote a hint about the relation between the Madagascar affair & the Suez Canal arrangement?⁴ I assume it, in saying this, to be highly desirable that the first of these should be settled, before the latter is dealt with in Parliament. At present Northcote shows eagerness for an early day on the Suez affair, as he looks for a party advantage; and, as matters now stand, it is likely that we shall be pressed next Monday on the point of time. To judge from the absurd tone of French newspapers about Tamatave, they will be very

¹ Cancelled draft in F.O. 78/3617.

² A draft dispatch was prepared on these lines and sent as No. 185, 6 Aug., F.O. 78/3617; see no. 1070.

³ To Malet, private, 13 July, of which no copy, but a note exists in P.R.O. 30/29/199, does not mention this subject; alleged tel. from Tewfik was Churchill's most substantial evidence; Broadley had told Dufferin that no original existed, only a note of a statement, Dufferin to Pauncefote, 4 July, F.O. 78/3617.

⁴ The publication of the Suez Canal agreement (p. 49, n. 1, and p. 62, n. 1) had roused an outcry as it gave a smaller share in the government of the Company than claimed, and Gladstone feared that the outcry would prevent France from giving satisfaction in the Madagascan affair.

vehement indeed when they come to consider the pride, greed, ignorance, and passion, which are at this moment exhibited so largely in this country, should these feelings take effect, as is so likely, in the defeat or withdrawal of the arrangement.

Though you did not like my suggestion of yesterday, should not Lesseps, in courtesy, have some intimation from us of the apparent state of things?

1062. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

18, Carlton House Terrace. July 14. 83.

I do not like it very much, but of course we agree to Waddington coming as Ambassador.¹

1063. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 175]

Walmer Castle. July 15/83.

I go back to town this afternoon. I have sent a letter (of which I enclose a copy) to Northcote.²

I will see Childers about a communication to Lesseps, and the best mode of making it. It is a little difficult to know how to do so, till we have made up our minds what [*sc.* how] we shall treat the opposition.

Waddington, after all, may be some use at the present conjuncture.

[P.S.] The Chancellor gives his opinion that the Co have a monopoly in the Isthmus.³

1064. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. July 20. 83.

In the matter of Churchill's accusations I cannot press my opinion against yours and that of the Lord Chancellor.⁴ But my difficulty is that

¹ *Vice* Tissot; Gladstone returned the letter with his reply written on it: 'No doubt as to agreeing. W.E.G. Jul 14. 83'; see also to Lyons, No. 706, 17 July, reporting d'Aunay's formal announcement of Waddington's succession, F.O. 27/2616.

² 15 July, saying that if Northcote insisted upon parliament's discussion of the Suez Canal agreement, and opinion proved adverse, irritation in France would make it impossible for her government to give Britain satisfaction in the Madagascan incident; and conciliatory reply; and further letter, 17 July, asking that a day be named for discussion, P.R.O. 30/29/151.

³ See Selborne to Granville, 14 July, on the Company's monopoly of canal building in the isthmus preventing a second canal being built by another company, as the British opponents of the provisional agreement desired, P.R.O. 30/29/141.

⁴ That they should be treated as not 'of the slightest importance', *min.*, 5 July, F.O. 78/3617.

I have given the pledge¹ in the House of Commons and that as matters now stand I remain there to be alone [held] responsible for an opinion as to the mode of dealing with that pledge which is not quite consonant with my own.

This being so I am afraid I must ask for a reference to the Law Officers.² They will probably concur in the view taken by the F.O.³ and the Chancellor that the worthless character of Churchill's material dispenses us from any obligation to deal with it even in the slight manner which I had proposed & think advisable. I can then place the matter in their hands & shield myself under their authority as to the evidence & the conclusion drawn—nor should I have any difficulty in making myself responsible for accepting that conclusion.

1065. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44767, fo. 77]

10 Downing Street. Jul 21. 83.

In this Memorandum I have tested and set out my own ideas about the Suez Canal Agreement: the most material part I think is from the pencil mark on p 9.⁴

Memorandum⁵

This agreement is intended for the benefit of the trade of all nations carried on through the Canal, whereof nearly $\frac{4}{5}$ are British.

It gives and takes or obtains as follows

1. Obtains.

a. The construction within the shortest possible time, and at the lowest cost, [of] a second Canal, which will very largely increase accommodation, and promote dispatch of business.

b. some increase of British influence in the government and administration of the Canal.

c. a diminution of charge accompanying the increase of accommodation which will eventually amount to a sum equal to £ ⁶ upon the present traffic, and to a proportionally larger sum on an increased traffic.

¹ That the government 'would make the best examination within its power' of any definite charge against the khedive submitted to it, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxx. 11 June, 230.

² For reference to the law officers and Dr. Deane, Q.C., 21 July, see F.O. 78/3617; see no. 1070.

³ Min. by Pauncefote, 3 July, *ibid.*

⁴ See asterisk p. 67; mins. by Childers ('I have suggested one or two changes; but I think that the argument for abandonment could not be more clearly stated') and by Granville ('I agree with you. I have only made remarks on two passages') and fair copy by Godley, with Childers's suggested changes, are with no. 1065 in Add. MS. 44767.

⁵ Holograph, Add. MS. 44767, fo. 92.

⁶ Godley pencilled in the figure of a million per annum in the fair copy and Childers commented 'above a Million per annum when the tonnage reaches 12,000,000 as it is certain to do in a few years'.

2. As against what the agreement obtains it gives to the Canal Company as follows

a. The loan of a sum not exceeding 8m at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per Cent for the construction of the new Canal, which is equivalent to a gift of the difference between that rate of interest and the rate, undoubtedly a higher one, at which the Company could borrow on its own credit. If this difference be taken at $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent it amounts to a subsidy of £40000 per ann. for the period during which the whole money may be held on loan. If it be taken at $\frac{3}{4}$ per Cent the subsidy is 60m[ilia].¹ Or, if the outstanding term be taken at 25 years for the whole loan of 8m the total amount of gain to the Company spread over that term of years would on the two bases respectively be 1m and $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. Though not likely to entail any actual cost, and though a portion of the sum named would come back to this country in augmented or accelerated Dividend, this gift implies a large use of that precious resource of the State, its credit, for the benefit of the trade through the Canal, and of those interested in it. Whether the credit of the State should be thus used, for such an end, with a probable profit, is a question fairly open to discussion, and on which there may be differing opinions.

b. The second consideration offered to the Company is the cooperation of the British Government in obtaining a prolongation for twenty years in addition to its present term of the *pouvoir exclusif* granted to the Company by the present concession. This is undoubtedly to be viewed as a probable limitation or charge upon the future trade of the world in consideration of present advantage.

Parliament acting for the people of this country, and especially the House of Commons, is the proper judge whether the equivalents aimed at by the agreement appear to be fairly adjusted. We have all along contemplated the aid of its advice as well as its authority.

It is however to be borne in mind that the Canal Company has not offered or solicited any thing.² We stand as proposers and solicitors: and we are perfectly free to withdraw from our proposal.

Those who doubt whether the advantages obtained are equal to the price proposed to be paid for them may be reminded that their position is secured by considerations over and above the condition requiring at the outset an affirmative vote of the House of Commons.

It may be a matter of argument how far it is for the interest of the Canal Company to give or withhold any part of these advantages without receiving any consideration for them. Probably some part of them may in any case be expected. But it is clear in the view of the Government that in the

¹ For Gladstone's use of 'm' to mean thousands, cf. pp. 92, 152; he represented millions by 'm', printed 'm' in the text.

² Granville commented on this sentence: 'the Company have no ground to complain if Parliament refuses. But they have if we do not test Parliament, unless with Lesseps assent. But this has been given.'

present circ[umstance]s it will rest with the Canal Company alone to determine the question, and they have no reason to believe that the amount of advantage contemplated by the agreement will be secured for trade unless it be for valuable consideration.¹

It is however plain from the nature of the case that an agreement such as this ought to be the result on both sides of a free and voluntary choice, such as implies not merely the force of a Parliamentary majority but something like a general approval, or at least acquiescence, on the part of the great interests of the country immediately connected with the traffic of the Canal.

In the absence of such general acquiescence, in the face of some angry opposition, and much doubt hesitation and misgiving, it is obviously better to refrain from any attempt to force a conclusion, and to avail ourselves of the aid of time and further experience as the most likely means for attaining a satisfactory solution.

The Agreement on its first publication was received with a storm of opposition in many quarters political and commercial.

The intervention of the political element in a commercial matter both complex and difficult immensely lessens the chances of making progress.

The tone of commercial opinion seems, even in the short period which has elapsed to have undergone great mitigation: from the Birmingham Chamber approval is expressed, from the London Chamber a desire for more time and inquiry, from Newcastle a similar desire with a view to bringing about if possible changes which would place the Canal under an international Commission.

Other considerations tell yet more pointedly in the same direction: and they are of a character which it is the especial duty of an Administration to weigh, inasmuch as the Advisers of the Crown are the proper guardians of international right and of that cordial goodwill which ought to prevail between nations.

An issue joined between political parties at this moment on the question of the Agreement would lead to discussions probably fraught with public evil extending much beyond the sphere of party & of Parliamentary action.

The opposition to the Agreement would proceed largely upon grounds & would assert claims irritating and offensive, it may be feared, to a long allied and most friendly nation, and possibly in other countries also.

The arguments for the Agreement in the face of such opposition, might tend to weaken our hands in any future negotiation.

* The reasons for dropping it at the present moment may perhaps be summed up as follows.

1. Even if a majority be in its favour, yet to carry it through all the stages of a Bill at this period of the year, in the face of the two combined

¹ Granville commented that he did not understand this sentence: 'Does not Lesseps promise in his letter all the reductions agreed upon, without any compensation?'

Oppositions, and of so much resistance doubt and misgiving out of doors, would be hardly possible.

2. Even if it were possible such an agreement ought not to be forced by a mere majority, a large portion of Parliament and perhaps of the nation dissenting.

3. The irritation and resentment resulting in other countries from the debates would constitute a most serious public mischief, very insufficiently compensated if the agreement were carried, and wholly uncompensated if it should fail.

4. The demand, not urged in an unfriendly spirit, for more time, would be a powerful force added to the general mass of opposition, and it would be a force supported by many reasonable considerations.

5. It is also to be borne in mind at least among ourselves that the contemplated prolongation of the exclusive right, which forms part of the price to be paid, is a matter of common international interest. If the concurrence of France may be assumed in giving effect to this condition of the plan, and if we can feel sure of carrying the Egyptian Government, there remains open the risk of other influences, operating at Constantinople to prevent our obtaining the necessary sanction.

Whether the Agreement be dropped or not it will I apprehend be necessary for the Government by unequivocal and temperate declarations in Parliament

1. to do justice to the Canal Company, and its eminent Projector in respect to the vast benefit which, under difficulties almost unparalleled, and in some respects due to the action of this country, it has conferred upon mankind.

2. To disclaim all community of sentiment with those who seem virtually to claim an English dominion over the waterway of the Isthmus: and to make it known that we will never be parties to employing the influence, which may attach to our temporary and exceptional position in Egypt, for the purpose of procuring any invasion or abatement of lawfully acquired rights.

3. Lastly I desire to announce that we cannot do any act inconsistent with the acknowledgment that the Canal has been made for the benefit of the nations at large, and that the rights connected with it are matter of common European interest.

1066. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 178]

Immediate.

10, Downing Street. July 24. 83.

1. Should not my answer of yesterday to M. de Lesseps be printed with his letter for Parliament.¹

¹ Granville wrote here 'yes'; see from Lesseps, 20 July, regretting the British opposi-

2. I have the inclosed from Northcote.¹ It is clear that in answering I must 1. disclaim all complicity with the preamble of his question: and 2. notice the strange mistakes by which he ascribes to us an opinion we not only have not stated but have expressly disavowed.²

Beyond this the matter is more delicate. Shall I say

3. The Govt have never in any communication relating to the Canal placed any construction upon the instruments of concession with regard to any exclusive right or claim, or done any thing to bind this country to any particular view of them.

4. They have not seen any reason to alter the opinions they have expressed in Parliament.³

5. Those opinions are upon record and in the judgment of the Government any further exposition of them would not be attended at the present moment with public advantage but the reverse.

6. The question next arises, & rather burns, whether the time has come for your using the Rothschild story.⁴

1067. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 39/29/127]

H of C. Jul. 25. 83.

If you can come to my room a quarter of an hour before the Cabinet,⁵ I shall be glad to talk over the Suez Canal motion in the sense of Goschen's view which I think is sound. It is to the effect that *we* may by independent declaration announce that we do not intend any recognition such as

tion to the Suez Canal agreement which the French had accepted; reply, 21 July, asking to publish, Add. MS. 44482, fos. 128, 161, 177; Gladstone's note of the cabinet, 23 July, which decided to publish Lesseps's letter and to abandon the agreement, Add. MS. 44644, fo. 92 and *Parl. Papers* (1883) lxxxiv. 311.

¹ 23 July, giving notice of a parliamentary question for 24 July, whether after the withdrawal of the Suez Canal agreement owing to general dissatisfaction (preamble) the government still supported Lesseps's claim to the monopoly, Add. MS. 44217, fos. 218, 219; and Gladstone's further undated mem. on Lesseps's attitude, Add. MS. 44767, fo. 109.

² The paragraph was initialed by Granville to mark his agreement and he also wrote 'very good' at the end.

³ This paragraph was added at the end of the letter and numbered 4 by Gladstone.

⁴ Cf. nos. 1190 and 649; Granville returned the letter writing 'Very good. G.' at the end; see exchange of notes between Gladstone and Granville, probably in the cabinet, 23 July: 'Cannot Derby throw light on the question on which Rothschild has given you information & can he do it properly'; 'Rothschild says he [Derby] was absent from the Cabinet which discussed the purchase of the Suez Canal shares in 1875. Derby has referred to his notes and believes R is quite right', Add. MS. 44644, fo. 93.

⁵ The cabinet, 25 July, agreed to the amendment of Northcote's motion against the recognition in any further negotiations of the Suez Canal Company's claim 'to a monopoly such as would exclude the possibility of competition on the part of other undertakings' in water communication through the isthmus, drafts Add. MS. 44767, fos. 114-18; note of cabinet, Add. MS. 44644, fo. 94.

Northcote supposes (nor any recognition at all by any new act or declaration), with more in the same sense: that we might perhaps point out how this removes all ground for the motion: that to the motion itself we should strongly object not for what it contains because it would be most impolitic, as well as unsound, for the House to interfere by anticipation; and it might lead to retaliatory interference elsewhere. This last is what Goschen very strongly feels.

1068. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 180]
18, Carlton House Terrace. July 25/83.

If I do not come at the time you suggest, it will be because I cannot get rid of Waddington.

I called this morning to tell you, what Goschen seems to have said also to you. He proposed that we should move the previous question. I told him that I thought a mere previous question was difficult, but I did not tell [him] that I thought from his language, that although he admitted the exclusive power, his speech as well as his motion would be very 'previous question'.

Forster who denies that there is an exclusive power, had also suggested (while he admitted that a mere previous question would not do) that our amendment should not be such as to commit the House to the same opinion as we had given. That it would make the difference of his vote, & of many others.

[P.S.] I infer that we shall all be agreed, as to its only being a question of the words of the amendment, & by whom it should be moved.¹

1069. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]
Imm[edia]te. 10, Downing Street. July 27. 83.

Northcote's position is very weak. If you could now fire off the opinion of Cairns on the *pouvoir exclusif*, you might make it weaker still.

1070. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 186]
18, Carlton House Terrace. July 27/83.

I have taken measures to start my hare Cairns.²

I think your answer³ will be very good, but would it not be well to say

¹ For Northcote's motion, 30 July, and the amendment moved by C. M. Northwood that the Commons retain their freedom of judgement, carried by 99 votes, and Gladstone's speech in the sense of no. 1067, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxii. 962-1005.

² Not traced.

³ Proposed to Sir R. Campbell's question whether the government had any evidence to support Churchill's accusations; Gladstone's draft, asserting unshaken confidence in

that you have rec[eive]d no corroborative evidence as to the anonymous assertion.

I have told them to send you the draft¹ further amended probably by the Attorney General. They will publicly give an opinion² that there is nothing in R. Churchill's accusations.

1071. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 192]
Imm[edia]te. 10, Downing Street. July 28. 83.

Rosebery³ told me yesterday that he contemplates a tour of six months or seven to Australia and home by the United States.

Ought I not to write to him and say that if we are able to pass the Scotch Local Government Bill the office created under it would be at his disposal, but that I was under the impression that it would hardly be possible to hold over the appointment for any considerable period & perhaps he would take the matter at once into his consideration.⁴

If you agree⁵ please send on to Harcourt forthwith for his opinion.⁶

1072. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
Immediate. 10, Downing Street. July 28. 83.

I propose to send the inclosed letter⁷ to Fawcett.

the khedive and refusing to make any observations on the anonymous assertion, Add. MS. 44175, fo. 184; actual answer, omitting any allusion to the anonymous assertion, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxii. 27 July, 788.

¹ For draft to Malet (see p. 63, n. 2), revised by the attorney general, see F.O. 78/3617.

² For law officers' opinion, 30 July, agreeing with Granville's conclusions on the worthlessness of Churchill's evidence, and min. by Granville, 13 July, that the draft to Malet should avoid instructing him to make any inquiry, see *ibid.*

³ Who had resigned, 4 June, the home under-secretaryship after Commons' discussion on the office being held by a peer; see to Gladstone, 7 May, Add. MS. 44288, fo. 170; notes exchanged between Gladstone and Granville (who refused to intervene) possibly in the cabinet, 2 June, Add. MS. 44644, fos. 67-68; Gladstone's note, 4 June, asking Granville, Hartington, and Harcourt to come to discuss his resignation, Add. MS. 44288, fo. 173.

⁴ See to Rosebery, 29 July, offering the office in these terms, Add. MS. 44546, fo. 141; the Scottish bill, introduced 29 June, failed to get beyond a second reading; reintroduced in 1885, it failed with the fall of the government.

⁵ Granville wrote: 'Yes, if you are sure to pass the Scotch bill—otherwise I rather doubt speaking to him about it. But Harcourt knows more. G', and sent the letter on to Harcourt.

⁶ Harcourt returned the letter to Gladstone, writing: 'I regard the passing of the Scotch Bill as a certainty and a necessity if we are not to have a 45 over again. I agree that the place ought to be offered to Rosebery *at once*', concluding with fears of his refusal.

⁷ Copy, 28 July, disputing Fawcett's claim to the right to vote, without speaking, against his colleagues, Add. MS. 44546, fo. 141; for debate on India's share of the military expenditure in Egypt, 27 July, and Fawcett's adverse vote, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxii. 790-815.

It will I think sufficiently indicate to you what has occurred between the P[ost] M[aster] G[eneral] and me.

I explained the matter to Hartington on the Bench and he appeared to me fully to concur.

The conversation of yesterday [with Fawcett] went rather far. He told me he thought that if he spoke he could carry the bulk of the Liberal party against us. I replied 'that is not an observation which ought to be made by you to me.'

He is a *periculosa haereditas* to the Liberal party, and seems to me with much talent and merit to labour under what amounts to an original and organic malformation of mind for the purposes of government.

1073. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 194]

10, Downing Street. Aug 1. 1883.

I send you herewith Rosebery's letter of refusal¹—with its *announcements*—& copy of my reply.

Fawcett acquiesces.

1074. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. Aug 3. 1883.

In answering the *twin* letter to this one from Ponsonby² I propose to accept thoroughly the principle & policy of having a strong Bulgaria, and probably to give the other matters the go-by except to say we have done what we could towards strengthening the Turk in Asia Minor but totally failed to obtain the support of other powers, & (I am afraid) of Germany in particular. And indeed it is difficult to blame them.

We go to Osborne tomorrow.

I send you a copy of a letter I have just written to Dufferin.³

¹ 30 July, since his advocacy of the office's creation precluded his taking it, and since its holder ought to be in the cabinet and he was resolved not to resume office except as a cabinet minister; and reply, 1 Aug., refusing argument and postponing filling the office until the bill was safe, Add. MS. 44288, fos. 175, 179; see also Lord Crewe, *Lord Rosebery* (1931) i. 172-5; Granville's comment in returning: 'it shows you were right in making the offer—But—' Add. MS. 44175, fo. 195.

² i.e. to Granville, 2 Aug., on the Queen's belief that Bulgaria was the strongest barrier against Russia, with an extract from a letter to her; covering note saying it was a complaint of want of support to Prince Alexander and copy had gone to Gladstone, P.R.O. 30/29/42; for Ponsonby to Gladstone, 2 Aug., and reply, 3 Aug., see Guedalla, ii. 239-40.

³ Copy, 3 Aug., asking, in view of the Egyptian debate, how far advanced were the preparations for the British army's leaving Egypt, Add. MS. 44546, fo. 143.

1075. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*¹

[P.R.O. 30/29/118]

Immediate.

10, Downing Street. Aug 7. 83.

Is it conceivable that proposals of the nature & importance of those indicated in the C[hancellor] of E[xchequer]'s letter² can be submitted to the Directors of the Company without notice? Have we any reason to expect it?

Unless we have I greatly doubt the safety and expediency of the important directions which it is proposed to give by anticipation & while we are yet in the dark.

I think we should limit ourselves strictly to the *necessities* of the case in instructing our Directors. I concur in the opinion that they should be instructed to listen and refer.

In my opinion our easy and almost triumphant escape from a very doubtful Parliamentary position has been due in part to the belief we have created that we should not be in a hurry to resume action and any thing more than a passive attitude for the moment seems hardly consistent with the assurances which have been given to Parlt.

My own opinion is that it is desirable there should be communications between our commercial bodies & the Company, & that our Directors might be informed of this opinion, & might inform M. de Lesseps. I submit this for consideration.

As to the dispatches³ proposed I do not at present see reasons for going beyond the direction to receive *ad referendum*.

1076. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 199]

18, Carlton House Terrace. Aug 9/83.

Before we part for a time,⁴ I should like to bring the names of Sir A. Paget and of Sir E. Thornton before you—each for a G.C.B.

I doubt whether there are instances of Ambassadors without a grand cordon for so long a time.

¹ Granville to Gladstone, 7 Aug., on the possibility of calling Lord Brougham's son into the Lords, Add. MS. 44175, fo. 197; and further letter, 8 Aug.; not printed.

² Childers to Granville, 1 Aug., reporting conversations with the British Suez Canal Directors on proposals to widen the existing canal, build a second canal and finance these works and suggesting instructions; and reply 3 Aug., suggesting verbal amendments to the instructions, P.R.O. 30/29/118.

³ i.e. to the Suez Canal Directors, instructing them as Childers proposed to resume negotiations on the lines of the abandoned agreement (see p. 49, n. 1, p. 62, n. 1, p. 68, n. 1); sent to Gladstone, noting possible inconsistency with what he had said in the Commons; see to the Suez Canal Directors, No. 32, 7 Aug., instructing them to maintain reserve as proposed in no. 1075 and to avoid a formal proposal made without notice, F.O. 78/3594.

⁴ Cabinet meetings were intermitted between 8 and 21 Aug.; on the last date decisions had to be taken on the Lords' amendments to the agricultural bills.

Amphill & Elliot & Loftus & Layard got it 5 or 6 months after their appointments.

Lyons had it before he was an Ambassador.

Paget has been an Ambassador 7 years.

Thornton, an excellent man, 2 years.

1077. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. Aug. 10. 83.

1. I will recommend your two Ambassadors for G.C.B.
2. The Queen spoke to me at Osborne about the Garters. We should I think have a conversation on this subject soon.¹
3. I will tell you also when we meet about the debate on Egypt last night.² The question has its own difficulties but I do not see that there is any joint open in our Parliamentary Armour.
4. Not at this moment but before we break up I hope for a longer conversation with you on the general outlook.

1078. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 201]

Immediate.

10, Downing Street. Aug 13. 83.

Sir D. Wolff's question for today.³

Shall I answer

That the language of the paragraph quoted is not accurate.

That M de Lesseps asked from the Council a *special* approbation of the last paragraph of his letter (about improving the Canal etc)—

That he asked a *general* approbation of his letter.

That we have no information leading us to conclude that this general approbation was intended to cover every expression in the letter, apart from the last paragraph.

That in any case the opinions of the Government are declared and limited by their own positive & authentic acts including of course declarations in Parl.

That on July 24 (see Times etc.) I explicitly stated that we had given *no opinion* on the claim to make a second Canal.

[P.S.] Please to send answer *round* by Chanc[ello]r of Ex[cheque]r.⁴

¹ See vol. i, nos. 888, 891, p. 469, n. 2; no. 1096, p. 93, n. 4, and p. 96, n. 1.

² Egypt was debated on the vote for the diplomatic salaries, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxii. 2117-2212.

³ Whether the government disassociated itself from the approval the British Suez Canal Directors were said to have given to Lesseps's claim to a monopoly in the isthmus; answered as here proposed, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxiii. 273-4.

⁴ Mins. follow concurring with Gladstone's proposed reply, 13 Aug., by Granville and Childers; Gladstone noted further that the Directors' instructions were 'to receive any statement for communication', in order to avoid the need to publish.

1079. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 205]

Immediate.

10, Downing Street. Aug. 13. 83.

Northcote's question with regard to Madagascar¹ (I suppose meant to gag Ashmead Bartlett).

Shall I say²

I cannot fix any time for making such a statement.

That there was a prohibitory proclamation (quote it) purporting to be issued in virtue of military occupation—Certain questions may arise on the terms of the Proclamation.

That we are not aware (if so it be?) whether the French Govt are yet in possession of detailed information—

That I only had our papers in my possession & read them on Saturday.

That they embrace a long & rather complex correspondence on a variety of matters as to which I can only say

There is nothing in these papers to alter the expectation of H.M. Govt.

That all points arising upon the letters will be disposed of in a satisfactory manner by communication in a friendly spirit between the two Governments.

That the papers will be presented at the proper time.

Pray cut & carve freely.

1080. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 207]

Foreign Office. [13 August 1883].

Perhaps it would do to repeat what I said on Friday,³ and to which Salisbury assented by lifting his hat.

There are no new facts—excepting rather an awkward despatch to the Col. Office as to the treatment of Mr Shaw.⁴

But the House will easily understand that it is better not to make new announcements as to the papers, until we have exchanged our information with the French Gov.

1081. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. Aug 14. 83.

I do not know whether my suggestions in pencil on the report of your

¹ Asking for a statement on Madagascar and particularly on Admiral Pierre's prohibition of access to Tamatave, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxiii. 276-7; see p. 62, n. 3.

² Gladstone's reply used the first four paragraphs but, on the advice of Northbrook, refused to say more and referred, as proposed in no. 1080, to Granville's reply in the Lords, *ibid.* 277.

³ 10 Aug., *ibid.* 1-3.

⁴ The missionary arrested by Admiral Pierre before the bombardment of Tamatave, see p. 62, n. 3; see also C.O. to F.O., immediate and confidential, 11 Aug., sending reports from the governor of Mauritius on the incident, F.O. 48/43.

conversation with Waddington¹ are consistent with historic truth. If they are I do not think you will object to them. Further is not the word 'unaccountable'² an awkward epithet for the death of Pakenham?

1082. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. Aug. 16. 83.

I send back your draft about Tamatava [*sic*].³ Your account of my words at the Mansion House is strictly correct. I think the French construction must have been taken from an article in the Standard.

Meeting Waddington last night I ventured, as a matter of personal opinion to [refer to]⁴ the 'Considérants' in Pierre's prohibitory order. He seemed to think them indefensible.

As it seemed to me, the full papers⁵ got rid or nearly so of the complaint inferred from the Telegram, but raised new points.

It seemed outrageous in Pierre to charge Johnstone with having taken over the police of the town because he sent a guard for British property.

I suppose all the points we take against Pierre, and they against Johnstone, will in due time be formulated.

1083. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*⁶

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. Aug. 20. 83.

1. I send you a letter from Errington with a minute of mine on it for your advice as to reply.⁷

¹ See to Plunkett, No. 80A, 9 Aug., recording agreement that, it being established that Admiral Pierre had not caused Consul Pakenham's death, part of the British complaint was removed and proposing an interchange of information in order to remove the rest, F.O. 48/43.

² A misreading by Gladstone of 'coincident with'; see note by Sanderson on no. 1081; for Gladstone's other small alterations, see the draft.

³ See to Plunkett, No. 83A, 13 Aug., recording Waddington's statement that the case against Shaw was being prepared and he understood from Gladstone's speech at the lord mayor's banquet, 14 July, that his imprisonment was now the only British ground of complaint, F.O. 48/43.

⁴ Hamilton to Granville, 16 Aug., pointed out this omission in the second paragraph, but said he sent the letter all the same as Gladstone had gone to the Commons, P.R.O. 30/29/127.

⁵ See Admiralty to F.O., 9 Aug., enclosing the full correspondence between Admiral Pierre and Commander Johnstone of H.M.S. *Dryad*, F.O. 48/43.

⁶ Granville to Gladstone, 19 Aug., asking for a knighthood for Mr. Dickeson, mayor of Dover, Add. MS. 44175, fo. 211, not printed.

⁷ Errington, 16 Aug., asked for a colonial appointment since he thought he would not be elected to the next parliament; Gladstone's min. asking advice, 20 Aug., acknowledged obligations to him as to O'Shea and Gladstone's reply to Errington, 20 Aug., promised to satisfy his claim when he could, Add. MS. 44483, fos. 48, 71.

2. Here are a batch of F.O. questions to me for today.¹ Shall we meet upon them? I can keep any appointment you may make.

3. My wife tells me you see no difficulty in our accepting invitations to Invercauld and Mar Lodge. Is this so? The matter is one on which I am sensitive.

4. Do you go to the Council at Osborne?

1084. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. Aug 22. 83.

I dine at Sydne[y]s. At 7.30 I learn to my surprise that Prince Rupert² is going to hold to the amendments.

Further concession in the House of Commons (unless it turn on some point novel and trivial) is I take it impossible.

In what form am I to send down the Speech?

Shall I send it in an alternative form

a. as now

b. for the case of losing the Agric. Holdings Bill (see opposite)³ and get the Council put to a later hour?

b. Leave out Agricultural Paragraph & in the Par[agraph] expressing satisfaction that work has been done, insert while lamenting that many Bills have miscarried from want of time and other causes.

(The Queen must I think be supposed cognisant of the *introduction* of Bills which she has herself recommended).

1085. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 216]

House of Lords. [22 August 1883].

I have telegraphed to the Queen the vote of the Lords,⁴ and the certainty of its rejection in the Commons.

I do not imagine there is any chance of the[ir] insisting again. The Speech might remain as it is—

¹ i.e. on Madagascar; whether the Suez Canal negotiations still continued; whether the Egyptian ministry was about to fall; for Gladstone's reticent replies to the first and third and negative reply to the second, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxiii. 20 Aug. 1356-65; for draft of the answer on the Suez Canal marked 'agreed on with G[ranville]' see Add. MS. 44767, fo. 124.

² i.e. Lord Salisbury who held to the Lords' amendments, with which the Commons disagreed, on the Agricultural Holdings (England) bill.

³ Where the next paragraph 'b' is written.

⁴ i.e. by a majority of one, to insist on one of their amendments to the Agricultural Holdings bill with which the Commons disagreed, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxiii. 1628-31; for the giving up of the amendment, 25 Aug., see *ibid.* 1824-7; see 46 & 47 Vict., c. 6.

[P.S.] The Chancellor says the words are unobjectionable, but I presume this will not alter our decision.

Dodson says that the House of Commons must reject them on Friday morning—their vote [be] sent up to the Lords on that afternoon.¹

1086. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*²

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. Aug 23. 83.

Wolff's question³—is an improvement on others previously put, definite & [to] the point.

Please let me have the facts as far as they can be given.

Have you any assurances? If you have none shall I say that upon the case so far as it is known to us we think it bears the aspect of the exercise of an internal right & we shall represent to the French Govt our anxiety, leaving to them all questions of courtesy and concession, to be assured that at least Mr Shaw will have every facility afforded him, so far as is dependent on the French authorities for obtaining the best aid for his defence & for the conduct of it in all respects.

P.S. Grosvenor suggests—Could we make an overture to the French Govt to undertake the custody of Shaw ourselves & produce him at the time when they require it for trial in their hands?

1087. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 218]

Walmer. Aug 25 [*sc.* 26]/83.

I send to you & to the Chancellor⁴ what I propose to say to d'Aunay [*sc.* d'Aunay] on Wednesday.⁵ There will be time to hear from you both.

d'Aunay [*sic*] told Pauncefote that this release would finish the matter.

¹ For reply, see pencil note of Gladstone: 'What you opposed in the Lords, we must reject in the Commons, I do not despair of our being allowed to take the Amendments tomorrow: I quite agree—let the Speech stand as it is. W.E.G. Aug. 22. 83', P.R.O. 30/29/127.

² Mins. on the Queen to Gladstone, 23 Aug.: 'a curious letter—after forty odd years experience of Rule from a warm admirer of Sir R. Peel and of Lord Aberdeen. Au 23 [Gladstone]', 'Alas! G[ranville]', Add. MS. 44767, fo. 125, not printed.

³ i.e. for information on the missionary Shaw; for Gladstone's reply acknowledging ignorance, but also the French determination to end the Madagascan incident, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxiii. 1758–60.

⁴ See to Selborne, 26 Aug., 'I trouble you with a copy of what I have just written to Gladstone . . .', P.R.O. 30/29/141.

⁵ i.e. 29 Aug., the date for which d'Aunay was summoned to Walmer to hear Granville's reply to his communication to Pauncefote (on Sun. morning, 26 Aug.) of the release of the missionary Shaw; see min. by Pauncefote of the communication, F.O. 48/43.

Pauncefote answered that he had no authority to say anything, but individually he did not think so.

Barrere told E. Fitzmaurice that Waddington had told him that he had gathered from you, that the release would settle everything.

Waddington never said so to me.

I see the Times¹ announces that it is all over.

[P.S.] The law officers have sent in a report stiffer than they had announced.²

1088. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Aug. 27. 83.

1. Accept my best thanks for the welcome Shaw Telegrams.³

2. Your Madagascar Memorandum of Aug. 23 seems to me singularly well done, except that in No 6 alone it states the case *ex parte* & neither gives the excuses that may be urged for Pierre, nor the sort of reparation the French evidently tried to make by their attendance at the funeral.⁴

3. I send you a letter of complaint from Lord Strafford⁵ which seems to me one of the most unreasonable I ever read.

Not a single appointment I believe has been vacated & filled in the Govt since the date of the earlier correspondence except one lower than the office Enfield resigned.

At the time of that resignation I believe you had very strong reason to believe he would be glad or ready to accept a mission abroad?

1089. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Aug. 28. 83.

In a conversation with M. Waddington at Lansdowne House on the 15th I expressed a hope that Shaw might be speedily released, in which the Ambassador joined: but *nothing* was said on either side to connect this

¹ Perhaps read *Observer*; see Pauncefote's min. on the news being in the Sunday's *Observer*, not in the Saturday's *Times*.

² i.e. on the Pierre-Johnstone correspondence, not the Shaw case; for submission, 21 Aug., and report, 28 Aug., that the French admiral was culpable in exercising belligerent rights with undue harshness but there had been no insult to the British flag, see F.O. 48/43.

³ From Plunkett, tel. Sun. 26 Aug., repeated to Gladstone and to the Queen, announcing the release of Shaw, *ibid*.

⁴ For *pro-memoria*, claiming to recount the events impartially, which was the British side of the interchange of information proposed, see p. 76, n. 1; enclosure in Granville to Plunkett, No. 94 Africa, 23 Aug., *ibid*.; point 6 was Pierre's demand to Johnstone for the removal of the incapacitated consul Pakenham within 24 hours.

⁵ About the treatment of his son, Lord Enfield, who had resigned the Indian under-secretaryship, Dec. 1882, for the government's convenience (see vol. i, p. 470, n. 1), and had been encouraged by Hartington and Granville to hope for a diplomatic appointment.

with the totally distinct matter of the Pierre—Johnstone correspondence, which evidently calls for some separate treatment.

2. Your memorandum for D'Aunay appears to me excellent.

I gather from your note that the Mem. of Aug. 23 is from the Law Officers.¹ Yesterday I offered one criticism on the last head—let me now offer *one* other suggestion. It appeared to me on reading the correspondence that Pierre had intervals or fits of civility: & if so would it not be well to give him credit for them?

1090. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 222]

Walmer Castle. Aug 30/83.

I am glad you approve of what I intended to say to d'Aunay which I have now said—you will get a record of a short tail to the conversation which is not important.²

The memorandum was drawn up by Pauncefote, revised by the Chancellor[,] Northbrook & me.

You hit blots—But it is too late to mend them & I am not sure that it is very bad that the French should have some points to put forward.

Hartington wrote to suggest that I should at once complain about Shaw—& he is afraid that we are too mild.³ I have given my reasons for sticking to the course which seemed to be decided upon by the Cabinet—viz—to compare facts in the first instance, & to discuss the solution after this has been done.

d'Aunay asked whether I could not confidentially tell Waddington, what would satisfy us.

I am quite ignorant what would satisfy the Cabinet. I suppose we should not ask for a formal disapproval of the Admiral, which we are sure not to get, but an expression of regret, and a slight indemnity to Shaw.⁴

1091. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 220]

Foreign Office. Aug 30/83.

I have had a very long talk with Sir Evelyn Wood. His conversation gives one the idea of great activity, energy and conscientiousness, not

¹ Gladstone had jumped to the wrong conclusion from the last sentence of no. 1087; for mem. see p. 79, n. 4.

² For the record of the whole conversation, see fair draft to Plunkett, No. 100 Africa, 30 Aug.; for 'the tail', reminding d'Aunay that even if the Shaw matter was settled, there was still that of Pierre's discourtesy to Johnstone, see rough draft in Granville's hand; both F.O. 48/43.

³ 27 Aug., urging that the impartial statement of 23 Aug. be followed by an expression of opinion; and reply, 28 Aug., sending what he wrote to Gladstone and Selborne on 26 Aug.; and second letter, 28 Aug., repeating his view; all P.R.O. 30/29/133.

⁴ The ultimate solution, see p. 105, n. 6.

perhaps so much of great ability. He spoke to me of all sorts of matters of detail, of which I have taken notes. He likes Tewfik whom he thinks excellent and well intentioned, but with some of the faults of a weak man. He praises Cherif—he evidently believes Baker to be a failure, but without quite saying it. He regrets Malet's departure very much.

He has absolute confidence in that half of the Egyptian army which is officered by English officers. He has only a negative confidence in the other purely Egyptian half. He does not rely upon them for action. But he does not think they would show hostility. He wishes to communicate at once with Dufferin as to some modification of this half of the Force. The Khedive agrees with him on this point, but wishes to go further than Evelyn Wood desires. He says that the Gendarmerie must be reorganized—that a reserve of several hundred men is necessarily a body of soldiers, & not of police as they ought to be.

He believes it to be quite safe to evacuate Cairo—but absolutely fatal for the English troops to leave Alexandria. He would like to see a sufficient number huddled on the salubrious promontory near the town—and a small force at Port Said & Ismail[i]a.

If Cairo is evacuated, the evacuation should be complete.

[P.S.] The Queen has enquired for his whereabouts, & will probably send for him.

1092. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Sept 1. 83.

1. I return your reply to H.M. with thanks and I agree with it.¹

I am afraid that none of the 'Northern' Powers are to be trusted in respect to the Balkan Peninsula and the emancipated States. Austria has been ostentatiously taught to turn her eyes eastward, by friends & pretended friends in the West, and I fear that Bismarck only waits his opportunity to egg her onwards in that direction, taking compensation in his own neighbourhood. It is I am convinced a mad policy for her. She has difficulty enough with the Slavs she has who differ in race only: to rule Slavs of another religion will be a yet more hazardous experiment, unless she could become a real Slav Power, and I do not see that this is possible.

2. Might it not be well if in p. 6 of your draft² of conversation with

¹ 31 Aug., thanking for extracts of letters about Bulgaria from the crown princess and Prince Leopold, regretting that they failed to show Germany's attitude and expressing readiness to join any German representations to free the small Balkan states from foreign influence, P.R.O. 30/29/42; Granville's note sending copy to Gladstone, Add. MS. 44175, fo. 225.

² i.e. No. 100 to Plunkett, see no. 1090; the amendment followed 'removal' in the sentence 'the removal of these causes of irritation ought to facilitate the calm consideration' of the subject.

D'Aunay, at the place I have marked, you would insert 'in the main' or words to that effect, as a compensation claim *may* arise on the part of *Shaw*. At any rate I assume that in one way or other you will think it right to keep that door open.

3. I assume with you that we should not ask for a formal repudiation of Pierre who was not wrong in his general aim but for an expression of regret for the tone which he adopted.

4. Your conversation with Wood suggests the question whether any thing can be done to shift or supersede Baker, if he is sufficiently incompetent for such a measure. What a mercy that he did not become Commander in Chief!¹ I do not quite gather from your account how far he adheres to his former important statement about being ready 'in Novr.' or 'in Novr. or Decr'. But I conclude that his deprecation of total evacuation refers to the present time only. It will be a great evil if he holds loose language at Balmoral where every syllable will be picked up & stereotyped.

1093. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Sept. 2. 83.

Madagascar—Chancellor's letter²

No 1. I agree

No 2. Can hardly be overlooked—might we say we *assume* Pierre was ignorant of the presence of Europeans

No 3. To come up I presume if & when we have found that Shaw has a claim for compensation.

On Saturday next we go in a 4000 ton Steamer of Sir D. Currie's to the northward for a week or so.

1094. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*³ [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Sept 4. 83.

1. The Bulgarian Telegram⁴ reached me this morning and I am wofully

¹ See vol. i, p. 456, n. 1, and p. 462, n. 3.

² To Granville, 31 Aug., proposing (a) an expression of regret that Admiral Pierre should have assumed a tone and issued a proclamation capable of seeming at variance with international courtesy, (b) an explanation of the bombardment, without notice, of the port, and (c) a reasonable indemnity for Shaw, P.R.O. 30/29/141.

³ Granville to Gladstone, two letters, 3 Sept., on his having telegraphed to Lascelles, the weather and a colliery accident, Add. MS. 44175, fos. 226, 228, not printed.

⁴ i.e. from Lascelles, tel. No. 14, 31 Aug., reporting Russian instructions to Gen. Sobolev to ignore Prince Alexander's dismissal of him, F.O. 78/3529; the Queen, tel. 1 Sept., commented, 'We must help Prince of Bulgaria with moral support. Russian conduct outrageous', P.R.O. 30/29/42; Granville, tel. 3 Sept., reported this and proposed to tell Lascelles to join the other powers in giving moral support; reply, tel. 3 Sept., concurring, P.R.O. 30/29/127; and to Lascelles, tel. No. 2, 7 Sept., offering Alexander moral support, F.O. 78/3527.

in the dark as to particulars, not well knowing what the Russians want, what is the real mind of the Prince, or even whether Lascelles fully understands and shares our views in favour of the freedom of Bulgaria as against all foreign influence and subject only to its conditions of allegiance to the Porte. But you I doubt not are much better informed and I feel quite safe in your hands.

2. With regard to Madagascar I presume your opinion is that it would be well to get the Pierre-Johnstone case out of the way before Shaw comes home probably with a claim for compensation. This may probably be right & I see no objection to your writing to Mr Waddington as you propose. I suppose you have well considered the passage in which you speak of the 'stiffness' of our probable demands. This I interpret to mean Shaw for what has been projected on the other points is very mild.¹

I remember that in the Pritchard case² not only the French came easily into the idea of pecuniary compensation but (I think) actually suggested it. There was a further point of difficulty there from his being consul.

3. I took it for granted you would not entertain the idea of the long Railway journey to Barrow.³ If this is an error, you cannot conceive how welcome you would be. Tennyson is coming, Arthur Gordon, probably Dalhousie. You give me a new hope.

1095. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Walmer Castle. Sep 6/83.

Waddington has just announced his arrival here on Saturday—this may be convenient about Madagascar. But how about China.⁴

If he opens this subject I should of course state that you were ready to be of any use, if both parties desired our intervention & our good offices— & generally suggesting acquiescence in what the Chinese want, viz to let the French do what they like with country not conterminous with China, but not to do anything which makes France march with China.

But if Waddington says nothing about China, it is a question whether I ought to remain perfectly silent on so important a subject to us. I am inclined to think it is better to remain thus silent.

¹ See to Waddington, 4 Sept., showing that satisfaction was still due to Britain after Shaw's release (p. 78, n. 5) and he awaited the French reply to his last communication, P.R.O. 30/29/205.

² For the Tahiti affair of 1843-5 and the French payment of compensation to Consul Pritchard, see *Parl. papers* (1843) lxi. 363; (1844) li. 95; (1845) lii. 287; (1847) lxx. 63.

³ To join the steamer party.

⁴ Waddington to Granville, 5 Sept., P.R.O. 30/29/176.

I told Plunkett in a private letter,¹ what the Chinese Minister had said this week to us,² and told him without showing any anxiety to speak, to ask the Foreign Minister whether he would like this communication to be confidentially imparted to him.

1096. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Sept. 7. 83.

1. In contemplation (tho' the wind is fresh) of my moves tomorrow, I send you an *omnibus* letter.

2. I do not see that D[erby] has been much behindhand in his practical recommendations since joining us, and I understand the Mem.³ was not intended to convey any present deficiency. I am to visit him in October, and can then try to feel the ground. He has not got the key to the S. African question: but who has? Carnarvon and Beach, the two slashing critics, were the two men, the first since Lord Grey, who contrived to make it *burn*.

3. Baker's letter on Servia⁴ which I read yesterday in type throws a great deal of light upon the question of the Southern Slavs. On this question I think that *all* the Great Powers, unless it be France, are subject to temptation, and therefore to be watched rather than confided in. During the Spring of 1880 I was *falsely* accused by some among the Jingoës of trying to promote an union of the Balkan States *inter se*. But the thing appears to me excellent, and by far the best barrier against all aggression. I should like to see Roumans and Hellenes join in it. Bulgarians as vassal States have no right to do the like: but Turkey would do wisely (if this Sultan could do any thing wise) to sell the right, and the Bulgarians to buy it (in their two divisions) even at a smart price. France might in such a matter take the same view with us.

4. I hope the dangers to peace from her (I suppose) foolish action in China are not so great as some papers judge them to be: but with these complications in view I entirely and actively share your anxiety to get the Madagascar affair settled promptly.

¹ See to Plunkett, private, 5 Sept., P.R.O. 30/29/203; and reply, private, 7 Sept., that Challemel Lacour wished the communication to be made to him; both letters were converted into dispatches of the same dates, see note by Sanderson with dispatch No. 856A very confidential, F.O. 27/2705.

² See mem. of substance of communication from Dr. Macartney for the Chinese minister, showing the inevitability of a Franco-Chinese war if France reinforced her army in Saigon, sent to Plunkett, 5 Sept., with authority to communicate to France if she desired it, F.O. 27/2705.

³ Not traced.
⁴ See from A. Baker, Foreign Office, 20 Aug., on the rival Obrenovich and Karageorgevich parties, ending King Milan now 'holds his throne entirely on sufferance from Austria', circulated in the confidential print, original in F.O. 105/43; cf. Elliot to Granville, No. 266, 20 Sept., commenting, F.O. 7/1050.

5. I suppose there must before long be a recommendation for the vacant Garters.¹ Ailesbury has been sending me a haunch of venison. Is this a hint: the haunch is not very distant from a calf or knee.

6. A rumour reaches me that Childers would like to be Speaker.

1097. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Sept. 8. 83.

1. Lascelles's letter of Aug. 23 throws much light upon the situation in Bulgaria.² The Prince must be little better than a fool: he seems to be himself the great difficulty and danger of the country, not satisfied with the mischief he has already done, and disposed to irritate the Sultan in a small way by his intrigues. But what was the meaning of the Telegram from Balmoral?³ Has he been endeavouring to bring us into the field against Bulgarian liberties under the pretext of opposing Russia? After the reply we sent I hope you will let Lascelles understand that it does *not* mean this.

2. I think considering the terms on which you stand with Waddington, and the seriousness of the Chinese affair it would seem unnatural not to say a friendly word and express a hope that the complications were not to be very serious, which would perhaps allow of a reference to the multitude of points at which subordinate French authorities might be brought into contact with third parties and the anxiety such a prospect tends to inspire in European countries, through the possibility of unintentional error in circumstances of great difficulty. While I say this in answer to your question, I think you are the best judge whether language of this kind is preferable to silence. If you speak in the general sense you describe you will doubtless take care not to seem too much the advocate of China.

I send back your letter in case you should not have kept a copy.

1098. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 231]

Walmer Castle. Sep 10/83.

The 2 telegraphs [*sic*]⁴ and records of conversation⁵ will give you the pith of what passed between Waddington & me.

He spoke civilly about Ch. Lacour, but his 2d Secretary (formerly his

¹ See no. 1077, p. 93, n. 4, p. 91, n. 1, p. 98, n. 1, and Ailesbury to Gladstone, 3 Sept., on his present of venison, Add. MS. 44783, fo. 114.

² To Granville, private, on the improved prospects of constitutional government and Prince Alexander's equivocal policy either to deceive the liberals into accepting reactionary constitutional revision or, as long as the Russians were docile, to keep things in suspense, P.R.O. 30/29/184.

³ See p. 82, n. 4.

⁴ See Granville to Gladstone, two tels. 9 Sept., and to the Queen, 11 Sept., P.R.O. 30/29/127.

⁵ See to Plunkett, No. 872A, 8 Sept., reporting French terms (similar to those of the

private Secretary) M de Florian told Sanderson that Ch. Lacour was forced by Grevy against his will to send Waddington here, that he Ch. Lacour was as hostile as possible against the English, that it was most desirable that I should say that it would be impossible to settle the Chinese affair as long as [he] was in office. As you may imagine on this hint I did not speak.

But from the newspapers today, it looks rather as if Ch. Lacour had sent Waddington on a fool's errand here, while he himself was negotiating with the Chinese Minister.

1099. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 234]
Walmer Castle. Sep 11/83.

I will send you a record of the long conversation with the Anglo Chinese Sec[retar]y.¹

He told me what Waddington had not done—that the American Minister has been in communication with both parties—that Tseng had sent in 6 proposals to Ch. Lacour, which had not been answered & to which he had a right to expect an immediate answer.

Macartney volunteered to tell me that he was aware that the French would be ready to adopt the Bourrée draft of Treaty. But the Chinese had never accepted that plan & certainly would not do that now, after all that has passed—It gave the French all they wanted & nothing to the Chinese.

I began by telling him that I thought it was possible I might be of use, but ended by saying I doubted whether I should be so. I am to see Tseng tomorrow, & Waddington will probably come back again—I have told Waddington what has passed between us, & have asked him to let me know before I see Tseng, whether I should say that the French were ready to accept my good offices.²

1100. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]
Gairloch. Sept 12. 83.

Telegrams of 11th received here.³ I think that your course as to China is likely to open out pretty clearly before your eyes, though it is of course

abortive Bourrée negotiations) and an offer to state them to Tseng, F.O. 27/2705; cf. Waddington to Challemeil Lacour, 13 Sept., *D.D.F.* v. No. 100; and Gladstone to Granville, tel. 10 Sept., agreeing that Granville might submit the French terms to China, P.R.O. 30/29/127.

¹ i.e. Granville to Plunkett, No. 878A, 12 Sept.; missing from F.O. 27/2705, 'Relations with China'.

² Cf. to Plunkett, No. 873A, very confidential, 10 Sept., reporting French acceptance of the offer to state the French terms to China; No. 882A, very confidential, 13 Sept., recording Granville's report to Waddington of Tseng's communication on 11 Sept., and Waddington's agreement that Tseng be told of the French acceptance, F.O. 27/2705.

³ See Granville to Gladstone, tel. 11 Sept., that Waddington was instructed to request Granville to communicate with Tseng, P.R.O. 30/29/127.

uncertain whether you can do much or little. But I attach great value to the fact of having the business of good offices in your hands, though a suspicious man, especially with all the assumptions of Challemel Lacour's hostile feeling, might suppose that this duty was proposed to you in order to make it more difficult for you to exercise an independent judgment on behalf of China.

Harcourt whom I saw yesterday agreed in this feeling about your exercise of good offices.

Thanks for the letter of General Arbuthnot.¹ I follow it so far as to dislike the notion of leaving one battalion in Cairo, but then I dissent strongly from the proposal to make Cairo our last military resting place and indeed I observe that this seems to be associated with the idea of a very long stay there, to which I can hardly under any circ[umstance]s reconcile myself, while I see no circ[umstance]s affording any colour of justification for it.

Can we not make in some way the European concert afford some moral help in this matter? Being in the country with a military force, we have a moral leverage in our hands wherewith to act upon them, unless indeed Bismarck for his own ends is determined to force Egypt into our hands. Our weather fluctuates but we are very happy.

1101. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Kirkwall. Sept 13. 83.

You may recollect a question about a Baronetcy for Tennyson, which was to stand over and be given to his son. It has come up again, and with it the question whether, as is sometimes done in cases of public service, the public might pay the fees.

But another question has come up and a very novel one. It comes to me in a roundabout way that he would not be disinclined to a Peerage.² The case of Grote is much the nearest; for Macaulay might have been made as (just) an ex Minister and as a Parliamentary Orator. Tennyson is by way of being a Liberal. His quaint personal habits would astonish the House of Lords a little. His answering to the whip would be an odd process. But

¹ To Granville, 5 Sept., urging the retention of British officers with Wood's native Egyptian army, and the reduction of the British force to 4,000 men at one stroke without leaving a battalion in Cairo, P.R.O. 30/29/148; for cabinet's inconclusive discussion, Gladstone and Hartington voicing opposite opinions, 8 Aug., and resolution, 22 Aug., to postpone decision until Oct., meanwhile withdrawing one battalion, see Add. MS. 44644, fos. 95, 100, 107; see also p. 102, n. 3.

² Gladstone proposed a barony for Tennyson and the Queen accepted, 20, 23 Sept., Guedalla, ii, 245-6, 248; see also Gladstone to Tennyson, three letters, 25 Sept., proposing delay to avoid connexion with Tennyson's having accompanied Gladstone on the steamer voyage and on the remission of the fees; further letter, 29 Sept., announcing the Queen's assent, Add. MS. 44546, fos. 161, 163.

the head of our poets is the head of our contemporary literature and my inclination leads towards it if it is a thing desired. I do not think the Queen or public would at all dislike it, and all such proceedings give a legitimate if small strength to the House of Lords. Here again I must inquire about the Fees. I rather think but am not sure that we remitted the Garter Fees in Shaftesbury's case.

Well here we are some 700 or more miles from you and having got thus far we are tempted by the quiet turn of the weather and about to turn across to Christiansand and Copenhagen! always however hoping to be at home in about a week.

1102. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 239]
Walmer Castle. Sep 17/83.

I shall be glad if you [will give] either a Baronetage or a Peerage to Tennyson [*sic*].

Macaulay and Grote had no children.

If Tennyson has money enough for his son to carry off the Peerage—he will be a great acquisition to the Lords. I think in justice to our successors, that they should give some sort of assurance that while retaining their perfect independence they mean generally to support the liberal party.

I see no great objection to paying the fees of the Baronetcy, but rather more as to the Peerage.

I do not think I have run upon either of the Rocks which you have judiciously pointed out in the Chinese seas.

I have not been too Chinese with the French and on the other hand I have carefully avoided committing myself to their terms. I have disclaimed mediation to both parties.¹

I do not write at greater length, as probably you will see me as soon as this letter.

1103. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 242]
18, Carlton House Terrace. Sep 20/83.

Your little change of days has placed me in some difficulty.

I have with the skill of a Moltke made combinations as to persons & places which if broken, would be very difficult to renew.

I have therefore after consultation with Hamilton, settled to leave London today, and propose myself to meet you at Hawarden (whose door I feel convinced will not be shut upon me) or elsewhere on Monday. My public & private correspondence will show you the exact state of the

¹ See to Plunkett, No. 882 very confidential, 14 Sept., recording Granville's effecting a 2½ hours' conversation between Waddington and Tseng at Walmer on the Chinese terms and French counter-proposals and his offer of good offices, not mediation, if both sides asked for them, F.O. 27/2705.

Chinese & Madagascar difficulties.¹ I hope you will point out anything which you disapprove, for my future guidance, but I doubt there being anything more to be done till next week.

The Queen has been in a fuss about the omission to submit to her your going abroad.²

I am glad that your letter³ will have put everything to rights, & that it entirely tallies with the hypothetical explanations which I gave H.M.

Elliot telegraphed that he should be glad to have my assurances as well as his own, that the trip to Denmark was not political. So I have telegraphed to him & to Ampthill, that they may treat the idea with ridicule, and as being without any foundation.

I am afraid that this fog may delay you.

1104. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. Sept. 21. 83.

I am very sorry that fog appearing at the last moment prevented my entering an appearance in London last night, while I had no power of announcing my movements.

As you have already accomplished more than half the distance, I have less scruple than I should otherwise have had in saying how welcome you will be at Hawarden on Monday.

If it is convenient to you to come on to Broughton Hall or Queensferry pray let us know that we may meet you.

I did not think it respectful to *telegraph* to the Queen about my leaving her dominions: and my letter was sent after I had left them, but by the first opportunity at my command.

Your reply to the inquiries from Vienna and Berlin was most safe: but I think the inquiries themselves indicate the existence of a bad conscience, at one or both these places, on the part of persons who may have suggested them.

I hope that if the Bulgarian Prince has given way⁴ you may find this a

¹ See to Plunkett, No. 906 confidential, 19 Sept., reporting French refusal of British good offices, *ibid.*; No. 105 Africa, 17 Sept., reporting French refusal to take the British mem. of 23 Aug. (p. 79, n. 4) as basis of negotiation for Madagascar, F.O. 48/44; to Waddington, private, 15 Sept., sharply remonstrating for French failure to reply to the British mem., P.R.O. 30/29/176.

² See to Granville, tel. 17 Sept., on Gladstone's unprecedented course and request to him not to land; reply, tel. 17 Sept., that it was too late; to Granville, tel. 17 Sept., asking for her first tel. to be sent to Gladstone, P.R.O. 30/29/42; and *Letters*, iii. 439-40.

³ To the Queen, 15 Sept., posted Copenhagen, 16 Sept., *ibid.* 440-1, Guedalla, ii. 242; the Queen to Granville, tel. 19 Sept., asking whether it was spontaneous; and affirmative reply, tel. 19 Sept., P.R.O. 30/29/42.

⁴ i.e. to Bulgarian pressure to re-establish the Bulgarian constitution of 1879, suspended July 1881; see from Lascelles, tel. No. 17, 19 Sept., reporting the restoration of the constitution on certain conditions, F.O. 78/3529.

good opportunity for giving some fresh countenance to the cause of freedom and justice in that country.

It is pleasant to see a notice of some movement of the Egyptian Government in a sense adverse to slavery.

1105. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. Sept 22. 83.

1. Lascelles, report on Bulgaria.¹ Should not Thornton be instructed to convey some hints at St Petersburg with regard to the purport of this and other reports made to us: and to make some indication of our feeling on behalf of Bulgarian *law & liberty*, within the limits of the Treaty, against *any*[,] be they who they may, Princes of States, that tamper with it.

2. Reports from Armenia. Has not the time come when Dufferin should follow up his former representation with a strong statement as to the ruinous nature of the policy pursued there, and the impossibility of our doing any thing, after the engagements of 78 have been so dealt with, to defend or maintain such a state of things.²

3. I am not sorry to hear of the defeat of the Ministry in Servia.³

4. I am at a loss to understand the telegrams about military preparations in Bulgaria—Whose, and for what?

5. About Edgar Vincent⁴ I would say he is young & has been in so many things that it seems to me inquiry might be advisable. He is a clever fellow.

6. I have had a letter from H.M.⁵ which has made me rather angry but I have endeavoured not to show this in my reply. I should call the letter—for the first time—even somewhat unmannerly.

7. I hope to hear from you more exactly than I can make out from the dispatches & Telegrams how the question *now* stands with reference to the 'Council of State' in Egypt.⁶

¹ To Granville, No. 70, 3 Sept., reporting Alexander's complaint of the indignities to which Russia subjected him and of the extent of Russian power in Bulgaria, F.O. 78/3529; rendered out of date by tel. No. 17, 19 Sept. (p. 89, n. 4) since one condition was the dismissal of Russians.

² See vol. i, p. 359, n. 2, and nos. 1005, 1126, 1127; for reports from Armenia, see F.O. 78/3511, 3512 *passim*.

³ See from Locock, No. 38, 20 Sept., substance telegraphed, describing the defeat of progressists in the general election and the ministry's probable fall, F.O. 105/39; in the event King Milan drew his ministers from the same party as before, see p. 93, n. 2.

⁴ See Gladstone to Vincent, 13 Oct., congratulating him on his appointment as financial adviser in Egypt and his great opportunity to enable her to feel her way towards standing on her own feet again, Add. MS. 44546, fo. 172.

⁵ i.e. of 20 Sept., protesting against his visit to Copenhagen without previous permission; reply, 22 Sept.; for both see *Letters*, iii. 441–3, Guedalla, ii. 243, 246–7.

⁶ See Gladstone to Granville, tel. 10 Sept., objecting to the proposed Council of State as intolerable, P.R.O. 30/29/127.

1106. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Sept. 28. 1883.

1. Ripon to my surprise recommends the postponement of the Ilbert Bill till the spring that it may be decided by a vote of the House of Commons. I telegraphed my dissent to Kimberley who leant that way, and asked if he thought a Cabinet would be necessary. I send you his reply just received.¹

2. I have read Mr Shaw's account in the *Standard & Daily News* of today.² I conclude you will have to set the Law Officers at work upon the case pretty promptly.³ The Pritchard case will doubtless be looked up. Though I suppose it is materially different from having occurred apart (I think) from military operations. Do you recollect that during the Franco-German War German troops went into an English House, drank the wines, consumed the provisions & fodder, & stole (so ran the account) the articles of toilette?⁴ I was very indignant but you were advised that we had no case for compensation. This was a case of *property* only, and I know not how far the difference is material that that was in a state of war regularly established & with time to all parties to get out of the way. Upon the whole this Shaw affair does not improve one's appetite for dinner.

3. Please let me be advised as to a proper answer to the Telegram inclosed from 'General' Booth which reached me this forenoon.

1107. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 246]

Walmer Castle. Oct 1/83.

I quite agree about the Ilbert bill, as I believe I mentioned to you.

I am inclined to expect that the Fr. Gov if it remains in power which seems doubtful, will do what is right about the Shaw case. D'Aunay spoke of the *agreement* between Waddington & me, which is more than I have a right to claim.⁵ But I see that the Debats in a very sneering article against Shaw, admits that he must be compensated.

¹ The Ilbert bill submitted Europeans to the jurisdiction of Indian magistrates in certain cases; see from Kimberley, 26 Sept.; to Kimberley, tel. 28 Sept.; and reply, tel. 28 Sept., agreeing not to postpone and declining a cabinet if Northbrook and Hartington also agreed; all Add. MS. 44228, fos. 114-17.

² See the *Standard*, 28 Sept., p. 3b, for report of Shaw's account of the Madagascan incident to a public meeting convened by the London Missionary Society, 27 Sept.

³ For submission to the law officers, 6 Oct., of the question whether Shaw had any claim to compensation, see F.O. 48/44.

⁴ See *Gladstone and Granville*, ii, no. 535.

⁵ See to Plunkett, No. 108A Africa, 24 Sept., for d'Aunay's statement that the French refusal to treat the mem. of 23 Aug. as an impartial statement was not meant to impair the agreement on the interchange of information as the means of settlement, F.O. 48/44; see p. 79, n. 4.

The Law officers are a little slow at this moment in giving their opinion upon anything. But I should much prefer the French taking the initiative.

I should think the best answer to Booth would be to say, that you are informed by me, that he will receive from the F.O., any information which is received there.

The excellent flyman though his hat was blown off once, and he was stopped twice at level crossings got me to Chester in time.

A[lfred] Lyttelton is charming, but I shall not trust him again at Bradshaw. He sent me two hours out of my way.

1108. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Oct 3. 83.

1. Thanks for the indications about Madagascar. I hope with you that you may be saved positive action about Shaw. But is not his 10 m[ilia] outrageous? What if they gave 1 m?¹ Should he be called to state his damages—direct & consequential.

2. Pray read Leroy Beaulieu in the Fortnightly.² The tone is good, & I like his addressing the nation directly, as O. Novikoff did: but the argument is thorny. And it is supported by words in the Preface to the Memoire of the *Société Indo-Chinoise* which imply that China is to be their India.

3. Pray read also a very interesting article in F[ortnightly] R[evue] on the Balkan peoples.³

I hope all we can do will be done in the sense which Musurus so much approves—viz. that whatever the Sultan gives up he gives up to the people, for their liberties and not for a change of masters.

This applies against Russia and Austria alike. But I regard the effectual transformation of Austria into a Slav Power as impossible, and the effort as most unwise, and very formidable for herself.

In this direction I cannot help seeing a possible ground of some future *entente* and cooperation with France.

Is it not strange to see how largely the *mot* of Metternich that Italy was a geographical expression is becoming applicable to Austria.

4. Your report of Alfred [Lyttelton] shows how useless it is to consult a lawyer without giving him a fee.

5. We go to Knowsley 9th.

¹ Shaw's claim for £10,000 was a *canard*; neither he nor the London Missionary Society made any exact claim to the F.O., see min. by T. V. Lister, 26 Sept., and L.M.S. to F.O., 9 Oct., F.O. 48/44.

² See Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, 'The Foreign Policy of France', justifying French overseas enterprises as benefiting others as much as France, *Fortnightly Review*, Oct. 1883, xxxiv, new ser. (xl old ser.) 457.

³ *Ibid.* 521, unsigned article by a 'writer who had taken an active part in European affairs', 'Russia, Austria and the Danubian States', on the theme of Austro-Russian rivalry.

1109. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Oct 4. 83.

1. I like the idea of a division between France and China which shall give China the Red River.¹ Might not France 'gild the pill' a little by stipulations for the liberty of commerce on that River?

2. Should not Mr Locock say what he fairly can at Belgrade at the wild course which the Kinglet of that country seems bent on pursuing?² The Russians will never stand by if Austria intervenes against the popular will: the door is open for them to stir up a rising and perhaps let in Karageevich.

3. I telegraph to you about a note from Ld Mayor Elect³ which rather seeks to carry me by storm. I rather suppose I must accept but do not want to answer too briskly: you may perhaps give me the benefit of some useful suggestion.

4. Offers gone to Leinster, & to Argyll with cumulation, by the Queen's desire.⁴

1110. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Oct 5. 83.

1. A glance at Mr Mongredien's pamphlet⁵ has not sufficed to give me clear ideas of what at first sight seems rather a complex plan: but be the plan what it may I think your idea of suggesting an early communication to Childers is certainly a good one.

2. Madrid—Belgrade⁶—Sofia. There is plenty of dirt in the sky. The German Telegram⁷ is a serious incident, and one difficult for France to

¹ Exact allusion untraced but see p. 88, n. 1, p. 89, n. 1, and no. 1114.

² See p. 90, n. 3; from Locock, No. 49, 2 Oct., substance telegraphed, reporting King Milan had returned from Vienna determined to disregard the radical victory at the elections; and No. 56 confidential, 4 Oct., commenting further, with mins. by Gladstone and Fitzmaurice, F.O. 105/39.

³ See from Fowler, 3 Oct., inviting him unprecedentedly early to the lord mayor's banquet, 9 Nov.; cf. Granville to Gladstone, tel. 4 Oct., advising him to leave the invitation unanswered, P.R.O. 30/29/127.

⁴ See to Argyll, 3 Oct., proposing he accept one 'of the vacant garters, cumulating it with your order of the Thistle'; to Leinster, 3 Oct., offering the other; Add. MS. 44546, fo. 166; see p. 96, n. 1; to succeed the Earl of Harrowby, died Nov. 1882, and the Duke of Marlborough, died July 1883.

⁵ See A. M. Mongrédien, *The Suez Canal Question* (1883) 48 pp., on alternative plans for giving Britain a larger share of control, either by removing the ban on any shareholder's having more than ten votes, or by distributing Britain's 176,650 shares among private British persons; sent to Gladstone by Granville, 4 Oct., see Add. MS. 44175, fo. 250.

⁶ See p. 90, n. 3, and no. 1109.

⁷ i.e. of protest against the greeting of the king of Spain in Paris with the cry 'mort au roi Uhlán' after his acceptance of the colonelcy of a Prussian regiment stationed in Strassburg; see from Plunkett, No. 678 confidential, 2 Oct., F.O. 27/2624.

bear, unless there were overt signs in the Paris demonstration which affected Germany.

We go to Knowsley on Monday.

1111. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 252]
Walmer Castle. Oct 5/83.

Many thanks for your letter. You will see a promising telegram from Lyons about Madagascar.¹

The Chinese attitude may help us.² How foolish of the Fr Govt, if they mean to [do] anything like the right thing, to be so long about it. Bismarck would either have cut up rough, or settled the whole thing in a week. You would have done it in a day.

Our difference, which is not large, about Bulgaria is this—that you are more afraid of Austria and I of Russia.

I have no doubt of Austria, having her ambitious views and particularly desires to have a share if there is a partition—But I believe she is at present seriously desirous of things being quiet & there is no concentrated national force, as in Russia, pushing her forward.

1112. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 255]
Walmer Castle. Oct 5/83.

The Queen has telegraphed to me to urge the P. of B[ulgaria] to appeal to the Powers.³ I have objected because although what the Prince says the Russians are doing is probably true, it is doubtful whether he can prove it. We cannot reckon on France at this time, and we know the Central Powers although watching, will not move at present.

It would not be justifiable to urge the Prince to do that which we know would be unsuccessful.

The Russians are suspected of wishing to turn him out—they might be encouraged to put their intention into execution, if he took open & abortive action against them.

It would throw a great responsibility on us.⁴

I have been pondering over a representation to make to Russia, in the sense, upon which we agreed at Hawarden—there is so much complication in the matter, that it is not easy.

¹ See from Lyons, who had just returned to his post, tel. 6 p.m. and dispatch No. 108 Africa, 4 Oct., reporting Challemeil Lacour's giving him opportunity to hint that a spontaneous offer of compensation would end the Shaw case, F.O. 48/44.

² See from Lyons, tel. No. 57, 4 Oct., F.O. 27/2705.

³ On 4 Oct., that she thought Lascelles's tel. No. 18, 2 Oct., reporting Jomini's treating Alexander's assumption of the command of the Bulgarian army as a declaration of war against Russia, very serious and proposing as here described, P.R.O. 30/29/42.

⁴ See Granville to the Queen, tel. 4 Oct., in these terms, *ibid.*

1113. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Oct 6. 83.

Hatred of Russia, and I fear indifference to liberty, seem entirely to blind the Queen. As to the Prince of Bulgaria he has his character to make, or rather to redeem; and is just as much to be regarded with high vigilance, indeed with suspicion, as Austria or Russia. For my own part I find the subject extremely dark as you do, and the only party from whom I have seen no reason to withdraw confidence are the Bulgarian people.

How can the Prince appeal to the Powers with such unclean hands? His first duty would be in such a case to explain and justify his own conduct.

You could not answer I think otherwise than you did. I should gladly see you frame the appeal to Russia which you mention.

Lyons Tel. on Shaw.

Are not the French probably staggered at the £10,000? It w[oul]d be enough to compensate an Abp of Canterbury.¹

Plunkett seems a little hasty with his nails in the coffin of the Republic.²

1114. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 258]

Oct 6/83.

I urged on Waddington (which by the way I forgot to record) to take the initiative, & propose the throwing open the commerce of the river to all nations³—that the Chinese had on a previous occasion told us, & I believed other Powers that they were ready to do so—& that he might settle the question by taking the wind out of the Chinese sails. But he would not hear of it. He said that the Chinese only proposed it, in order to assert their sovereignty over the whole of the river, which it was impossible for the French to accept.

About Bulgaria I will wait your answer to my note of yesterday. Is it clear that the Austrians have advised the Prince to be reactionary—they disclaim having given him that advice on the former occasion.

About the Lord Mayor.⁴ If people choose to send one invitations at an unusually long notice, I do not think it discourteous to keep them waiting a short time for an answer. Fowler has not any right to ask you privately to facilitate matters for him. It will probably be a very tory audience on the 9th.

I rather regret the cumulation.⁵

¹ See nos. 1107, 1108.

² See Plunkett to Granville, private, 2 Oct., commenting on the incident involving the king of Spain 'that it is another nail in the coffin of the Republic is certain, but today nobody can say more', P.R.O. 30/29/173.

³ See no. 1109.

⁴ See p. 93, n. 3.

⁵ See p. 93, n. 4.

1115. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Oct 7. 83.

1. Both the ducal answers are pleasant in tone but Leinster refuses, Argyll accepts. What is to be done? I send A's letter.¹

2. A shade of difference as to the relative dangers from Austria and Russia in the Balkan Peninsula is of little moment between men who are for the respective populations against them, and such I believe is our state of mind.

In my view the cases of the two are extremely different in almost every point. The Russian *people* have strong sympathies with the Balkan populations. There is no Austrian people of which this can be said, though a fraction has sympathies and another fraction, the magyar, antipathies. Russia as a state, again, can work among these populations with far greater force, having a hold upon them by the past and the future, such as Austria has not. This may of course tempt Russia more strongly in proportion. Again Russia has much greater motive for disturbing Turkey: while Austria seems to have a notion, probably a very false one, that she can *strengthen* herself by extension eastwards. Unfortunately it has long been her besetting sin to make light of the sympathies of the populations. On the whole any fear I have of Austria is in the main a fear that Bismarck may think fit to propel her. But for the present I do not believe that either Austria or Russia can desire a crisis. I am very glad to see the Austrians disclaim the bad advice given to the Bulgarian Prince.

To Knowsley tomorrow. Irving is to dine there on Wed[nesday].

I hold Fowler in suspense. But the answer must I suppose for me at any rate be yes.²

1116. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Knowsley. Oct. 9. 83.

I think you should see what Spencer further writes to me on the subject of Trevelyan & the Cabinet.³ It is perhaps due in a great degree to high honour and unselfishness. In any case, it only discusses one part of the question, that which touches the Irish Government. But there are I conceive other serious difficulties in raising the question as an isolated one.

¹ See Leinster to Gladstone, 5 Oct., refusing the K.G. (as his father had done, see *Gladstone and Granville*, i, nos. 158, 160), Add. MS. 44783, fo. 199; Argyll to Gladstone, 5 Oct., accepting 'in the light of those days the happiest of my life during which both my personal and political relations with you were very close', Add. MS. 44105, fo. 163; see also p. 98, n. 1.

² See Gladstone to Fowler, 9 Oct., accepting the invitation, Add. MS. 44546, fo. 169.

³ To Gladstone, 7 Oct., recommending Trevelyan's admission to the cabinet, since it would strengthen the Irish government, Add. MS. 44310, fo. 156.

Nor is there any great present call the other way. It is very doubtful whether legislation exclusively Irish can much enter into the plans for next Session.

As to Spencer's remark about an increase of influence to the Lord Lieutenant in regard to his plans, in quiet times this might be so, but I do not hesitate to say that in my opinion since May 1882 Spencer's influence on these matters would have been diminished & not increased by having some one to speak for him as this would have opened the other side. With the Cabinet he *has been* almost omnipotent.

The Trevelyan's come to us next Saturday on their way to Ireland.

Mongredien's plan¹ is of extreme ingenuity: I have given it to Derby to read. I do not feel sure that it has the character of directness which ought to mark all the proceedings of a great Government. How does this strike you?

1117. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Knowsley. Oct. 10. 83.

On Baring's excellent letter of the 27th² I have a few observations to make.

It is most desirable I think to press forward the reduction of European civil servants *now* while the military occupation lasts; for the subject would be a dangerous one for the Khedive when we are gone, and the sooner the normal point is reached the better.

The same observation applies to the taxation of foreigners, and both these in helping the finance will help the popularity of the Khedive.

But I do not see in either of these measures any reason for remaining at Cairo and the relief to finance by our withdrawal is a most important consideration. I cannot conceive how while we remain in the country there can be any such danger as would justify our remaining at Cairo.

What Baring says of the debts of the fellaheen is formidable & rather new to me: I do not venture to say any thing of it.

Blunt is really intolerable:³ I wish we could forbid him the country as much as Arabi. Derby seems to sympathise with this yearning of mine.

We return on Friday.

¹ See no. 1110.

² To Granville, private, 27 Sept., a general review of the position soon after his arrival in Egypt, saying that he hoped to be able to recommend a reduction of the army and mentioning the matters on which Gladstone comments, P.R.O. 30/29/161.

³ See to Hamilton, Suez, 3 Oct., declaiming against the khedive as the sole obstacle to the pacification of Egypt, Add. MS. 44110, fo. 65; marked 'seen by Ld G Oct. 25' and has min. by Hamilton, 27 Oct.

1118. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 264]
Oct 11/83.

On the whole I incline to Derby,¹ or still better to leave one garter vacant.

You will see that Baring is about to recommend the withdrawal of troops from Cairo, leaving 3000 at Alexandria.²

I presume I am right, in telling Hartington³ that no further decision of the Cabinet will be necessary for him to take the necessary steps, when we receive Baring's telegram [*sc.* despatch].

But in the meanwhile the Queen is sending me angry telegrams.

1119. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 262]
Walmer Castle. Oct 11/83.

I return Spencer's letter. He has written to me in the same strain.⁴ You are probably right as to his motives—I agree with you, at all events as to a little delay.

I have put Mongredien into communication with Childers—the former will probably come here to talk over trees. I will get another copy of the pamphlet from him.

I was smitten with the idea of getting rid of the position of shareholder.

I send you copies of a short correspondence between the Queen & me on the subject of Cairo.⁵

Who ought to take her pleasure about the withdrawal of Troops.

1120. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]
Knowsley. Oct 12 83.

Lascelles Sept 10⁶

Kennedy Sept 24⁷

¹ i.e. as candidate for the K.G. vacant by the Duke of Marlborough's death, declined by Leinster; see nos. 1077, 1096, p. 93, n. 4, p. 96, n. 1, and no. 1121.

² From Baring, tel. No. 126, 9 Oct., announced a dispatch to recommend withdrawal from Cairo; missing from F.O. 78/3562 and 3563.

³ Who had written, 9 Oct., asking whether the battalion whose withdrawal had been prevented by cholera, might now come home, and 10 Oct., on receiving Baring's tel., to say he would wait for the cabinet and Baring's dispatch, P.R.O. 30/29/133.

⁴ 8 Oct., that he would not object to Trevelyan's being in the cabinet if his own superiority was made clear, P.R.O. 30/29/29 A.

⁵ See to Granville, tel. 11 Oct., on her great astonishment at Baring's tel. advising the withdrawal of troops from Cairo; and reply, 12 Oct., also expressing his surprise and promising to write to her, P.R.O. 30/29/42.

⁶ Nos. 74 and 75 confidential, reporting a conversation in which Prince Alexander complained of his treatment by Russia and described his proposed constitutional reforms and Lascelles mechanically repeated Granville's advice to win the support of his people, F.O. 78/3529.

⁷ No. 221 confidential, reporting Giers's opinion that Prince Alexander's constitu-

Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the language of Prince Alexander. It is evident that with his double election, & limited suffrage which I take to be quite alien to the habits of the Southern Slavs, he is trying, after failing in his attempt to destroy even the name of a Constitution, to provide that in returning to the name under compulsion he shall escape the thing. And the idiot, for such he seems practically to be, does not see that he can only fight the Russians (apart from violence, & from foreign support) by a frankly popular policy.

It is perhaps because they see this that they speak & can afford to speak in a tone of reliance on the popular feeling.

We are just going home after a pleasant visit.

I do not think Lascelles abounded much in your sense—according to his own account of the interview.

1121. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Oct 13. 83.

1. I do not understand the Queen's surprise.¹ Surely we could obtain Baring's opinion without a previous reference to her. Probably she infers from the terms he uses that we meant to leave Cairo without consulting her, which would be quite wrong. I take it for granted she does not refer to Port Said.

2. I telegraph to you on the point just named & also on the submission.² But I will get my Cabinet reports to H M down from London, and see what they contain. For the present I rest on my own & your recollection.

Derby, by the bye, conveyed to my wife that one of B[eaconfield]'s great points with H.M. was that she should insist upon previous references to her in all matters of any sensible weight.

3. I observe you think with me as to Trevelyan and the Cabinet. Spencer has not looked at the question all round: nor is it his business to do this. It would entail (1) probable jealousies. Take Lefevre for instance. He is a very able man, six years *older* than Trevelyan, and distinctly *ahead* of him in Parliamentary or at least official, service until Trevelyan's last move: & at that time Lefevre would certainly have had the first turn but for the mere accident that he had just before used one or two very rough expressions about the Irish party. Nor is L. the only one, in H of C. I mean; for (2) in H. of L. the measure would entail a reconsideration of

tional policy was directed as much against the Bulgarian people as against Russia, F.O. 65/1157.

¹ See p. 98, n. 5; and Granville to the Queen, 12 Oct., explaining the failure to submit the request for Baring's opinion about withdrawal from Cairo, and assuring her that any action in consequence of his opinion would be submitted, P.R.O. 30/29/42.

² 13 Oct., agreeing that he could tell Hartington as proposed in no. 1118, P.R.O. 30/29/127.

Rosebery's position—(3) there would be a row with the Queen for T[revelyan] alone; and perhaps still more if Rosebery were added, though I think she does not dislike him, or at any rate not so much as T[revelyan].

4. I agree with you about the Garter: & will at any rate do nothing at present.¹

1122. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 266]

Walmer Castle. Oct 13/83.

I have answered your telegram by an enquiry whether a Cabinet is necessary next week.²

Might it not be well for Lyons to inform Ch. Lacour, that if the answer is further delayed, I must ask you to summon a Cabinet.³

1123. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Oct 13. 83.

I am afraid of boring you about Bulgaria but I see that Lascelles wants leave of absence.⁴ This suggests to me two ideas. The first that when he comes here it may be practicable to learn more of his real mind, & his value as our agent, than is disclosed through his dispatches, which by no means satisfy me. He seems to have no eyes except for the Prince & the Russians, and does not see that there is a Bulgarian people, but transmits mechanically and formally what you say on that subject, seemingly without understanding it. Secondly: I do not know whether Dufferin's office at Constantinople gives him any *locus standi* as to Bulgarian affairs. But as it seems that, with so able a man as Baring on the spot, his Egyptian cares are likely to be much lessened, would it not be a great advantage if he could for a moment at least look to the Bulgarian question *in the large*, and put us in the right groove there. If we could make that whipper-snapper of a Prince see that he ought, like the Kings of Greece and Roumania, to make himself strong by keeping faith and by trusting his people, I cannot help thinking that we might do something by friendly influence to diminish his troubles on the Russian side.⁵

I need hardly say that nothing could be more satisfactory than our visit to Knowsley.

¹ See p. 96, n. 1, and p. 98, n. 1.

² See exchange of tels. 13 and 14 Oct., P.R.O. 30/29/127.

³ See to Lyons, No. 109 Africa, 14 Oct., on the danger of further delaying a reply to the mem. of 23 Aug. (see p. 79, n. 4, and p. 89, n. 1) and reviving the suggestion of a spontaneous offer of compensation to Shaw (see p. 94, n. 1), F.O. 48/44.

⁴ See from Lascelles, No. 95, 4 Oct., F.O. 78/3529.

⁵ See mins., on the back of Lascelles's No. 95, by Granville giving instructions for his leave to be granted, cancelling an earlier instruction and directing a tel. to go to Dufferin; see no. 1136.

1124. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 270]

Walmer Castle. Oct 14/83.

My recollection of what passed at the Cabinet¹ about the troops in Egypt, was that many expressed their strong desire that they might be taken away as early as possible from Cairo.

That no one spoke against it.

That Hartington grumbled a little, and that I excited some impatience by arguing that we ought first to have Baring's opinion.

I should think it would suffice to submit the question to the Queen and if she kicks, then to offer to summon the Cabinet.²

Hartington means at once to communicate confidentially with the Admiralty.³

1125. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 272]

Walmer Castle. [14 October 1883].

Baring heard all that Blunt had to say, & declared it to be all wrong. I should be afraid if we sent him Blunt's letter,⁴ that he might suppose we attached importance to him.

I hope that Hamilton will not communicate with him [i.e. Blunt], at all events till his return. I have a thorough mistrust of him. The stories that his wife put about as to what you had said (which was simply a lie), the telegram of his agent to advise Arabi to fortify Ismail[i]a, before the English got there, & many other similar facts, show that he is quite capable of making the most harmless communications with Downing St, an instrument with Arabi & others for mischief.

1126. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Oct 14 83.

1. Armenian Reforms.⁵ From the dispatches last printed this matter appears to burn. I wait with anxiety Dufferin's Report: and I hope he will recommend some intelligible representation to that Arch-liar and Arch-cheat called the Sultan, one of the greatest calamities, in himself, with which Turkey has been visited.

¹ See p. 87, n. 1, and notes of the cabinets, 8 and 22 Aug., Add. MS. 44644, fos. 95, 107.

² See nos. 1118, 1119, 1121; cf. Hartington to Granville, 14 Oct., agreeing that no fresh cabinet decision was needed but saying that, if the Queen objected, a cabinet should be summoned to consider her objections, P.R.O. 30/29/133; the cabinet did not meet until 25 Oct.

³ See Hartington to Granville, second letter, 10 Oct., *ibid*.

⁴ See p. 97, n. 3.

⁵ See no. 1105.

2. Bulgarian Army.¹ Here there appears to be a case for working against both the Prince and the Russians, by recommending adherence to the letter & spirit of the Treaty of Berlin which appear clear enough.

3. Baring No 127.² Two points strike me as fit to be considered with others

- a. Would the cession of the land to the Company bring in a large sum to relieve the Egyptian Treasury
- b. The Egyptian Govt may make, *if* it be expedient, a good dilatory answer by saying that they will not reply definitively until made aware what arrangements are to be made for improving the Canal and the passage of traffic.

4. Withdrawal of troops from Cairo. I am sorry to find that my telegrams of yesterday³ (or one of them) have not been clear. I send a fuller message today—And I now inclose to you my Cabinet Reports of Aug 9 & 22 *which please return to D[owning] St[reet]* on which I should say they leave the matter so, that

- a. if Hartington desires a Cabinet before action we ought to have one this week.
- b. It is just possible that H.M. if disposed to kick might notice that there had been no Cabinet immediately antecedent to the submission.

I take it for granted that we ought not to let the matter stand over for November meetings, & this I understood to be the sense of your letter of Thursday.

1127. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. O. 15. 83.

I have today read Dufferin's account⁴ of the interview with the Sultan on his return, and of his reasons for not introducing the Armenian question: nor will I dispute, against his superior knowledge, that he may

¹ See from Lascelles, No. 88, 2 Oct., describing Prince Alexander's assumption of the command-in-chief of the Bulgarian army as a counterblast to Russian opposition to the appointment of a Bulgarian minister of war *vice* the Russian one, F.O. 78/3529.

² Tel. No. 127, 13 Oct., reporting that the Suez Canal Company was pressing for the foreshore at Port Said and asking whether he should discourage or remain neutral, F.O. 78/3562; and reply, tel. No. 84, 15 Oct., instructing to advise Egyptian government to reserve its decision, F.O. 78/3561.

³ Tel. 13 Oct., asking should he summon a cabinet next week; and reply, tel. 13 Oct., 'for what is a cabinet necessary?', P.R.O. 30/29/127; for cabinet notes, in fact of 8 and 22 Aug., and for next cabinet, 25 Oct., see Add. MS. 44644, fos. 95, 107, 108; see also p. 87, n. 1, and p. 101, n. 2.

⁴ See No. 565 secret and confidential, 6 Oct., explaining that he had not mentioned Armenia, because, inasmuch as Britain could not use force, her only course was to wait until the sultan reformed Armenia of his own free will, F.O. 78/3513; see p. 90, n. 2.

have been quite right in preferring the circuitous method of communication, to which he refers.

What I am anxious & very anxious for is this, that when the crisis comes, as come it will, we, or the British Government of the day, may be able, unequivocally able, to show the world that it is freed from all obligation to assist the Sultan in maintaining his vile and shameful rule over Armenia.

This seems to me quite indispensable; but as to the form I am the worst judge.

I am a little surprised at some of Dufferin's phrases which seem to imply his thinking it possible that the Sultan may voluntarily improve the position of the Armenians, or others in a like predicament. I am not aware that he has ever done a good act towards any of them, except under compulsion or the immediate fear of it; and I am afraid it is too late for him to mend.

The paper of the conversations with the Ambassadors is very curious and interesting. I suppose it to be by the Grand Vizier or Foreign Minister.¹

I am waiting to hear more as to Cairo & the troops.

1128. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 275]

Walmer Castle. Oct 15/83.

The Queen has telegraphed satisfaction with the explanation.²

I have drafted an instruction to Lascelles about parting advice to the Prince of Bulgaria.³ I am afraid of condescending to particulars. Goschen & Dufferin were both of opinion that the Constitution was unworkable, & there is no doubt that the leader of the liberal party has a very indifferent character.

When asking Dufferin to shorten his leave, I mentioned Bulgaria as one of the reasons why he should go back. I will ask him what he could do. A visit to the place from him would create a good deal of alarm.

¹ A résumé of the sultan's language to the Italian, German, Austrian, Spanish, and Russian representatives was secretly communicated to Dufferin and enclosed in his No. 561 secret and confidential, 4 Oct., *ibid*.

² Tcl. 13 Oct., accepting his explanation of the failure to submit to her the request for Baring's opinion on the reduction of troops in Cairo (see p. 98, n. 5, and p. 99, n. 1), P.R.O. 30/29/42.

³ No. 74, 19 Oct., to take occasion, before going on leave, to remind Alexander that he could not maintain Bulgarian independence 'unless he makes it his chief object to secure the confidence and attachment of his subjects', F.O. 78/3527; see nos. 1141, 1142.

1129. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Oct 16. 83.

Omnibus letter

1. Referring to my telegrams,¹ I await your letter on the question of Cairo and the troops.

2. I took your suggestion about an intimation from me to Ch. Lacour² as only meant to meet a supposed overture from me. I therefore let it drop.

3. There are some parts of Blunt's letter³ which, indifferently as I think of him, I certainly sh[oul]d have wished Baring to see—my rule has always been to look in the declarations of even the extremest opponents for anything which either may have some small percentage of truth in it, or ought not to be let pass without contradiction (private in this case). I know not how it is that he writes to Hamilton, but you see it is personal & *tutoyant*, not official.

4. I cannot speak for Zancoff's⁴ character: my desire is to hold with the Bulgarian people. If the Constitution would not work, we surely ought to have been told how & why, it had failed. The two opinions of D[ufferin] & G[oschen] are of great weight; but it seems hardly a question to take on pure trust.

5. The story of £2400 for Shaw seems too good to be true—half the money would have been enough. How wise the Societies have been to gag him.

6. I am much disposed to take your advice about the Garter, & be still.⁵

7. What would you think of *Bath* for the vacancy in the Museum trust caused by the death of Lord Somers?⁶

1130. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44175, fo. 278]

Walmer Castle. Oct 16/83.

Baring has requested that the decision may not be announced before the arrival of his despatch.⁷

Hartington has deferred speaking to the military authorities till then as

¹ Tel. 16 Oct., that he was ready to submit the withdrawal of the troops from Cairo to the Queen in the name of the cabinet, P.R.O. 30/29/127; see p. 102, n. 3.

² i.e. on the Shaw case, cf. p. 100, n. 3.

³ i.e. of 3 Oct., see p. 97, n. 3.

⁴ He had resumed power in Bulgaria as the head of the ministry on the departure of the Russian generals, 19 Sept., see p. 89, n. 4, and p. 90, n. 1.

⁵ See p. 96, n. 1, p. 98, n. 1, and p. 226, n. 2.

⁶ See Bath to Gladstone, 24 Oct., accepting appointment as one of the trustees of the British Museum, Add. MS. 44783, fo. 272.

⁷ Tels. from Baring, Nos. 128, 129, 15 Oct., asking this, are missing from F.O. 78/3562 and 3563; cf. p. 98, n. 2, and Granville to Gladstone, tel. 16 Oct., replying to Gladstone's tel. with advice to await Baring's dispatch, Add. MS. 44175, fo. 279.

secrecy is hopeless. The despatch will give you the best brief.¹ You will remember that Sir Evelyn Wood approves of the withdrawal from Cairo, though strongly against all troops leaving Egypt. I will desire a short memo of what has passed to be sent to you.

1131. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44546, fo. 175]

[Copy] [Hawarden Castle]. 17 Oct. 83.

1. I refer to my telegram on Cairo & the troops. When Baring's report comes, which I suppose will be within a week or so; would it not save time if F.O. send me a separate copy.

2. You will read with interest Reeve's article on Lord Aberdeen.² My letter on Lord A. at the close has been published without any leave from me, perhaps by inadvertence.

3. I suppose that the Italian proposals on the Suez Canal, will be the subject of further consideration hereafter.

4. With you, I feel the attractiveness, as well as the extreme ingenuity, of the Mongredien proposal,³—but I feel scruples about it on the score of directness, which I think Derby shares.

5. There is an article on Bulgaria in the P[all] M[agazine] Gazette today which has the appearance of being well informed, and also, which is more rare, of a desire to speak well of everybody.⁴

6. The Article on Disintegration in the Q[uarternly] R[evue] is by Salisbury & is said to be mild.⁵

1132. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 282]

Walmer. Oct 17/83.

I send you full reports of what has passed between Waddington & myself.⁶

¹ i.e. in communicating with the Queen.

² See unsigned article, 'Correspondence of the Earl of Aberdeen 1850-53. Privately printed, 1880', *Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1883, clviii. 547, containing material on Palmerston's dismissal, the formation of the coalition, and a character study by Gladstone.

³ See p. 93, n. 5.

⁴ See the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 Oct., p. 6, 'Bulgaria of Today', describing the recent ejection of the Russians and the change of ministry.

⁵ See unsigned article, 'Disintegration', purporting to review two speeches by W. E. Forster, but generally described as a conservative party manifesto, *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1883, clvi. 559.

⁶ See to Gladstone, tel. 15 Oct., announcing Waddington's imminent arrival at Walmer, P.R.O. 30/29/127; mem. for No. 123A to Lyons, 17 Oct., reporting the French offer to Shaw of £1,000, their counter-statement to the mem. of 23 Aug. (see p. 79, n. 4) and an expression of regret for the discourtesy to Consul Pakenham, F.O. 48/45; see also mem. of the conversation in P.R.O. 30/29/144.

You will observe that I said nothing, excepting a protest against an unfair quotation—

To save time I have sent copies to Hartington, the Chancellor & Northbrook.

Is it necessary to have a Cabinet.¹

I suppose the French will be desirous of having an early answer—their Chambers meet on Tuesday.

1000£ is probably enough, and is indeed the sum you mentioned,² but I should have been glad if they had gone a little higher.

The regret is rather curt, and the explanation in their counter statement of the bombardment of Tananarivo is feeble—but I am inclined to accept without haggling putting forward the death of the Admiral³ as a reason for not going minutely into details.

1133. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 288]

Walmer Castle. Oct 18/83.

I have just rec[eive]d Baring's report,⁴ & had ordered it to be sent to you before I had read it.

I do not like it & have ordered it not to be printed or circulated till I hear from you.

I do not doubt that there is much truth in what he says, about the necessity of giving the Egyptian Govt their head within certain limits, if disturbances arise. But I see no object in putting all this into a despatch, which will be severely criticized by the Queen, and by the public if it is published.

I think this the more unnecessary as I doubt any disturbance arising.

Shall I telegraph⁵ to ask his leave to omit this part of the despatch, or at all events to put it into a separate Confidential despatch.

That is to say, if you agree with me.

[P.S.] I find the materials for a memo are so scanty, that I think it better to send you the papers, than to draw up a statement.⁶

¹ Not convened until 25 Oct.

² See nos. 1108, 1129.

³ Admiral Pierre died in Aug. soon after his return to France.

⁴ i.e. No. 450, 9 Oct., formally advising the withdrawal of troops from Cairo, leaving a small garrison in Alexandria (see p. 98, n. 2, and p. 104, n. 7) marked 'cancelled' and with passages marked for omission and alteration, P.R.O. 30/29/161; see exchange of tels. between Granville and Gladstone, 19, 20 Oct., agreeing on modifications and a cabinet on Thurs. 25 Oct., for this subject and for Madagascar, P.R.O. 30/29/127.

⁵ See to Baring, tel. private, 20 Oct., that Gladstone and he wished to put into a separate dispatch the passage about its being Egypt's responsibility to repress disorder and Britain's disinclination to interfere with rigorous measures to do so, P.R.O. 30/29/199.

⁶ i.e. for the Queen.

1134. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 292]
Walmer. Oct 18/83.

Waddington is gone. He pays a high tribute to Challemel Lacour. He doubts whether any other man in France would have had the moral courage to insist on the proposal which he has made.

He says that the other Ministers did not like it at all—they said 'it is all very well Ch. Lacour saying he will take upon himself the responsibility, but we cannot avoid ours'.

He believes that the Gov will have a majority on meeting the Chambers, that they will be supported in opposing the present Chinese proposals—but may be upset subsequently by some sudden move of the radicals supported by the conservatives.

He talks with great contempt of Grevy, & strong condemnation of Wilson, who he says is a shrewd tenacious Scotchman, absolutely unscrupulous, and without any of the checks which the religious feeling imposes in Scotland.

Ch. Lacour is ill & likely to be succeeded by Ferry. He himself has positively declared that he will not enter office during the present Chamber.

Acting with the Chancellor's concurrence I had asked Shaw what he claimed,¹ and under what heads. He has answered declining, & leaving it to the Gov, but intimating that it ought to be considerable.

1135. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44546, fo. 176]
[Copy] [Hawarden Castle]. 19 Oct: 83.

1. How good Baring's letters are. What I said of [showing] Blunt's letter² to him was not meant to be in derogation of what I had before said as to helping Blunt out of Egypt.

2. I say nothing about a Cabinet until I have seen Baring's dispatch about the troops and have considered that question (1) together with Madagascar (2). If I have to telegraph to you tomorrow I may describe them by these figures. The Att[orney] Gen[eral] who is here seemed to think this morning that much will be said about Madagascar & if this is just it may be well that the decision should be the decision of *all*. He has written to you his opinions.³

3. I feel the force of what Baring says about possible mischief to be done by false statements or severe judgment of the press in England. Might it not be well that the Egyptian Govt should itself supply to some paper or papers, in its own defence, intelligence when required?

¹ See p. 92, n. 1, p. 94, n. 1, and p. 100, n. 3.

² See p. 104, n. 3.

³ Henry James to Granville, 19 Oct., urged a remonstrance to the French and an attempt to obtain more than £1,000 for Shaw with mins. by other members of the cabinet, P.R.O. 30/29/144.

1136. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 296]

Walmer Castle. Oct 19/83.

I have telegraphed to Dufferin¹ to know whether he has any one whom he can spare, who can speak with authority to the Prince of Bulgaria during Lascelles' absence.

Are we not on velvet as regards the point on which you lay so much, & so just stress, with regard to Armenia.²

If you look at the enclosed correspondence,³ it appears to me that we have made it quite clear to the Sultan that the absence of reform, liberates us from any obligation.

On the other hand, the Sultan has not asked for Cyprus, and the Russians do not know of our declaration, which is important.

The Italian proposals about the Suez Canal,⁴ appear to be inconvenient, and are not backed up by any power. Kalnoky attributed them to the fussiness of Mancini.

As soon as we can settle the Lesseps difficulty, I presume we should ask the Powers to formally to [*sic*] assent to our proposal.⁵

Mongredien is here—a charming well conditioned man—great knowledge of trees, for 25 years President of the chess club—a first rate political economist, but like Cobden, a bad investor of his own money.

I told him confidentially your criticism.⁶ He acknowledged it as a possible weak point, but gave some reasons the other way, & urged that at any rate, the scheme might be used for pressure upon Lesseps.

He is quite ready to wait our convenience. It is a matter which it might be well to discuss.

I have just got the Edinburgh & the Quarterly.

1137. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [F.O. 78/3598 and P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Oct 20. 83.

1. *Suez Canal*. The letter from the Shipowners of Oct 12 is rather stiff. It rather strikes me that the foundation of an answer might be as follows.

¹ See p. 100, n. 5; and to Dufferin, private tel., 18 Oct., 'who is the best man capable of speaking with authority whom you could lend for Sofia during Lascelles's absence', P.R.O. 30/29/212.

² See no. 1127; the obligation would have been under the Anglo-Turkish treaty of June 1878; cf. n. 1105.

³ Not traced.

⁴ Not traced; see no. 1131; may relate either to a fresh agreement between the Company and the shipowners after the breakdown of the British agreement or to an arrangement with the khedive and Turkey to protect the shipowners against the Company; see no. 1065.

⁵ No proposals were made until concurrently with the proposals on Egyptian finance in 1884 and 1885.

⁶ See no. 1131.

They propose to assume the absence of any exclusive right and to take steps towards the formation of a new & independent Canal. But

1. The right to construct such a Canal is controverted and denied by various authorities from various quarters.

2. It is a matter of judicial decision, and cannot be disposed of by the judgment of the Association & its advisers, nor by this Govt. even were it advised in concurrence therewith.

3. Their proposed mode of proceeding is open to the objection that a most grave preliminary controversy would be introduced & measures of practical relief to trade seriously, perhaps indefinitely postponed.

4. It seems also indisputable that any operations having their seat in the Isthmus can be far more expeditiously & far more cheaply conducted by the present than by any other Company. Under these circ[umstance]s H.M.G. recommend that either the Assoc[iation] should enter into direct communication with the Co. and should thus ascertain what prospect there may be of obtaining through this medium the necessary advantages. This of course without prejudice to whatever title they may possess to proceed independently.

Or, H.M.G. are ready to receive any statement of their views on the measures deemed to be required by the Assoc[iation], or any similar statement from other qualified persons or bodies, and themselves to base upon these, so far as they may judge reasonable, communications with the Co.

At the same time H.M.G. would deem the *first* of these methods of procedure to be the more hopeful in the first instance, without its¹ in any way excluding a subsequent resort to the second.

I do not know whether you will find any thing workable in this well-meant suggestion from yours sincerely W. E. Gladstone.

[P.S.] I admit Mongredien may be indirectly if not directly useful.

Am not sure I know what you mean by our proposal. Probably memory fails me.

2. Yes. I hope we are pretty safe as to the [Anglo-Turkish] Convention about Armenia.

1138. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 306]
Walmer Castle. Oct 21/83.

Thanks for your excellent suggested draft to the Shipowners.

I did not keep a copy of my letter to you, and have not an idea what 'our proposal' meant, or to what it alluded.

¹ No. 1137 up to this point was sent to the F.O. to provide the reply to the Association of Shipowners, 30 Oct., and is bound with it; their proposal, as here described, arising from the abandonment of the agreement with Lesseps, is in F.O. 78/3598; agreement between the shipowners and Lesseps was reached, 30 Nov.

I see Spencer is with you.

I hope he will not take the rather 'Ashmead Bartlet[t]' view that Hartington takes of the French proposal.¹

1139. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 303]

Walmer Castle. Oct 21/83.

I send you memoranda from the 3 colleagues to whom I communicated the papers.²

I shall answer Hartington by asking him to read Palmerston³ on Lord Aberdeen's acceptance of the French proposal about Pritchard, which was a much stronger case, as the French were not in military occupation—& Pritchard was a Consul.

I cannot help thinking that James is a little scalded by the cold water of the Suez Canal negotiations.⁴

The Cabinet may suggest the best form of despatch—but I trust there is no likelihood [*sic*] of our completely repudiating the apology, & rejecting the compensation.

Hartington hopes there will be no cabinet on Tuesday, & I should think would not like Wednesday⁵—but I personally can come any day.

1000£ is 120£ more than the French representative (after proposing one half) agreed to in the Pritchard case. The French never paid anything.

1140. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Oct 22. 83.

I send you herewith copy of a letter which I have addressed today to Hartington.⁶

I think & hope he will soften his view of the Madagascar situation.

¹ Cf. Hartington to Granville, 19 Oct., on the inadequacy of the French offer of compensation to Shaw and of the expression of regret for the treatment of Consul Pakenham, P.R.O. 30/29/133; see p. 105, n. 6, and p. 107, n. 3.

² i.e. his mem. of French offer on Madagascar; mins. by Selborne, 19 Oct., for acceptance but making dissatisfaction plain, Northbrook, 19 Oct., for acceptance but proposing early promotion for Johnstone, Hartington, 19 Oct., against acceptance, P.R.O. 30/29/144.

³ 'Where good will exists the offended government ought to be rather easy as regards the amount of satisfaction', see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* 4 Feb. 1845, lxxvii. 116; Granville had already used this argument with the Queen, see tel. 20 Oct., P.R.O. 30/29/42.

⁴ See no. 1137.

⁵ See Hartington to Granville, 19 Oct., P.R.O. 30/29/133; and for cabinet of 25 Oct., see Add. MS. 44644, fo. 108.

⁶ Since his 'mental force' was unequal to any 'very grave and complex constructive measure', proposing the legislative programme for 1884 be limited to franchise reform without re-distribution, leaving open the extension of household suffrage to Ireland and leaving half the session for local government reform, Add. MS. 44546, fo. 179.

1141. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Oct 29. 83.

The practice of the Queen in telegraphing to two Ministers on the same subject¹ is rather novel, and also inconvenient, especially as she requires answers. I however sent an answer about Shaw which I thought would in no way *clash* with yours, & only differed in this that it virtually said 'I am sure you cannot be so absurd as to hold out, therefore I understand you to accept while you grumble'.

Of course there is no necessity of the same kind for me to write about Bulgaria and I shall be governed by your wish if you should express one.

Does it not look as if it might be a necessity to *extrude* Baker.

1142. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 310]

Foreign Office. Oct 31/83.

I have tried to meet the Queen's complaint of the despatch to Lascelles, without weakening our position.

I have told him to inform the Prince, that any efforts he makes to maintain the position of independence assured to Bulgaria by the Treaty of Berlin, in a spirit of reliance on the confidence & attachment of the inhabitants of that Principality, will meet with the approbation & moral support of this country.²

Many thanks for having written to the Queen about Shaw. It appears that she was only giving an academic opinion, & not making an objection.³

Harcourt is all Harcourt on the disagreeable explosions of last night.⁴ Parliament must devote itself to measures of coercion etc etc.

We had a very tiresome function at the Fisheries this morning.⁵

1143. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44546, fo. 185]

[Copy] Hawarden Castle. 3 Nov. 83.

The nut of the Speakership ought to be cracked at our November

¹ See the Queen to Granville, tel. 27 Oct., conditionally approving the proposed reduction of troops in Egypt to 3,000 men but protesting against the inadequacy of the compensation for Shaw; and reply, 28 Oct., P.R.O. 30/29/42; for its counterpart addressed to Gladstone and his reply, see *Letters*, iii. 449-51.

² The Queen protested against the blame imputed to Prince Alexander in No. 74 to Lascelles, 19 Oct. (p. 103, n. 3), see from Ponsonby, 25 Oct., P.R.O. 30/29/42; and to Lascelles, tel. No. 5, 31 Oct., cancelling the dispatch, F.O. 78/3527; from the Queen, 2 Nov., approving and adding to an amended version, P.R.O. 30/29/42, which was addressed to Nicolson, who was acting for Lascelles, F.O. 78/3527.

³ See the Queen to Granville, 28 Oct., stating that although the reparation for Shaw was not enough it might be best to accept, P.R.O. 30/29/42.

⁴ Near Praed Street station and between Charing Cross and Westminster stations on the underground railway; see *The Times*, 31 Oct., p. 10b.

⁵ The closing of the International Fisheries Exhibition by the Prince of Wales.

meeting.¹ There are about three possible Speakers in the Cabinet.² The subject should not be first discussed in their presence. Nor would it do to gather the whole Cabinet except these three. What do you say to a meeting, on Saturday at noon, or on Monday following, between us two and the Chancellor, Derby, Hartington and Chamberlain or Dilke—with R. Grosvenor. The Speaker will be in town—shall I invite him.

[P.S.] The Derbys left us this afternoon. Nothing could be more kind, frank, & cordial than their manners.

1144. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 1]

Nov 5/83.

I shall be at your orders at 12 on Saturday.

Is it quite clear that the Speaker will not go on.

You remember that he was very decided last Spring about going, but later the family said he would yield to a little pressure.³

1145. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Novr. 5. 83.

We propose to go up on Thursday. Do you mean to attend the Lord Mayor's Dinner? If not, & if you are not to be in town on Friday will you send me any suggestions you think material. My idea is that the circumstances happily admit of a Guildhall speech shorter than usual: & that the noisy Tory Lord Mayorship recommends it also.

The intelligence from Servia by telegraph is menacing enough.⁴ I do not really know what is meant by Pan Slavism. If it signifies putting all the Slavs under the Czar I wish it all possible ill luck. But I am afraid this phrase is frequently used as a bugbear by those who like that creature King Milan wish ill to the local liberties of the Balkan States. I was glad to see that Kalnoky spoke sensibly of him.⁵

¹ i.e. Sat. 10 Nov.; for discussion of the Speakership, see Gladstone's notes of the cabinets of 13, 17, and 22 Nov., Add. MS. 44644, fos. 115, 120, 126; see p. 119, n. 1.

² i.e. Carlingford, Childers, and Dodson.

³ See p. 28, n. 5.

⁴ See from Locock, No. 66, 3 Nov., substance telegraphed, announcing a peasants' revolt and suspension of freedom of the press and public meeting, F.O. 105/40; and Gladstone to Granville, 5 Nov., urging him to instruct Locock to dissuade King Milan from these measures, P.R.O. 30/29/127; not acted on, since the revolt petered out, and not printed.

⁵ See from Elliot, No. 288 confidential, 17 Oct., reporting Kalnoky's refusal to advise Milan on internal affairs and his regret that Milan allowed partiality for Austria to be obvious, F.O. 7/1051; recently circulated in the confidential print.

1146. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. Nov 7. 83.

I send you herewith a note from Hartington on the Franchise, and copy of my reply.¹

1147. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. Nov. 14. 83.

I cannot help writing to you my thoughts on the remarkable conversation of the Austrian Minister to the Porte with Dufferin,² accentuated as it is by the menacing events in Servia, which that silly Monarch seems to be seeking to smother in a cloud of denials.

Dufferin has very wisely left the ground open for any thing he may have to say.

Might he not speak on some such lines as these.

1. That Great Britain has no special or separate interest in regard to Bulgaria—but feels a lively interest in the general welfare & tranquillity of the Balkan Peninsula.

2. These objects can only be promoted

a. by better government in the territory remaining under Turkish Administration.

b. by giving reality to the autonomies established by law, which means that the Sovereigns are to keep strict faith with their peoples according to the Constitutions lawfully established, and rely on the cordial union with their subjects—such union as prevails apparently in Roumania & in Greece—for the exclusion of all foreign aggression or influence akin to aggression.

3. Ideas have unfortunately gone abroad which cannot but be mischievous and unsettling, such as that the unwarrantable suspension of the Constitution in Bulgaria was due to foreign suggestion, and that there is now some tendency to a *tacit* understanding under which Russia is to leave Austria to use King Milan as an instrument, and Austria is to leave Russia to obtain such controul as she may desire over the Bulgarian Army. This passage might if needful be more veiled.

4. Under these circumstances our reply to Calice is that our policy in

¹ See p. 110, n. 6; Hartington to Gladstone, 6 Nov., that he remained unconvinced, after the cabinet of 25 Oct., of the expediency of lowering the Irish franchise and of separating franchise reform and re-distribution; and reply, 7 Nov., that he had proposed what would enable him in his 75th year to continue in office, Add. MS. 44146, fos. 228, 231.

² See from Dufferin, No. 579 confidential, 17 Oct., reporting Calice on Austria's interest in preventing Russia's domination of Bulgaria, Britain's still greater interest, and Russia's building an over-large Bulgarian army for her own aggressive purposes, F.O. 78/3513.

the Balkan peninsula is strictly & absolutely conservative: we desire that the Treaty of Berlin shall be maintained in the letter & in the spirit: we should approve of a steady & united policy of all the Great Powers in this sense, & should consider their readiness to promote such a policy as the test & measure of their attachment to this important branch of European law.¹

Do not reply.

1148. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Nov 23. 83.

Stokes called here in your absence and that of Childers, to say 1. that Lesseps had made great progress with the Shipowners, and expected to agree² 2. that the French Consul from Egypt reported great 'pressure' on the Egyptian Govt to give a concession for a new Canal to a rival Company, and an idea that this pressure was from us.

Though rather unwilling to meddle, I thought under the circ[um]stance[s] I ought to assure him that the idea of any such pressure was totally and absolutely groundless, and that to exercise it would be contrary to our fundamental rule which required us to respect the freedom of the Egyptian Government in all matters of private right unconnected with the purposes for which we hold at present a special position in Egypt.

Hartington has asked³ [for] & I am going to send the memorandum.

1149. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44176, fo. 2]

Windsor Castle. Nov 23/83.

Only look at the last paragraph of the enclosed letter.⁴ I had never heard of the rumour, but it gives me a peg upon [which] to hang this observation—that the Tory bishops vote without scruple against us in the Lords—that the liberal bishops hardly ever vote with us—that as the Bishops have a twofold character ecclesiastical & political—that some consideration

¹ See to Elliot, No. 251, 15 Nov., directing him to speak to Kalnoky as Gladstone here proposed, F.O. 7/1047; Sanderson veiled Gladstone's proposed third point (cf. secret protocol of the *dreikaiserbund*) so that nobody but Granville would know what it meant and Granville omitted it altogether as a weak repetition of 'hands off', P.R.O. 30/29/127.

² For negotiations between the Association of Shipowners and the Suez Canal Company, about the arrangements for the improvement of the Suez Canal, see nos. 1137, 1138, 1160, and 1171.

³ 23 Nov., asking for a copy of the mem. read by Gladstone to the cabinet, 22 Nov., to prove that franchise reform should be separated from re-distribution, and hinting at his resignation if this programme held, Add. MS. 44146, fo. 233; and reply, 23 Nov., sending the mem., Add. MS. 44546, fo. 195.

⁴ Lloyd to Granville, not traced.

should be given to political views, when ecclesiastical qualifications are nearly balanced.

The animosity [in the country] against the Bishops in the Lords, is sure to encrease, if their votes are always thrown into one scale.

1150. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

10, Downing Street. Nov 24. 83.

1. I can allay your anxieties on this occasion:

(1.) the Southwell Bishopric¹ is not ready & I know not when it will be.

(2.) I never heard of Mr Lloyd's existence until I got your letter.

Generally, I quite admit the difficulty as to the politics of Bishops. I will give you one out of many examples of the way in which the choice is hemmed in.

I want to recommend soon² an Evangelical Bishop. There are very few qualified men in that party, the 'brains' being for the most part divided among those of two others—There is one *eminently* competent man, however, viz. Bp Moorhouse: but I know nothing of his politics. And when one knows nothing, they almost always turn up *wrong*.

2. The suggestion of Baring to support the Egyptian Govt in application to Porte for leave to recruit in Turkish dominions.³

I do not quite know why they should not recruit in Egypt where the people make good soldiers.

But if we *support* the application it should only be for defensive warfare & not recruiting for the reconquest of the Soudan?

1151. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 4]

Walmer Castle. Nov 27/83.

I wrote on Saturday to Spencer, telling him shortly what had passed at Thursday's cabinet⁴—and at the end of it I mentioned to him that I thought you were uneasy about the Errington affair as regards the H. of Commons & I enquired whether I had been justified in stating to you that he[,] Spencer[,] attached great importance to what Errington was doing.

¹ An order in council dated 2 Feb. 1884, under the Bishops Act (1878), created the new diocese of Southwell when the endowment had been subscribed, *London Gazette*, 1884, 527; George Ridding was named first bishop.

² When the sees of Gloucester and Bristol were divided.

³ See from Baring, tel. No. 170, 22 Nov., reporting this Egyptian intention, No. 172, 23 Nov., reporting decision to hold Khartoum, Suakin, and Berber, No. 173, 23 Nov., on the hope of Turks from Albania and Thessaly, F.O. 78/3562; reply, tel. No. 105, 25 Nov., not objecting to recruiting in Turkey, and advising defensive operations limited to the three places, F.O. 78/3561, with mins. by Gladstone and Granville.

⁴ Granville to Spencer, not traced; see Gladstone's note of the cabinet, Thurs. 22 Nov. 2 p.m., Add. MS. 44644, fo. 126.

I mentioned that since I had spoken to you I had rec[eive]d a letter from Errington¹ complaining that his nose was out of joint, in consequence of the attitude Manning was taking, strongly criticizing the Pope's Irish Policy, which the Cardinal said was alienating the Catholic populations—and advising the Pope to send a letter of thanks to Archbishop Croke.

Oddly enough a letter on the same subject from Spencer² crossed mine. I send it to you—also a portion of a letter,³ which he has written to me since receiving mine.

I have also rec[eive]d a letter from Childers,⁴ which I enclose.

I sent Errington's letter in the first instance to Kimberley.⁵ It is mainly the same as the enclosed to Childers, which I believe you have read.

1152. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 8]

Walmer Castle. Nov 27/83.

Do you see any objection to using Gordon in some way.⁶

He has an immense name in Egypt—he is popular at home—He is a strong but very sensible opponent of slavery—He has a small bee in his bonnet—

If you do not object I could consult Baring by telegraph.⁷

1153. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 10]

Walmer Castle. Nov 27/83.

We should not leave Baring without any instructions, after the announcement he makes in No 188⁸—The recommendation he proposes to

¹ Not traced; see vol. i, p. 298, n. 4.

² Not traced.

³ Not traced.

⁴ 25 Nov., discusses the Suez Canal, but does not mention Errington, P.R.O. 30/29/118.

⁵ No copy of a letter to Kimberley enclosing one from Errington in P.R.O. 30/29/135, but Granville wrote to Childers, 27 Nov., that he had communicated with Gladstone, Spencer, and Kimberley about Errington, P.R.O. 30/29/118; and see Kimberley to Granville, 3 Dec., on supporting the nuncio in Lisbon about the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Goa, P.R.O. 30/29/135.

⁶ See Childers to Granville, 27 Nov., forwarding Col. Bevan Edwards to Sir A. Clarke strongly advocating the employment of Gordon with a few Indian troops in the Sudan (printed S. Childers, *The Life and Correspondence of Hugh C. E. Childers*, 1901, i. 176), P.R.O. 30/29/118.

⁷ To Baring, tel. No. 117, 1 Dec., F.O. 78/3561; and adverse reply, tel. No. 198, 2 Dec., F.O. 78/3562; for revival of the proposal in Jan., see p. 149, n. 3.

⁸ Tel. No. 188, 26 Nov., replying to Granville's tel. No. 105 (see p. 115, n. 3) that the khedive had given up the plan to recruit in Turkey and that, if the report of the defeat of Hicks proved true, he and Generals Stephenson and Wood proposed to recommend as described, F.O. 78/3562.

make of a Turkish Regt with English officers appears [to] be exceedingly doubtful even if the Sultan consents which I think very doubtful. He will probably insist upon a larger force under his own officers.

In any case the recommendation should hardly come from Baring or Stephenson.

Please let me know your opinion. It is very ticklish either way.

1154. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 3]
[Copy] [Oxford]. Nov. 28. 83.

1. I do not see any thing so bad in Baring's hypothetical recom[menda-tio]n as to think we sh[oul]d put an absolute negative on it but then I understand by Turkish only men recruited in Turkey, e.g. Albanians.¹

2. Having always had great suspicion about Khartoum I am not sorry to see matters verging towards the abandonment of it, altho I hope the scattered garrisons & detachments in the Soudan will be saved.

3. I am not myself entirely convinced that the Turks should be prevented from sending aid for the Soudan if they desire it but it w[oul]d be at best a thorny subject, & the known bad faith of the Sultan might probably render anything of the kind impracticable.

1155. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 12]
Walmer Castle. [28 November 1883].

I send you an important letter from Northbrook & its enclosure.²

I do not wish to ask for a Cabinet unnecessarily, but one may be necessary soon.³

1156. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 3]
[Copy] 29: Nov: 1883.

I send back y[ou]r various enclosures:⁴ & I can quite understand that there might be advantage in the employment of Gordon—but for what? & by whom? I am a good deal startled at Northbrook's letter: it seems to indicate a great movement of his mind since the last Cabinet. There may be risk from moral contagion in Egypt & the duty to keep English force

¹ See to Baring, tel. No. 112, 29 Nov., asking whether Turks officered by Englishmen were meant, F.O. 78/3561 and affirmative reply, tel. No. 195, 1 Dec., F.O. 78/3562. Gordon's mission caused the project to be dropped.

² Cf. to Granville, 28 Nov., urging the postponement of the Sudan's evacuation and insisting that the policy of detachment hitherto pursued was impracticable, after the defeat of the Hicks expedition on 5 Nov., and while Britain possessed the monopoly of armed forces in Egypt, P.R.O. 30/29/144, with min. by Gladstone.

³ Gladstone records no cabinet between 22 Nov. and 3 Jan. 1884.

⁴ i.e. in nos. 1151, 1152, 1155.

there till that danger has overblown may be clear but our engaging in warfare to recover the Soudan is quite another matter, esp: now that it seems so clear that Egypt has not strength enough to hold it.

Perhaps the first question we should converse on tomorrow ought to be whether to summon the Cabinet for Saturday.¹ I am due at Paddington 10.25.

[P.S.] Wheels drive very heavily in the Transvaal business.

1157. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 5]
[Copy] 1: Dec: 1883.

I read yesterday a dispatch of Elliot² reporting a conversation with Kalnoky: which closed with an intimation that Austria could not see with indifference the constitution of a Socialistic republic on her borders.

This is rather disquieting, & a very heavy responsibility surely will attach to any armed intervention in the affairs of any of the Balkan States.

It occurs to me that it w[oul]d be difficult to pass by an intimation of the kind without a mild notice.

It was a rather unnecessary remark of Kalnoky (who seems to be usually prudent) for surely the Slavs of the Balkans have not sinned in the manifestation of republican tendencies.

Might it be right to say through Elliot that we are deeply impressed with the responsibility of setting such an example of intervention, while we also agree in the inconvenience of the establishment of such a State; that without at present seeing reason to apprehend it we should readily instruct our representative to act with those of the other Powers in dissuading it.

What I suppose *may* be brought about by the folly of King Milan is a transfer of allegiance to Karageorgovitch [*sic*] which of course Austria would not like. The practical lesson seems to be that she should instruct him in sound political ideas.

1158. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
Secret. Dec. 3. 83.

I send you a letter from Hartington with my reply,³ which I hope you will approve.

¹ Cf. Gladstone to Granville, tel. 9.30 a.m. 29 Nov., urging, on receiving Northbrook's letter, some communication in London on Sat. 1 Dec., Add. MS. 44176, fo. 12; the cabinet was apparently not summoned.

² i.e. No. 314 confidential, 17 Nov., on the revolt in Servia (see p. 112, n. 4) and Austria's resolution neither to give moral support to King Milan nor to tolerate a socialist republic, F.O. 7/1051.

³ To Gladstone, 2 Dec., reaffirming his position (publicly expressed at Manchester,

My wife observes, with truth I think, that Freddy's death has acted on him in a twofold manner: one the withdrawal of a steady counsellor whom he loved, and much relied on; the other the horror with which he viewed the terrible & wicked act, & which has insensibly coloured his estimate of Irish affairs.

Goschen was finally deterred by *sight*.¹ A. Peel has accepted and I have told the Queen.

1159. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 14]

Walmer Castle. Dec 4/83.

I do not like the look of Hartington's letter at all—There is one sentence in your very able reply which may have an effect on him—but I doubt his being influenced by the arguments.

I hear that his father, either spontaneously or influenced by Hartington agrees with him.

I have written a short letter to him,² but I doubt its having much effect.

Chamberlain appears to me inexcusable.³ No one has a right to play according to his own hand, without any reference to the cards in his partner's.

I told Chamberlain what I thought of his Birmingham Speech.⁴ He did not seem to disagree. If I remember right his acquiescence was complete in what you said to him on the subject.

I made a protest in our last Cabinet⁵ against anyone doing exactly what he has done.

I talked to Hartington who ended as I told you by saying that he would confine himself to attacking Salisbury.

27 Nov.) on parliamentary reform (p. 113, n. 1), Add. MS. 44146, fo. 235, B. Holland, *Life of the Duke of Devonshire* (1911) i. 396-7; and reply, 3 Dec., that the decision of the cabinet of 22 Nov. (p. 114, n. 3) 'was only contingent on parliamentary reform being taken in 1884 and advising consultation with Spencer, Add. MS. 44146, fo. 239; cf. mem. by Gladstone of 2½ hours' conversation with Hartington, [1?] Dec., Add. MS. 44767, fo. 131.

¹ See to Goschen, 17 Nov., offering the Speakership, Add. MS. 44346, fo. 192; note of cabinet, 22 Nov., referring to his probable acceptance, Add. MS. 44644, fo. 126; from Goschen, 29 Nov., giving the oculist's verdict and putting himself in Gladstone's hands and 1 Dec., finally declining, Add. MS. 44161, fo. 289.

² 4 Dec., on the danger to the government, the liberal party, and his own career if he resigned, P.R.O. 30/29/28 A, fo. 262.

³ For Chamberlain's speech at Bristol, 26 Nov., insisting on the separation of franchise reform and re-distribution and on the lowering of the Irish franchise, Hartington's at Manchester and Accrington, 27 Nov. and 1 Dec., in the opposite sense but claiming these questions were still open and Chamberlain's repetition at Wolverhampton, 4 Dec., see *The Times*, 27 Nov., p. 7a, 28 Nov., p. 7a, 3 Dec., p. 7a, 5 Dec., p. 6a.

⁴ See p. 55, n. 3, and no. 1044.

⁵ i.e. of 22 Nov.

From his letter to you it is evident that what he said was in consequence of Chamberlain's speech made with a purpose.

The whole thing is exceedingly hard upon you, who are doing so much for the country, and us all.

1160. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 19]

Walmer Castle. Dec 7/83.

I forwarded the Shipowners letter,¹ informing me of their agreement with M. de Lesseps, to our English Commissioners for any observations—these I have not yet rec[eive]d.²

I see in the papers that a meeting of the Suez Canal Directors was after some discussion adjourned for a fortnight, in order to know the views of the British Gov and there are some idle intimations that if the English Gov propose any fresh conditions M. de Lesseps will throw up the whole agreement.

I have asked Childers for his views.³

1161. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 21]

Walmer Castle. Dec 7/83.

I have rec[eive]d no answer from Hartington, nor did I much expect it.

I am rather unhappy at having contrary to my habit, committed myself to make 2 political speeches in London⁴ next week. It is difficult at this moment to be prudent, without being unpardonably pale.

Lady Harcourt has goodnaturedly undertaken for Lady G. to present Mrs Waddington to the Queen today.

Ponsonby remarks upon one American introducing the American wife of an Anglo-French Ambassador to the Queen of England.

[P.S.] Childers' assurances about the harmony of the Cabinet were very reassuring.

¹ See J. B. Westray, for the Association of Shipowners, to Granville, 30 Nov., and argument between their committee and Charles Lesseps for the Suez Canal Company, enclosed, F.O. 78/3594; see also no. 1148; for agreement between the Association and the Suez Canal Company, 30 Nov., see *B.F.S.P.*, 1883-4, p. 420.

² See from British Suez Canal Directors, No. 61, 6 Dec., on the composition of the proposed commission to inquire into the proposal to build a second canal, that it should be one-half British and include nautical men as well as shipowners and engineers, F.O. 78/3594.

³ See p. 126, n. 2.

⁴ i.e. on 11 and 13 Dec., after the conference of the officers of liberal associations and at the unveiling of Gladstone's statue at the City Liberal Club, see *The Times*, 12 Dec., p. 7b, 14 Dec., p. 7c; see also no. 1172.

1162. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 8. 83.

On this letter of H.M.¹ I telegraphed to you at once 'Could you not while waiting my reply to your No 2 of yesterday at once ask for passages to be pointed out'. The case stands thus. I read, at some cost of eyesight, Chamberlain's speech, but cursorily in the parts not relating to the Franchise; and I thought it required from me a request which I sent him that he in speaking again would maintain as much reserve as possible.²

He informed me³ that he spoke under the belief that the Cabinet had *decided* on bringing in a Franchise Bill at the opening of the Session: this was erroneous, but Hartington had the same belief.

Did you see any thing in the speech that constituted in itself an offence, or a violation of ministerial duty?

Chamberlain said his opinion was in favour of manhood suffrage. I do not agree with him: but was it an offence to hold the opinion, or even to declare it?

I suspect that these remonstrances⁴ are founded on secondhand information & that she has not read the speech.

On a former occasion I asked that the passages complained of should be pointed out—and got no reply.

I have no fears of you next week—but some commiseration for you.

There has been some correspondence with Spencer,⁵ who I think will be useful, & with Hartington, who promises to do nothing hastily.⁶

1163. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 8. 83.

I am not a good judge of the necessity of a Commission in the Congo case but if a Commission be needful or desirable I should be disposed to

¹ Not traced, but presumably protesting against Chamberlain's speeches at Bristol and Wolverhampton.

² See to Chamberlain, secret, 3 Dec., asking for as much reserve on pending and proximate questions at Wolverhampton as his conscience would allow, Add. MS. 44547, fo. 6.

³ See from Chamberlain, 8 Dec., as here reported, Add. MS. 44125, fo. 213.

⁴ Cf. the Queen to Granville, 9 Dec., P.R.O. 30/29/31; and reply, 13 Dec., *Letters*, iii. 458–9.

⁵ See from Spencer, 4 Dec., doubting whether Hartington would adhere to his position, promising to urge him not to resign, and agreeing with him about Ireland; reply, tel. and letter, 8 [*sc.* 6] Dec., urging that Irish considerations belonged to the redistribution side of parliamentary reform; from Spencer, 7 Dec., thanking and saying that he would leave the initiative to Hartington; all Add. MS. 44310, fos. 170–5, 177.

⁶ See from Hartington, 5 Dec., replying as here reported to Gladstone's letter of 3 Dec. (p. 118, n. 3) Add. MS. 44146, fo. 243.

yield to the Portuguese proposal,¹ still with the intention of appropriating no exclusive advantage.

1164. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 23]

Foreign Office. Dec 10/83.

It is a matter of discretion, whether Chamberlain is right to volunteer arguments in favour of Universal Suffrage, which is not in the programme of the Cabinet.

It does not strike one as the best way to facilitate the passage of the more moderate reforms we propose. But I do not see that the Cabinet could quarrel with him on this.

On the other hand I do not see the answer to the Queen's letter² which I enclose.

Even if we had decided which we did not, that a franchise bill was to be introduced, there is no doubt that [when] it's extension to Ireland was under discussion that one important member³ of the Gov strongly objected to it—and that the consideration of it was postponed by you for some weeks. Under these circumstances no one in the Cabinet had any justification for speaking on the subject as Chamberlain did.

It either forced Hartington's hand in an unfair way, or excited him to make the regrettable declarations which he did in Lancashire.

It looks to me as if the Queen's first letter had been written offhand, and the second under advice. But it is not wise of her to interfere in this matter.

I am rather sorry that I have to attend the Council on Wednesday, and the presentation of the Siamese.⁴

1165. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret.

Hawarden. Dec. 10. 83.

Hartington's difficulties and scruples⁵ constitute a serious affair, on which I naturally ponder a good deal: and I wish to submit to you one or two points in connection with it.

1. When I told you in the Summer that I could face the early part of the next Session provided the Cabinet should think proper to open it with a

¹ For Anglo-Portuguese rather than an international commission to ensure the free navigation of the Congo; see p. 42, n. 1 for Anglo-Portuguese treaty, 26 Feb. 1884; not ratified owing to European opposition; no. 1163 circulated by Granville at Fitzmaurice's instance, F.O. 84/1808; see min. by Granville, 5 Dec., and to Fitzmaurice, 8 Dec., P.R.O. 30/29/195; Portuguese proposal adopted.

² To Granville, 9 Dec., P.R.O. 30/29/31, *Letters*, iii. 458.

³ i.e. Hartington.

⁴ Prince Nares Varariddhi, the new envoy of the king of Siam.

⁵ See p. 118, n. 3, and p. 121, n. 6.

Franchise Bill, I had no reason to suppose that such a decision of the Cabinet was likely to raise difficulties on the part of Hartington. I think the votes he had given in favour of enlarging the County Suffrage justified me in an opposite conclusion: and when he made the unfortunate declaration last winter about concessions to Ireland, I certainly never thought he meant that Ireland was to be excluded from concessions made *de novo* to Great Britain; nor does he now say this. (In truth I think he has been driven by impulses, and is in almost hopeless embarrassment as to argument.)

Now it would certainly be most improper that the Cabinet should take up the Franchise Bill, and give it precedence, at the cost of unshipping Hartington, *in order* to retain me: that they should part with the proximate leader of the House of Commons when in his maturity, with no other compensation than that of retaining a man who must on any showing be so near his *exit*.

I do not say the Cabinet should be governed in its decision as to the Franchise Bill by the *aye* or *no* of Hartington: this is a very wide proposition, to which I am not at present prepared to subscribe. But they ought *not* to be governed by it as a condition of retaining me. The question for the Cabinet is, does the public interest require us to go forward at once with the Franchise Bill? This should be decided on its merits, without respect of persons. If the answer be yes, no question arises thereupon for me. If the answer be no, I am placed in considerable difficulty, and do not see my way, yet I would look for a way rather than without looking cause any crisis. Remember the Cabinet is still free to decide either way. But what I dwell upon is that the decision should be upon the merits, or at least that it should not be taken affirmatively for the sake of keeping me in office.

2. I have considered whether Hartington should not be asked in no case to make up his mind adversely without prior personal communication. In writing a letter, a man may dwell simply on objections, and make a case upon them: but in personal communication he may be tied to stating his alternative. I incline to think that, if this is to be asked of him, it might best, at any rate for the present, be done by you, not by me. And *if* you should see him, you would be quite free to let him know as much as you might think proper of what I have said above.

In conclusion. Spencer's line with him will I think be a good one. *He* (S.) is strong for a large system of minority voting, the very thing which H. has glanced at as a possible solution. But a solution, S. will urge, which can only be dealt with in a following year, as a part of re-distribution.

Upon the whole I am of opinion

1. That Hartington's negative, most serious for the Govt., would be still more serious for himself.

2. That on public grounds it will be proper to decide affirmatively

about the Franchise, under the circumstances as they are: but the matter is so complicated with the personal questions in their present position, that I do not altogether trust my own judgment in the degree commonly allowable.

1166. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]
Hawarden Castle. Dec. 10. 83.

While thoroughly concurring in the spirit of your draft to Musurus,¹ I have one or two changes to suggest.

(1) the bulk—qy read for stricter accuracy 'a large portion'

(2) 'possibly react on a portion of the population' might it not be safe to generalise this & wrap it up a little. e.g.

'may possibly produce inconvenience or even danger to Egypt.'

(3) After 'responsibility thrown upon them' I should like to put in 'under circ[umstance]s which will not have escaped Y[our] E[xcellency]'s recollection'.

My object is to refer to our having at that time thro[ugh] Musurus pressed the Sultan to intervene—

But if you doubt I do not press it.

Your ciphered Tel. on China rec[eive]d.²

1167. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 31]
War Office. Dec 12/83.

I sent a telegram to you about Hartington's promise not to make up his mind until after personal communication.

I told him much that was in your letter—(which I do not think helps the solution).

He said very little to me. Northbrook tells me he is very stiff.

He talks of calling on me tomorrow.

1168. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
1. Cabinet. Dec. 12. 1883.

I telegraph to you today in view of the Council³ as follows: 'Your letter of tenth. Not he only but both were mistaken on the matter of fact, and

¹ See to Dufferin, No. 422A, 11 Dec., recording his expression of surprise and promise of a written reply to Musurus who had called for an answer to a Turkish request for the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt, F.O. 78/3524.

² i.e. tel. 1.25 p.m. 10 Dec., 'I have seen French ambassador confidentially. French and Chinese both ready to make some concession, but are still wide apart', P.R.O. 30/29/127; sent to the Queen, P.R.O. 30/29/42; see also to Lyons, No. 1198 secret, 10 Dec., recording the concessions about the Red river, F.O. 27/2706; see nos. 1095-1100, 1102, 1109, 1111, 1114.

³ i.e. privy council meeting and possible need for communication to the Queen.

thought the question had been decided which it was not. I learned this Monday third, and wrote to him immediately.'

The points are these.

1. A mistake of fact has been at the bottom of the whole affair. It is difficult to blame Chamberlain sharply for this mistake, inasmuch as he shared it with Hartington.

2. But even with this misapprehension he was wrong in using words which *implied* that we had decided: & the moment I found it out, I wrote to him urging on him reserve.

3. His & Hartington's mistake included the Irish point, which both considered to have been decided.

4. I think with you that C. ought not to have spoken about manhood suffrage, but also that this is a matter on which it would be hard to found either quarrel or rebuke. (Evidently H.M. is still bewitched by Disraeli's minimising statements to her on Household suffrage and believes it to be something infinitely different from manhood suffrage).

5. The Queen is perfectly justified in expecting to be informed on all such matters before the Cabinet can finally resolve and I would on no account fail in this duty. In making your explanations to the Queen please to state this strongly as from me.

6. As she has written only through you it is probably best that I should not make any direct communication on this matter.

I learn that storm-disturbances may a little delay my telegram.

I send you herewith my correspondence with Chamberlain.¹

1169. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

2. Baring's Decypher Tel.²

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 12. 83.

On Baring's 2d alternative of withdrawal to Wadi Halfa, how is it possible for us to give an opinion, or form a conjecture, without some knowledge of the condition of the country between this place & Khartoum: its military position, & the power of easy defence; its civil condition & the power of easy steady Government. I cannot even find in any map I have here [where] the place is & whether within the limit mentioned by Wolseley.

¹ See no. 1162; to Chamberlain, secret, 10 Dec., insisting that the cabinet's decision on 22 Nov. to introduce franchise reform alone was contingent on parliamentary reform being taken at all; and reply, 11 Dec., marked 'sent to Lord G.', Add. MS. 44125, fos. 216, 218.

² To Granville, tel. private, 10 Dec., urging a decision on Sudan policy, either to hold Khartoum northwards by British and Indian troops, or to deny British help and acquiesce in withdrawal to Wadi Halfa, or to call in the Turks, P.R.O. 30/29/161; M. Shibeika, *British Policy in the Sudan* (1952) 120-1.

As to his third alternative, to which he seems to lean, I think it worth your considering whether we are perhaps exposed to as much danger now from that wretch the Sultan, who has nothing at stake, as we should be if he had troops in Nubia while we should hold the key to the sea-route.

I think also there is force in Baring's plea that we cannot well forbid Cherif to apply to the Turk while we refuse him aid ourselves.

1170. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 29]
War Office. Dec 12/83.

I send you a draft telegram to Baring¹ unanimously agreed to by Hartington, Northbrook, & Dilke—Carlingford who was not present at our meeting, sees the thing in the same sense, though he would not object to Indian Troops in the Ports.

I have no doubt of your acquiescence with the general drift, but you may possibly have some amendments to suggest.

[P.S.] We all hold much to the assurances to help in Egypt proper.

We saw Wolsley [*sic*] & Colonel Stewart.

1171. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [F.O. 78/3720]
3. Suez Canal. Hawarden Castle. Dec. 12. 83.

With reference to your question on this matter,² I do not yet know Childers's opinion. But speaking generally I suppose we may support, in the British interest, what the shipowners & the trade approve. The pinch is felt when we come to consider our attitude in the face of the Egyptian Government.

And here we may have *both* Lesseps and the shipowners on our shoulders.

I suppose it clearly for the interest of the Egyptian Govt. to deal on reasonable terms with Lesseps rather than with a new Company.

Again what claim or right can Egypt have to prevent his *widening* his Canal on his own ground.

But to make another Canal, colourably united with the present one by a shallow water surface, would be another thing?

¹ Private, 12 Dec., not objecting to calling in Turkey, advising withdrawal to Wadi Halfa, but insisting on British responsibility for peace in Egypt proper and the Red Sea ports, P.R.O. 30/29/199; Shibeika, op. cit. 122; for Gladstone's amendments see draft in P.R.O. 30/29/199.

² See Childers to Granville, 11, 13 Dec., F.O. 78/3720, commenting on No. 61 from Suez Canal Directors, 6 Dec., on the agreement between the shipowners and the Company, F.O. 78/3594 (above, no. 1160); Granville's min. for Gladstone: 'Childers observations seem reasonable. What do you say?'; and further min. on no. 1171: 'There seems to be nothing to be done at present except to instruct the directors to report on the points mentioned by Childers'; done, 26 Dec.

It looks as if we might have to become negotiators between Lesseps and the Egyptian Government. And this would probably be as bad as or worse than our position last summer. It would probably be better to let Lesseps deal directly in this case as well as in the other, & reserve our action for the case of their differing.

It is evident that Lesseps will press us hard on this part of the case.

1172. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 34]

Foreign Office. Dec. 13/83.

I have written to the Queen according to your brief.¹

I only omitted Hartington by name, for fear of creating questions.

[P.S.] The meeting yesterday at the City Liberal Club² would have given you pleasure still more to Mrs Gladstone who is [*sc.* I] hope is quite well again.

Lady G. is much amused at seeing it announced that I suggested a telegram to you informing you that my speech had been rec[eive]d with satisfaction.

1173. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 37]

Foreign Office. Dec 14/83.

In the telegram to Baring³ I adopted all your other suggestions.

And after consultation with Hartington, we changed Waddy Halfa (I have some doubts whether I spell the name right) into 'Assouan or at least Waddy Halfa'. We had heard Wolseley and Col. Stuart [*sic*], before adopting Baring's suggestion.

[P.S.] I have had my first approval from the Queen, who thinks my answer to Musurus⁴ about the withdrawal of troops very sensible.

I made the sentence more clear about Zebher [*sic*]⁵ the great slave dealer, whom the Egyptians are now employing.

1174. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 39]

Foreign Office. Dec 14/83.

I have seen Hartington again—I am afraid he talks rather freely to Harcourt & other colleagues.

¹ 13 Dec., giving the substance of no. 1168, *Letters*, iii. 458–9; neither draft nor copy in P.R.O. 30/29/42.

² See p. 120, n. 4.

³ See no. 1170.

⁴ See p. 124, n. 1.

⁵ i.e. in the tel. to Baring which objected to the employment of Zobebr by Egypt in the Sudan.

He does not actually shut the door, but it is very like it—on the other hand he seems to me to shrink as [it] is from any other break up, except his own retirement.

I suspect the alternative which when pushed by you, he will suggest is postponement of Franchise bill, till next year, to be introduced with [re]distribution.

I have at his request given him a précis of your letter,¹ leaving out some adjectives, rather weakening than strengthening your desire to find a way of avoiding a crisis, and omitting your statement as to the difficulty in which he will be found placed, when he proposes an alternative.

I have begged him not to write any answer, but to abide by his promise as to personal communications.

When I wrote to you that your letter did not seem to contain a solution, I meant that your retirement under present circumstances is none.

The deadlock appears for the present to be complete.

1175. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret.

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 14. 83.

Harcourt, Childers, and R. Grosvenor, are all to be here next week. Have you any hint to give me on the subject of reticence. I think of speaking in any case to R.G.

The question is indeed most serious. Supposing the worse contingency to arise, (and your Mem.² of the 12th looks like it,) it may break up the Govt at once. I certainly hope it would not but in view of it we ought to be, as far as the nature of the case admits, prepared. Presuming that point to have been rounded, defeat in the House of Commons would at once assume a new aspect of probability. And then the impracticable, incurable, element of old age comes to enter so gravely into the further developments of the subject.

I wish we were within talking distance.

Your brother is just come, an ever welcome guest.

1176. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 15. 83.

My first duty is to thank you for the account which you gave of me to the City Liberal Club.³ I have a difficulty in speaking of these pictures so drawn & coloured by a friendly hand: for the disclaimers which Truth

¹ 13 Dec., summarizing no. 1165 and expressing the hope that it would not cause Hartington to make a rejoinder, P.R.O. 30/29/28 A, fo. 266.

² See no. 1168.

³ See no. 1172.

would prompt wear the appearance of affectation. But this sense of difficulty does not make me less grateful.

I write to Ailesbury proposing to submit his name for the L[ord] L[ieutenant]cy: many thanks to you & Sydney for the suggestion.¹

With respect to Hartington.

1. I quite feel that any statement as to *his* difficulties or personal position is not matter for us to press upon him.

2. Simple postponement for a year appears to mean either postponement of every thing to another Parliament, or certain severance of the two subjects. It is *impossible* for any Govt to *pass* a measure dealing with both, probably even with one, in the last Session of a Parliament.

3. There is another idea that he may ask for re-distribution in Ireland, waiving it for the year in Great Britain. One would wish to go a long way to meet him, but immense difficulty might I fear be found in the attempt to work such an idea into shape.

1177. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 44]
Secret. Foreign Office. Dec 15/83.

I did not see Harcourt. I know Hartington has been talking to him, but whether he mentioned to him his letter to you, I cannot tell.

Lady Harcourt called on Lady G. & began 'Well we are going abroad in March' but changed the subject on Lady G. 'faisant la sourde oreille'.

Harcourt called later, & began with exactly the same phrase.

I talked a good deal with Northbrook, who is safety itself, but I did not tell him of the letter.

I should think you had better avoid mentioning this, unless Harcourt shows that he knows of it. I quite agree that you will do well to discuss the matter with R. Grosvenor.

Forster's speech² is rather a blow to Hartington but Bright's preference for Freeholders³ might possibly be made the thin head of the wedge for a compromise or at least for an argument.

Hartington believes that Chamberlain has made his plan in order to get a sweeping redistribution with the help of the labourers' votes.

Anything that would show that Hartington is preparing the way for more dangerous measures than are likely to be passed by the present Gov ought to be of use.

[P.S.] I doubt Childers being of much use to you.

¹ Granville to Gladstone, 14 Dec., recommending Ailesbury as lord-lieutenant of Berkshire, Add. MS. 44176, fo. 36, not printed.

² At Bradford, 13 Dec., asserting that a re-distribution bill must follow the franchise bill, which must include Ireland, see *The Times*, 14 Dec., p. 6a.

³ For Bright's speech, 14 Dec., insisting on the retention of the forty-shilling freeholder franchise, see *The Times*, 15 Dec. p. 6a.

1178. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret.

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 18. 83.

A letter from Hartington¹ received today, while not bearing directly on the issue looks like preparation [to] stand on the junction of the two subjects, & thus has a rather hardening & stiffening effect.

There is an iron necessity to look into the future, though it requires the putting on paper of what one would rather not put into words even within the brain or breast. Yet I must, to be prepared for contingencies, ask myself

1. Will Hartington resign?
2. If he resigns shall we 'go on'?
3. If we 'go on', will H.M. stop us?
4. If H.M. stops us, or if from any cause we are baffled, at the threshold, in 'going on', ought we not—if we have the power—to put upon H. the duty of accepting the Govt with Liberal Colleagues and Reform postponed? we supporting his Govt.

The great[est] disaster of all would be to give an opening for a Dissolution, with the Liberals in two camps. In this I think he would very much agree, but it is clearly on the cards & more than on the cards if he unhappily persist.

These are not pleasant Christmas musings but I hope you may keep them at arm's length and wear an aspect adapted to the season.

1179. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Walmer Castle. Dec 18/1883

Referring to Baring's hypothetical demands² for more troops, what do you say to my telegraphing that we cannot undertake to send more British troops, though we adhere to our promises of assistance to maintain order and defend Egypt proper.

Permission would be given to officers and non-commissioned officers to organize black Egyptian troops, but that in taking such a measure the Egyptian Govt should carefully consider what is the necessity for them as compared with the certain evil of increased pecuniary burdens undertaken beyond what is needful.

¹ Of 16 Dec., referring to his conversations with Granville and sustaining his denial that he was committed to the separate treatment of franchise reform and re-distribution, Add. MS. 44146, fo. 250; and reply, 18 Dec., apologizing and explaining, Add. MS. 44146, fo. 253.

² See from Baring, tels. private, 16, 17 Dec., on Cherif Pasha's dislike of withdrawal from the Sudan and the probability that it would render necessary the dispatch of reinforcements to Egypt proper, P.R.O. 30/29/161; Shibeika, op. cit. 124-7; see p. 134, n. 2.

1180. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 18. 1883.

I presume you will send to Baring¹ some telegram in the general sense of that which in his 'Private' of [the] 16th he desires. I should be for minimizing the reference to a possible extension of our interference by military force. It will be in every way a calamity if it arise & will have a tendency to bring our good faith into question: & this all the more I think if we are found referring to, & it will be said contemplating, it beforehand.

One thing that rather surprises me is that while [we] have talk of holding or surrendering this or that, we seem to say nothing about establishing peace.

Is it wholly impossible that this Mahdi, who has no quarrel with us (unless as Christians), might be disposed to accept us as mediators? I speak very doubtingly for we know neither his disposition nor his power: and even if there be a chance in the right direction, the question arises how to break the ice & make the first communication. But might not this be done by the Egyptians in such language as they may think that policy & self-respect taken together may require.

Pity that Cherif should after all suspect us; but pity also, if he resigns.

1181. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44176, fo. 49]

Private & Secret.

Walmer Castle. Dec 19/83.

Will H[artington] resign? I am inclined to think that he will, but it is not quite certain. In his place considering what he thinks and what he has said in public & in private, it is difficult to know what one would do.

If he is not convinced as to his public duty there is no other temptation for him. He dislikes office, still more his present office, and above all he dreads the brilliant succession which some time will fall to him. His 'antient Egeria'² loyal to himself, is perpetually working against his colleagues.

His father (either spontaneously or under his influence,) agrees with him.

He is convinced that Chamberlain is working on a settled plan.

Yet he may recoil at the last moment from such a coup d'Etat, or you may be able to find a *modus vivendi*.

Harcourt wrote me a long letter³—It was rather as if he assumed that

¹ See p. 133, n. 2, p. 135, n. 3, and p. 136, n. 1. Baring to Granville, tel. private, 16 Dec., asked for an official tel. advising the abandonment of the Sudan in order to strengthen him against Cherif Pasha, P.R.O. 30/29/161.

² i.e. the Duchess of Manchester.

³ Secret, 16 Dec., on his uneasiness that cabinet divisions should come like a thunder-clap out of clear sky to the party, and complaining of the way the franchise question was 'shunted' and evaded in the Nov. cabinets, P.R.O. 30/29/29 A.

you as well as I were in the clouds, and not aware of the impending avalanche.

He has used all the arguments of a public character, but without effect. He asks for some mode of keeping H, but suggests none—He thinks to go on without him would end in a great disaster.

He looks with dismay upon the option for the country, of Salisbury and Chamberlain. He announces his visit[s] to R. Grosvenor, to Chatsworth and to Hawarden. All this does not help us.

I have urged him to press all the facts of the case upon the father as well as upon the son.

To extract as many alternatives as possible from H, to take on for your consideration at Hawarden.¹

Forster proposed himself by telegraph yesterday & arrived for dinner.

I crammed myself with facts respecting Bechuana and Basutos. But in these he had lost his interest. He was evidently in a fuss at having diverged so widely from Hartington, and was anxious to learn his views and position. But his railway fare did not prove a good investment.

2° Can we go on if H. resigns?

I do not think so, notwithstanding your immense hold on public opinion, even if all were ready to go on.

3° I do not think the Queen would stop us, but she might put awkward spokes in our wheels.

4° I do not see the possibility of forcing Hartington to form a Gov. With whom, even if he wished, could he do it, under present circumstances.

I cannot conceive a less satisfactory letter to write or to read, than the present.

It does not contain a single suggestion, which can be of use to you.

But it seems clear that your personal communications with Hartington, & the subsequent meetings of the Cabinet, should be earlier in January than the 15th.

1182. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 57]

Walmer Castle. Dec 19/83.

Randolph Churchill has made another violent attack on Tewfik,² and boasted that you were unable to answer his proofs.

1° Shall I publish the answer at once, telling him that I had been in hopes, that the inadequacy of the proofs must have been obvious to him—

¹ See Granville's reply, copy, secret, 17 Dec., insisting that there were alternatives to the resignation of either Hartington or Gladstone and urging him to find out alternatives at Chatsworth and to take them to market at Hawarden, P.R.O. 30/29/28 A, fo. 272.

² In his speech to the Edinburgh Conservative Association, 18 Dec., see *The Times*, 19 Dec., p. 7a-c.

self, & that I had therefore refrained from giving further publicity to the subject, but as I appear to have been mistaken, I had directed the papers to be published.¹

or 2° Shall I publish the answer at once without any communication to him.

or 3° Shall I wait for the meeting of Parliament.

I will answer this afternoon your letter of yesterday just rec[eive]d.

1183. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Egypt.

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 19. 83.

I telegraph to you today 'Your proposed answer to Baring of 16th. I agree' I now return the draft.²

Baring can hardly be expected to appreciate the full European importance of making an increase of our military force in Egypt. Of course it would require the judgment of the Cabinet. But it appears to me that we ought, when the case arises, to consider how far by some ships at Alexandria and the use of marines we could release that garrison or part of it for military duty in the interior. This I ought to have said in mine of yesterday.

1184. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret.

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 20. 83.

A long and rather exhausting conversation³ this forenoon in which Harcourt[,] Childers and R. Grosvenor took part, the principal rôle being sustained by Harcourt, has not been wholly without fruit, but a day or two will be required to show whether there is any chance of its coming to ripeness. Harcourt and R. Grosvenor are both convinced that at the bottom of Hartington's mind is a disinclination to have the chief responsibility cast upon himself for dealing with redistribution after franchise has been disposed of: and that, if I were able and inclined to take my part in the second branch of the question, he might not object to the severance of the two. This casts the political difficulty now before us into a personal form and makes a demand on me which is formidable, and which requires to be carefully weighed. But it is certainly well worth while that one of them at least should ascertain whether their impression is correct.

Another suggestion was started in the course of the conversation that the Cabinet should recede from its decision to separate franchise from redistribution. In this I could not see so much as a ray of light; because I

¹ 'Papers relating to Lord R. Churchill's charges against His Highness the Khedive' *Parl. papers* (1884) lxxxviii. 263, published during the recess and laid when Parliament met, 11 Feb. 1884.

² See to Baring, tel. private, 19 Dec., following the text of no. 1179, P.R.O. 30/29/199.

³ i.e. on Hartington and parliamentary reform, see nos. 1158, 1162, 1178, 1181.

conceived it would issue in a complete break-down combined with great discredit, and would be a damage to the subject, as well as to the proposers, of the most serious kind—such is my present strong impression.

1185. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. D. 20. 83.

1. R. Churchill matter.¹ I think if you publish at once it should be with some such explanation as you describe: and if, on receiving the answer, you think it looks well for the public eye, this is the course I would take.

2. Baring's Tel. on force in Egypt.² The opinion which we three share is that it would be well to generalise a little the words I have looped in Pencil³ and substitute 'previous declarations as to the purpose for which we remain in Egypt'.

I have some difficulty in understanding the apprehension, under the circ[umstance]s[,] of military difficulty among a people so quiet as the Egyptians. Childers enters very much into my idea of working in the first instance by marines at Alexandria if unhappily a need arise.

1186. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44176, fo. 60]

Secret.

Walmer Castle. Dec 21/83.

I was very glad to get your letter, telling me what had passed at Hawarden. It is the first gleam of sunshine, though not yet oppressively hot. I am sure that Harcourt & Grosvenor are right in thinking that Hartington dreads having the most difficult portion of a question which he does not like, thrown upon him.

I presume Harcourt or Grosvenor will sound him. You will tell me if you wish me to do anything.

1187. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44176, fo. 62]

Walmer Castle. Dec 21/83.

Thanks for what you say about Randolph Churchill.⁴

I have looked over the reply, & it will do very well—but the Press has since I wrote to you been so unanimous in their condemnation, that I think there is no hurry about the presentation of the paper.

¹ See no. 1182.

² See from Baring, tel. No. 221, 14 Dec., urging that the British troops in Egypt should be brought up to war strength and black troops under English officers and N.C.O.s be lent to Egypt, F.O. 78/3562; see p. 135, n. 1.

³ Gladstone wrote 'Parliament' and Granville corrected it.

⁴ See nos. 1182 and 1185.

With regard to the suggestion you make for an alteration of the phrase at the end of the telegraphic sentence refusing British Troops, it seems to me to come rather pat, and it is only the repetition of the phrase which we used the other day so that it does not further commit us.¹

It may also rather soothe the Queen, who has telegraphed to me, that no answer is to be sent, until she has seen it.

1188. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret.

Hawarden. Dec. 23. 83.

Many thanks for your letter. It is well, and it is needful, to know the road we have to travel, whether the scenery be attractive or not.

Harcourt's letter from hence to Hartington² has been delayed, as H. had left Chatsworth without leaving any address. This I fear means Egeria. But of course we have to wait the upshot of the letter, before looking practically at other things.

However there are two points which I will even now briefly mention.

1. If the worst come to the worst, and the secession became a certainty, I admit that defeat must probably follow, and further that it may be necessary or politic to desist from the attempt. But I would pray you not to let this be a foregone conclusion. For my part I regard it with an immense repugnance: and I think it would be highly disparaging to the members of the present Government generally if with their large majority and their party unbroken they were at once upon the secession of any one among them, be he who he may, to recede and hand over the Government by their own act to the Tories.

2. In the same way I would pray you not now to arrive at the conclusion that there can be no case for demanding of Hartington that if he breaks up the Government he shall take the helm. I admit he would be entitled to require of us that we should on a fair understanding support him. But I own my present inclination is that the demand on him would be a fair one, though it is not possible to form a judgment until matters shape themselves a good deal more.

1189. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44176, fo. 65]

[23 December 1883.]

I am against Baring coming.³

¹ See to Baring, tel. No. 131, 20 Dec., instructing him to tell Cherif Pasha that Britain adhered to the policy of recommending withdrawal from the Sudan, which the Hicks disaster had only interrupted, F.O. 78/3561; see p. 131, n. 2, and p. 134, n. 2.

² See p. 137, n. 4.

³ See from Baring, tel. private, 22 Dec., proposing to come to London to explain the difficulties of executing the policy of withdrawal, P.R.O. 30/29/161; Shibeika, op. cit. 128.

I can understand his wish—but his absence from Cairo might be dangerous, and his coming here will give rise to all sorts of rumours here, and abroad.

[P.S.] But what is your opinion?

1190. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 66]
Walmer. Dec 23/83.

Baring's telegram 234¹—does not change my opinion—does it your's?

In any case I will meet his request, & send no answer till I have seen Cross, who is due in England on Xmas day.

He will be able I hope to explain what are really Baring's views, which I do not clearly understand.

Nor do I understand Cherif's position—Does he think he can reconquer the Soudan by his own efforts.

Does he wish for the Turks, without the conditions which we laid down—& does he wish to force on us the protectorate.

I am not clear that it is necessary to insist positively on anything, beyond stating our objections. Cherif appears to me to be helpless. You remember that the Rothschilds sent me a message, that their correspondent informed them, that Cherif meant to force our hand by a threat of calling in the Turks.

1191. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]
Hawarden Castle. Dec. 24. 83.

A letter from you may be on its way with reference to Baring's long telegram,² but as time is so important I will hazard at once sending the rough outline of my ideas

1. not to press at once for abandonment
2. not to oppose calling in the Turks, nor make wry faces about it.
3. To advise Egyptians to begin by assuming Turk will pay, and if compelled to recede from that ground be bound only for certain sums within certain *times* for certain amounts of force & on no account to undertake indefinite pecuniary *obligations*.
4. Egypt should also press the anti-slavetrade policy on the Sultan.
5. And fix geographical limits of the intervention.
6. Also stipulate for withdrawal when pacification is accomplished (but probably stoppage of pay is the only sort of security worth having).

¹ i.e. of 22 Dec., that withdrawal from the Sudan might involve Cherif Pasha's resignation, a five- or ten-year occupation of Egypt, perhaps the appointment of British ministers and the increase of Egyptian expenditure, and referring Granville to Cross's report of his views, F.O. 78/3562; Shibeika, op. cit. 127-8.

² i.e. No. 234 of 22 Dec.

Please also to consider whether this question requires a Cabinet: and if it does whether we had better fix it for Thursday (at 2 Pm) by which time the Hartington business will probably be ripe.

Hamilton will summon one tomorrow afternoon on hearing from you by telegraph.¹

1192. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Xmas D. 83.

With respect to Baring's 234 I said my say yesterday: but add that, though I may be mistaken, I seem to understand Baring's views; thus, that he is strongly opposed to our retention of the country, thinks abandonment of the Soudan will tend to promote it, and therefore terrifies us by pointing out military measures to follow at once, & now by speaking of an announcement of 10 or 5 years of occupation. On the other hand, seeing the impotence of Egypt, he approves of inviting the Turk, and apparently accepts Cherif's exposition as one made in sincerity.

I am glad Cross is so near at hand. Nothing come from H[artington].

1193. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 71]

Secret.

Walmer. Dec 26/83.

I wrote to Hartington² in obedience to your wish, telling him (as information, & not as a message from you) your view as to the obligation upon him to form a Gov, if you resign & promise him support.

He repudiates any obligation to do that which he believes to be impossible—which has given me an opportunity of making an appeal.³

I have rather a desponding note from Harcourt,⁴ but he has not seen Hartington.

¹ The cabinet met on Thurs. 3 Jan. at 2, as proposed, to consider the reply to Baring's tel. with the Egyptian suggestion to call in Turkey to suppress the Sudan revolt, the franchise question being postponed until the following day, Add. MS. 44645, fo. 2.

² Copy, secret, 23 Dec., writing as summarized in no. 1193, adding that Gladstone considered it impossible to postpone the franchise bill and to introduce it together with re-distribution in 1885, P.R.O. 30/29/28 A, fo. 285.

³ See Hartington to Granville, 25 Dec., on the impossibility of his replacing Gladstone and asking 'what right can Mr. G. have to say that I force him to resign when with the exception of myself he has the whole Cabinet with him; and as far as he can tell, the whole party', P.R.O. 30/29/22 A; and reply, copy, 26 Dec., agreeing and appealing to him to avoid personal explanations, P.R.O. 30/29/28 A, fo. 291.

⁴ Of 25 Dec., P.R.O. 30/29/29 A, desponding after hopeful report of 23 Dec., and answering Granville's assertion, 24 Dec., that Harcourt had advanced a solution of the parliamentary reform difficulty with Hartington more than Granville had dared to hope, P.R.O. 30/29/28 A.

I send you a memorandum from Northbrook,¹ which I have rec[eive]d since writing to you this morning.

1194. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 73]
Walmer Castle. Dec 26/83.

I am not sure whether I ought to wish you a happy Xmas, or a happy new year. So I do both most heartily.

I have just got your letter, & have answered by telegraph, asking you to summon the Cabinet or not as you think but it will turn upon whether you wish for it on Hartington's account. I should prefer waiting a little, not only because Baring wishes me to see Cross, before answering him, but because I really wish to get more clearly at Baring's views, than I have done by letter.

I am very much obliged for your pregnant letter—which also requires careful consideration.

1195. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]
Hawarden Castle. Dec. 26. 83.

On the Foreign Budget received by post today I make two remarks.

1. It is not very pleasant that the Queen sends her own foreign policy to Prince Louis in Bulgaria, without, I believe, communication or presumed concurrence with you. In Lascelles's letter of Dec. 13. I am not aware of your having given any encouragement to the proposed alterations of the Constitution.²

2. Nubar's letter to Wilson does not impress me at all favourably as to the man.³ (The copy is made in an *extremely* bad hand).

3. A rather long ciphered telegram has come in from you somewhat near post hour.

The Decipher has come in & I reply by telegram agreeing with you on the assumption that there would be publicity.

1196. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 75]
Walmer Castle. Dec 27/83.

I have rec[eive]d your 3 telegrams about the libel—with regard to the

¹ Enclosed in Northbrook to Granville, 24 Dec., relating to Baring's tel. No. 234, insisting that if the Sudan were abandoned Egypt would need protection and the slave trade would increase, P.R.O. 30/29/139.

² See Lascelles to Granville, private, 13 Dec., reporting Alexander's reference to a letter received from his brother Louis, enclosing letters from Queen Victoria encouraging him to carry the constitutional question through and referring to Granville as here reported, P.R.O. 30/29/184.

³ Not traced but presumably sent home by Baring.

Queen,¹ I wrote yesterday² to Ponsonby telling him the story, my opinion, & expressing a hope that the Queen will not hear of this scandalous attack—& adding that I did not think it fair to ask her opinion as to the prosecution. After getting your last telegram, I have telegraphed to him that if he thought it desirable to consult H.M. on the matter, he was to let me know by telegraph.³

The Chancellor⁴ rather inclines to Harcourt's opinion,⁵ but I expect to hear again from him.⁶

I have telegraphed to Lyons

'There is a difference of opinion, which requires further communications. Would Ferry leave the matter alone if you thanked him warmly for his unofficial consultation, and stated that you preferred not giving an opinion.'

I was always against the unavailing applications to the American Gov to do what in all probability, if done, would have been a failure. But as we did apply, it is rather difficult to answer the Chancellor & Harcourt about inconsistency.

[P.S.] I may have to telegraph again before you get this letter.

1197. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 79]

Secret.

Walmer Castle. Dec 28/83.

I am so sorry that you should have been roused. I wrote the telegram at 8.30, quite forgetting what a slow thing telegraphic communication is, particularly when in cypher. I am sure we have done the wise thing about the scurrilous libel—non obstantibus the 2 great legal authorities—and the case is not exactly the same as those of the american subscriptions for the purpose of assassination.

I have a note today from H[artington] but without the slightest allusion to the important question. Is it not possible that there is some misunderstanding which ought to be cleared up.

You told me that Harcourt or Dick Grosvenor were to sound H. on their suggestion.

¹ See from Lyons, tel. 26 Dec., reporting the libel in a French newspaper and that Ferry would prosecute or not as Britain wished, P.R.O. 30/29/173; and Granville to Gladstone and Harcourt, 26 Dec., P.R.O. 30/29/127.

² No copy in P.R.O. 30/29/42.

³ See Granville to Ponsonby, tel. 27 Dec., P.R.O. 30/29/42.

⁴ See from Selborne, 27 Dec., on Harcourt's tel. repeated by Granville to him, giving reasons against dissuading France from prosecution, P.R.O. 30/29/141.

⁵ See from Harcourt, tel. 26 Dec. (replying to Granville's tel. 26 Dec., consulting him), that Britain should not be asked to express an opinion, the French government should decide, and that objection to prosecution would be open to misconstruction, P.R.O. 30/29/130.

⁶ See from Selborne, 29 Dec., strongly protesting against leaving these calumnies and incitements to assassination unpunished, P.R.O. 30/29/141.

Harcourt 3 days ago incidentally mentioned to me that H's ultimatum was to go that day. If none has yet reached you, may there not be some mistake.

1198. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

No 1. Early. Hawarden Castle. Dec. 28. 83.

I had anticipated some report from Harcourt of the conversation he was to hold yesterday, but none has come.

Assuming for the moment that things go right, which of two plans of action do you prefer

1. To meet in Cabinet next week (say, Tuesday), decide outstanding points on Franchise and on Grand Committees, and break up again until a fortnight before the meeting i.e. Jan 22d, while drafting would proceed. Two or three Cabinets might possibly suffice for the first bout.

2. To postpone meeting until say 14th and then work straight on.

Perhaps the first plan would be the wiser but I should like to do what you may prefer because not only of your own convenience but I likewise hold you the best judge of the general convenience.¹

If your preference is clear please telegraph it.

1199. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

No 2. Hawarden Castle. D. 28. 83.

I understand, having never *seen* the Libel on the Queen that besides foul slander it recommended assassination. On both grounds I think public discussion mischievous. As regards the latter especially, it seemed to me that a trial in France might again set a going the impulses of some feeble and morbid mind & thus cause real danger. But when there appeared to be a difference of opinion among us then I felt the difficulty of a decision taken without considering whether to inform H.M. as to the point of *danger*. But also it seemed to me right to accept the three personal opinions & let them turn the scale which was in suspense.²

I do not see the parallel between this case and that of the Freiheit³ where there was an active organisation and a real existing danger—or that of the U.S. where there was no slander, & where the incentives to assassination hardly (I think) touched the Queen at all so there was not any fear of lighting a train.

¹ For the adoption of the first plan, the cabinet meeting on Thurs. 3 Jan. (for Egypt, no. 1191, and the reference of legislation to parliamentary Grand Committees) and Fri. 4 Jan. (for the franchise question); and for meetings 22, 24, 26, and 31 Jan., to prepare for the opening of parliament on 5 Feb., see Add. MS. 44645, fos. 2-24; cf. no. 1201.

² For final decision see to Lyons, tel. 28 Dec., directing him to give an opinion against prosecution, but only so strong as to secure the result, P.R.O. 30/29/203.

³ See nos. 464, 465.

This may serve to explain my telegrams on the idea of prosecution for the French Libel, though perhaps I am troubling you with an unnecessary note.

1200. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/127]

No 3. Hawarden Castle. D. 28. 83.

With reference to Northbrook's of the 24th,¹ may it be worth while to consider whether that part of the many-faced Egyptian question which touches the Slave Trade could be usefully considered by Cabinet-Committee? I have been, perhaps too hopefully, under the impression that we had now a hold upon the markets for slaves, which if so would be the main matter.

2. I have got today Dufferin's Despatch of the 14th:² it is admirable, except the application of the word intelligent to the Sultan, clever which he uses in winding up seems the proper term.

The Armenian case is really deplorable. But if we were to apply at St Petersburg for the use of a joint influence, is it certain that we should be refused? Or that Italy would not join? May it not be a duty to put ourselves in a position to show that we have exhausted *every* means of friendly action; and this seems to be the only one remaining, as direct sole application has failed, and the three other Powers are hopeless.

Austria is intelligible to some extent in pleading her nearness as a reason for reserve: but it is rather strong to press from the same mouth *our* superior interest in Bulgaria & in Constantinople.³

1201. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 82]

Walmer Castle. Dec 29/83.

I have rec[eive]d your 2 letters, and the telegram cancelling the first. If you had not telegraphed, I should have suggested meeting on the 2d of January instead of on new year's day. This would also have been convenient about Egypt. But I will telegraph again after getting your letter tomorrow.

I quite agree on No 2—Lyons seems to have settled the matter very well.

¹ See p. 138, n. 1.

² To Granville, No. 679 confidential, 14 Dec., received 19 Dec., on competition among the European ambassadors for the favour of the sultan, the improvement in Britain's standing and the decline of British influence at Constantinople since 1876, F.O. 78/3514.

³ Dufferin's dispatch commented on Kalnoky's language, as reported by Elliot, about the decline of British influence at Constantinople, in a report sent to Dufferin by Granville in No. 358, 17 Oct.; cf. no. 1147.

1202. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret.

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 29. 83.

I send you herewith

1. Copy of letter received today from Hartington¹
2. of his Memorandum²
3. of my reply.³

You will see that I asked him at once in cipher telegram for his alternative. But unfortunately he was gone off to Kimbolton and I have no expectation of any reply before post.

My expectations were not sanguine, but the reality is worse than I anticipated. However it remains to make the best of it, and this, in a clumsy way, I have endeavoured to do in my reply.

You will see that I propose an interview with him in Downing Street on Monday at 4.15. Pm.

It would be very agreeable to me that you should be there. Could he think, as you do not at all share his views, that this was an attempt to overbear him? I must leave this to you to judge. But I would beg you in any case to be there not later than 5.15 or 5.30.

After a full comparison of views with you I should then propose to cast the net a *little* wider before calling the Cabinet. This might be on Tuesday morning. Harcourt is in town: I would summon R. Grosvenor. Would it not be equitable and prudent to invite Derby? I should like Spencer but it is serious to fetch him over abruptly.

Perhaps you may be able to reply, at least in part, by telegraph.

My birthday has been, I assure you, a queer one, and rather turned upside down. A thousand thanks for your Liberal Club congratulations.

My only smiles today have been in reading Harcourt's letter:⁴ so I send it as my No 4 that you too may share them.

1203. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/127]

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 29. 83.

The juncture is unfortunate but whatever the pressure of affairs it seems

¹ Of 27 Dec., formally accepting what was agreed upon at Hawarden, that Gladstone would stay to carry both a franchise and a re-distribution bill and would make a declaration that re-distribution would follow franchise reform, but insisting on his opposition to the lowering of the Irish franchise, Add. MS. 44146, fo. 254.

² Of 25 Dec., stating his position on parliamentary reform as in the letter to Gladstone, *ibid.*, fo. 258.

³ Of 29 Dec., meeting the arguments in Hartington's mem. point by point and asking what alternative he proposed, *ibid.*, fo. 267.

⁴ See to Gladstone, 28 Dec., that Hartington's mem. was not an ultimatum, that a pledge from Gladstone to make a public declaration to prevent Chamberlain from capturing the Parnellite vote had tranquillized him, Add. MS. 44198, fo. 170.

almost a matter of honour to consider forthwith what proceeding we can adopt in the matter of the accompanying most unexpected communication from the Ex-Sultan of Turkey. You will know best but I suppose it should be referred to Dufferin for his advice, perhaps with a suggestion to consider whether he has the means of in any degree verifying the allegations, and should they be verified, of procuring (through the Porte I imagine not the Sultan) some practical alleviation even if without formal change.¹

1204. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret.

10, Downing Street. Jan 3. 84.

This letter from Hartington,² which I have received today with much comfort, justifies your estimate formed with a refined discernment. (Remind me to tell you a story about Dr. Stainer).

It appears to me that *now* everything will turn on the indications to be made about re-distribution.

They will be a treaty; and Hartington, who has behaved extremely well, is entitled to the fullest satisfaction I & we can give him without stirring other dangers.

I have therefore gone to work and drawn the inclosed paper:³ supposed to be part of my speech, and to follow my statement of reasons against incorporating a Seats Bill.

Please to read it with your sharpest eyes, and also to squint while you read, that is to say, to look in two directions.⁴

If and when you & I are agreed on it, the next step will be to let Hartington have it: and if it satisfies him, shall it be read tomorrow to the Cabinet?

¹ See to Dufferin, No. 4 most confidential, 5 Jan., enclosing M. Cléanthes Scalieri to Gladstone, 18 Dec., with a note from the ex-sultan Murad of Turkey about his cruel treatment in prison, and leaving remedies to Dufferin, F.O. 78/3620.

² Of 2 Jan., accepting, after Gladstone's letter, 29 Dec., his undertaking to try to bring about cabinet agreement on parliamentary reform and to make a declaration on re-distribution not excluding protection for the minority in Ireland, Add. MS. 44147, fo. 1.

³ Mem., 3 Jan., for cabinet, 4 Jan., of principles for a separate re-distribution bill in 1885, see Add. MS. 44765, fo. 2; see also exchange of notes during the cabinet, 3 Jan., referring to this: '. . . it seems excellent. I have put a query on the 3^o page, [i.e. at expression of aversion to electoral districts] because I do not understand the allusion. G[ranville.]' 'Do you think the paper is in such a state that I may submit it to Hartington. W. E. G.' 'Yes certainly, but it would require a little more conversation as to the Cabinet. [Granville.]' 'Will you stay for a few words after the cabinet, [W. E. G.], Add. MS. 44645, fo. 4.

⁴ i.e. to the whig and radical wings of the cabinet.

1205. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 88]

10, Downing Street. Jan 3. 84.

Please to consider whether I had better see Chamberlain tomorrow before the Cabinet and try in that quarter to smooth the approaches—as yet he knows nothing but that there have been ‘difficulties’.¹

1206. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. Jan 5. 84.

I go at 11.30 [to Hawarden] and perhaps we shall not meet this morning but I have a small Egyptian suggestion to offer.²

It is this: that the fall or retirement of Cherif (an evil I fear in any case) would be deplorable were it [to] occur and leave behind it Nubar as the indispensable man before Baring had come to any understanding with him. For if no Ministry could be made, our responsibility would be very formidable.

Might not Baring have a little discretion given him to keep this in mind in acting on our instructions for his communications with the Egyptian Government.

1207. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*³ [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 89]

Foreign Office. Jan 4/83 [*sc.* 1884].

Many thanks for your note—Northbrook, Childers[,] Chamberlain & I carefully considered it. We went over all the previous telegrams—but on the whole we could not hit upon any message which was satisfactory to us, and which would not puzzle Baring.

We settled the Suez Canal letter, which I hope you will approve.⁴

I got an order to go to Osborne on Monday. But by dint of repeated telegrams I have escaped.⁵

¹ Granville returned the letter with his reply written on it: ‘I meant to have suggested this’; for cabinet, 4 Jan., on the franchise bill, see Add. MS. 44645, fo. 7.

² For reply to Baring’s tel. No. 234 (see p. 136, n. 1); see Granville to Baring, tels. private, 23 and 28 Dec., P.R.O. 30/29/199; mem. of conversation with Cross, 29 Dec., P.R.O. 30/29/146; mem. after discussion with Gladstone and Hartington, for cabinet, 3 Jan., submitted to the Queen, 1 Jan., P.R.O. 30/29/43; to Baring, tels. 5 and 6 secret, 4 Jan., reaffirming the policy of withdrawal from the Sudan even if it meant Cherif Pasha’s fall, F.O. 78/3683; Shibeika, op. cit. 135.

³ No. 1207 is assumed to be the reply to no. 1206 and Granville to have made two mistakes in his dating; justified by Granville’s reference to Ponsonby’s tel., 5 Jan.

⁴ To the British Suez Canal Directors, No. 1, 5 Jan., accepting their explanations of points raised by Childers on the agreement of 30 Nov. between the Company and ship-owners, F.O. 78/3720; see p. 126, n. 2; drafted by a committee of the cabinet.

⁵ See from Ponsonby, 5 Jan., releasing him, P.R.O. 30/29/43.

I wish you really joy of a dénou[e]ment¹ at home which no one could have brought to a successful issue but yourself. But I am aware that the personal sacrifice has been great.

1208. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Hawarden Castle. Jan 6. 84.

I quite understand the difficulty you felt about a form of telegram to Baring. *If* however you concur in my feeling, would it be safe to send something of this kind.

'Understand that we attach real value to keeping Cherif if it can be done without serious sacrifice, especially until there is a successor ready on admissible terms.'²

And now, looking a little farther forward, and to be prepared for the worst, if the dilemma comes, and Egypt has no Government, will there not be a necessity of laying the matter before the Powers? The Treaty of Paris still makes Egypt, as part of the Ottoman Empire, a matter of common interest and concern. It would be a grave mischief at the best to become provisionally administrators of the country: I suppose bastinadoed fellaheen would be reported to Parliament at the rate of a hundred cases a week. But it would be immensely aggravated I think unless we were there as representatives of a common interest and authority.

[P.S.] I cannot accept your congratulations about the closed breach³ without thanking you for your large participation in the work of closing it.

1209. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Hawarden Castle. Jan 7. 84.

I return the Wilson papers on the Soudan⁴ and I am most struck with what he says (besides Suakim) on

1. Zebehr or Zebir
2. Abyssinia
3. Sending some one to Khartoum for authentic information—if it cannot be had more quickly without the measure
4. The advantage of Assuan as a point for military resistance.

It seems a little strange that we never hear any thing of the sectarian

¹ i.e. on the franchise bill; the cabinet, 4 Jan., after statements by Gladstone, Hartington, Spencer, Chamberlain, Harcourt, Carlingford, Childers, Derby, and Selborne, adopted the franchise bill with 'general satisfaction', Add. MS. 44645, fo. 8.

² Gladstone's suggestion failed, since Baring acted immediately intimating that the ministers must carry out his advice or forfeit office, and Cherif Pasha resigned, tels. 20, 21, 7, 8 Jan., F.O. 78/3685.

³ i.e. on the question of parliamentary reform.

⁴ Sir Charles Wilson's mem. on the Sudan, not traced.

rivalry & mutual hatred of Sunnite & Shiite as entering into this question at all.

[P.S.] I am not sorry to see the Porte disposed to send troops, France notwithstanding;¹ for I care *more* that we keep out of the Soudan than who goes in.

1210. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 97]

Walmer Castle. Jan 9/84.

Karolyi's² language is rather vague, but friendly, & pressing us to do rather more than less in Egypt, and saying that Europe with possibly only the exception of France, is entirely in that sense.

Nigra³ says that Italy's only wish is to support us, and to do what is agreeable to us in Egypt.

Casa la Iglesia⁴ is nervous about things in his own country.

I was much obliged for your suggested additions to the draft to Dufferin about the exSultan.⁵

I adopted the first, and have with regard to the second, put the question as to the possibility of communicating with the exSultan into a private letter⁶—the least indiscretion on such a point might lead to results fatal to the deposed sovereign.

I have sent the last private telegram of Baring's⁷ about the Ports in the Red Sea to Kimberley and Northbrook as well as to you.

1211. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

No 1.

Hawarden Castle. Jan 11. 84.

I have telegraphed to you today⁸ on matters in the last messages from Baring which seemed to require immediate notice.

¹ See to Dufferin, No. 5, 4 Jan., recording conversation with Musurus on Egypt, F.O. 78/3620.

² Karolyi, Nigra, and Casa la Iglesia had visited Walmer; see to Paget, No. 7, 11 Jan., recording his reply to Karolyi denying negotiating with Turkey and France about the Sudan, and Karolyi's acceptance of the occupation of Egypt until tranquillity was restored, F.O. 7/1061.

³ See to Lumley, No. 11 confidential, 11 Jan., recording his communication to Nigra of British advice to withdraw from the Sudan and Italian assurances, F.O. 45/498.

⁴ No record traced.

⁵ See to Dufferin, No. 4 most confidential, 5 Jan., instructing him about intervention on behalf of ex-sultan Murad, F.O. 78/3620; see no. 1203.

⁶ See to Dufferin, private, 9 Jan., P.R.O. 30/29/212.

⁷ Of 9 Jan., on Massowah which he thought had better not be kept despite the khedive and Nubar Pasha, P.R.O. 30/29/162; see also Gladstone to Granville, tel. 1.0 p.m. 10 Jan.: 'Telegrams today. Council of State, I recommend abolish if possible. Massowah, give up [to Italy] to make a friend. Suakim, hold provisionally and consider further', P.R.O. 30/29/128.

⁸ i.e. 12.20 p.m., 11 Jan.: welcoming Coetlogon's advice to abandon the Sudan, in

Cherif's resignation seemed an evil prospectively but we have benefited at present by the substitution of a stronger¹ for a more trustworthy man, in the bold view he has taken of the necessity for Egypt to conform her pretensions to her strength.

An old suggestion of Baring's² has perhaps led Northbrook³ into taking up with favour the idea of a few years occupation to be proclaimed as the basis of our policy.

I do not think it found favour with the Cabinet. To me it seems open to objections much outweighing the advantage of its giving confidence to the commercial class. Announced by our sole authority it would I think bring our good faith under the gravest suspicions, and would be construed as covering a fixed intention shortly to declare annexation or a permanent Protectorate.

It has not been difficult to perceive that a necessity might have arisen on Cherif's resignation for our assuming provisionally the administration of Egypt under the Khedive but I think such a step on our part ought to have been accompanied with a formal communication to the Powers. Even an addition to the present military force ought it seems to me to be formally communicated to them, as it would be the commencement of a reverse movement.

I do not derive a great deal of light from Cross's letters.⁴

Baring is of course quite right in putting his question as to military reinforcements available and the War Department ought doubtless to be prepared but I have said by 'wire' that I think only the Cabinet can give the order.⁵

The Sultan's whole political nature seems to be so absorbed in vice that he is incapable of entertaining any subject in a straightforward manner.⁶

Baring's tel. No. 29, 9 Jan., deferring to the cabinet on Baring's tel. No. 32, 10 Jan., asking whether he could rely on reinforcement at short notice, and approving Granville's draft on the Council of State, P.R.O. 30/29/128.

¹ Nubar Pasha, who concurred in giving up the Sudan, see from Baring, tel. No. 30, 8 Jan., F.O. 78/3685.

² In his tel. No. 234 of 22 Dec. 1883; see p. 136, n. 1.

³ See to Granville, 8 Jan., as here described on the ground that this was preferable to the assumption of responsibility without a term, P.R.O. 30/29/139.

⁴ See J. K. Cross (back from Egypt) to Gladstone, 5 Jan., saying that the wisdom of advising withdrawal from the Sudan depended on whether we had the increased forces available that this policy would demand, copy sent to Granville, P.R.O. 30/29/146.

⁵ Cf. to Baring, tel. No. 25, 14 Jan., that reinforcements could be sent at short notice, if time was given to get the decision of the cabinet, F.O. 78/3683.

⁶ Relates to the sultan's proposal to depose the khedive Tewfik in favour of Halim Pasha, on which Gladstone had telegraphed, 2.10 p.m. 10 Jan., 'good faith and policy alike forbid', P.R.O. 30/29/128.

1212. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

No 2.

Hawarden Castle. Jan 11. 84.

I am not thoroughly informed on the important controversy between the Sultan and the Greek Patriarch,¹ but I suppose it to have grown out of an attempt by the Sultan to alter the *status quo*.

I have initialled your Draft² which observes that the interference of the Greek Government is highly irritating to the Sultan and also that the Powers are for the most part disinclined to meddle.

Both are probably true. But the controversy offers a very fine opening to the Greek Government for playing a great game from a small position, and perhaps the more the Sultan is irritated the better for them. It is not a case of Christian against Turk, so much as of Hellene against Slav.

It is curious, and painful, to see the way in which this antagonism has been developing itself of late years, mainly through the Bulgarian Church question; I suppose that at this moment the Russian Govt is cold in the Patriarch's cause by reason of their quarrel with the Church of Constantinople on this ground; and thus again the way is left open to the Greek State to make its case with brethren in religion and race.

Might not Dufferin³ usefully point out that the wise course for the Sultan would be to stop the Hellenic advocacy of the Patriarch's cause by avoiding irritating innovations?

The action of the Americans appears to show that the Patriarch has a colour of fact in his favour.

1213. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Hawarden. Jan 14. 84.

1. I should think the employment of Sir C. Wilson⁴ to be a matter quite within your own discretion as Foreign Minister, subject only to the usual reference to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on any change in Establishment.

I had a vague idea of having heard that Lister was very little worked, but this may be untrue, or being true may be little to the purpose.

2. What nonsense or worse than nonsense Calice has talked to Dufferin

¹ When privileges enjoyed by the orthodox before the courts were curtailed, the patriarch had resigned, but the orthodox community asked the sultan not to accept the resignation, see from Dufferin, Nos. 634, 657, 668, 17, 30 Nov., 9 Dec., F.O. 78/3514.

² i.e. to Egerton, No. 8, 8 Jan., recording the appeal of the Greek minister in London for British support to the plea to the sultan not to accept the patriarch's resignation, ending as here described, F.O. 32/555.

³ See to Dufferin, No. 13, 8 Jan., sending the dispatch to Egerton and directing him to join in any representations that might be made by other powers, F.O. 78/3620.

⁴ Not employed until he acted as head of Wolseley's intelligence service in the Nile expedition; for failure of plan to appoint as financial adviser to the khedive, see p. 44, n. 6.

about Bulgaria;¹ getting I am glad to see no encouragement in return. Denouncing freedom and Russia in the same breath, he raises presumptions favourable to Russia, and his exhortations to support the Prince may rather be read backwards. In a word he shows the cloven hoof throughout.

3. The regret² for resigning the Soudan is a new & curious instance of blind instinct working steadily in the wrong direction.

1214. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 101]

Foreign Office. Jan 14/84.

There is rather a mess about Chinese Gordon.³ In the autumn Hartington asked for a F.O. opinion whether he was to give him leave to act in the K[ing] of the Belgians African Association. I gave an opinion against an officer on full pay being connected with this nondescript association.

You said you knew nothing about it, but saw no reason to dissent. Hartington accordingly telegraphed 'the S[ecretary of] S[tate] declines to sanction the arrangement.'

The telegram by mistake was delivered to Gordon 'S.S. decides to sanction arrangement.'

Gordon came from Syria, & agreed with the King.

The result is that Gordon loses his rank & his pay in the English army.

On the other hand people are clamouring for Gordon to be sent to Egypt—I have twice asked Baring whether Gordon would be of use. He has agreed first with Cherif, and now with Nubar to answer in the negative.⁴

But it is said that there has been an old quarrel between Baring and Gordon.

Wolsley [*sic*] is to see Gordon tomorrow, and will ask him as a friend, what are his views.

If he says that he cannot go to Egypt, or that he cannot go without a considerable force, such as he mentions in rather a foolish letter in the Times of today,⁵ we shall be on velvet.

¹ See from Dufferin, No. 696 confidential, 26 Dec., received 9 Jan., recording Calice on Austria's interest to prevent Russian domination of Bulgaria but to leave the initiative to Britain, F.O. 78/3514; cf. p. 113, n. 2.

² i.e. on the part of Turkey, see from Dufferin, Nos. 691 and 693 secret, 26 Dec., received 9 Jan., F.O. 78/3514.

³ For the reopening (p. 116, n. 6) of the question of using Gordon in the Sudan, see Hartington to Granville, 11 Jan., recounting the events here reported, P.R.O. 30/29/134; cf. Shibeika, op. cit. 149-50.

⁴ See p. 116, n. 7; and to Baring, tel. No. 18, 10 Jan., F.O. 78/3683; from Baring, tel. No. 35, 11 Jan., F.O. 78/3685.

⁵ Addressed to Sir Samuel Baker, 11 Jan., urging him to go to the Sudan with Turkish troops and published by Baker in a letter to the editor, *The Times*, 14 Jan., p. 10a.

If he says he believes he could by his personal influence, excite the tribes to escort the Khartoum Garrison, & inhabitants to Suakim, a little pressure on Baring might be advisable.

The destruction of these poor people will be a great disaster, and will of course create a great sensation at home and abroad.

But if he does not go to Egypt, Hartington & I are inclined to tell him, that I gave the opinion adverse to his going to the Congo, on what appeared to me to be good grounds. But that as he has made the agreement with the K[ing] of the Belgians, as he believed, in agreement with the orders of the War Office, and as I should be sorry that so distinguished an officer should be lost to the Queen's army, I have withdrawn my objection.

Can you telegraph a line on both these points.¹

1215. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Copy. [15 January 1884.]

I send you the result, not very satisfactory, of the interview at the War Office.²

Wolseley did not mention us in his conversation with Gordon.

I have sent the enclosed telegram to Baring.³

1216. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Hawarden Castle. Jan 16. 84.

I can find no fault with your telegram to Baring *re* Chinese Gordon, and the main point that strikes me is this. While his opinion on the Soudan may be of great value, must we not be very careful in any instruction we give, that he does not shift the centre of gravity as to political and military responsibility for that country. In brief if he reports what should be done, he should not be the judge *who* should do it, nor ought he to commit us on that point by advice officially given. It would be extremely difficult after sending him to reject such advice, & it should therefore I think be made clear that he is not our agent for the purpose of advising on that point.

¹ See Gladstone to Granville, tel. 15 Jan., agreeing 'throughout', P.R.O. 30/29/128.

² See Sir F. Maurice and Sir G. Arthur, *The Life of Lord Wolseley* (1924) 172; cf. Hartington to Gladstone, 15 Jan., enclosing a copy of Gordon's notes of what he proposed to do, saying that he might recommend either his own appointment as governor-general of the Sudan or absolute and immediate withdrawal, Add. MS. 44/47, fos. 8, 11.

³ i.e. to Baring, tel. private, 15 Jan., asking his opinion on Gordon's mission of inquiry to the Sudan, P.R.O. 30/29/200, printed Shibeika, op. cit. 152; see also tel. No. 28 A, 15 Jan., F.O. 78/3683; from Baring, tel. No. 58, 16 Jan., tel. private, 16 Jan., accepting Gordon, 'if he will pledge himself to carry out the policy of withdrawal . . .', F.O. 78/3665, P.R.O. 30/29/162.

1217. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 109]

Foreign Office. Jan 18/84.

Northbrook[,] Hartington, Dilke & I took a good deal of responsibility on ourselves,¹ but I think we have acted within the limits of your views. He[,] Gordon[,] perfectly understands that he is to consider the evacuation as a final decision & that his only mission is to see how it can be best carried out. He says he likes Baring and is glad to be under his orders.

His views are optimistic. He does not believe in the Madhi [*sic*], the fanaticism of the Arabs or in the probabilit[ity] of a massacre.

He was very pleasing & childlike in his manner.

1218. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Secret.

Hawarden Castle. Jan 19. 84.

I telegraphed last night my concurrence in your proceedings about Gordon: but Chester would not awake & the message only went on this morning.²

This morning I have had the inclosed letter from Childers³ with an announcement that surprises me. I inclose copy of my reply.

1219. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*⁴ [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 118]

[Copy] Private.

10, Downing Street. Jan: 23. 84.

I fear I must ask you to look at my speech of last year⁵ on the Economy Resolution. I have marked passages on the margin. There is also the spirit of the whole, and of the entire debate; which looks towards moderate reduction, nowhere towards increase.

¹ i.e. in settling that Gordon should leave that night, instructed to report on the military situation, the security of Khartoum, on means to evacuate the interior, to secure the Red Sea coast, and to stop the slave trade, see Granville to Gladstone and to the Queen, tels. 6.30 p.m. 18 Jan., P.R.O. 30/29/128, 30/29/43; cf. mem. by Hartington on Gordon's wishes, 18 Jan., P.R.O. 30/29/134.

² See Gladstone to Granville, tel. 10.5 p.m. 18 Jan., received 7.17 a.m. 19 Jan., P.R.O. 30/29/128.

³ Of 18 Jan., announcing substantial increase in expenditure on the army and navy and possibly on education; and reply, 19 Jan., saying that the portentous increase would provoke the question why parliament was not told when induced in 1883 to pass a resolution for economy, Add. MS. 44131, fos. 14, 17.

⁴ Granville to Gladstone, 20 Jan., saying that Lord Tavistock had refused to move but Lords Tweeddale and Vernon agreed to move and second the address, and 21 Jan., forwarding Lord Houghton's recommendation of an English peccage for Lord Kildare, Add. MS. 44176, fos. 111, 113, not printed.

⁵ On 6 Apr. 1883 in accepting Ryland's motion on the reduction of the national expenditure, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxvii. 1663-75; for the cabinet, 24 Jan., on the estimates, see Add. MS. 44645, fo. 13.

It was meant to express the view of the Cabinet. Whether it failed to do this or not, it leaves no doubt as to my personal position.

Of the 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions mentioned last night by Childers, the plea of unforeseen would apply to a very small portion.

The chief item as to which that might be alleged is the small increase of men meant as a set-off against the garrison in Egypt. But then I think it plain that that proposal is in any case *premature*; and could not legitimately arise until we saw that the affair of the Mahdi had made *more* than a temporary change as to our military occupation: which (as I think you showed last night) we do not yet see.

[P.S.] When troops were sent

1. by Mr Canning to Portugal in 1826 (or thereabouts) was any addition made to the army in the next Estimates?

2. when in 1862 Ld Palmerston sent 10000 men to America on the Trent affair?

1220. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 120]

[Copy] Immediate.

10, Downing Street. 24 Jan: 1884.

It is probable you may have sent my note¹ to Hartington of your own motion, & in any case I would ask you to do so. It will open a view of the matter which may be new to him.

It does not stand alone. The demand of the Admlty for 600 m[ilia] is no whit less astonishing to me than that of the army for a million (this is the real division of the figures).

Had I had reason to foresee these demands I could not have faced the other engagements I have been led to undertake.

I will write & ask Northbrook to call upon me before the Cabinet.²

1221. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. Ja 24. 84.

Did you see (in I think Standard of yesterday)³ the Turkish argument against the existence of any right to *give away* the Soudan?

I suppose that it is in a sense sound, but that the Khedive's right to withdraw cannot be contested: only that he & we must not pretend to restore the Chiefs to any greater independence than they possessed before the Egyptian invasion of the country.

¹ i.e. no. 1219; no record in P.R.O. 30/29/134 of Granville's having sent it to Hartington.

² i.e. at noon, 24 Jan., in order to induce him to cut the Admiralty estimates; letter not traced.

³ See the *Standard*, 23 Jan., p. 5d, summarizing an article in *Turquie*, 'a semi-official' Turkish newspaper.

1222. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 123]
Foreign Office. Jan 28/84.

I wish you joy with all my heart¹—I do not know a more charming fellow than Herbert—He has great prospects before him—So much modesty united to so much courage and decision—My assistance to him was almost entirely of a negative character.

1223. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*² [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
10, Downing Street. Jan 28. 84.

I have already thanked you for instructing Herbert with a view to Leeds. The inclosed note³ from Kitson, Liberal Leader, will show you that your kind care was not thrown away.

1224. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 124]
Foreign Office. [2 February 1884].

Childers & I would like to see you on Monday to settle what to say about Egyptian Finance.⁴ Any hour would suit me—Childers has an appointment at 3—He suggests 12–30. or 3–30.

Hartington asked me whether I knew whether Dick Grosvenor knows what [is] to happen on Tuesday, & what the procedure is to be.

He also would like a meeting of you, Dilke[,] Fitzmaurice and himself with me to talk over lines of debate.⁵

1225. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
10, Downing Street. Feby 3. 84.

Having heard something of the enemy's intent,⁶ I would ask you to direct the preparation of

¹ On Herbert Gladstone's speech at Leeds, 24 Jan., on the land laws, parliamentary reform pleading for suspension of judgment, Ireland, and Egypt, see *The Times*, 26 Jan., p. 5f.

² Granville to Gladstone, probably 28 Jan., discussing the C.B. for Baring, Add. MS. 44176, fo. 121, not printed.

³ Of 27 Jan., describing the excellent impression which Herbert Gladstone had made, Add. MS. 44485, fo. 133.

⁴ In parliament, which reassembled on 5 Feb.

⁵ Gladstone proposed to see Granville and Childers at 2.30 before the 'open Cabinet' at 3 on the Reform bill, and to see Hartington, Dilke, Fitzmaurice, and Granville after the cabinet, but did not think much could be settled, until the opposition motion was known, Hamilton to Granville, 2 Feb., P.R.O. 30/29/128.

⁶ i.e. to call attention to the ministry's failure over government, justice, finance, and frontier peace in Egypt, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxiv. 59; this motion being lost, 5 Feb., Northcote moved a vote of censure, 12 Feb.; cf. mem. by Hamilton, 4 Feb., 'Progress of Reform in Egypt', Add. MS. 44768, fo. 10.

1. a brief note of the *point of progress* reached in each of the main matters of reform which we had to promote in Egypt.
2. The date of
 - a. the surrender of the last fort to us in 1882
 - b. First news of Mahdi's victory.

1226. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/144]

Feb. 6. 84.

I should not like to assume the responsibility of *ordering* a man like Gordon not to do what he deems essential.¹ But Baring on the spot has better means of judgment both about the Mahdi personally & otherwise. And if he is not satisfied with urging Gordon to consider well so serious a step, and deems it essential to lay a prohibition upon the person to whose discretion we are entrusting so much, I would not refuse to support him in it.²

1227. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*³

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Private & Early.

House of Commons. Feb. 7. 1884.

Hartington has a kind of hankering after the adoption of a suggestion of Wolseley's,⁴ which at the same time he will not propose. The idea is to ask Gordon whether it would help him if an English Brigade were sent to Suakim to chastise any Arab force which might insult the place. Chastising of course means following & following Arab horsemen I suppose means following them a good way.

I put it to him that it would be strange, of our own motion, thus to tell

¹ See from Baring, tel. No. 87, 6 Feb., reporting his veto on Gordon's going to the Mahdi's camp and requesting authority to forbid in the government's name, F.O. 78/3687; and Granville to Gladstone: 'It is more like the Arabian nights, than real life. Shall I telegraph to Baring "Your message to Gordon approved, no further order is required"', returned with no. 1226 written on it.

² See to Baring, tel. No. 63, 6 Feb., replying as proposed with Northbrook's amendment (made when no. 1226 was circulated to the cabinet) noting the cabinet's approval, P.R.O. 30/29/144; F.O. 78/3683.

³ Gladstone to Granville, 7 Feb., asking how to reply to a parliamentary question about Gordon's imprisonment; and reply that he had heard nothing of it, Add. MS. 44176, fo. 127, not printed.

⁴ The origin of Graham's Suakin expedition; see Northbrook to Granville, 7 Feb., proposing to accept; reply, 7 Feb., asking Gladstone's and Hartington's opinions; Hartington to Granville, 7 Feb., reporting his asking Gladstone for a cabinet and Chamberlain's and Dilke's support for an eastern Sudan expedition; all P.R.O. 30/29/144; for cabinet, 8 Feb., Granville and Gladstone against, five ministers for Wolseley's suggestion, Add. MS. 44645, fos. 26-29, S. Gwynn and G. M. Tuckwell, *The Life of Sir Charles W. Dilke* (1917) ii. 35.

him that if he desired it we were ready to adopt a measure which would alter fundamentally the whole *basis* of our position as to the Soudan.

H. admits very fairly that it would entail operations against Sinkat & Tocar. I said if any one were prepared to propose the plan no doubt the Cabinet ought to meet to discuss it.

He admits also that we must, if we ask, be prepared to comply.

I read your speech¹ with very great comfort & satisfaction.

1228. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. Feb. 9. 84.

I send you herewith

1. A letter from the Queen:² Horse Guards all over.

2. My reply,³ which I supposed it right to send by this post.

You are my pillar.

I also send a report from Knowles [*sc.* Knollys].⁴ He commonly reads in outside opinion what he wishes to read.

Gordon is now the key to the whole position and everything shows the great importance of the answers we may expect shortly to arrive from him.

1229. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44176, fo. 130]

18, Carlton House Terrace. Feb 9/84.

The Queen should ask the Empress Eugenie, whether she now thinks she was right in urging her Husband to undertake the Mexican, as well as the Franco German war.

I do not give twopence for Knolly's judgment—but I suspect he is right in believing that at this moment there is a burning wish to do 'something'.

Hartington told me that Dick Grosvenor expected a good majority, & my brother thinks the party will be right after a speech from you—But such a foolometer as Tom Potter writes to me on behalf of his liberal friends, a Jingo letter.⁵ Osborne Morgan tells me the feeling is very strong. The Press is almost unanimous.

I trust we shall hear from Gordon tomorrow.

¹ i.e. of 5 Feb., in the Lords' debate on the address, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxiv. 28–37.

² Of 9 Feb., after Gen. Baker's defeat in the eastern Sudan, calling for a demonstration of our strength, Guedalla, ii. 259, *Letters*, iii. 477.

³ Not traced.

⁴ Not traced.

⁵ 8 Feb., saying it was clear that England could not 'shake off responsibility' for Egypt 'and may as well tell the world so as soon as possible', P.R.O. 30/29/152.

1230. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 132]

Foreign Office. [10 February 1884].

I send you Hartington's comments on the opinions given in his box.¹ There seem to be the usual 3 courses.

To rest upon the decision of the Cabinet,² which I suppose he will say was against the opinion of the majority—of which I am not quite sure.

To telegraph in the sense proposed, in order to catch Gordon, before he is off again.

To summon another cabinet either for this afternoon or for early tomorrow.³

1231. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 134]

Foreign Office. [10 February 1884].

I do not agree with Kimberley,⁴ but will not give my reasons, as I believe you are of my opinion.

I am getting nervous about the good news in the observer⁵—It is dated the 9th, & if it is true, it is incredible that we should not yet [have heard] anything from Baring.

Mohrenheim is going [as] Ambassador to Paris.

1232. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. Feb 10. 84.

Send this on to Northbrook⁶ if you approve.

Kimberley's suggestion⁷ seems to me, I own, only another element of trouble in the cauldron.

I am very doubtful whether under the existing circumstances it would not be in violation of the law of Europe?

¹ Cabinet circulation box reviving the proposal for an expedition to the eastern Sudan.

² i.e. of 8 Feb., against telegraphing to Gordon to ask whether an expedition to the eastern Sudan would be of use; see p. 154, n. 4.

³ For cabinet, noon, Mon. 10 [sc. 11] Feb., which agreed to accept Wolseley's suggestion, as described in no. 1227, see Add. MS. 44645, fo. 30.

⁴ i.e. in min. in favour of the Suakin expedition in Hartington's box.

⁵ i.e. of Gordon's arrival at Berber.

⁶ i.e. Gladstone to Northbrook, 10 Feb., hoping that Gordon might be kept at Berber until his views on an eastern Sudan expedition were received and supposing that his first object would be the relief of Sinkat and Tokar, Add. MS. 44267, fo. 41; see also no. 1234.

⁷ See min. by Kimberley, 9 Feb., proposing to give 'a more formal character to what is now our virtual assumption . . . of the Govt. of Egypt' on which Granville wrote 'I do not know how our present hold is to be strengthened', P.R.O. 30/29/136.

1233. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Foreign Office. [10 February 1884].

It is possible that if we announce a protectorate it may help us in the debate—but how will this strengthen us, and will it not be inconsistent—and inconvenient.

I should however be very glad to know exactly what you think is possible.

[P.S.] I have telegraphed to Thompson.

I hear Dick Grosvenor expects a large majority.¹

1234. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

F. 10. [1884].

*I agree.*²

Ought it not to be, & may we not presume that it will be, a prime object of Gordon's mission to secure the free exit of the garrisons?

Is it quite out of the question to commend Tokar & Sinkat to his thoughts?

1235. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Immediate.

10, Downing Street. Feb. 11. 84.

1. Will you look in on your way to the Cabinet.³

2. I take it for granted you will present Gordon's paper of the 25th.⁴

3. What curious papers about Zobeir.⁵ Even here I would be governed by his [i.e. Gordon's] Aye or No. For us, at the present moment, the whole question will be I think Gordon or no-Gordon.

4. About this, as yet, the Cabinet seems very much agreed. But I anticipate further pressure on the point, which was ultimately ruled in our sense on Friday,⁶ Hartington alone dissenting (some had gone away). I have therefore tried whether I could hit upon a perfectly colourless form of telegram, which should *not* be a 'leading question' and I submit a sketch for your consideration.

¹ On Egypt the liberals had a majority of 49 against the vote of censure, 19 Feb., after five nights' debate, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxiv. 1458; see also p. 153, n. 6.

² No. 1234 is written under a note from Granville: 'It may be safer to avoid the Law of Liquidation in debate. G.'

³ For cabinet, Mon. 10 [sc. 11] Feb., see p. 156, n. 3.

⁴ See 'Correspondence respecting the Affairs of the Soudan', *Parl. papers* (1884) lxxxviii. 349, laid 14 Feb. This has Gordon's mem. of 22 Jan.

⁵ Baring to Granville, private, 28 Jan., enclosed a mem. of reasons, which Gordon had stated to him, for using Zobeir, P.R.O. 30/29/162; but the papers on which Gladstone comments, more likely to be later, have not been traced.

⁶ i.e. 8 Feb., in the cabinet, see p. 154, n. 4.

If you think it safe and right you might have time to send it to Northbrook, as an effort to unite all opinions.

Draft. It has been suggested from a military quarter here that there should be a military demonstration from Suakim. Let Gordon know that he may give his judgment whether this would do good or harm to his mission.¹

No. 2. Second Telegram suggested. We presume Gordon will direct his first efforts to the removal of those garrisons which are in the greatest danger as we presume Sinkat and Tokar.

1236. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 136]
Foreign Office. [11 February 1884].

I am afraid that it is not certain that Gordon has arrived at Berber.² I told Northbrook that we had better avoid too much fuss. How do we know that Gordon does not mean to secure his own safety & obtain his ends by extraordinary rapidity.

As Northbrook's letter was addressed to me, it is hardly necessary for you to answer it before noon tomorrow.

I have telegraphed to Baring to ask Gordon whether he can suggest anything about Sincat & Tokar.³

1237. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 138]
Immediate. House of Commons. F 13. 84.

These telegrams of today's arrival⁴ contain some good matter about Gordon's expectations. Might I venture to read the Scored passages? or any of them? The House would like it & I might do it at 5.45. It all tends to damp the vote, already rather damped.⁵

¹ Sent as Granville to Baring, tel. No. 77, 11 Feb., see F.O. 78/3683.

² See p. 156, n. 5; for actual arrival at Berber, 10 Feb., see from Baring, tel. No. 111, 11 Feb., F.O. 78/3685.

³ See tel. No. 76, 11 p.m. 10 Feb., F.O. 78/3683; out of date with the fall of Sinkat, 11 Feb.; the news, received 12 Feb., following on Baker's defeat, 6 Feb., and the disaster to Hicks's expedition, Nov., caused the cabinet, 12 Feb., to decide to collect a force at Suakin despite Gladstone's opposition, Add. MS. 44645, fos. 32-38; for fresh division of opinion whether to use Egyptian or British troops, see from Baring, tel. No. 131, 13 Feb., F.O. 78/3685 and mins. on it, P.R.O. 30/29/144; to Baring, tel. No. 88, 14 Feb., and mins. on it, 17 Feb., P.R.O. 30/29/144.

⁴ i.e. from Baring, tel. No. 125, 12 Feb., that Gordon did not expect massacres or that events in the eastern Sudan would endanger Khartoum; tel. No. 126, 13 Feb., that he was leaving Berber for Khartoum, travelling slowly, F.O. 78/3685.

⁵ Granville returned the letter, writing on it: 'I see no objection to your adding some icicles to the iceberg you launched at the vote last night'; for Gladstone's moving the adjournment and reading the tels., 13 Feb., and the vote against censure, 19 Feb., see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxiv. 823-4, 1458.

1238. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
10, Downing Street. F 14/84.

Apropos to Baring Feb 5¹

I do think the Egyptian Govt much requires some kind of steady advocacy in the English Press: but it should be for the Throne more than the Ministers.

1239. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
10, Downing Street. Feb. 18. 84.

I send you copy of a note I have just written to Northbrook.²

There is probably on the spot an excitement which covers an unconscious desire for blood. But for us to wink at any such feeling would be unpardonable.

[P.S.] How are you? The announcement of a Cabinet in the Daily News is false: but shall we have one tomorrow?³

1240. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 42]
[Copy] London. Feb. 19/84.

The Opposition will keep making capital out of Gordon's proclamation⁴ till we produce it,⁵ and I would certainly advise telegraphing today for the text, if it does not arrive with the morning's telegrams.

1241. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
10, Downing Street. Feb 19. 84.

I have read the letters about Uxkull.⁶ A negative man, with a questionable wife, does not seem a desirable addition to the diplomatic body here.

¹ See to Granville, private, 5 Feb., on fresh letters from Gordon and Stewart, ending 'I have snuffed out an arrangement under which Dicey was to receive 1000 a year, for writing up the Egyptian Govt (i.e. Nubar) in the English press', P.R.O. 30/29/162.

² 18 Feb., expressing fear lest the British admiral in command of the Red Sea ports should encourage the garrison at Suakin to hold out after a trustworthy offer to spare their lives on surrender, Add. MS. 44547, fo. 41.

³ See *Daily News*, 18 Feb., p. 5b, announcing that a meeting would be held 'tomorrow' in Downing Street; for cabinets of 18 and 21 Feb., see Add. MS. 44645, fos. 41, 48.

⁴ Issued at Berber denying that he intended measures against slavery; see Northcote's question to Gladstone on the summary in the newspapers, 18 Feb.; further questions from Onslow and Northcote, 19 Feb., and Gladstone's statement promising to publish, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxiv. 1202-4, 1342, 1348-50, 1730-31.

⁵ Laid, 25 Feb.; *Parl. papers* (1884) lxxxviii. 359.

⁶ Proposed as Russian ambassador *vice* Mohrenheim.

I conclude you will inquire more: & that probably H.M. will have something to say.¹

1242. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. Feb. 20. 1884.

I had not *read* the long telegrams from Egypt² when I sent you a message about Cabinet this morning.

I think the proposal that we should by our own authority appoint a ruler of the Soudan is open to a great number of conclusive objections.

The question of the appointing authority is the greatest question.

The fact that Baring takes no notice of them whatever shows perhaps that he is overdone, perhaps that he weighs a question of the widest character in *local* scales, perhaps both.

The withdrawal of the Egyptians leaves the Turk indisputably in possession of the ground *de jure*.

Gordon throws him aside but this does not get rid of him.

[P.S.] Gordon's letter of the 1st to Northbrook³ contains very valuable words towards the close ag[ains]t British intervention.

I do not absolutely see why [the] Khedive should not propose to Turkey the nomination of a proper person with Sultan's authority—& in case of hesitation arrange with the man provisionally & leave him to make good his ground?

1243. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street, Feb. 22. 84.

Baring No. 161. Have you observed the expression 'revival of slavery'⁴ in this Telegram and should not some hint be given on the subject. I understand him to mean some quickened action of dealings in slaves, though I do not know precisely what or why. But the use of terms so large & sweeping seems very indiscreet, quite beyond the necessity of the case, and likely to cause great excitement in this country through the use that would be made of them.

¹ See Ponsonby to Granville, 11 Feb., for the Queen's protest against receiving Baron and Baroness Uxküll since Baroness Uxküll had been divorced, and, 3 Mar., adhering to her opinion, P.R.O. 30/29/43.

² See from Baring, tels. Nos. 154, 155, 19 Feb., supporting Gordon's and Stewart's proposal, 18 Feb., that Britain appoint Zobeir Pasha governor of the Sudan to take over when Gordon left, F.O. 78/3685, F.O. 78/3687; see p. 163, n. 1, and nos. 1251, 1255.

³ Not traced.

⁴ Tel. No. 161, 21 Feb., explaining Gordon's slavery proclamation as making political profit out of the revival of slavery, which was the inevitable consequence of the abandonment of the Sudan, dispatch recording tel. in F.O. 78/3687.

1244. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. Feb. 26. 84.

A *conclave* of Ministers at my room in the H of C were of opinion today that it is *urgent* to obtain from Wood through Baring a full account of the state of Wood's army.¹

It has been our basis and cornerstone. Now, it is darkly but rather plainly intimated that we are not to trust to it: at least this is the construction favoured by the reticence which has been observed.

You will I think concur.

1245. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/144]

10, Downing Street. Feb. 27. 84.

It is as much as my poor head can do to take in and properly dispose the materials of the Franchise Bill which I am to introduce tomorrow.² But with reference to this extraordinary proclamation of Gordon's³ about English troops (which will I suppose become known and naturally raise questions here) I presume you will say something to Baring, leaving him a discretion probably as to what he shall say or do upon it. Gordon assumes a licence of language to which we can hardly make ourselves parties?⁴

1246. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. Mch 3. 84.

I think of going to Windsor to the Council tomorrow. Perhaps it would not pay you in point of time. If it did there is much in the Egyptian question that I should like to talk over with you. Since we met this morning, my views have been somewhat enlarged and quickened both by R. Grosvenor and by a conversation with Northbrook.

¹ i.e. the reorganized Egyptian army stiffened with British officers which Gladstone considered would relieve Britain of the occupation; cf. Hartington to Granville, 25 Feb., advising that Baring be asked to report, P.R.O. 30/29/134; and to Baring, tel. private, 26 Feb., asking him to report, P.R.O. 30/29/200.

² Thurs. 28 Feb., the Representation of the People bill, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxv. 106-4.

³ See from Baring, tel. No. 176, 27 Feb., reporting Gordon's proclamation (issued when he feared a rising in Khartoum against him) threatening the people of the Sudan with English troops 'now on their way' to Khartoum, F.O. 78/3685.

⁴ See mins., by Childers wishing to leave Gordon alone, by Hartington, Derby, and Northbrook agreeing with a message to Baring, Granville also agreeing, since we could not be responsible for Gordon's 'oriental crackers', P.R.O. 30/29/144; no tel. to Baring has been traced.

1247. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 139]
Foreign Office. [3 March 1884].

Musurus seems so pleased with our despatch,¹ that I am almost afraid we must have gone too far.

1248. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 140]
Ma 6. 84.

See Worms's question². Shall I answer as on the other side.³ I should like to say less, or as little as possible. I might perhaps say I would answer in the debate?⁴

1249. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 142]
Ayrfield, Bournemouth. March 9/84.

The utter condemnation of the Egyptian army seems to me to be premature.⁵

It certainly will require some strengthening & I like Hartington's plan⁶—& it does not seem impossible to combine with it a certain number of Englishmen, either as Artillerymen or as a bodyguard to the Khedive.

1250. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
10, Downing Street. 10 March 1884.

I am confined to bed for the day with a cold;⁷ but quite available for any necessary conversation.

¹ To Dufferin, No. 61, 29 Feb., recording reply to Musurus's overture for an Anglo-Turkish agreement about Egypt, that possible topics were the settlement of the Sudan and Turkey's resumption of control over the Red Sea ports, F.O. 78/3620.

² Whether Zobeir Pasha was to be made governor of Khartoum after Gordon left.

³ That the question was premature and that when a decision was taken the presentation of papers would be the best way of communicating it; for answer as made, omitting the last part, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxv. 668.

⁴ i.e. in committee of supply when the vote for the Sudan expenditure was taken, suggestion not adopted, *ibid.* 699-710.

⁵ See no. 1244 and Col. Ardagh's adverse report on it, enclosed in Hartington to Granville, 25 Feb., P.R.O. 30/29/134; cf. Ardagh to Sanderson, 3 Feb., describing Wood's army as a costly fraud, P.R.O. 30/29/167.

⁶ Cf. mins. by Northbrook, Childers, Kimberley, Derby, and Chamberlain, 2 and 3 Mar., against Sir Charles Wilson's proposal to change the plan of Oct. 1882 for the organization of the Egyptian army, P.R.O. 30/29/144.

⁷ Nos. 1250-3 are in Hamilton's hand but signed by Gladstone.

They press us very hard in point of time as to Zobeir.¹

Would it be possible to propose to Gordon² that he should retain his position and responsibility for a fixed time, say 12 months or even 6, with liberty as to the persons he should employ to cooperate with him or serve under him. Of course this would mean Zobeir.

1251. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. 11: March 1884.

The first question³ is I suppose whether to separate matters of the Soudan from those of Egypt proper. If that separation takes place and we look first to the Soudan, the three points are

1. Withdrawal of the military force
2. Security of the Red Sea Ports
3. Succession to Gordon, or provision for order in the Soudan generally.

Of these the third is the most urgent. What if we were to proceed as follows?⁴

First. transmit to Baring our official request to Gordon himself to assume the office of keeping quiet in the Soudan, which he has now himself informed us he has found to be inseparable from the extrication of the garrisons.

Secondly. He will probably refuse, and we might authorise Baring, if he receive this refusal at once to make another proposal to Gordon, namely, that he should undertake to remain for six months employing as his agents whomsoever he will. This might of course include Zobeir.

Thirdly. Beyond these there seems to lie only the alternative of accepting Gordon's proposal as to Zobeir pure and simple, or of breaking with him and promising his recall.

There is one point in the matter of Zobeir which I think has not received sufficient notice, and I take it to be of great importance. It is the local limitation of his authority. If it is so confined as not to touch slave-hunting and slave-exporting, the objection to him would be greatly weakened.

¹ See p. 160, n. 2; and to Baring, tel. No. 119, 22 Feb., refusing to sanction Zobeir's appointment, F.O. 78/3667; from Baring, tels. Nos. 178, 192, 206, 28 Feb., 4, 9 Mar., repeating Gordon's message about smashing the Mahdi and arguing for using Zobeir, F.O. 78/3687; and from Baring, tel. private, 9 Mar., making a fresh appeal for Zobeir, ending 'the Zobeir question is really one of great importance and urgency', P.R.O. 30/29/162; see also Lord Cromer, *Modern Egypt* (1908) i. 495-8, 505-6, 514-15.

² The suggestion was not adopted.

³ i.e. for that day's cabinet, to be taken by Granville in Gladstone's absence.

⁴ The cabinet was against using Zobeir and none of Gladstone's proposals was fully adopted; see to Baring, No. 149, 11 March and tel., 13 Mar., allowing Gordon to employ any agent other than Zobeir, and offering to extend Gordon's own appointment, F.O. 78/4194, Shibeika, op. cit. 237; Cromer, op. cit. i. 520.

1252. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. 12: March 1884.

Unless you have got full information about the question of limits in the Soudan (which I do not remember), would it not be well to ask Baring by telegraph whether Gordon's proposal for an eventual successor refers to the whole country or to how much of it, and in particular how far it embraces points from which slave-trading or slave-hunting could be carried on.

[P.S.] It appears to me that this Telegram does not *commit*, and might be sent if you approve without any further authority.¹

1253. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. 13: March 1884.

I find much difficulty in advising as to publication² in particulars, which I have always looked upon as Departmental work, requiring a special knack. Also one ought to see the documents in type. I have however two things to say.

First. I have scored one page in Baring's first dispatch (Feb: 28) which seems to me unsuitable for publication.

Secondly. I doubt the expediency of publishing wholesale, unless for special reasons, telegrams which passed between Baring and Gordon but were not made known to us at the time.

1254. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Foreign Office. [13 March 1884].

I agree about publication of all Gordon's communications, but the selection is not made till later, after everything has been printed.

1255. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. Mch 16. 84.

I am better in chest and generally but unfortunately not in throat and voice, and Clark interdicts my appearance at Cabinet, but I am available for any necessary communication say with you or you & Hartington.

¹ See to Baring, tel. No. 138 12 Mar., F.O. 78/3683; Cromer, op. cit., i. 520.

² See 'Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Egypt', *Parl. Papers* (1884) lxxxviii. 393; Baring's dispatch commented on Gordon's proposals for dealing with the Sudan which gave a choice between evacuation and assuming responsibility for future good order.

I remain in the mind of yesterday, with still more disposition to enlarge discretion for I think we are positively without materials here for deciding between the several possible alternatives.

These alternatives seem to be

1. Remaining at Khartoum with a view to organisation
2. Departure therefrom at once (I would not *absolutely* refuse even sending cavalry to Berber, much as I dislike it IF
 - (a) the military authorities think it can be done
 - (b) it is declared necessary for Gordon's safety *and is absolutely confined to that purpose*[)]¹
3. Sending Zebehr: on the permission to do this I should be inclined to impose the conditions
 - a if Baring, preferring it himself, is also satisfied that Gordon still desires it—which from his language does not seem very certain
 - b That B. should make with Zebehr such arrangement as he may think satisfactory.²
4. Negotiation with Mahdi was named yesterday—it seems improbable but I would not exclude it and would leave a general discretion for any mode of action touching Soudan only and independent of us.

1256. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 148]

18, Carlton House Terrace. March 20/84.

I am so glad you are at Coombe. I expect the effect, of the quiet, the change of air & the cooler weather will set you right at once.

We have been comparing throats, and all find that they are better owing to the last cause.

News from Egypt does not improve.³

I am not sure that for the ultimate result, it is a bad thing that Gordon who has provisions for 6 months should be cut off from us—You will see that on the 5th he telegraphed (which ought to have been repeated to us) that he was ready to do with or without Zobeir. Our parliamentary position however will be difficult.

¹ The starred phrase was a later addition, sent by Hamilton to Granville, 16 Mar., P.R.O. 30/29/128; tel. No. 138, 16 Mar., to Baring, F.O. 78/3683.

² See from Baring, tel. No. 217, 14 Mar., asking the cabinet to reconsider its verdict against Zobeir, F.O. 78/3685, 78/4194; to Baring, No. 162, 16 Mar., substance telegraphed, refusing to reconsider, despite Gladstone's views, F.O. 78/4194; from Baring, tel. No. 224, 16 Mar., F.O. 78/3685; to Baring, No. 192A, 28 Mar., 'written by Northbrook as a defence of the government's decision', F.O. 78/4194; see draft with amendments and mins. by Derby, Kimberley, Harcourt, and Childers in P.R.O. 30/29/144.

³ See from Baring, tels. Nos. 233, 234, 19 Mar., repeating reports from Berber of rebel advances and of the likelihood of communications between Berber and Egypt being cut, F.O. 78/3685.

Musurus had nothing to say, which advanced the negotiations,¹ but I cannot dismiss the idea that Turkey might be of use.

A telegram would bring me to Coombe any day—I suppose the hour would be indifferent to you—

The Ambassadors announced everywhere on Saturday, that you had resigned, because the Cabinet tried to force you to take more energetic measures. They were convinced that your throat was merely diplomatic.

1257. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Coombe Warren, Kingston. Mch 20. 84.

For the first time I am conscious today of real progress, feeling stronger, & the cough being now open & more manageable, with a return of appetite. This is unauthoritative, as Clark has not yet come, but it records my impressions.

I am not surprised at the wisdom of the Ambassadors. They have just wit enough to take in themselves. The curious part is that I should have been striving more than any other for sending Zebehr, which I suppose they would call energy.

In his excellent but most gloomy letter of the 11th Baring gives us but one favourable item.² I am glad to learn from you that Gordon would still try without Zebehr.

The most menacing subject now seems to be the road from Suakim to Berber & Berber to Khartoum—but the Cabinet has been firm in declining to assume the care of it. In the light of after events I wish I felt quite sure that we were wise in going to Suakim at all; which we did almost without a moment's discussion on the assurance that it involved nothing more than a *vessel*.

The case of the Egyptian finance seems also to leap out in advance of the question of Egypt proper.

That question at all events presents the possibility, in the abstract, of more than 'three courses'. Say for example.

1. Khedive & a pure Egyptian & Mahomedan Govt & force.
2. Khedive with an Anglo-Egyptian Govt & force.
3. Khedive with a Turkish force under treaty.
4. English Protectorate—by arrangement with the Powers—for a time.
5. English Protectorate without the Powers & in violation of European law.

¹ For Anglo-Turkish agreement about Egypt see p. 162, n. 1; see also to Dufferin, No. 89, 18 Mar., recording Musurus's vague rejoinder to the British reply to the Turkish overture, F.O. 78/3620.

² See Baring to Granville, private, 11 Mar., saying that he thought Zobeir should be sent, that he did not regret the Gordon mission, and discussing the Red Sea ports and internal difficulties, P.R.O. 30/29/162.

There may be more.

[P.S.] It is not a bad thing that the rapidity of communication with Gordon should for a while be stayed.

1258. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 151]

18, Carlton House Terrace. March 21/84.

We are all delighted with the good accounts & I was much obliged by your letter. I hope to see Childers today, & hear his first impressions. I presume he will [have] some alternatives to submit to the Cabinet.¹

It has struck me that if we attempt to deal with the law of liquidation, a matter which must be fully considered[,] the best way of opening the subject, would be by inviting the powers to authorize their Ambassadors to meet in London to consider whether the law requires any alteration, and if so to what extent.

I suppose the answer of France[,] Italy & Russia, would be to require a statement of the basis on which we proposed to discuss the matter. But we should gain some knowledge of the amount of opposition likely to be offered.

Of your five courses, some seem to me to be out of the question.

The news on the whole is better from the Soudan.

1259. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Coombe Warren, Kingston. Mch 21. 84.

The other day I asked Clark to call on you & give you original information about me but he unfortunately missed you. He comes down here rather late in the afternoon so the news is perhaps not always fresh. Generally I believe I am no worse than yesterday. There is a *laziness* about this cold, which is new in my case but very common as Clark says with others. It reminds me of a wound I had long ago which under pressure of anxious business refused to heal.

By hook or by crook I hope to get up for the opening of the debate² on Monday whatever else happens.

¹ See mem. by Childers on Egyptian finance, 27 Mar., with Gladstone's note of the cabinet, 29 Mar., Add. MS. 44645, fo. 57; see no. 1275 for Granville's circular to the powers based upon it, which led to the conference of London on Egyptian finance.

² Gladstone was absent from the first night's debate on the second reading of the franchise bill, 24 Mar., *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxvi. 619; see no. 1271; cf. note by Hamilton, 21 Mar., on the improbability of Gladstone's presence, P.R.O. 30/29/128.

1260. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 153]

18, Carlton House Terrace. March 22/84.

We thought it better to have a cabinet. It is to meet at 12. I will write after it.

Of course you will not come on Monday, without the full permission of the Doctor.

Good news as far as it goes.

1261. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

C[oombe] Warren. Mch 22. 84.

I like much your Telegram about the Soudan sent to Baring yesterday:¹ but I am tempted to a skit—When you are so ready to fraternise with Osman, you might have remembered Zebehr!

On White's letter of 7th March from Bucharest² I would observe that if the ecclesiastical communion between Bulgaria and the Patriarch of Constantinople has not yet been restored, it would be a good thing to bring about the restoration. It is true that Hellenes & Slavs have rival interests in respect to the reversion of certain Turkish territories. But it is also true that they have a common interest in shutting out Russian aggression from the Balkan Peninsula, which would be hostile to both. The Bulgarian schism if I understand the thing aright lets in Russian *ingérence* to support the Bulgarian Church against Constantinople. It would be pre-eminently I think for the interest of the Sultan to stop this hole: but it would also be in the interests of peace.

In regard to the Egyptian question proper, I am conscious of being moved by three powerful considerations

1. Respect for European Law, and for the peace of Eastern Europe, essentially connected with its observance.
2. The just claims of the Khedive who has given us no case against him, and his people as connected with him.
3. Indisposition to extend the responsibilities of this country.

On the two first I feel very stiff. On the third I should have due regard to my personal condition as a vanishing quantity.

[P.S.] I do not much like Baring's 238 in reply³ to yours of yesterday. He contemplates too coolly a *third* battle. This I suspect will be your view.

¹ i.e. tel. No. 154, 21 Mar., deprecating fighting Osman Digna in the eastern Sudan and suggesting an instruction to Graham to pay the Sheiks to help in opening the road to Berber, F.O. 78/3683; Shibeika, op. cit. 211; Cromer, op. cit. i. 538.

² See No. 19, 17 Mar., on the hostility of the Bulgarians and the indifference of the Serbs and Rumanians to the Greek patriarch (see p. 148, n. 2) because as the races became autonomous the Christian communities became nationalist, F.O. 104/37.

³ Tel. No. 238, 21 Mar., reporting his instructions to Graham in accordance with Granville's tel., F.O. 78/3685.

1262. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 159]

Foreign Office. [22 March 1884].

I will write in your sense to Dufferin¹—on the Patriarch question—

I have nothing to say against your 3 principles as to Egypt proper—although I am not sure that we shall be able to settle the financial question, with strict observance of the third—

I agree in your objection to Baring's deviation from our instruction. I pointed it out this morning to Hartington & Northbrook—but on the whole we thought we could hardly rectify it.

1263. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 154]

10, Downing Street. March 22/84.

Hartington read your letter.² It was settled that your advice should be followed, as to not volunteering new redistribution views—

That Lord John Manners (if you are absent) should be allowed to begin—that Bright (unless at the dinner hour) should follow him—that Hartington should speak on Monday—that on the subsequent nights Independent liberals, and non Cabinet officials should be encouraged to take a part—that no threat of sitting from day to day should be made at first.

A morning sitting to be taken on Tuesday for cattle bill.³

The Cabinet *hope* Childers will be able to take the budget on the 7th.

Childers, speaking on information (of an imperfect character) from Edgar Vincent, gave the Cabinet the blackest view of Egyptian finance—He has promised an immediate memorandum.

(I have got a message that Miss Gladstone⁴ is off—I will write again—[.])

1264. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 156]

No 2.

Foreign Office. March 22/84.

Hartington consulted us as to how he should answer Northcote's question on Monday, 'when he proposed to make his promised statement on our Egyptian policy?' It was decided that he should deny having promised a statement, & repeat his declarations as to the great inconvenience to the public service, if he gave piecemeal information, on pending matters.

¹ No letter, either private or official, has been traced.

² i.e. to the cabinet, 22 Mar., suggesting the course of debate on the franchise bill; cf. with nos. 1263, 1264, Granville to the Queen, 22 Mar., following the substance but omitting the details of difference of opinion on Egypt, P.R.O. 30/29/43.

³ The Contagious Diseases (Animals) bill was taken in committee on Tues. 25 Mar., *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxvi. 782.

⁴ She was to take the letter.

A long discussion then arose on Egypt—Harcourt pressing strongly that we should leave Soudan & Egypt proper at once. 'If there was a fire in the Cabinet room, he should however inconvenient it might be, jump out of the window'.

He was supported by no one, excepting by Chamberlain to a certain degree. He[,] Chamberlain[,] thought that a threat to that effect might be used to force a change in the law of liquidation. There was much talk, but no practical conclusion, and it was agreed to wait for Childers' Memorandum.

The question of special packets for the Royal family was mooted.

It was decided that Childers should give me a memorandum for the Queen & that I should state to Her Majesty that it was a question which the Cabinet did not wish absolutely to decide, but which they submitted for H.M.'s consideration whether the small saving to the Royal family was worth the disagreeable debates which recur annually on the subject.

[P.S.] We had rather an inconclusive conversation on Musurus[']s last note, but it seemed to be the wish of the Cabinet that I should draft a reply in general terms.

I will submit it to you.

1265. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Coombe Warren, Kingston. Mch 23. 1884.

Many thanks for the information you have kindly sent me about the proceedings of the Cabinet with which I am quite satisfied, though I am less widely removed from Harcourt than most appear to be.

I am however not easy about Baring's telegram 241.¹

The question of a third battle is most serious.

Has it been before the Cabinet? ought it to be allowed without the Cabinet?

The *first* was fought with the belief that it was to be final.

So was the *second*.

Now all that is said is that after a *third* 'We may possibly be prepared to submit'.

Are we to be drawn into a series of these actions without limit?

I do not say it is possible to instruct him unconditionally 'fight no more'.

But to me it seems that we ought to abstain unless

1. There is a moral certainty that unless he is attacked he will have means of attacking (of course with reference mainly to Suakim) & will attack. This principally.

¹ Of 22 Mar., reporting Graham's view that negotiation with Osman Digna was futile and his proposal to move on Tamanib and attack Osman Digna which Baring thought should be allowed, F.O. 78/3685; Cromer, op. cit. i. 538.

But I should like to add

2. That there is a *good prospect* of his [Osman Digna] capture or submission, I mean of getting rid of him.

I am sure that, if these points have not been considered by the Cabinet you will give them such consid[eratio]n as they may deserve.

[P.S.] I am now really getting on very well: have written to H[artington] about H of C—Voice much improved.

Graham seems to be right in avoiding further messages to Osman: & the man himself has no title to consideration: he is false, bloodthirsty, and fanatical.

1266. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 161]

18, Carlton House Terrace. March 23/84.

Hartington is at Kimbolton Northbrook at Stratton—and it is hardly desirable to have a cabinet without you there—I propose to telegraph in accordance with a word I have just had from Hartington—Baring's telegram 241. Tell Graham we are adverse to further operations without any definite object, but if he considers it will secure Berber road he may advance to Tamanib as proposed.¹

If you desire anything stronger—I can send a second.

You have always been for retiring as soon as it is possible, consistently with our declarations to do so. But pray remember that a few days ago Harcourt was pressing with great power all the Pall Mall, & Times' arguments for a closer connection with Egypt. I am delighted to hear of your being better—and that you do not come to town tomorrow.

I should particularly like to run down to you, but I do not mean to do so, till I have something particular to say, or you call me.

I am sorry to say there is a chance of my being summoned to Bournemouth.²

I trust Mrs Gladstone is all right again.

1267. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Mch 23. 84.

Together with your note and proposed telegram came to me Graham's of yesterday sent off at noon which as I read it would seem to show that the road to Berber is open. You may have framed yours in the sense of permitting Graham to attack if it will secure the roads *remaining* open.

¹ This became to Baring, tel. No. 157, 23 Mar., F.O. 78/3685; Cromer, op. cit. i. 539.

² On account of his sister's illness; see Gladstone to Granville, 23 Mar., on Lady Georgiana Fullerton's illness, P.R.O. 30/29/128, not printed.

I should have doubted whether this was a sufficient ground especially as this might not get rid of Osman, which I take to be the first & greatest object.

I am very unwilling to run the risk of doing mischief by interposing with imperfect knowledge, and I like very much the opening of the Telegram as you give it but I should like to add adequate to definite. In truth, I would have *preferred* saying that he knew the defensive purpose of his expedition, and that we relied upon [his] discretion to take the measures most conducive to its speedy attainment, while we were 'averse to further operations without any definite' (and adequate) 'object'.

But I shall be content with your judgment.¹

1268. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Coombe Warren, Kingston. Mch 24. 84.

In my pencil notes on pp 5 & 6 of your draft of conversation with Waddington.²

As it now stands I think it affirms divisions in the Cabinet by naming without denying them, while resignation is named and denied.

What are 'divisions in a Cabinet'?

In my opinion, differences of view stated, & if need be argued, and then advisedly surrendered with a view to a common conclusion are not 'divisions in a Cabinet'.

By that phrase I understand unaccommodated differences on matters standing for immediate action.³

1269. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

C[oombe] W[arren]. Mch 25. 84.

Please to read the inclosed, which I had just written to Hamilton,⁴ and send it on to him by your messenger.

I feel myself ill able to contribute any useful judgment about the extension of the Reserve; especially as I never feel quite sure that Bulwer is not prejudiced against Cetewayo & his belongings.⁵

¹ Amendment not adopted, see no. 1270.

² See to Lyons, No. 251, 19 Mar., recording Waddington's questions whether China had applied for British good offices (see p. 124, n. 2) and whether rumours of cabinet divisions and the government's imminent resignation were true and his inference of a change in Britain's Egyptian policy from Hartington's recent speech, F.O. 27/2659.

³ Granville added to the record (probably without speaking again to Waddington) a denial of divisions in the cabinet in order to meet Gladstone's views.

⁴ Not traced.

⁵ See vol. i, p. 445, n. 2; the chief Usibebu having conquered and killed Cetewayo, it was proposed to allow him to take part of Cetewayo's territory and to extend the 'reserve' into the rest of it, see mins. 25 Feb., C.O. 179/151, and 15 Apr., on Bulwer's dispatch, 10 Mar., C.O. 179/152.

1270. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 164]

Foreign Office. March 25/84.

Derby proposed to extend the Reserve in Zululand, to the black Umwolari. He was supported by Kimberley, but opposed by Chamberlain & Dilke—there was some discussion, but in the face of the opposition and in your absence, and in the absence of Hartington, who was obliged to be in the H. of Commons at the time—It was decided that the matter must be postponed till the next Cabinet. The enclosed telegram to Baring¹ was settled—no one really opposing, but Hartington & the Chancellor rather grumbly—Hartington however admitted that if Gordon is to be helped by a British force being sent to Khartoum, it could be done under more favorable circumstances when the Nile rises—

There was another long discussion on the message to be sent to General Graham—I repeated your views, I believe correctly. Most of the Cabinet seemed to consider them favorably. But it was decided as Graham was to make his movement tomorrow that there would be great risk in telegraphing to him at a critical moment, & that it was safer to wait his secret report (Harcourt & Chamberlain quite agreed to this short delay).

I then mooted the question of a telegram to be sent to him restricting his action beyond his own programme, and instructing him to prepare for immediate withdrawal. But the same sort of reasoning was used, and it was generally agreed that we had better wait also for the secret report.

Please answer about the draft telegram to Baring at once.

1271. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 53]

[Copy]

[Coombe Warren]. 26: Mar: 1884.

I think the draft telegram excellent.

Things go well with me & the cough is declining especially in the mornings when there is most of us [*sic*].

I am let off from H. of C. at present. But remember that I could come up if needful for a Cabinet. A visit however from you here would be very acceptable. I hope you have no worse accounts of Lady G. Fullerton.²

[P.S.] I should not wonder if after all my friend Zebehr were to get his head above water again.

¹ i.e. tel. No. 160, 25 Mar., refusing a British expedition to Berber (requested by Baring in tel. No. 246, 24 Mar., F.O. 78/3685) instructing him to communicate this to Gordon, and tell him he had full discretion to remain at Khartoum or to retire by the southern or any other route, and to keep secrecy, F.O. 78/3683; Cromer, op. cit. i. 536–8.

² See p. 171, n. 2.

1272. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 166]

War Office. March 26/84.

Hartington is writing to you about the debate.¹ He does not think there is any necessity for your coming tomorrow.² The weather here is very cold and trying.

I agree with him that there will be no objection on your part, or on that of the Cabinet, to send the enclosed telegram without a cabinet.³

[P.S.] I did not miss an inch of my way but it took me an hour & 7 minutes.

I shall be delighted to repeat the drive whenever you like to have me.

1273. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 169]

10, Downing Street. March 27/84.

There has been rather a warm discussion⁴—Harcourt insisting upon a decided answer that on no account we should ever send an expedition to Khartoum—the Chancellor equally strong in the opposite direction. Every shade of opinion between these extremes—Chamberlain not present. The majority were for not committing ourselves.

Harcourt became more calm on my telling him that 3 weeks ago,⁵ he had pronounced for annexation which evidently took him by surprise.

The enclosed compromise⁶ was agreed to, subject to your opinion.

1274. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

C[oombe] Warren. Mch 27. 84.

I think you have got through as well as could be expected—and I agree to the Telegram inclosed by you which I return.

¹ See Hartington to Gladstone, 26 Mar., describing the debate, Mon. 24 Mar., on the franchise bill as not 'very favourable to us' and proposing to say on the adjournment that he would move on Mon. 31 Mar., to take the bill *de die in diem*, Add. MS. 44146, fo. 54.

² i.e. for the second night's debate on the second reading of the franchise bill; Gladstone absent, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxvi. 893.

³ Since it resulted from tel. No. 160 to Baring, see p. 173, n. 1; see to Baring, tel. No. 163, 26 Mar., drafted by Hartington and repeating his to Graham, 26 Mar., telling him to limit his operations to restoring peace at Suakin and opening the road to Berber, F.O. 78/3683; Add. MS. 44176, fo. 168.

⁴ i.e. on the refusal to send British troops to Berber which Baring, on receiving tel. No. 160, had asked the government to reconsider; see from Baring, tel. No. 256, 26 Mar., F.O. 78/3685.

⁵ Cf. no. 1266.

⁶ i.e. to Baring, tel. No. 165 secret, 1.30 p.m. 28 Mar., repeating the refusal to send troops to Berber, F.O. 78/3683; for Gladstone's min. on Baring's tel. No. 256, see P.R.O. 30/29/128; Graham withdrew to Suakin and, 1 Apr., embarked for Suez.

1275. *Memorandum by Mr. Gladstone*¹

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Ap. 2. 1884.

Account of the condition and prospects of Egyptian finance to be forthwith prepared for submission to the Powers with an explanatory statement.

Refer to the report of Controllers General in 1882[.]

Invite their careful consideration, in virtue

1. of their participation in the particular arrangements in force.
2. of their common concern in Egypt as a portion of the Turkish Empire.

It appears to this Government that Egyptian Finance has been brought into very serious difficulties

1. by the Alexandrian awards & the destruction of property on which they were founded. 4¼ m[.]
2. by the attempt to hold the Soudan, and by the disaster of last October and the danger it entailed. 2½ m.

That to meet the charges necessary for the peace and good Govt of the country, with the pending engagements, some change in the law of liquidation is required.

We propose, as the basis of a Conference, to examine whether such a change is necessary, and what it should be.

In examining the burdens of the Egyptian Government, the charge for the occupying British force will of course attract attention.

To say nothing of the large sums specially voted by Parliament for Egyptian service, this charge does not cover the cost to the British Exchequer.

We should be glad to find ourselves able to withdraw the force altogether [when] the rebel power has been put down, tranquillity & regular Govt restored, improved laws enacted, & the present is a state of things which from its nature cannot continue indefinitely.

But it will probably be felt by the Powers that the force cannot yet be withdrawn, especially after what has occurred in the Soudan: & as part of a general arrangement on the basis named above, the British Govt are not unwilling to propose to Parliament a reduction of the charge for the British occupying force, while they will promptly use every opportunity for reducing its amount.

¹ No. 1275 provided the text of Granville's dispatch, 19 Apr., to the six British ambassadors, inviting the powers to a conference on Egyptian finance, first draft in Add. MS. 44768, fo. 22, fair draft, F.O. 78/3729, printed, *Parl. papers* (1884) lxxxix.

1276. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 173]

Foreign Office. April 4/84.

I am provoked beyond measure at my own stupidity. It never struck me till this moment that Stead's object is to interview you, & to report your conversation in the Pall Mall.¹

This of course would be objectionable from every point of view.

[P.S.] Are you not ashamed of yourself, after last night's speech,² for having humbugged me about your feeling a little weak.

1277. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 175]

Foreign Office. April 4/84.

I go to Holmbury passing through London from the funeral³ tomorrow (Saturday).

I shall be ready to answer any summons to Coombe or to London till you arrive at Freddy [Leveson Gower]'s.

1278. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 176]

Foreign Office. April 4/84.

I send you the draft⁴ embodying your suggestions. Childers has supplied a condensed memorandum of the financial situation,⁵ to which is added the report of the Controllers.⁶

The Points to which I would call your attention are whether we shall propose a conference, or a conference in London, or a conference in Constantinople or a conference in London or at Constantinople.

I also do not feel quite certain about the portion in brackets⁷ from the end of the 4th page, to nearly the end of the 8th page, at this first stage.

It is sure not to satisfy the powers—and hereafter the opposition will say that this was our proposal, and we were squeezed into giving more.

Might we not let the Powers make the first demand.

¹ See no. 1279.

² Defending the Gordon mission in a debate raised by Northcote on the adjournment, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxvi. 1243, 1535-41.

³ i.e. of Prince Leopold; died at Cannes, 28 Mar.; buried at Windsor, 5 Apr.

⁴ See p. 175, n. 1.

⁵ See p. 167, n. 1; enclosed in Granville's dispatch, 19 Apr.

⁶ Enclosed in Granville's dispatch, 19 Apr., but not filed with it.

⁷ The part of the draft beginning 'in examining the burdens of the Egyptian Government' and going to the end of Gladstone's suggested text (no. 1275); marked 'I entirely agree that this passage should be omitted. W.E.G.'

I am delighted at getting so good an account of you. But I am not surprised. There is no such tonic as success.

Kimberley gave an admirable answer to Salisbury tonight.¹

Argyll was friendly on the whole.²

1279. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. Ap 5. 84.

1. I send you Hamilton's account³ of his interview with Stead held on my behalf. What an interesting letter from Stewart⁴ of March 4—and a staggering one from Hay⁵ March 24.

2. I entirely agree as to the large omission from the Conference draft. Upon the whole I should like to put 'in London or at Constantinople' but I do not feel very confident as to the addition.⁶

3. It occurred to me that as (I believe) Germany is not concerned in the *Caisse* you might from this fact give additional point to the compliment you wish to pay to Bismarck, in giving him the *first* intimation.

4. I must indeed seem an impostor to others, and I often *feel* that I am one. But much can be done at a given moment by putting on the steam. The interval between Wednesday's Cabinet & the House on Thursday was the worst I have had, and though *much* better since with two good nights I have had a very sharp bout of neuralgia this forenoon. A little patience is still wanted. The only thing that vexes me is putting my work upon my colleagues.

P.S. See two questions herewith for Monday.⁷ I think I can work through with them. Have you any suggestion.

¹ For Salisbury's speech on the government's irresolution and dilatoriness (in debate raised by Lord Hardwicke's question whether it was intended to relieve Gordon at Khartoum) and Kimberley's reply, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxvi. 1614–19.

² See *ibid.* 1620–1, 1625–8.

³ See no. 1276; *Pall Mall Gazette* published a series 'Topics of the Day Heroes of the Hour' recounting interviews with eminent persons, but none with Gladstone published.

⁴ To Granville, not traced.

⁵ See from Drummond Hay, private 24 Mar., proposing, in view of the French aim to take possession of Morocco, to station 1,000 troops at Gibraltar ready to forestall Spain in the occupation of the fortress of Tangier, F.O. 97/621.

⁶ See no. 1275 and p. 176, n. 7; originally proposed Constantinople, altered by Granville to London and finally revised to include Gladstone's addition.

⁷ i.e. 7 Apr.; from Lord R. Churchill and Lord G. Hamilton whether any documents existed binding Britain to support the khedive's government and whether they would be published, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxvi. 1799–1801.

1280. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 180]
Holmbury. April 6/84.

I have written to E. Fitzmaurice to get ready for you all the papers¹ which bear upon the 2 questions.

I believe you refer to some confidential despatches which we decided some time ago, it would be better not to publish²—so it may require a little consideration how you are to deal with them. But I gather from your note, that you do not want me to run up tomorrow.

Stead's scheme for the Soudan, is very much on the same lines, as one³ suggested by the Rev. Mr Barnes, an intimate friend of Gordons sent to me yesterday by Forster. Mr Barnes is much clearer headed than Sir Henry Gordon in conversation.

He admitted that this scheme was not recently communicated to him by Gordon, but given by [him] some little time ago—& that Gordon was not always stable. He at once understood the difficulty of a real separation from Gordon.

He promised to put in writing⁴ all that he had said to me.

1281. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 183]
Foreign Office. April 9/84.

I send you a letter from Pauncefote⁵—and a copy of my answer to him,⁶ and of my private telegram to Baring.

On getting Baring's private telegram⁷ & your minute on it,⁸ I telegraphed privately to Baring, that 'the public telegram⁹ was agreed to by

¹ i.e. Salisbury's dispatches recording the Anglo-French understanding of 1879; see nos. 788–90, 804; for Gladstone's reply acknowledging such covenants made by the conservatives, and saying he would publish if 'the late government and the French did not object', see *Hans. Parl. Deb.*, loc. cit.

² i.e. Salisbury to Malet, 19 Sept. 1879; now published, 24 Apr., in *Parl. papers* (1884) lxxxviii. 385.

³ Not traced.

⁴ Not traced.

⁵ Of 9 Apr., offering to go to Egypt to settle the dispute about Egyptian prisons between Sir Benson Maxwell and C. D. Clifford Lloyd, P.R.O. 30/29/194.

⁶ Of 9 Apr., declining his offer since it would endanger Baring's authority, *ibid.*

⁷ See from Baring, tel. No. 281 secret, 7 Apr., explaining that Nubar Pasha threatened to resign to compel Britain to dismiss Lloyd or to assume the direct government of Egypt, F.O. 78/3685; with min. by Gladstone: 'Quite clear I think that Lloyd must go. Could he be employed at Suakim or elsewhere to break his fall', P.R.O. 30/29/128; and from Baring, tel. private, 9 Apr., giving his view that Lloyd should not go and saying he was already governing Egypt because of the habit constantly to appeal to him, P.R.O. 30/29/162.

⁸ 'Should like to approve strongly the part about appeals to [Baring] and to say that we think what the Cabinet desired was to give him much discretion but to keep the Government not less Egyptian than at present', P.R.O. 30/29/128.

⁹ See to Baring, tel. No. 180 secret, 9 Apr., advising a temporary arrangement to avoid a complete triumph for Nubar, but giving him discretion in the manner of securing Lloyd's resignation or dismissal, F.O. 78/3683.

the Cabinet, that I had subsequently rec[eive]d his private telegram—that you and I would support him in the arrangement which he proposed, so that it could be done without insulting Maxwell—& that he must insist upon Clifford Lloyd changing his tone and demeanour, in doing what was otherwise good work.¹

If Pauncefote could settle the matter, it would be a good thing, although even in that case I do not quite like the direct interference of the F.O.

If he failed, the great mess would be aggravated by the presence of the Under Secretary.

I am afraid that Baring would look upon Pauncefote, as a partizan of Maxwell's.

If Baring wishes to have him, the matter would be different, and Pauncefote might pick up some useful information for us.

1282. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

The Durdans.² Ap 9. 1884. 11½ Pm.

Your messenger arrived a little before 11 Pm and sent up that the last opportunity for London was in 5 minutes whereas there was half an hour's reading in the box.

I do not see however that you are dependent on an answer from me for any thing to be done forthwith, and in what you have done I agree.

Probably Pauncefote ought to go if Baring approves and desires it but he clearly I think ought not to go in any other circumstances.

In dealing with the telegram of yesterday which spoke of dropping Maxwell I assumed that Baring saw his way to doing it in some manner not violent.

It appears to me that Maxwell is wrong in sending home direct, and not through the Channel of Baring, the arguments and views contained in his long Memorandum.³

Even in the case of a Colony such a paper would be considered as nil until the Governor had seen it, and in the case of Egypt it is tenfold more necessary to do and settle nothing without learning the judgment of our principal representative upon it.

I agree very much with the spirit of Pauncefote's letter about Nubar and am not at all keen about superseding Egyptian processes by measures which although abstractedly improvements may be premature.

I notice with concern what you say about Lady G. Fullerton.

¹ Text as sent in P.R.O. 30/29/200; cf. on the whole incident, Cromer, *op. cit.* ii. 482-8.

² Rosebery had returned from his tour abroad (see nos. 1071, 1073) on 4 Mar. 1884; Gladstone stayed with him Tues. 8 Apr. to Tues. 15 Apr., when he went on to Holmbury where Granville also was.

³ Not traced.

[P.S.] This will find its way to London I suppose tomorrow morning and Hamilton will learn at F.O. where you actually are.

1283. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

The Durdans. G[ood] F[riday] Ap 11. 84.

My wife has written to your brother.

On public as well as on private grounds I hope we may be able to meet, and to talk tranquilly our Egyptian phrase.

In an important opinion contained in Hartington's letter of the 9th¹ (returned herewith) I am much disposed to agree: that is the likelihood that the Conference may not end with Egyptian *finance* alone.

Further I think with him that we must get Baring's full mind on the situation, & the prospect. (Might the Conference afford a possible opportunity for bringing him home?)²

One step further. I think we ought not to continue much longer in the dark as to the mind of the Khedive. The statement in your anonymous Extract from Cairo³ reminds me that we must not assume him to be an absolute cipher, and also brings back to mind Owen's reports.⁴ In my view, deliberate wishes or convictions of the Khedives, unless in contrariety to what we know of Egyptian feeling and opinion, ought to form an important element in our deliberations.

However it would be very important to get the Finance through first, and make the rest a later Chapter.

We remain here until Monday at least & for what is beyond depend upon your accounts & movements. I trust your anxieties may be relieved by a durable improvement.

1284. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

The Durdans. Ap 14. 84.

I am *much* better today and confidently hope, so far as I am concerned, to see you tomorrow.

We read with deep interest your account of Lady G. Fullerton. It was such as I expected: I cannot doubt that her life has long been an exercise & preparation for death, such as is difficult for us really to understand.

¹ To Granville, using the Clifford Lloyd incident to propose that Northbrook should go to Egypt to see Baring lest the experiment in administration fail, showing the danger of going into a conference with no general policy, and urging a more direct control of Egypt, P.R.O. 30/29/134.

² Left Cairo for England, 21 Apr.

³ From a letter from Cairo, 31 Mar., sent to 'Mr. Haggard of the F.O.', describing an audience with the khedive, who is anxious for the welfare of his country, but not allowed to act and miscalled a tool of England, P.R.O. 30/29/169.

⁴ Not traced.

I have written to the Queen about the Duchess of Albany.¹ The case is I think rather a new one. It seems clear I think that if there is to be an application to Parliament it should be made at a time and in a form to cover the *whole* case of the Duke of Albany's issue.

If I understand right the present controversy in Norway I should say that Consul Michell's dispatch is not quite a right one.² In haste.

1285. *Memorandum by Mr. Gladstone*³

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. 23: April 1884.⁴

1. We ought not to act in the Soudan otherwise than by pacific means, except for the safety of Gordon and his party.

2. If in consequence of his being in danger, we have to act by military means, the object of our action ought to be, and to be known to him to be, to bring him away at once from Khartoum.⁵

3. Gordon should at once be instructed through the channels suggested by Lord Wolseley or in such other way as may on the spot be deemed most prompt and certain:

a. that he should keep us informed to the best of his ability not only as to immediate but as to any prospective danger at Khartoum;

b. that to be prepared for any such danger he should advise us as to the force necessary in order to secure his removal, its amount, character, route for access to Khartoum, and time of operation,

c. that we can be no parties to supplying him with Turkish or other force for the purpose of undertaking military expeditions, and that such proceedings are not within the scope of any commission he holds, and are at variance with the pacific policy which was the purpose of his mission to the Soudan.

d. that, if with this knowledge he continues at Khartoum, he should state to us the cause, and the intention with which he so continues.

¹ See Granville to Gladstone, 12 Apr., on the Queen's hope that parliament would make provision for the Duchess of Albany and her children, Add. MS. 44176, fo. 190, not printed.

² Michell to Granville, No. 20 political, 8 Apr., commenting on the new cabinet, that it was unlikely to yield to the king the absolute veto on constitutional questions, but might make a compromise which would allow ministers to attend parliamentary debates if the radicals would abandon their full claims, F.O. 73/489.

³ No. 1285, in Hamilton's hand, summarizes Gladstone's views for the cabinet discussion, 22 Apr., postponed from 21 Apr., 'on the eventual necessity of relieving Gordon', Add. MS. 44645, fo. 63; see also B. Mallet, *Thomas George Earl of Northbrook* (1908) 186; and to Egerton, tel. No. 195, 23 Apr., with the message for Gordon drafted accordingly, F.O. 78/3683.

⁴ Correspondence interrupted because Gladstone was with Granville at Holmbury, 15-22 Apr.

⁵ Paragraphs 1 and 2 marked by Gladstone 'for the Cabinet'.

Add expression both of respect & of gratitude for his gallant, self-sacrificing conduct, & for the good he has achieved.¹

1286. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*² [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 60]

[Copy]

[London]. 25 April 1884.

I by no means object in principle to Hartington's proposed telegram³ but I think its form has a character he did not intend, & looks so much in the direction of Wolseley's great scheme, while it overlooks the instruction already sent to Gordon respecting an expedition, that it could not I think be sent without the authority of the Cabinet.

I wrote yesterday to Northbrook⁴ urging him to press his enquiries about the Nile and learn

How far it would be available for navigation.

Whether continuously or with interruption.

What vessels could be had, and where, to go upon it.

It seems to me as to the telegram to Stephenson⁵ that

a. it should recite or embody by reference, the instruction already sent to Gordon

b. it should, in conformity with that instruction, speak of his removal, not his relief, as the object of any expedition.

c. should desire the General to report on all the same subjects, & whatever else Hartington thinks proper to enumerate.

d. should ask whether any & if so what preparations (as distinguished from enquiries) should be made immediately.

e. should enjoin strict secrecy at present.

f. should more pointedly desire information as to Nile route.⁶

Of course I assume that Wolseley's paper will be sent to them.⁷

¹ Sentence added by Gladstone.

² Printed B. Holland, *The Life of the Duke of Devonshire* (1911) i. 449; the original's being in the Hartington papers would explain its absence from the Granville papers.

³ See Hartington to Granville, 25 Apr., enclosing a draft tel. to Gen. Stephenson asking how to get assistance to relieve Gordon within the policy laid down in tel. No. 195 to Egerton, and second letter, 25 Apr., asking again whether he might send the tel., P.R.O. 30/29/134.

⁴ 24 Apr., as here described, Add. MS. 44547, fo. 60; and reply, 25 Apr., promising attention and saying that he daily expected the report of Capt. Molyneux, who had been sent up the Nile to investigate, Add. MS. 44267, fo. 57.

⁵ i.e. that proposed by Hartington.

⁶ Hartington altered the tel. to meet Gladstone's suggestions but refused to substitute 'removal' for 'relief' and sent it without waiting for the cabinet, see Hartington to Granville, third and fourth letters, 25 Apr., P.R.O. 30/29/134.

⁷ Not traced.

1287. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 61]
 [Copy] Immediate. [London]. April 25/84.

I cannot honestly say that my objections to the telegram are *removed* by what I think the inadequate alterations Hartington has made: but, endeavouring to practise as I have preached, I give way.

I hope however he will make the distinction to which he refers in a private telegram such as he has described:¹ otherwise we may have two reports on different subjects without the means of reconciling them.

1288. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 194]
 Confidential. Foreign Office. [26 April 1884].

Spencer & I had 3 hours conversation with Hartington last night. He had declined dinner on account of indisposition—but arrived when it was half over—

I am not sure that either of us could have persuaded him separately.²

1289. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
 10, Downing Street. Ap. 27. 84.

Thanks for your notes of today: I will look to the one about Lyttelton.³
 Please to send me back Blunt's letter.⁴

It occurred to me that the important telegram of Wed[nesday]⁵ might require a fuller statement in illustration of it and I wrote the inclosed which requires no notice unless you think you can make use of it.⁶

[P.S.] I send a *sketch* of answer about Duchess of Albany—supposed to follow tomorrow's Cabinet.⁷

¹ Hartington sent an additional private tel. to Stephenson, asking him 'to distinguish in his report on the character and amount of an expedition designed to remove Gordon as compared with one for relief of garrison in ordinary sense', printed, Holland, op. cit. i. 450-1.

² i.e. to the final form of telegram sent to Stephenson.

³ Not traced.

⁴ Wilfrid Blunt to Hamilton, for Gladstone, 23 Apr., offered to act as mediator with the Arabs on Gordon's behalf.

⁵ i.e. tel. No. 195 to Egerton, see p. 181, n. 3.

⁶ For Granville's reply: 'I will have your draft telegram with some slight alterations written out for your consideration. I will send back Blunt's letter tomorrow', see Add. MS. 44645, fo. 65.

⁷ See p. 181, n. 1; the cabinet, Mon. 28 Apr., 2 p.m., approved Gladstone's statement against immediate provision for the Duchess of Albany's child; see also Granville to Gladstone [28 Apr.] agreeing they ought to wait for the Duchess's confinement, but anticipating the Queen's great disappointment if nothing was done for six years; and the cabinet's decision, 5 May, to promise to make provision for after the Duchess's death, Add. MS. 44645, fos. 64, 67, 75.

1290. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 61]
 [Copy] [London]. 29 April 84.

I am quite willing that Hamilton should reply as you wish to Blunt, but surely it would be difficult, when he has made an offer meant in a friendly sense, simply to decline communication with him?¹

1291. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*² [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 61]
 [Copy] [London]. 1 May 1884.

Please to consider what should be my answer to 53 and 55, especially 53.³

I also inclose a note of two points which it seemed to me might be ripe for the Cabinet today.⁴

If you think so, query whether to have Baring in the offing.

Note Enclosed.

1. To hasten as much as possible the formation of some small trust-worthy army, probably black, to take the place of the Fellah army found untrustworthy.

2. To consider further the question of the Turks *quoad* the Red Sea Ports.

1292. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*⁵ [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
 10, Downing Street. May 3. 84.

I have read your drafts, and as regards the French one⁶ I incline to think it wise and generous, and should not have been sorry if you had felt able to thank Waddington for the spirit in which it is conceived.

¹ See mem. by Pauncefote, 24 Apr., proposing to decline Blunt's offer of mediation, 'since we do not know the nature of his influence with the Arabs', but preferring to send no official reply, and Hamilton to Sanderson, 26 Apr., that Blunt was entitled to a reply, P.R.O. 30/29/128.

² Granville to Gladstone, 30 Apr., on Cohen's case, Add. MS. 44176, fo. 195, not printed.

³ For questions so numbered on the Commons' Order paper: whether Salisbury's dispatch of 1879 (see p. 178, n. 2) was the only obligation to support the khedive; reply referring to Salisbury's speech in the Lords, 15 May 1882; whether there was to be a conference on Egyptian affairs; reply that it had been proposed and accepted; see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxvii. 1052, 1055.

⁴ For cabinet discussion, Thurs. 1 May, on opinions to be given to Baring about Suakin, the Egyptian army, Egyptian finance, and 'native government', see Add. MS. 44645, fos. 71-74.

⁵ Granville to Gladstone, two letters, 3 May, on an appointment, Add. MS. 44176, fos. 197, 198, not printed.

⁶ i.e. to Lyons, No. 396 confidential, 3 May, recording conversation on the French acceptance of the British proposal for the Egyptian financial conference, in which Waddington offered and asked for the assurances discussed in no. 1293, F.O. 27/2660, F.O. 78/3729.

From my point of view, it presents, at first sight, but one difficulty. How far is the intervention of the international controul in Egyptian affairs to proceed? If this Controul is to advise the Khedive in his difficulties as the old Controul did, query whether we should not have the old embarrassments revived.

It occurs to me that you might turn the time which will elapse before the Cabinet to account by asking Waddington for a little further development of the French view on this subject.¹

But I am so impressed with the greatness of their concessions that I only mean an inquiry in the sense of furtherance and concord.

1293. *Memorandum by Mr. Gladstone*²

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. May 5. 1884.

Lord Granville's Mem (May 5) on French proposals respecting Egypt.

1. Condominium: satisfactory³
2. Non entry: do.⁴
3. Conference to be in London: do.⁵

They ask

1. Maximum period—with a reference *to the Powers* at the close—admissible.⁶

2. An Egyptian force.⁷ This seems to me the very thing we ought to be pressing forward.

3. Supervision of Finance.⁸ Difficult, but after France had made the great sacrifice about the *Condominium* we ought to try to work upon it.

We shall see what Baring can devise.

The danger seems to lie in political responsibility.

If this idea will not work—then, for my own part, I should not be sorry if (presuming the Soudan business ended) Egypt were left to *herself* by concert of the Powers reserving the cases

¹ See to Lyons, No. 405 confidential, 6 May, recording a further conversation, F.O. 27/2660.

² No. 1293 is in Hamilton's hand; holograph draft is in Add. MS. 44768, fo. 24.

³ The assurance of France as developed in the second conversation, was that she renounced the condominium and regarded Egypt as the subject of European instead of Anglo-French concern.

⁴ The second French assurance, that on the British departure from Egypt, France would not go in and would engage never to do so without British consent.

⁵ A further French concession.

⁶ The French asked that if Britain stayed in Egypt beyond a fixed maximum number of years it should only be at the request of the powers.

⁷ To replace the British occupying force.

⁸ By the European powers through an international commission with similar powers to those of the old Anglo-French controllers-general.

- (a) of non-fulfilment of engagements
- (b) of permanent disturbance of tranquillity.

4. I do not feel a difficulty about negotiating or arranging with France: because it is all in the sense of giving back to Europe what had been held exclusively.

1294. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. May 7. 84.

Is not your promise of Feb. 29 to Musurus p. 119 of Blue Book a strong reason for bringing the Cabinet again to consider the question of the Red Sea Ports & the mode of holding them.¹

1295. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. May 8. 84.

Is it not almost a necessity to find a short way to deal with the Sultan?² Could we not have some hope (if he had a spark of reason) to do this by telling him

1. That we can enter at the present stage on no question, in separate communication with him, as to Egypt proper—but must await a settlement of the question of the Soudan.

2. That as respects the Soudan we are ready to deal with him subject only to two conditions

a. as to export of slaves

b. as to security of Gordon and all due respect for him.

I am disposed to think

1. That the latest proposals of Gordon might take a practical shape in connection with Turkey, wholly severed from us—i.e. That he, with his own will, might be made over to the Turk.

2. That our *right* to prevent the Sultan from making war on the Mahdi is extremely questionable.

All this for *reflection* not instant reply.

¹ See p. 162, n. 1; pledge to come to an understanding about Egypt when operations in the Red Sea were concluded, now printed, 'Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Egypt', *Parl. papers* (1884) lxxxviii. 393.

² Relates to Musurus Pasha's communication, 7 May, that Turkey could not accept a conference limited to Egyptian finance; see to Dufferin, No. 145, 12 May, explaining why it should be accepted, F.O. 78/3729.

1296. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 63]
 [Copy] [London]. May 10. 84.

Egerton's 355.¹ Are we to understand this as meaning no route has been tried for getting to Gordon except the Nile route? W[oul]d it be well to press him also to use if possible some of the other channels you pointed out.

1297. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 199]
 10, Downing Street. May 13. 84.

Shall we have a Cabinet tomorrow?² It should I think be at the H of C.

1298. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
 Foreign Office. May 13. 84.

I am sorry to have missed you, & delighted to hear that you are not tired by your magnificent effort.³

Carnarvon asks me tonight to explain the meaning of what you said on Friday about the Conference.

I am not sure of what is the best answer—

Q[uer]y.

That your statement does not appear to require explanation, but that in any case I must decline to establish the precedent of Ministers in one house being required to explain the examinations & cross examinations of their colleagues in the other assembly.⁴

¹ i.e. tel. No. 355, 10 May, reporting the return of messengers sent to Gordon through Dongola with the news that entry into Khartoum was impossible, F.O. 78/3685; tel. No. 195 to Egerton (p. 181, n. 3) told him to send messengers through Dongola and Berber.

² Granville returned the letter writing on it his reply: 'Yes—please—at what hour?' Gladstone answered: 'Cabinet at 2 tomorrow H[ouse of] C[ommons]'; for cabinet, 14 May, on Anglo-French negotiations, 'whence the discussion passed into a wider field' and, Baring being called in, the policies of retaining or withdrawing from the Sudan were debated, and on Childers's mem. on Egyptian finance, see Add. MS. 44645, fo. 91.

³ On 12 May, when Gladstone spoke of the Sudanese 'as a people . . . rightly struggling to be free', in moving the rejection of Hicks Beach's motion for a vote of censure on the Sudanese policy, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxviii. 52–74.

⁴ For Gladstone's reply, 9 May, Carnarvon's question and Granville's reply, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxvii. 1854, cclxxxviii. 150–62; see also Gladstone's suggestion, written on no. 1298: 'Thanks. *If you think fit* you can add you have learned from me that I said the view of the Conference was limited by the invitation. That I c[oul]d not limit the discretion of any Power to make any proposal: but that the introduction of a new subject w[oul]d be equivalent to constituting a new Conference.'

1299. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. May 14. 84.

The Liberal cheering on the Division this morning was the most prolonged I ever knew; on account of the utter breakdown of a conspiracy, the details of which you will learn, to defeat us by the Irish vote, after having induced lukewarm Liberals to go away by spreading everywhere the statement that they were to vote with us. Hartington's speech was admirable.¹

Now we have to turn to other matters—it is probably a breathing time so far as Parliament is concerned: and should we not

1. Promptly bring to an issue formal or virtual, the Clifford Lloyd affair²

2. Consider what more can be done in the use of money to get at Gordon (is it possible that even Zebehr might be used for this) and to authorise him to spend or promise money where he may find it useful for the peaceful withdrawal or extrication of those about him.³ [(]See however what Baker says in the Standard⁴ of today as to his power of withdrawing his people.)

3. Then also without doubt you will now try to make progress with the French.

1300. *Memorandum by Mr. Gladstone*⁵

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

May 16. 84.

1. Accept in principle the reciprocal self denying ordinance.

2. Extend the powers of the *Caisse* Commission to the *restraint* of expenditure generally.

3. Name 5 years as the maximum term of occupation & let in the new power of restraint after 12 months.

4. Reserve our right to propose hereafter if we think fit a plan of neutralisation for Egypt.

¹ See *Hans. Parl. Deb.*, 12 May, 13 May, cclxxxviii. 31–137, 180–303, for vote of censure on the Sudanese policy, defeated by 28, the Irish voting for the first time with the conservatives; for Hartington's speech, see *ibid.* 220–35.

² See nos. 1281, 1282.

³ See to Egerton, No. 252A, 15 May, asking whether a liberal use of money would get a message through to Gordon, and Egerton's negative reply, F.O. 78/3663; Shibeika *op. cit.* 262.

⁴ See account of an interview with Sir Samuel Baker, in which he said that Gordon could withdraw the garrison from Khartoum with sufficient troops, the *Standard*, 14 May, p. 5h.

⁵ No. 1300 guided Granville in the resumed conversations (see nos. 1292, 1293) with Waddington, 3 and 6 May, for an Anglo-French understanding preliminary to the Egyptian financial conference; see to Lyons, No. 449, 19 May, No. 449A, 20 May, F.O. 27/2660.

1301. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. May 17. 84.

The *most* urgent of all things seems now to be the message to Gordon. I have written this draft,¹ which doubtless may be improved: pray consider it at once. Childers has a copy for cons[ideratio]n: he strongly concurs in the general aim.

1302. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. May 22. 84.

Though Hartington's Mem.² respecting the 5 years is menacing in its tone, I doubt whether it would be well at this moment to discuss the question afresh in Cabinet, if you can so handle your communications with Waddington as to hold this point over and let the French make their argument and case. It is scarcely conceivable that any one could treat the difference between 5 & 3½ years as matter of life & death. Outside the Cabinet the attack upon us will not be for any such narrow point as this but probably for bringing in European authority and not asserting a sole and privileged position.

I saw Karolyi last night when he opened on the Egyptian question. I told him that if we and France agreed I thought it would be upon a basis agreeable to the Powers generally and helpful to the Conference[;] that I would not answer for the reception in Parliament, & could conceive doubts as to the French Chamber. (The two movements might tend to neutralise one another.) He seemed to *expect* that *we* should raise the loan.

1303. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 202]

Foreign Office. May 22/84.

In my conversation with Dilke this morning I expressed an opinion

¹ See Add. MS. 44768, fo. 42, to Egerton, tel. 17 May, instructing him to direct Gordon 'as the original plan [for evacuation] had been dropped' to get himself and faithful Egyptians away from Khartoum, F.O. 78/3684; cf. dispatch No. 266, 17 May, F.O. 78/3663; Shibeika, op. cit. 262-3; for Granville's amendment by reference to tel. No. 195 (p. 181, n. 3) see Add. MS. 44176, fo. 200.

² Of 21 May, against conceding the French demand for an undertaking to end the occupation of Egypt by 1 Jan. 1888; mins. by Selborne, Northbrook, and Spencer for 5 years at least; by Granville advocating this with the intention of eventually yielding; by Gladstone for concession, since the prospect of refusing 'the most liberal offers ever made' in diplomatic history would appal him, P.R.O. 30/29/144.

rather in favour of No. C but on reflection, and after some encouragement though not complete on the part of Waddington I now incline to No. A.¹

In any case it should form part of our interchange of ideas, and not be introduced into the conference.

1304. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. May 23. 84.

I am fast with the Franchise Bill from two to seven—I am afraid the interval from about 1.20 (by which time the Cabinet might be full) would be insufficient?²

But I was in hopes you would approve my suggestion to hold over the question of the term until other points were settled. I think it would be very dangerous to open it in the Cabinet until other points had been disposed of.³

Again, I should much like to see you on the latter part of your dispatch.⁴ It appears to me *full of danger* to ourselves if we require from France any *engagement* as to supporting our proposals in the Conference, (besides that in my view the general engagement is on its own merits too good to let slip, but this is only a personal opinion). There is not at this moment time to state my reasons on paper.

I *might* be able to come out of the House to you, & should certainly be free at 6 $\frac{3}{4}$.

1305. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44176, fo. 204]

18, Carlton House Terrace. [23 May 1884].

I will try & find you at the House—I missed you before luncheon, as you were driving.

¹ See three drafts of Granville to Lyons, No. 472 confidential, 22 May (dated *pro forma*) on remaining differences (a) provision for European supervision by extending the powers of the *caisse de la dette publique*, (b) three or five years for occupation, F.O. 27/2660; the fair draft submitted to Waddington; draft B amended in cabinet, 26 [*sc.* 27] May; draft A amended by Childers and Granville.

² See Granville to Gladstone, 23 May, forwarding a request from Hartington (P.R.O. 30/29/134) for a cabinet to discuss the relief of Gordon, Add. MS. 44176, fo. 207, not printed; for cabinet, 24 May, when Hartington urged this but no decision was taken, see Add. MS. 44645, fo. 100.

³ Granville tried to postpone the point of the term of the occupation, but Waddington insisted on settling; not discussed in the cabinet of 24 May, but left until that of 27 May.

⁴ i.e. No. 472 confidential to Lyons, ending by recording the request for French support, already made, 15 May (cf. no. 1308); see also Gladstone to Granville, possibly passed across in the cabinet, 24 May, suggesting 'after our conversation last night' the review of this part, Add. MS. 44645, fo. 104.

I certainly thought that I was carrying out the strong wish of the Cabinet in what I said to Waddington.

If we come to an agreement with France we shall consult the Powers on everything we have discussed with France.

I do not see how I could go into the conference, having agreed to that which is acknowledged to be likely to challenge a vote of confidence, and then to be liable to be thrown over by France supported by the rest of Europe on the proposal that there is to be any reduction of the rate of interest.

1306. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. May 23. 84.

For fear of our not meeting soon, I will try to explain briefly the cause of my apprehension about asking an *engagement* from France to support us in the Conference. It is this—that it would bring down upon us a charge of bad faith, arguable on our side, but not clear, & sure to end in mud sticking to us.

We have said that the Conference would be confined to finance.

But we are to have a prior understanding of a wider scope with Egypt, and we are to make it known *before* the Conference to all the Powers, so that it will be an understanding, & indeed a virtual covenant with Europe.

We have treated this as a separate matter and have told Parliament of it.

But can it be called a separate matter if we import into the Conference our arrangement with France and by reason of it obtain from her any condition as to her conduct in the Conference? I own it appears to me very arguable, to say the least, that in this way we should establish an indissoluble tie between the subjects—I conclude this hasty sketch.

[P.S.] Childers told me roughly last night about your conversation with W[addington], and I was at once impressed with what I have now stated.

1307. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. May 24. 84.

This line is in a different sense to those of yesterday.

You seem to apprehend that France may try to screw more out of us in the financial plan.

But the fact is that we already give so much, that it is doubtful whether Parliament will not refuse it.

You are in a condition I apprehend to speak in this sense to Waddington *as far* as you think it prudent.

1308. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. May 25. 84.

I was much distressed yesterday at the serious error of memory which I seemed to have committed when certain passages were read from your letter of the 15th reporting conversation with Waddington,¹ which I could not recollect, and seemed to have neglected in perusal.

I sent however to F.O. today for the draft (herewith) and, owing I suppose to some mistake it does not appear to have come to me, for it has not my initials.

Of course this does not mend the matter substantially—& I may be wrong altogether.²

I have made an outline for Tuesday which after more reflection I will submit to you tomorrow.

[P.S.] I do not find in my note of Cabinet on 17th any reference to this draft.

1309. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden. May 28. 84.

1. I send you for perusal my letter to the Queen on yesterday's Cabinet, that you may see the exact terms in which I opened to her the sense of the Cabinet on the question of shortening the term.³

2. I made the promise in the House of Commons which was agreed on, and I think with good effect. By & by however there was a further pressure, and I said (after consulting Childers who sat by me) that when the whole matter was before the House they would have no reason to be dissatisfied with our care for its rights. This completely deadened the discussion as to any pressure upon us, & it was felt that no more could be asked. I left the House at a quarter past four, when it seemed nearly over.⁴

¹ Recorded in fact in Granville to Lyons, No. 449, 19 May, F.O. 27/2660; see p. 188, n. 5; Gladstone had forgotten the request to France for support on 15 May, not discussed in the cabinet and not mentioned in note of cabinet, 17 May, Add. MS. 44645, fo. 94.

² Another draft of the dispatch, bearing Gladstone's initials on the fold at the foot of the back, was sent to Gladstone, 26 May, with Granville's min.: 'The Private Secretary says you saw the draft before it went to the Queen. I believe the objection to the word "complaint" in the first page comes from you. G', P.R.O. 30/29/128.

³ i.e. for the occupation of Egypt, from 5 to 3½ years, on which the cabinet agreed, against Hartington, Add. MS. 44645, fo. 94; Gladstone to the Queen, not traced.

⁴ See cabinet's agreement, 17 May, to communicate the correspondence with France to parliament before any binding arrangement was made; and, 27 May, to do so before the conference; and Hamilton's min. on the fear of liberal and conservative M.P.s lest the conference bind Britain in Egypt on matters other than finance, Add. MS. 44645, fos. 94, 98, 106; see also *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxviii. 1472-9.

3. But you ought to know that, though eased off for the moment, the Jingo difficulty looms large in the distance. On the part of the Opposition there is an evident determination that, under whatever name, there shall be, without limit of time, a dominant foreign element in Egyptian administration, & that element shall be English. Egypt for the Egyptians, and Egypt under Europe, are both in their view detestable ideas. Poor Northcote, whose real convictions cannot lie that way, will as usual swim with the stream. But the debate of yesterday looked as if there was a serious division on the Liberal side, and more of the rot of Forsterism among us than had been supposed. All this rests upon slight indications. But I think you may fairly point out to Waddington on what a narrow ledge we stand, especially as to any thing like the controul! There were several hostile allusions to the *term*, but none to the question of shorter or longer. All good be with you.

I see you had a greater savage to deal with than I.¹

1310. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

H[awarde]n. May 31. 84.

I. I have gone through your drafts of 26th & 27th and have suggested in each one change of expression only.²

There is a more serious matter which you will doubtless keep in mind. Suppose the proceeding to be divided into three Acts, thus:

- (1.) Anglo-French arrangement, and consultation with Powers.
- (2.) Preliminary communications with Powers on Finance.
- (3.) Formal ratification in Conference.

In this case, our promise of communication to Parliament would come into force between (1) and (2). This is I think important to bear in mind.

As regards the preliminary communications (2) I presume you hope to save time, & at any rate will not lose it.

II. I have a letter from the Queen on other matters, written after the receipt of my report of the last Cabinet (which you will remember included shortening of the term) and taking no objection to it—You are now

¹ See Commons' debate, 27 May, Balfour against agreement with France lest it limit British influence in Egypt, the radicals Rylands, applauded by W. E. Forster, and Cowen supporting; and in the Lords, Salisbury's sharp attack on the policy of withdrawal, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxviii. 1482-99, 1439-47.

² See to Lyons, No. 479, 26 May, adhering to the five years' term and the reservation of a right to propose neutralization on evacuation or any other time, proposing control of Egyptian finance by the *caisse de la dette publique* and claiming its presidency, and recording the French refusal to promise support; No. 481, 27 May, recording communication of Granville's and Gladstone's statements to parliament, F.O. 27/2660, F.O. 78/3729.

I believe in a position to conclude with Waddington¹ & take steps as to other Powers if he comes to your terms about the Controul, which is a tender place in the arrangement.

III. When do you contemplate our re-assembling in town? So far as H. of Commons is concerned, R. Grosvenor has given me until Monday 9th for my return.

[P.S.] IV. I cheerfully give way to your opinion as to communication with Hill, for my hand is wholly rude and untutored in such matters. The D[aily] Telegraph, too, seems to have been behaving rather well.

1311. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 209]

[1 June 1884.]

It is hardly fair upon me the way Hartington opens upon me separately the questions which the Cabinet has decided, and in which he has acquiesced.

I send you a letter from him and my answer.² When he told me that he was going to Paris, I told him that he would be placed in a dilemma. Either to be uncivil in not seeing Ferry—or its being said that he was sent on a mission.

He answered that he was in the habit of going incog to Paris, but that he would consider the matter. The result however is that he is gone. Lyons to whom I have written privately,³ may be of use in showing that to break with France on this negotiation is not so light a matter.

After seeing Waddington on Thursday (I doubt your having yet got the records of my conversations,)⁴ I went to Hartington—& he told me that he had rec[eive]d a verbal message from Chamberlain, who is gone to the Channel islands, saying that Waddington only held to the shorter period[,] that he would abandon the Presidency of the Caisse, and the extension of the power of the Caisse during our occupation.

But the next day Waddington absolutely denied that he had hinted at

¹ See to Lyons, No. 480A, 29 May, recording the first conversation of that day, when France had not accepted the five years' term nor the British presidency of the *caisse*; No. 482A, first dated 30 May, finally 6 June, recording further conversations, 29 and 30 May, in which Granville offered the 3½ years' term in return for the presidency of the *caisse*, F.O. 27/2660, F.O. 78/3729.

² See to Hartington, copy, 1 June, referring him to Lyons and explaining that if France refused Britain the presidency of the *caisse* she could refuse the 3½ years' term, but this would require a cabinet decision, P.R.O. 30/29/28 A, fo. 594.

³ See personal and confidential, 1 June, suggesting a talk with Hartington, who did not realize how important agreement with France was; and reply, 3 June, reporting his conversation and discussing Ferry's hopes of Anglo-French agreement, P.R.O. 30/29/28 A, fos. 553, 597.

⁴ i.e. Nos. 480A, 482A to Lyons (see note 1 above) sent with no. 1311, see pencilled note at this point.

such a thing—He said the conversation had been of the most general character, that he had alluded to the all importance of the shorter term, but that the Presidency had never been mentioned, & that he had merely pointed out how very slight were the extensions of the power of the Caisse while we were in occupation.

I certainly did not go beyond the directions of the Cabinet, in finally mentioning the date of 1888, coupled with the proviso about the Powers and the Presidency of the Caisse.¹

I send you a letter from Baring,² written after his conversation with Hartington.

He is too late, & he has not understood the proviso about the Powers.³

1312. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 217]
Oxford. June 2/84.

As to the 3 Acts of the Play—⁴

I am afraid time must be lost in the present state of the negotiations.

Do you think it impossible to have the communication to Parliament between 2 and 3—after the whole thing has been agreed upon, but not ratified in Conference.

I hear from Hamilton that the Queen objects again to shortening the time. It is unlucky that Ponsonby is not with her, & Carlingford is inclined to be unyielding to the French.

I can give no fixed opinion yet about our meeting in town.

The Lords meet on Monday. I shall be on a hair trigger at Trentham ready to be summoned by you, or by Waddington.

Your contradiction⁵ as to the Fortnightly was quite necessary.

1313. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
No 1. H[awarde]n. June 2. 84.

I return your inclosure with thanks. There is no doubt that the Cabinet decided, subject to a contingency, at its last meeting (and I *think* once

¹ See Gladstone's note of the cabinet of 27 May, which supports Granville, Add. MS. 44645, fo. 106.

² To Granville, private, 31 May, making a plea for a reconsideration of the offer of the 3½ years' term, unless 'the powers consider it desirable to prolong the occupation', on the ground that it put us at the mercy of others, P.R.O. 30/29/162.

³ In offering to withdraw by Jan. 1888, Granville made the condition, 'if in the opinion of the Powers it could be done without risk to Egyptian peace and order'.

⁴ See no. 1310.

⁵ See Seymour, for Gladstone, to the editor of *The Times* (2 June, p. 8b) whose leader (31 May, p. 11b) imputed to Gladstone the authorship of 'England's Foreign Policy', recommending withdrawal from the Continent, now an armed camp under the control of Bismarck, signed 'G', the *Fortnightly Review*, June 1884, xxv, new ser. (xli, old ser.) 705; see p. 203, n. 3.

before that) we were not to hold absolutely by the 5 years if other points were settled. I only hope they may press this [point] *if any*. The English Presidency seems a small thing to break off upon, though we are in our right about it: but the question of controul is in its essence very serious.¹

1314. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

No 2.

H[awarde]n. June 2. 84. 7 Pm.

(I.) I cannot amend your letter;² but an alternative method of proceeding has occurred to me as perhaps worthy of your consideration. Could we, without derogating from any thing you have stated, say to France 'You object to our proposal about the Caisse as it involves other Powers. We are willing to embody it in our Financial plan, it being in fact a very small consideration and assurance to the British Parliament in respect of the financial liability which we ask them to undertake—but we are sure the Cabinet will reserve its right to make it a vital point of that plan.'

The reasons for this are I think

1. That the thing is essentially financial and does involve the other Powers

2. That if we make it political, it is hard to argue that the *Caisse* is not a controul

3. That you might conclude at once upon the general arrangement.

But pray sift this well, & if you disapprove send on your letter as it is.

II. I am fearful that if we settle the finance before the Conference it will be said with too much plausibility that we make our pledge about antecedent communication to Parliament illusory.

1315. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44176, fo. 220]

Trentham. June 2/84 midnight.

I have just rec[eive]d your 2 letters, for which I am much obliged—I have had great doubts whether to send my letter, or not. But considering that it is probable when you wrote, that you had not rec[eive]d my other box—the difficulty of the position with Hartington, & that my letter will not close the intercommunication[,] I have decided to send it.

It is also worthy of consideration, whether we should not later offer to drop [the] Presidency, if they will agree to drop any encrease of power to the *caisse* during our occupancy.

¹ See p. 192, n. 3, p. 193, n. 2, and p. 194, n. 1.

² To Waddington, private, 2 June, insisting in reply to Waddington's communication (1 June, P.R.O. 30/29/176) of Ferry's acceptance of the 3½ years' term but refusal of the presidency of the *caisse*, that the one was contingent on the other, P.R.O. 30/29/205; sent to Gladstone with a covering note, 2 June, Add. MS. 44176, fo. 219.

1316. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 222]
Trentham. [3 June 1884].

The Lords only meet on Monday, & you will not be in the H of Commons on Thursday.

But Fitzmaurice will certainly be questioned about the Turks, and what are called my evasive answers.

What I should like to be said is that there is no advantage to the public service, in giving to the Mahdi authentic information as to what is intended or likely to be done, or not to be done in the Soudan.

But I do not know exactly how to word it.¹

1317. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Most Private.

H[awarde]n Rectory. June 3. 84.

I have explained by telegram² that your reply to Hartington of May 31 unhappily got separated—I did not fully understand it, and sent it back to London.³ So I write without prejudice.

Hartington does *me* a great favour in writing these letters to you: but for you it is most trying, and such letters are hardly within the lines of duty as I understand them, and his account of Baring's views is manifestly coloured by prejudice. He omits to notice that Baring does not dwell on the shortening of the term but on his own erroneous idea of what is to happen at the end of it.

It is another question how far the attitude Hartington adopts leaves it possible to act upon the suggestion I sent to you last night in ignorance of it.

We cannot on behalf of the Cabinet I apprehend accept any thing short of the full concession as to the Presidency so as to conclude upon it; thus at least it strikes me as at least *arguable*. But might we not say, if you approve, 'if you are willing to conclude the rest, leaving the question of the Presidency for us to handle at the Conference (as stated in mine of yesterday) we will submit that proposition to the Cabinet.' This would clearly be within your and my right. If by chance you have gone *farther*, of course I stand by you, for in my suggestion as it stood there was no final surrender of the Presidency.

¹ Commons resumed after Whitsun, 5 June, Lords, 9 June; Granville expected questions about negotiations with Turkey to use Turkish troops in the Sudan; see Lord R. Churchill's demand that the supposed agreement with Turkey be first submitted to parliament and Gladstone's disclaimer of negotiation, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxviii, 9 June, 1788; see also below, p. 204, n. 1.

² See Gladstone to Granville, tel. 3 June: 'Your packet just received. Unfortunately your reply had been separated and I must get it back from London. Meantime I think strongly you stand well and the opinion about a probable vote of Parliament ought not to be given at Paris [by Hartington]', Add. MS. 44176, fo. 224.

³ See no. 1311.

Baring's letter requires no comment now: not even his Queen-like suggestion at the end.¹

If it be requisite, we could readily meet at Chester or Crewe for a conversation.

Shall I summon [the] Cabinet for Monday at 3 Pm.²

P.S. I may be quite wrong, but I think our position extremely weak, & France, in default of her good will, far more in a condition to break off, than we are; having nothing but her indemnity men to deal with, while we are & shall be pressed by the first & daily necessities of government in Egypt, a very different matter.

1318. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

H[awarde]n Rectory. June 4. 84.

If it is exactly true, I think E. Fitzmaurice would have a quieter life of it if he might begin by saying that no arrangement had been made with the Sultan but that and then as you propose. But he may very fairly ask for notice until Monday.

[P.S.] Another way, nearer yours, might be

'The question has evident reference to supposed operations against the Mahdi. I submit to the H[ouse] that it is not for the public interest that I should make any statement as to what is or is not intended with respect to him.'³

1319. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 228]

Trentham. June 4. 84.

I send you some literature none of it of a very light or cheerful character:

I am writing to Lyons to know, when we have ourselves broken off with the French, what our relations with them will be, and how he advises us to deal with the financial difficulty.⁴

I propose to go to London anyhow on Saturday. I am afraid after Hartington's letter, that one hour on Monday will not be sufficient. I have got a little gout, and we are hardly ripe for discussion before I get some answer from Waddington,⁵ and the reports from the Finance Committee,⁶

¹ See no. 1311.

² For cabinet, Mon. 9 June, on the Sudan and the Anglo-French negotiations, see Add. MS. 44645, fo. 109; and nos. 1321, 1322.

³ Suggestion not used; see p. 197, n. 1.

⁴ No private letter or dispatch has been traced; possibly abandoned because France yielded and negotiations were concluded.

⁵ For Waddington's reply, private, 4 June, to Granville's letter of 2 June (p. 196, n. 2) that he had communicated the substance to Ferry and proposed a further conversation, see P.R.O. 30/29/176.

⁶ Composed of Baring, Rivers Wilson, Sir R. Welby, Sir J. Carmichael and charged to prepare figures for British proposals to be submitted to the Egyptian financial conference.

but I will go to Chester on Friday, if you wish it and we might ask Childers to meet us.

I have a long rigmarole from Heneage M.P. In it says 'I hold very strong views on the necessity of England remaining paramount in Egypt.'¹

1320. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 231]
Trentham. June 5/84.

Waddington has pressed me to see him directly. I am under discipline today, & could not go up to town, but I have promised to be at the F.O. tomorrow at 3. I am afraid it is probable that a Cabinet will be wanted on Saturday.

I have asked Childers to meet me at the F.O.

If Waddington says no, or proposes a compromise, I must refer to the Cabinet.

If he says 'yes' I am inclined to do the same, prefacing my saying so by reminding him that I had mentioned to him the other day that a Member of the Corps Diplomatique had told me that it had reached him that the Fr. Gov considered our terms to be hard upon the bondholders—that now I was informed that profiting by the financial statement which at his request I had confidentially given to him, M Blignières was employed in drawing up an opposition plan which it was believed would be adopted by the Powers—that this seemed inconsistent with the friendly assurances as to help and no opposition which had been given.

Q[uer]ly adding something about the reports of Noailles' action at Constantinople.

That one of our reasons for making concessions was in view of the best relations with France, but this was not hopeful, if secret opposition was entered into.

I am not sure that in any case I ought not to allude to the Blignières work.²

1321. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
Hawarden Castle. Jun 5. 1884.

It has been impossible for me to read properly the Baring Budget in time for your messenger's return train but it seems to consist of Egyptian details not so pressing as the main matter.³

¹ Heneage's letter not traced, but he wrote in preparation for his 'electioneering in Lincolnshire', see his letter to Granville, 6 June, P.R.O. 30/29/151.

² See to Lyons, No. 504 confidential, 6 June, recording the French answer yielding the presidency of the *caisse* and enabling the Anglo-French agreement, 15/16 June, to be concluded, F.O. 78/3729; Granville's proposed arguments were not needed.

³ Baring remained in England until 30 Aug. and reported, 2 June, on means to exercise effective supervision over Egyptian expenditure, F.O. 78/3729.

5 JUNE 1884

With reference to a Cabinet I am rather puzzled to know what you would refer to the Cabinet if Waddington says 'yes'—

I suppose it is hardly to be considered a practical proposition that we should now break off with the French in order to prevent the House of Commons from doing it.

Our position is so weak in Egypt from our having to bear the necessities of Government there, that I am utterly disinclined to any proceeding which can tend to alienate them from us. I hope that in reciting the Blignières incidents you will not appear to believe there is any hostile intention or disposition to recede from Ferry's friendly views.

As regards Cabinet I place myself wholly at your disposal—please instruct Seymour, who will obey as to

Sat. 3 Pm

Mon. 3 Pm.

Tues. Noon.

And perhaps you will telegraph to me tomorrow morning.¹

1322. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Private.

Hawarden Castle. June 6. 84.

1. Your telegram naming Monday, which I very little hoped, is most acceptable, for weightier reasons than two days holiday. I cannot help supposing it means that Waddington has been conformable.² *If* this is so, you are of course in a condition to proceed to *formulate* the arrangement, and I need hardly remind you to include words making it conditional on the Conference & financial arrangement. Then will come 'consulting' the Powers, which I suppose ought to mean communicating to them, with the expression of desire & hope for their approval, and fixing a day for the Conference such as will allow them a decent but very moderate time for their answer. (This is all rather sanguine!)

2. Will the enemy move upon our laying the arrangement before Parliament?³ His position may be as difficult as ours. It will be a strong measure to condemn an arrangement which will become null if we fail before the Conference—and the condemnation of which will I suppose induce that failure. What they ought to contrive is some censure upon us which will

¹ See Granville to Gladstone, tel. No. 2, 6.56 p.m. 6 June, 'Hartington asks for an earlier cabinet than Monday', P.R.O. 30/29/128; summoned nevertheless for 3 p.m. Mon. 9 June.

² See p. 199, n. 2.

³ For the engagement to lay the agreement with France before parliament before the conference met, see p. 192, n. 4; for the laying of the papers and short debate in both houses, 23 June, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxix. 1043, 1104.

not prevent them from appropriating our labours & all the good effects they may be likely to produce.

3. How tantalising is the rumour about Gordon's 'escape'. Too good, I fear to be true. God grant it might.

1323. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 241]

Foreign Office. June 6/84.

I send you an able and useful letter of Baring's.¹ I have suggested some alterations to which he agrees.

My telegram gave the pith of my long conversation with Waddington.²

I could not find Hartington, but Harcourt[,] Dilke, Chamberlain & Childers said there was obviously no course possible but to agree to the acceptance of all that we had asked.

I am sorry to say that they all like R. Grosvenor think badly of the H. of Commons. Hartington & Harcourt believe we are certain to be beaten. Chamberlain says it is even betting.

If we are to be defeated on a subject of Foreign Policy, I cannot say that I object to this being the one selected.

I am not sure that on Monday, we might not promise an early statement.³

1324. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Hawarden Castle. June 7. 84.

I send herewith text of Queen's letter,⁴ about which I am dispatching a ciphered telegram.⁵ How are we to understand it? Does she only mean it as a *protest* like the many others she has made? Observe it is an answer to mine of the *first*.⁶ I therefore interpret it so and shall cipher to her accordingly to say that in the interval since I wrote French have accepted our

¹ To Granville, private, 6 June, on draft dispatch (with Granville's alterations) to him on the new arrangements for financial control in Egypt saying that the storm against multiple control did not justify antedating it, P.R.O. 30/29/162.

² See Granville to Gladstone, tel. 6.30 p.m. 6 June, recording that 'after an unavailing struggle on my part to eliminate increase in power to *Caisse*', and on Waddington's part to refer the question of its presidency to the powers, Waddington had yielded, Add. MS. 44176, fo. 237.

³ For promises on Mon. 9 June, in both houses of a statement on the negotiations with France and the powers 'during the course of next week', in fact not given until 23 June, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxviii. 1724-31, 1786-8.

⁴ To Gladstone, 5 June, objecting to limiting the British occupation, and protesting, if it must be limited, to lowering to three years, Guedalla, ii. 273, *Letters*, iii. 508; cf. to Granville, 15 May, and Ponsonby, for the Queen, to Granville, 17, 20 May, P.R.O. 30/29/43.

⁵ Announcing the French acceptance of the British terms, see p. 199, n. 2, and the cabinet meeting on Mon. 9 June, see tel. 7 June, P.R.O. 30/29/126, Add. MS. 44176, fo. 244.

⁶ Not traced.

terms (which I learn from your letter this morning, the telegram¹ having not all been intelligible to me) so as to leave us no alternatives or means of retreat—& that Cabinet meets on Monday.

As to H[ouse] of C[ommons] it is in my opinion blind work as yet but with a balance of probabilities against us.

1325. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fb. 248]

Foreign Office. June 7/84.

It is awkward about the Queen—and what encreases the difficulty is that owing to Dunrobin[,] Hawarden[,] Trentham & Albert Gate² not being all in the same parish she has rec[eive]d some of the records of conversation very late.

I send you the words of my telegram³

The figures are correct

We shall have much to settle on Monday.⁴

What answer are you and am I to give about the conference.

Query—‘We hope to make a full statement on Friday, or at latest on Monday the 16th.’⁵

Munster as well as Waddington advise[s] that we should settle financial matters before going into conference. But that may be on account of personal convenience.

1326. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

No 2.

Hawarden Castle. June 7. 84.

1. Here is the Queen’s reply just deciphered.⁶ Of course I answer to say that I will obey.

2. Is it worth your while to inquire from Cairo whether Egerton has heard the rumour of Garibaldi’s⁷ quitting Khartoum.

3. If you exchange notes with Waddington on Monday,⁸ I suppose you

¹ See p. 201, n. 2.

² The Queen was at Dunrobin, Gladstone at Hawarden, Granville had been at Trentham, and Waddington was in London; see the Queen to Granville, tel. 9.15 p.m., 7 June, saying that she had only that evening seen the account of the negotiation with France and was ‘surprised and greatly annoyed to see her strong objection to the reduction of the term of years expressed some days ago to Mr. Gladstone has been again totally disregarded’, P.R.O. 30/29/44.

³ See p. 201, n. 2.

⁴ For the cabinet, Mon. 3 p.m. 9 June, adjourned to 4 p.m. 10 June, see Add. MS. 44645, fos. 109, 112.

⁵ More general terms were used, see p. 201, n. 3, and p. 203, n. 2.

⁶ See the Queen to Gladstone, tel. 3.15 p.m., 7 June, that she had received Gladstone’s tel., protested against anything short of four years and wished this to be known by the cabinet, P.R.O. 30/29/128.

⁷ Giuseppe Garibaldi’s son.

⁸ Waddington’s agreement to Britain’s presidency of the *caisse* was not understood by

might appoint the first Conference for Saturday week,¹ and make [the] statement to Parliament on Thursday preceding.²

4. I have a note from Editor of Times³ on which I should like to speak to you.

[P.S.] 5. I inclose sketch of possible reply to Bourke.⁴

An immense body from *Lincoln* have been here today.⁵ They seem full of enthusiasm.

1327. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

No 3.

Hawarden Castle. June 7. 84.

I have only now been able to read Baring's letter.⁶ I agree with you that it is very able and very valuable. At the same time, when he comes to the executory part of it, I think there are parts which we could not adopt with advantage. I have marked them in pencil on the margin.

Clear as he is, he has never shown the faculty which your best Diplomats so remarkably exhibit of putting themselves in the position of the Minister with whom they correspond and of writing accordingly.

1328. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 252]

Foreign Office. June 8/84.

I send you the telegram I have rec[eive]d.⁷ I telegraphed back, that what H.M. had commanded, had already been done, & that I would write by post.⁸ I send you what I write.⁹

France to give Britain the casting vote and a struggle to obtain this went on between 9 and 14 June; see nos. 1328, 1330, and p. 205, n. 2; notes exchanged 15/16 June, F.O. 78/3729.

¹ Met a week later than Gladstone planned, Sat. 28 June, and had four further meetings on 22, 24, 28 July, 2 August.

² Not made until Mon. 23 June.

³ See from G. E. Buckle, 6 June, explaining that the information that Gladstone had written the article in the *Fortnightly* (see p. 195, n. 5) had been given to his *locum tenens*, and expressing regret; Escott to Gladstone, 17 June, refusing to admit responsibility but apologizing, Add. MS. 44486, fos. 231, 260.

⁴ For Bourke's question, 9 June, when papers would be laid and statement made on negotiations with France, preparatory to the conference, and Gladstone's reply (approved in the cabinet, 9 June, Add. MS. 44645, fo. 109) see p. 201, n. 3.

⁵ For the visit of 'about 700 Liberals from Lincoln', see *The Times*, 9 June, p. 13f; Gladstone refused to address them; cf. no. 81.

⁶ See p. 201, n. 1.

⁷ See p. 202, n. 2.

⁸ The Queen's tel. ended by bidding Granville consult Baring; text of reply not traced.

⁹ See Granville to the Queen, 8 June, defending the concession to France since 'the difference of 3½ years with 4 or 5 years was not material, in comparison with the Bankruptcy of Egypt next month if the financial conference failed', P.R.O. 30/29/44.

I will speak to Baring on the subject of your pencil remarks.

The date of the communication to Parliament is rather puzzling.

Hartington met me yesterday in the street on his way to Carlton Terrace: he walked for some time with me, and ended by asking me to call on him today, which is rather alarming.

You will be mortified at hearing that Stratheden has privately offered me the office of Prime Minister, if I will leave you.

1329. *Memorandum by Lord Granville*¹ [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 254]

10, Downing Street. [10 June 1884].

I cannot undertake with regard to measures which may seem necessary in the Soudan, always to announce them previously to the whole world, by communication to Parl.

The noble Lords question seems to be based on the assumption of a rumour which is unfounded that we have made a proposal to Turkey to send troops to Egypt or into the Soudan.

Some communications have taken place* on a subject mentioned in the Blue Book namely* with regard to certain Ports on the Red Sea, but have made no progress.

1330. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Private.

10, Downing Street. June 11. 84.

Dilke told me last night of the wish of a large part of the Cabinet that you should press for the casting vote.²

I shall be glad if you succeed.

I did not understand this wish to include the contemplation of a rupture in the event of your failure.

I do not think all our colleagues have taken into full view what a rupture would involve.

So far as my vision serves me there are but two alternatives (in all likelihood) before the country: one to go forward on our present lines: the other to guarantee the Egyptian Debt, with all the intolerable consequences it would entail.

[P.S.] We begin to look to Thursday in next week³ for the 3d reading of the Franchise Bill.

¹ No. 1329 was the text of Gladstone's statement in the Commons, 10 June, in answer to Lawson and Lord R. Churchill, on negotiations with Turkey, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxviii. 1896; the starred passage was substituted by Gladstone for Granville's 'but have not made progress' which was then transferred to the end; cf. no. 1316.

² See p. 202, n. 8.

³ i.e. 19 June, but owing to the dragging on of the committee and report stages (*Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxix. 824) not taken until Thurs. 26 June, see *ibid.* 1432.

1331. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 256]
Foreign Office. June 14. 1884.

I have got the gout in my right hand, which is provoking—particularly at this moment.

Ferry refuses. I am to see Waddington at 3. o'clock to tell me so.¹

1331A. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
10, Downing Street. June 14. 84. 10 3/4 am.

I am so sorry about your gout.

The hitch is serious. Waddington, by appointment, comes here at twelve. Shall the Cabinet be called at your house at two?²

1332. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 258]
Foreign Office. [14 June 1884].

Thanks for sympathy. I am much better.

Waddington has said nothing to me about his visit to you. I hope you will give him no encouragement, until the Cabinet meets.—2 o'clock would suit me perfectly.

1333. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
Secret. 10, Downing Street. June 14. 84.

Waddington has been here. I do not think I have given him any light, being able, as I was, truly to say that the Woman Suffrage affair took me from the Cabinet when this matter was last discussed.³

However I gather these two things clearly enough from his conversation

1. That he intends what he now says to be taken as an ultimatum. I refrained from asking him whether it was one or not.

2. That he makes a step towards us by expressing a willingness to let the question of casting vote come before the Powers in Conference, and then to treat it in a friendly spirit, if the other Powers are at all similarly disposed.

¹ See p. 202, n. 8, and no. 1330; nos. 1331 and 1332 not in Granville's hand.

² For cabinet, 2 p.m. 14 June, at which Gladstone and Granville reported on the French refusal, and the question whether to insist, to refer to the powers, or to give in was discussed and a fresh appeal to Ferry decided on, which Granville made at 3 p.m., see Add. MS. 44645, fo. 114.

³ See Gladstone's note of the cabinet, 10 June, recording his absence during Granville's report on the negotiations with Waddington, and speech against the enfranchisement of women by amending the franchise bill in committee in the Commons, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxviii. 1942-64.

He admits that a practical difficulty may arise if there is no casting vote, and says it would have to be settled by an appeal to the Governments. This is far from being a sufficient answer.

He pleads strongly, but not by way of accusation, that the matter was not put before him when he finally gave in to your terms.

Apart from my general feelings on broader grounds, I think our ground is very weak on this point. Was there, *is there* at this moment, a casting vote in the Commission? (he says no.) *If there is not how can we say we did not mention it because we took it for granted?* The presumption was, when we spoke *simpliciter* of the Presidentship, that we meant the Presidentship as it now is?

I told him I would communicate at once with you—but said nothing about the Cabinet.

1334. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Early.

10, Downing Street. June 16. 84.

The Opposition are philanthropically desirous to put us out of our pain. Bourke, after putting his main question, popped another, which was whether we would agree, without waiting for the Conference, to submit our agreement with France to the judgment of the House? He offered notice, which I did not accept, but said that, without prejudice to the declaration that the whole matter would depend on the judgment of Parliament,¹ I could not now explain the *how*, but could state that we would *not* submit separately the preliminary agreement.²

I have told Hartington the progress made.

1335. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 259]

10, Downing Street. June 17. 84.

See Childers within.³ I told him it occurred to me that, with your approval, *he* could put the question to Waddington less formally & with less significance.⁴

Hamilton suggests my wife's asking Ismail Pasha [the ex-khedive] to an evening party. I feel uncertain—What do you say?

¹ Note here by Gladstone: 'How stupid!'

² For renewed pressure, 16 June, for statement on the negotiations with France and with the powers (p. 201, n. 3) and Bourke's suggestion that the agreement with France be laid separately before that with the powers, and reply as described, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxix. 423-4.

³ Secret, 16 June, suggesting that Granville ask the French whether they would prefer a British loan to Egypt of 5 millions (Egypt paying France her indemnity claims) instead of 8 millions, in which event Britain should agree, Add. MS. 44131, fo. 88.

⁴ Granville wrote here 'I agree G.' and at the end, 'Dans la doute abstiens toi. It would drive the present Khedive out of his senses. G.' and returned the letter.

1336. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. June 19. 1884.

1. The Russian Chargé (I believe it was he but I am not *sure* I know him by sight) last night opened on me a new view of neutralisation—that it might override the sovereign rights of the Sultan & might be thought to savour of 'spoliation'—glancing at the Tribute. I told him this view was absolutely new to me, & so far as I knew to the Government, & that I conceived the measure to be one absolutely conservative & for the exclusion of sole action in Egypt. He expressed great satisfaction. Evidently the disquieting construction had been the subject of some communication to or from St Petersburg.

2. Cabinet Saturday at 12 for Childers' Egyptian finance. At your house, or here?¹

1337. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. June 20. 84.

While it is clear to me that we must keep back the finance next week, and hardly less clear that a battle of life and death would be heavily prejudiced in that state of things, I think we had better reserve the consideration of the point among ourselves till we see whether the Tories desire to show fight on the Preliminary agreement.

1338. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*² [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. June 24. 84.

It appeared at 6.30 that we could not hope for a discussion in Cabinet on Egyptian policy today.

Those who were here, Hartington, Chamberlain, Dilke, Dodson, and I thought that now, when the finance is disposed of for the time, Baring might fairly be asked to give us his idea of the general drift of Nubar's proposals, on the ground that this is almost a necessary preliminary to whatever else we may do.³

But they were favourable, I think including Hartington, to the idea that Nubar might have a trial on proper conditions, if the spirit of his proposals

¹ For cabinet, noon Sat. 21 June, and for Gladstone's summary of the report on Egyptian finance from the committee (p. 198, n. 6), see Add. MS. 44645, fo. 117.

² Mem. by Granville for Gladstone, 21 June, of Bismarck's views on Egyptian finance, P.R.O. 30/29/128, not printed.

³ For cabinet, 24 June, summoned for Egyptian finance at 3 p.m. and attended for this purpose by Baring, but interrupted by Lords' business which took away the peer members, see Add. MS. 44645, fo. 121.

was such as to warrant generally an expectation that they would work equitably.¹

1339. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 260]
18, Carlton House Terrace. [26 June 1884].

I explained to the Lords the other day that the strong committee to which the question of the Suez Canal, was referred,² whose recommendations were adopted by the Cabinet & communicated to the Powers were unanimous against the *neutralization* of the Canal.

What we have proposed[,] see circular of Jan 1883, is a different thing.

I see that I am misreported to have said that the Cabinet adopted the neutralization scheme denounced by the Committee whereas I said that the Cabinet had adopted the recommendation of the Committee,³ which is recited in the Circular.

1340. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
Private. 10, Downing Street. June 28. 84.

1. I hope there will be great caution in the answer to question 39 on Monday—especially as to ‘official report’ and ‘massacre’.⁴

2. It would probably be an awkward matter to surrender any thing now; but I cannot help thinking we have taken in the matter of the President & casting vote a *perpetuity* which is not required by the reason of the case. The liquidation of the Guaranteed Loan would seem to mark the close of our special claim.

1341. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
10, Downing Street. June 30. 84.

I think you are quite right, under the circumstances of foreign policy at this juncture, in devolving the charge of the Franchise Bill on Kimberley.⁵

¹ But cf. Hartington to Granville, 25 June, recounting the discussion in the cabinet, after Granville had left, of the next steps in Egypt, doubting the wisdom of allowing Nubar Pasha to introduce his own administrative reforms lest it destroy Britain’s remaining influence, P.R.O. 30/29/134.

² See no. 830.

³ i.e. for the freedom of the canal; Granville in describing, 23 June, the fifth point of the agreement with France (on the neutralization of Egypt and the status of the Suez Canal) had said the opposite of what he meant, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxix. 1051–2; for correction, 26 June, see *ibid.* 1333.

⁴ For Ashmead Bartlett’s question, 30 June, whether the official report of the capture of Berber and the massacre of the garrison was true, and Fitzmaurice’s reply giving the source of the report and quoting a contradictory tel. see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxix. 1686.

⁵ For Kimberley’s management of the second reading in the Lords, 7 July, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxc. 97.

1342. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 262]

10, Downing Street. Jul 2. 84.

With a view to the division in the House of Lords, I presume you will wish me to write to such Bishops as I can properly approach?¹ And if so to do it at once?² Of these there are *eleven* marked A on the paper within.

Seven others marked B seem to me not hopeless men, but I have not any personal title to address them.³

I am inclined to write a letter to the Archbishop,⁴ and send copies with a covering note to the rest.

Perhaps it will save your time to reply by Ayes or Noes on this note.⁵

1343. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 266]

18, Carlton House Terrace. July 4/84.

I have marked the passage which appears to me to be a distinct threat coming from so powerful a prime minister as yourself.⁶

I shall be glad to write to the Archbishop of York and to the Bishop of London.

The only doubt is whether as they are almost sure to see the letter to the Primate, the difference of tone may not strike them.

Nobody in and out of the Cabinet has been more anxious than you to smooth the way for the Lords—But the Tories, & the weak kneed liberals will try to make out that you are personally leading the attack against the Lords, which is quite a different thing from saying what is likely to happen.

Please return my letter to the Archbishop, with your amendments, & decision whether it should be sent—

¹ Granville wrote 'yes' here.

² Granville wrote 'yes' here.

³ List A: Bath and Wells, Carlisle, Chichester, Durham, Exeter, Ely, Lincoln, Manchester, Oxford, St. Asaph, Salisbury.

⁴ See to Benson, private and confidential, 2 July, on the possibility of a constitutional crisis as dangerous as that of 1831-2 and appealing for help in avoiding a conflict between Lords and Commons, holograph draft and copy, Add. MS. 44109, fos. 95, 97.

⁵ Granville wrote here: 'You are the best judge as to writing to those on the 2nd list. Enclosing a copy of the letter to the Archbishop makes it easier with regard to those upon whom you have no direct claim.' He returned the letter and Gladstone wrote, 'I wish you would consider some other medium as to the seven. With two doubtful exceptions, Durham & Bangor, I think my appeal would be very weak, in some cases even dangerous.' Granville replied: 'I cannot think of any medium excepting possibly the Chancellor. I could send a copy of your letter to York and London.'

⁶ The final version omitted the passage in the draft to Benson, referring to the capitulation of the Lords in 1831-2 and to the improbability of their being able to resist in 1884 what they had failed to resist in 1831-2, see Add. MS. 44109, fo. 96.

What an excellent speech¹ you made—absolutely bricks without straw—The Cabinet must decide on the next step in the Nisero.
When will it be held.

1344. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*² [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 264]
10, Downing Street. Jul 4. 84.

You will be glad to hear that I have had replies³ from every Peer-Bishop recommended by me (except the Bishop of my own Diocese, & I must give him a little time) & every one of them most hearty, including men like Chichester & Bath & Wells who might be called Conservatives. Every one will come & vote *except* Salisbury who is physically unable to undertake a journey.

The Archbishop has not yet written but I understand he will speak & vote. There seems some hope even of the Bp of Lincoln.

[P.S.] I think Charles Lyttelton might be asked by Cork to write to [the] Bp of Worcester.

I make no doubt you have pressed Amphyll.⁴ His excuse was *trumpery*. Every Bishop, who chose, might plead a far better excuse from the incessant work of his Diocese.

I spoke an indirect but significant word to Cottesloe.⁵

1345. *Memorandum by Mr. Gladstone*⁶ [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
Copy.⁷ 10, Downing Street. July 5. 84.

*Date-Clause.*⁸

From the first, we engaged ourselves by promise, to do our best

¹ In answer to an attack, 3 July, on the government's policy over the rajah of Tenom's capture and ill-treatment of the crew of the *Nisero* in the Straits Settlement, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxix, 1912-16; see p. 248, n. 6.

² Exchange of notes between Gladstone, Derby, and Granville, 2 July, against making Normanby G.C.B., Add. MS. 44768, fo. 59, not printed.

³ For favourable replies from the bishops on list A, p. 210, n. 3, except that from Bath and Wells, 2 to 5 July, to his appeal to vote on the second reading of the franchise bill, 8 July, see Add. MS. 44487, fos. 11-47 *passim*; bill shelved because re-distribution not covered, only Gloucester and Bristol voted against, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxc. 447-80.

⁴ See to Amphyll, tel. private, 4 July; and reply by letter, 5 July, giving reasons for not coming, P.R.O. 30/29/178.

⁵ Granville returned the letter, having written at the end: 'I am delighted.'

⁶ Granville to Gladstone, 5 July, on Tennyson's refusal (Tennyson wrote 'I cannot vote against you and will not vote with you', marked by Granville '!!!', Add. MS. 44487, fo. 42, cf. no. 1101); second letter, undated, on why he had not answered a parliamentary question on Gordon's successor, Add. MS. 44176, fos. 269, 270, not printed.

⁷ Draft of no. 1345 is in Add. MS. 44768 at fo. 65 marked 'send fair copy to Lord Granville'.

⁸ Preventing the operation of a franchise act before 1 Jan. 1885 (inserted Commons

towards *introducing and passing* a Bill for the Redistribution of Seats, and (in the absence of extraordinary circumstances such as to disturb the whole course of business) to make it the first business of the Session.

When the proposal was made to introduce a date, it was very unacceptable to some of our earnest supporters.

But we gave it a favourable reception; aware that it would be very difficult to obtain a full registration of the new constituency during the present year, and also desirous to give the House an opportunity of recording its desire that a time should intervene before the operation of the Act so as to enable Parliament to deal effectually with the subject.

When the Clause was introduced, I said that its acceptance converted into a *covenant with the House* what had previously been no more than a promise on our part.

The pledge to introduce a Bill included expressly I believe making every effort to pass it, and any act of caprice or other folly on our part which might frustrate the Bill would involve us in a plausible charge, or a charge more than plausible, of breach of faith.

1346. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44768, fo. 67]
Foreign Office. [8 July 1884].

I am afraid this does not promise much.

Would it be worth while trying our proposal—about the joint address—I should doubt their accepting it.¹

1347. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44768, fo. 68]
[8 July 1884.]

I think there can be no harm in your making the offer, *provided* you find any encouragement. (It was what Lord Aberdeen wished in the case of the Papal Aggression, 1851). Namely this—

An identical Resolution in both Houses, reciting that they have passed the Franchise Bill in reliance on the engagement tendered by Her Majesty's Ministers that they will, so far as depends upon them, introduce and use every effort* in their power*² to pass in the ensuing Session a Bill for the Redistribution of Seats in the Three Kingdoms and a joint Address from both Houses laying the said Resolution at the foot of the Throne.

committee, 19 June, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cclxxxix. 261–2, 627–9, 830–42; see also Add. MS. 44645, fo. 100) was not considered by the conservative peers to strengthen the security against a general election under the new franchise and before the constituencies were altered.

¹ Granville, during the debate on the second reading, offered to strengthen the security for the passage of a re-distribution bill before the franchise bill could take effect, by identic resolutions in Lords and Commons confirmed by a joint address to the crown; see mem. of conversation with Cairns, 8 July, P.R.O. 30/29/149.

² Starred phrase added by Granville.

1348. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*¹ [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 274]
10, Downing Street, Jul 11. 1884.

I see that in the report of my speech at the Foreign Office² I appear to say that the offer made by you on Tuesday was rejected, because the Leader of the Opposition said he could not discuss redistribution with a rope round his neck.

The report appears to be very careful and I certainly cannot undertake to correct it from memory but I had no intention of conveying that Lord Salisbury used these words in declining the offer.

I understood that he had used the phrase in dealing with the subject: it appeared to me to be an apposite concise and summary statement of his view, and to be the ground of his refusal of our offer. My intention could have been more fully conveyed, had I said the offer was rejected as it appeared to me because Lord Salisbury considered that he could not discuss redistribution with a rope round his neck.

This idea was fully expressed in the first of two suggestions which were indicated to you, (without however being tendered in a binding way), in the reply to our proposal. The second I could not regard as serious since (in my view) it required the Government to agree to a proposal fully discussed in the House of Commons and rejected on both sides of the House for reasons on which I need [not] now enter.

I need hardly add that the purpose of my speech was not to give a history of the proceedings but only to mark with exactitude the point up to which we had been willing to go.³

1349. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
10, Downing Street. Jul 11. 84.

Kindly send me the MS, or a copy, which you received from the Tory leaders on Tuesday evening⁴ in reply to our offer of the joint Address & identic Resolution.

¹ Gladstone to Granville, 9 July, asking him to communicate to the Queen the cabinet's advice to prorogue and summon an autumn session for the passage of the franchise bill; and Granville's reply, with the Queen's assent, Add. MS. 44176, fos. 272, 273, not printed; no. 1348 printed from Gladstone's original, returned to him; for copy marked 'Read in the H[ouse] of L[ords], July 11', see P.R.O. 30/29/128.

² i.e. at a party meeting, 10 July, at which Gladstone defended his refusal to dissolve the Commons at the bidding of the Lords and announced an autumn session and a fresh attempt to pass the franchise bill, see *The Times*, 11 July, p. 10a-d.

³ For Salisbury's protest, 11 July, at Gladstone's having published a private and confidential offer and attributed to him a phrase in rejecting it he had not used, Cairns's and Granville's statements on the negotiation, and Granville's reading of no. 1348, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxc. 796-809.

⁴ i.e. 8 July; Salisbury's rejection was in a note, written on Granville's mem. of his conversation with Cairns; for mem. and note, less curt even than Salisbury in defending himself suggested, see P.R.O. 30/29/149.

1350. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

House of Commons. July 11. 84. 6½ Pm.

I hope you will find means of adding to your statement¹ as I find it in the Memm in R. Grosvenor's hands, (a) that the proposal came in writing from me to you, (b) that my paper was not marked private, & (c) that in the communications between you & me on the subject there never was the smallest reference to its being private & confidential (d) that I expressed the desire that the proposal should be publicly made.

1351. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/28 A, fo. 667]

Private.

10, Downing Street. Jul 12. 1884.

I am not about to trouble you further on the personal matter affecting myself: but I write, first, to send you the copy of a letter which I have just addressed to Winmarleigh.²

Secondly, just as I had settled to do this, in came Rosebery, who stated his hopes, and wished, as of his own motion, to see friends of the Opposition, and learn whether the good disposition he knows many of them to entertain could not be turned to account on the basis of our proposal.

I agree with him that he should have no sort of commission, but I could not dissuade him. Further that if he succeeded he would perform an enormous public service.

Thirdly. He came back to me after a short interval to suggest an addition to the Joint Address. He thought it would much aid his operation, if we could agree that the Houses should pray the Queen to summon Parliament in the autumn, that a Redistribution Bill might then (the Franchise Bill passing now) be presented to it.

I told him, and he agreed (a) that the conditions of time would be rather severe, still we ought not on this head to make any needless difficulty. (b) that I could not speak for the Cabinet. (c) that I could not even finally bind myself by an opinion given at the first blush. (d) that the form of the suggestion would as I conceived be to anticipate the session of 1885, and let it begin before instead of after Christmas, so as to widen too, the time at our disposal for discussing Redistribution (e) that I did not at first sight object.

¹ Addition not made, Granville appearing rather to admit the conversation with Cairns to have been private, if not confidential.

² 12 July, appealing to him to let Granville's offer (p. 211, n. 1) be the basis of an accommodation; and reply, 16 July, that his group in the Lords could only vote for the franchise bill if the plan for re-distribution was submitted at the same time, Add. MS. 44487, fos. 74, 88.

This is a simple report for your information. Please send it to Hartington: and also to Harcourt (who entered manfully into last night's debate).¹ I am going to Wolverton's.

1352. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/28 A, fo. 669]

10, Downing Street. Jul. 16. 84.

This letter of yesterday from the Queen² is rather a serious fact. Taken generally it is rather in the nature of an argument for the abolition of the House of Commons: not that she means this but it is what her argument leads to. But the most material part of it is the allegation that the Lords are believed at this moment to represent the true feeling of the country.

I send my letter of the 14th,³ to which this is an answer, and which was itself drawn forth by repeated references to an immediate Dissolution as the proper course.

There is no use in a controversy with her infallibility; but perhaps, without bringing in the Cabinet, I ought respectfully to demur to the sentiment I have quoted and to state my conviction that the Monarchy ought not to be and need not be mixed up in controversies such as that which now appears to be within the lines of probability.⁴

1353. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 280]

House of Lords. [17? July 1884].

Roundell has given a foolish notice to call the attention of the House on Tuesday to the Autumn Session, and to the only manner of dealing with the Franchise Bill.

1354. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. July 17. 84.

Please to look at Mr Roundell's first note—A motion at this time might excite debate.⁵ I told him I thought probably the F.O. could obtain the

¹ For Gladstone's statement, 11 July, in answer to Salisbury's complaint of his speech at the party meeting, and Harcourt's defence of him, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxc. 831-8, 1838-69.

² 15 July, on the Lords representing the true feeling of the country, and protecting 'Moderate Men' against 'extreme partisans', Guedalla, ii. 286.

³ It gave as one reason against advising a dissolution, 'the tendency of the Lords to separate from the people' and consequent danger of putting their constitutional position in question, *ibid.* ii. 284-6.

⁴ See Gladstone to the Queen, 17 July, insisting that the 'Monarchy . . . need not and, should not be . . . compromised by any struggle likely to take place', *ibid.* ii. 287.

⁵ Motion not made.

information privately, and have it ready to produce in October—May I confirm this?¹

1355. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. July 17. 84.

I doubt if you have taken notice that Roundell does not ask any thing of the Foreign Office but desires to make a motion in the House of Commons, and I in order to prevent any excitement have suggested that the information should be obtained confidentially so that it might be produced hereafter if needful.

I do not see how to oppose Roundell's motion, or get rid of it on easier terms? He is a quiet but a determined man.

1356. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 278]

House of Lords. July 18/84.

You will think me a dreadful prig—but I do not like to order the 2d chamber circular.²

I should particularly dislike that there should be a possibility of its being said in the Autumn that I had privately [been] collecting materials for the reconstruction of the Lords—

But understanding your difficulty, I have got the Chancellor to undertake to communicate with his nephew,³ & try to prevent his taking further action. I will let you know the answer.

1357. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 281]

10, Downing Street. [18 July 1884].

The Conference did give me full power to fix the day.

The question is what day I shall fix.⁴

The Commission⁵ I believe have another formal meeting.

¹ Granville wrote 'Yes. G.' on the letter but did not return it to Gladstone with that reply, see no. 1356.

² i.e. circular to British representatives abroad asking how the second chamber was organized in the country where each resided; presumably asked for in Roundell's proposed motion.

³ Roundell.

⁴ Tues. 22 July was fixed for the next meeting of the Egyptian financial conference, adjourned since the first meeting of 28 June.

⁵ i.e. of experts to examine Britain's financial proposals during adjournment; their expected rejection (France being supported by all except Italy) occasioned no. 1357, see to Amptill, No. 204, to Lyons, No. 602A, to Paget, No. 116, to Lumley, No. 162, to Thornton, No. 213A, 14 July, and circular dispatch recording proceedings, 16 July, F.O. 78/2730.

I hope the Cabinet will decide what I may say to the Ambassadors immediately¹—

But it is a clear [thing that] we ought to have time to come to an agreement before the next meeting.²

1358. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Jul. 18. 84.

My idea is conveyed in the inclosed much shorter:³ to startle Ferry at once.

[P.S.] I quite agree about separate negotiation—this is meant as mere information—difficult to withhold after his commun[icatio]n to Lyons?⁴

1359. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 86]

[Copy] 19: July 1884.

One line to say I hope that Childers (who as I reckon will soon be with you) will in case of need carefully consider the *quarter per cent* plan.⁵ If the finance can be worked with it, there is a great advantage in its having come from a foreign source.

1360. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*⁶ [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Foreign Office. [21 July 1884].

Bismarck does not think that the French would accept the plan—& the feeling in France is so excited, that he does not think it would be possible for him to propose anything to Ferry not likely to be accepted [*sic*].

He wishes us to come to an understanding with the French.

¹ For cabinet, 18 July, see Add. MS. 44645, fos. 154–6; to Lyons, No. 630 confidential, 19 July, recording his conversations with Münster and Karolyi, proposing reassembly, 22 July, and denying that support to France had been unanimous, F.O. 27/2661, and below no. 1360.

² Gladstone wrote here: 'If we decide our course today, may I say we hope it will be on Tuesday?'; and later, 'Yes July 18'.

³ i.e. than Childers's draft tel.; for Gladstone's draft, instructing Lyons to tell Ferry the French statement to the commission of experts was 'grossly in error', see P.R.O. 30/29/128; see also from Lyons, tel. No. 16, 19 July, reporting communication to Ferry accordingly, F.O. 78/3730.

⁴ See from Lyons, tel. No. 16, reporting Ferry's almost casual readiness to abandon the negotiation.

⁵ To modify the proposal to reduce the interest payable by Egypt to the bondholders from a reduction by $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to a reduction by $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., originally proposed by Austria, see Granville to Paget, No. 114, 15 July, F.O. 78/3730.

⁶ No. 1360 is placed in the Granville papers as a document of 21 June, being so dated by Sanderson on the docket; substance gives the correct date.

If we succeeded he would be ready if [we] wished to make the formal proposal. Munster said that the plan might possibly succeed, if we would continue the guarantee under it. I told him that would be contrary to the essence of the plan.

He says that Stahl [*sc.* Staal] & Karolyi on Saturday rather liked the plan, but feared there was no chance of the French accepting it.¹ I will come to the Commons from the H. of Lords.

1361. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*²

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. July 22. 84.

I have seen Sir Henry Gordon who has spoken very freely to me. He will send me a Memorandum of his views. Meantime I think I am not wrong in saying

1. He adheres to the article in the *Contemp[orary]* of June³
 2. He is certain that, expedition or no expedition, Gen. Gordon will *not* come away without leaving behind him some person or power representative of him in this sense that he shall be a governing force in Khartoum
 3. General Gordon considers himself bound not to the Egyptian soldiers only (of whom there are now extremely few) but to the trading population.
 4. The Nile is impossible for an expedition. Suakim & Berber the only route
 5. Gen. Gordon could go northward any day he pleased
 6. The only satisfactory solution is to *send Zebehr*. He has come round to this opinion, having originally been opposed to it
- P.S. 7. Something ought to be done soon.
8. An English expedition to Khartoum would not convey what Gordon wants—& would simply have to remain there.

1362. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. July 22. 84.

I suppose that Egerton's request⁴ may best be dealt with by reference to

¹ Britain's proposals: (a) loan of 8 millions to Egypt guaranteed by Britain, (b) reduction of the interest on all existing loans, (c) suspension of sinking funds, (d) proposals for dealing with any yearly surplus, (e) a limit of £300,000 on the costs of the occupation, see Childers to Granville, 23 June; for new plan eliminating the British guarantee, see mem. by Childers, 19 July; submitted to Münster with a question whether Bismarck would propose it, see to Amptill, No. 210 confidential, 19 July, and No. 212 confidential, 21 July, F.O. 78/3730.

² No. 1361 printed, Fitzmaurice, ii. 393.

³ See the *Contemporary Review*, June 1884, xliii. 878; anonymous, arguing that the question of Gordon's rescue did not arise, since he would stay and fight it out.

⁴ To Granville, No. 720, 21 July, asking what reply should be given to a question from Gordon (the first news of him for three months) on the whereabouts of a relief expedition, F.O. 78/3676.

our former telegrams of April 23 (?) and May (21?) [*sc.* 17],¹ and by stating our continued desire to learn from himself his views and position so that if danger has arisen or is likely to arise in the manner we have described we may be able to take measures accordingly

I do not think it would be prudent to frame a new set of assurances²

Sir H. Gordon believes that the reference to a relieving force has simply grown out of some rumour which has reached the General, & does not express any desire.

1363. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. Jul 24. 84.

Is it worth while to turn over in your mind what would happen if *one of the Neutral Powers* (so to call them) were to propose an adjournment of the Conference for four months³

It may be a wild idea, but there are some advantages.

1364. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. Jul 26. 84.

1. Since seeing you I have found that my wife has engaged me to Eton tonight for Sunday (Hon. E. Lyttelton's) but I beg you not to hesitate to call me up tomorrow if there be cause.

2. I think the list of 'full powers' made in Cabinet yesterday⁴ was tolerably complete: unless the French should bring in some new scheme of a small pecuniary provision to tide over the difficulty of the moment.

3. I must send you and Hartington another long story with the Queen about Chamberlain's recent speech.⁵ I am sorry he spoke at the Devonshire: but there was only one expression in the speech that sinned against our arrangement.

1365. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*⁶ [Add. MS. 44175, fo. 188]

Sunday. [27 July 1884].

Waddington told me yesterday evening, that he had been to the sea side

¹ See p. 181, n. 3, and p. 189, n. 1.

² Granville wrote here: 'I agree.'

³ The suggestion was not adopted and the conference was abandoned, 2 Aug.

⁴ For five points on the Egyptian financial negotiations which Childers and Granville were empowered to admit by the cabinet of 25 July, see Add. MS. 44645, fo. 159.

⁵ On 23 July at the Devonshire Club, asserting the claims of the Commons against the Lords, see Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 97; the Queen to Gladstone, 25 July, *Letters*, iii. 522-3, Guedalla, ii. 288-9, copy P.R.O. 30/29/31 with covering letter.

⁶ No. 1365, which is not dated, is mistakenly bound in the Gladstone papers with the letters of 1883.

yesterday[,] that on Thursday, he had transmitted our proposals with some questions on them of his own—but that he had re[ceive]d no answer yet from M Ferry, who he added had had the Red river question to consider.¹

Munster told me that he did not think we should do anything on Monday, that it was better that the other Powers should not give an opinion. He subsequently told me that he should call upon me this morning, to tell me that he had positive instructions, (I presume reiterated over) to bring the sanitary question before the conference.

There is a question whether I should only put my foot down, or whether I should ask him to telegraph a strong appeal & remonstrance to Prince Bismarck.²

It is probable that Ferry is in correspondence with Berlin.

There is a further question whether if at the conference, Munster persists, as he is almost sure to do if he makes the proposal at all, whether I am to protest, and to decline further discussion on sanitary matters, or whether I shall suspend the sitting at once, before the Italian & other Ambassadors have time to support Bismarck.

1366. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Eton College, Windsor. Jul 27. 84.

1. Ferry's holding the proposals³ so long without reply is I suppose good as far as it goes, but not very far.

2. I trust that if nothing is done in Conference tomorrow, which will be unfortunate, another meeting may follow which may be early and if possible final. The personal convenience which goes quite as far with diplomatists as with other people, is here on our side.

3. As to the sanitary matter, the point you put to me about the instructions appeared absolutely unanswerable, & if you allow Bismarck to go into irrelevant matter, how are you to prohibit the Turks? Unless therefore you have some *cause* to take a different view, I should at once put an extinguisher upon the subject when Münster has stated his desire to raise it.⁴ Probably in an assembly of that kind the others might be entitled to discuss the question of *order*, i.e. of relevancy, but I suppose it must rest with you as *President* finally to decide the matter.

¹ For French counter-proposal, 23 July, to British Egyptian financial proposals, Britain's stand on the proposals of 19 July (above no. 1360) which he provisionally rejected, see to Lyons, No. 646 confidential, 23 July, F.O. 78/3730; to which France did not reply.

² No action was taken.

³ See p. 217, n. 1.

⁴ An Italian proposal for an international sanitary conference in Rome which Bismarck announced his intention of bringing to the financial conference, but the proposal was not pressed, see from Lumley, No. 127, 1 Aug., F.O. 78/3730.

4. Please to read the inclosed from Trevelyan & send it on to Hartington.¹ I shall much desire counsel from both.

1367. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 89]
[Copy] 29 July 84.

Labouchere asks me today whether, as Tories allege the Bill is not thrown out, Govt. will again move the second reading of it.²

Shall I say, no: twice a second reading has been refused & the bill laid on the shelf: another motion for the second reading would only lead to a third operation of the same kind?

1368. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
18, Carlton House Terrace. July 30/84.

The Duke of Cambridge asked me to call on him, & argued strongly for preparations for an expedition. I do not remember any point which has not been previously mentioned by Hartington.³

He lent me the enclosed letter⁴ and said he did not propose to call but was of course at Mr Gladstone's orders, if he wished to see him.

1369. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*⁵ [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 283]
10, Downing Street. July 31 [1884].

I have seen Waddington—⁶

He has rec[eive]d no instructions.

¹ See Granville to Hartington, 27 July, sending Trevelyan to Gladstone, 26 July, asking to be released from office (Add. MS. 44335, fo. 168) with Gladstone's request for advice; and reply, 28 July, on the difficulties of the office of Irish secretary, suggesting means of easing the work, Add. MS. 44147, fos. 91-93.

² i.e. of the franchise bill in the Lords; for question and reply, 29 July, as here described, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxc. 872-3.

³ Had urged since 1 July an expedition to relieve Gordon, but been prevented by the franchise bill from bringing it to the cabinet until 16 July, see to Gladstone, 1 July, Add. MS. 44147, fo. 82; mem. by Hartington, 15 July, Fitzmaurice, ii. 390-1; Gladstone's note that opinion had gone against him in the cabinet, 16 July, and in favour of an expedition, Add. MS. 44645, fo. 150; further mem. by Hartington, B. Holland, *The Life of the Duke of Devonshire* (1911) i. 472; and hostile min. thereon by Gladstone, Add. MS. 44147, fo. 95.

⁴ i.e. Wolseley to the Duke of Cambridge, Sunday evening [27 July], urging 'a small cheap expedition now', perhaps only to Dongola, in order to avoid a full-scale expedition when Gordon had (by 17 Aug.) run out of ammunition, P.R.O. 30/29/128; Gladstone's observation: 'The ammunition is to be sent to enable Gordon to work a policy opposite to ours. But how is he to gain by its being sent to *Dongola*? Jul 31. 84.' was written on no. 1368; see also Fitzmaurice, ii. 394.

⁵ Granville to Gladstone, [?] July, sending a newspaper article protesting at the outcry provoked by the recall of Clifford Lloyd (see no. 1281), Add. MS. 44147, fo. 285, not printed.

⁶ See p. 219, n. 1; no reply was made by France.

I said I did not ask him to commit himself, but asked whether he could give me a hint whether it was likely to be 'yes' or 'no'.

He replied that he could not say, but he was not without some hope, and that a delay to Saturday (he could not promise to be ready tomorrow) would be more favorable than otherwise.

[P.S.] I put very strongly your impatience and that of the Commons.

You and I are not to know it, but Waddington has asked Childers for a very private interview at Childers' house this afternoon—

1370. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Most Private.

10, Downing Street. Aug 1. 84.

Receiving from you Hartington's letter¹ without any indication of your own, I have seen in great secrecy Childers and Harcourt, and have set down in the accompanying note² my contribution towards the solution of a very grave and perplexing difficulty, which can only be overcome, if it can be overcome at all, by much conciliation.

I think this note is generally conformable to the views of C. and H.

1371. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 6]

Copy. Most Private.

10, Downing Street. 1: Aug: 1884.

I had intended to give much time today to collecting the sum of evidence as to Gordon's position, which appears to me to be strangely understood by some.

But I have been diverted from this by the receipt of Hartington's letter, which creates a very formidable state of things, at a moment when we have already on our hands a domestic crisis of the first class likely to last for months, & a foreign crisis of the first class, morally certain however to be decided or developed in a few days.

It is a difficult but paramount duty for each one of us to ask himself what he can contribute towards meeting the present exigency.

Undoubtedly I can be no party to the proposed dispatch, as a first step, of a Brigade to Dongola.

I do not think that the evidence as to Gordon's position requires or justifies, in itself, military preparations for the contingency of a military expedition.

¹ See to Granville, copy, 31 July, again urging a relief expedition, since he was committed to seeing Gordon safe, Add. MS. 44147, fo. 97; cf. to Granville, 26 July, complaining that he had not been allowed time in the cabinet (25 July, Add. MS. 44645, fo. 159) and disclaiming responsibility for military policy in Egypt if the present attitude continued, P.R.O. 30/29/134.

² i.e. no. 1371.

There are however preparations, perhaps of various kinds, which might be made, and which are matters simply of cost, & do not involve necessary consequences in point of policy.

To these I have never offered an insuperable objection, & the adoption of them might be, at the worst, a smaller evil than the evils with which we are threatened in other forms.

This on what I may call on my side. On the other hand, I hope I may presume that, while we are looking into the matters I have just indicated, nothing will be done to accelerate a Gordon crisis until we see, in the early days of next week what the Conference crisis is to produce.

1372. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*¹ [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. Aug 1. 84.

3. *Read this first.*

Northbrook has brought a suggestion of a Vote of Credit.² As far as I can see this is a case of *Deus ex machinâ*. I do not like to give a financial approval without Childers: but as far as *I* see, it is good in itself & not merely as an expedient. For the present, I think you need hardly read, certainly not dwell upon, my other letters to you herewith.

1373. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 2]

Foreign Office. Aug 1/84.

Northbrook came to me, and suggested two alternatives. I urged him to see you, and strongly supported the vote of credit idea which was his 2d.

I am glad that this is your view.

1374. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

No 4 Secret. 10, Downing Street. Aug. 1. 84.

At the date of my No 3, I had just received from Northbrook, together with his wise suggestion, the acceptable tidings that Hartington would be quite *satisfied* with a moderate Vote of credit.

But since I heard that he has laid out to Childers his plan. It involves

¹ Granville to Gladstone [1 Aug.], on an application from Lord Huntly for a colonial appointment, Add. MS. 44177, fo. 3, not printed.

² i.e. to overcome cabinet division; see Gladstone's note of cabinet decision, 2 Aug., to propose a vote for a relief expedition 'if necessary' and to make certain preparations, Add. MS. 44645, fo. 161; and mem. of argument and plan for vote of credit, 2 Aug., Add. MS. 44768, fo. 91; and 5 Aug., *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxci. 1757-94.

actual & immediate operations on the Nile to Dongola with a chain of measures including the embodying of certain Militia Regiments at home.

To this I believe a large majority of the Cabinet would be opposed.

I do not see that it sets aside Northbrook's suggestion. But this being so, progress is reversed or slackened & I send you back the notes which I had hoped were out of date.

1375. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

No 5 Secret. 10, Downing Street. Aug 1. 84. 7.40 Pm.

One consolatory word. Northbrook sticks to his text. He will however see Hartington tomorrow morning to make sure. He thinks H. spoke to C[hancellor] of E[xchequer] *sub hypothesi*. Good night.

1376. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

C.H.T. Au 3. 84.

Reflecting on what passed between Northcote & me yesterday after my statement, I think it possible that he did not intend any thing so precipitate as to ask me to name a day for submitting our intentions in full, which was the thing that I declined.¹

Is it possible that Northbrook would tomorrow give us his assent.²

It seems to me that it might be useful if I were tomorrow to say something like what I have put down within, provided I could add the general purpose of the mission (i.e. to consider & advise us what counsel if any we should offer to the Egyptian Govt. in its difficult circumstances) and Northbrook's having undertaken it.³

My own opinion is that if he goes we shall have simply to follow his advice,⁴ unless it be palpably of a very different character in point of wisdom from what all will expect from him.

Please to consider these matters.

I shall be out tomorrow forenoon, as I sit to Millais.

¹ For Gladstone's statement, 2 Aug., on the failure and dispersal of the Egyptian financial conference that day, and Northcote's pressure for further information, before parliament separated, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxc. 1519-27.

² To go to Cairo as special commissioner to report; proposed by Granville in the cabinet, 2 Aug., and acceptance announced in that of 5 Aug., Add. MS. 44645, fos. 162, 164; see also Gladstone to Northbrook, 4 Aug., Add. MS. 44547, fo. 91.

³ Gladstone's announcement in these terms, 5 Aug., checked further conservative pressure for information, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxc. 1753.

⁴ For rejection of Northbrook's advice, see p. 287, n. 4, nos. 1486, 1487, 1511, and p. 300, n. 3.

1377. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 8]
Private. Foreign Office. Aug 6/84.

Nothing I should like better than to see a man of such eminence, and so sound a liberal as Collier¹ in our house.

I should feel sure of getting the same cordial support as I did from Cranworth, even after he had been passed over by Palmerston.

I pressed the latter much to make Penzance a Peer on the ground of the useful support he would give to us. But for the present, I can only remember some good speeches of his in favour of Cairns.

1378. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
10, Downing Street. Aug 8. 84.

1. After Egypt, is there any F.O. matter to notice in the Speech except Mexico?² And what terms would you suggest for this. Query as to Afghan frontier, & (again) in what terms?³

Conformably to precedent in such cases, the Speech should be short

2. I have asked for a Council at Osborne on Monday. I am afraid it might not suit you to go?

3. In any case I should like a conversation with you, more leisurely than our meetings sometimes are, on

a. a *sprinkling* of Peers

b. Art honours⁴

c. The general outlook.

1379. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*⁵ [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
10, Downing Street. Aug 9. 84.

I send my draft of a Queen's Speech for your perusal before the Cabinet Northbrook has seen the Egyptian Paragraphs

I can hardly go to Osborne on Monday unless the matter of the Queen's letter⁶ is settled.

¹ Created Baron Monkswell; see Collier to Wolverton, 14 Aug., saying that he would accept a peerage and vote liberal, Add. MS. 44487, fo. 164.

² In the Queen's Speech, 14 Aug., closing the session; announced simply the resumption of diplomatic relations (suspended since the murder of the Emperor Maximilian, June 1867) and the signature of a preliminary agreement for the negotiation of a new commercial treaty.

³ For text settled in the cabinet, 9 Aug. (Add. MS. 44645, fo. 176), see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcii. 652-4; Afghan frontier not mentioned.

⁴ For peerages given in Oct., see p. 278, n. 3; no 'art honours' were awarded.

⁵ Granville to Gladstone, 9 Aug., asking him to hold the cabinet that day at Carlton House Terrace, Add. MS. 44177, fo. 11, not printed.

⁶ To Gladstone, 8 Aug., which he considered impugned his honour, since it regretted his not keeping his promise to restrain Chamberlain, who had made another objectionable speech at Birmingham, 4 Aug.; see the Queen's conciliatory explanation, 10 Aug., Guedalla, ii. 293-6.

1380. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 12]
Osborne. Aug 12/84.

I never knew the Queen more civil.

Ponsonby thinks your letter,¹ and a little sting at the end of a note of mine,² have usefully cleared the air.

She only told me that she had written a complaining letter to you, and had rec[eive]d a very nice letter in return.

She said in a very natural way, that she thought it would be too hard to bring you down before the debate.

She was not equally considerate with Northbrook whom she did not see yesterday, he being here but would see him some later day.

[P.S.] I have not seen the Queen since she rec[eive]d your last letter,³ but it cannot but do good.

1381. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
Private. Hawarden Castle. Aug. 13. 84.

This is the first copy of the Memorandum⁴ which I think of sending to the Queen. It is undoubtedly 'a measure' and I am anxious that it should first be well thought over. I really believe that her interest, not hers personally but the monarchical interest, is at this juncture the same as ours.

Many thanks for your Memorandum from Osborne. I am sorry about Northbrook.

There was a point of interest raised in the last letters between H.M. and me, as to the title of the Prime Minister to interfere with his colleagues. Mine was the low view. She ought to know better than I do, but I doubt whether she has many facts to give me.

I hope you found Lady Georgiana suffering less.

Besides having come northwards, we find that the air has cooled here.

The harvest did not show great bulk of straw as I came down the line but magnificent colour.

1382. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 14]
Foreign Office. Aug 13/84.

I cannot get quite rid of my gout, but hope to go down to Walmer this

¹ To the Queen, 9 Aug., Guedalla, ii. 294-5.

² Not traced; but cf. the Queen to Granville, 15 July, on Chamberlain's being 'most dangerous' in the cabinet and Gladstone 'listening to him more than to any other'; and, 29 July, on the same subject, P.R.O. 30/29/31.

³ 11 Aug., Guedalla, ii. 296; *Letters*, iii. 527-8.

⁴ See mem. for the Queen *The Franchise Bill and the present Situation*, secret, finally dated 19 Aug., Add. MS. 44768, fo. 93; summed up, Morley, iii. 129.

evening. The Queen did not allude to politics again—& said nothing about the Albany child.¹

The Duke of Wellington is dead—this gives you a 3d garter, and the Ld Lieutenancy of Middlesex. I suppose it would be a good thing, to ask Strafford whether he would like it for himself or for Enfield.²

Dufferin accepts³ & begs me to mention his gratitude—Ripon approves of his successor, but begs again for secrecy.

1383. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 16]

Private.

Walmer Castle. Aug 15/84.

Many thanks for your note & it's enclosures.

Even coming from you, the ability of the latter seems very remarkable.

I am not sure that I am as certain as you, of the result to the H. of Lords, of their second rejection of the bill⁴—supposing it to be followed by their turning us out.

They will come in[,] introduce a bill containing the reduction of the Franchise, coupled with a redistribution plan which, it is very likely, will not be satisfactory to the liberal party, but which they will amend under pressure—Salisbury & R. Churchill are capable of going very far in this direction.

If they do this, will not the question fall—and will not Salisbury be able to say, that the Lords were right, & knew better than we did the feelings of the country—

Is it quite true that all the cries taken up seriously for a time by the liberal party have been successful—Peace, nonintervention, economy, abolition of the Bishops in the House of Lords etc. etc.

There is a strong conservative stratum in the country, & a readiness to react against extreme language and action.

Whether such arguments are good or worthless, they will be used with the Queen—& will wear out the impression which your memorandum might make upon her at first—She will interpret the declaration in the last paragraph, differently from what you mean it. She will fancy that you can make all sorts of sacrifices compatible with your honour.

¹ See p. 183, n. 7, for the cabinet's decision against making any immediate provision for the Duke of Albany's child.

² For two K.G.s vacant in 1883, one of which was filled, see nos. 1077, 1096, p. 93, n. 4, p. 96, n. 1, and p. 98, n. 1; another K.G. was vacant by the death of the Duke of Buccleuch, 16 Apr. 1884; Derby succeeded the Duke of Marlborough, as from 15 July, Kimberley the Duke of Buccleuch, 9 July 1885, and the Earl of Sefton the Duke of Wellington, 9 July 1885; see also Gladstone to Enfield, 24 Aug., offering the lord lieutenancy of Middlesex which he accepted, Add. MS. 44547, fo. 100.

³ i.e. the viceroyalty of India, formally offered by the Queen, not the prime minister; see Gladstone to Dufferin, 18 Aug., on his pleasure and offering congratulations, Add. MS. 44547, fo. 97.

⁴ i.e. the new franchise bill.

On the whole I should not in your place fire off my pistol at once.

I should reserve it for an answer to an attack from her upon you, or for the occasion when you require something from her.

You might perhaps at Balmoral, say in conversation the pith of it. Some of it would please her.

1384. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*¹ [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 23]

Private.

Walmer Castle. Aug 15/84.

There is no immediate hurry, but we must soon be provided with a successor to Dufferin.²

He must belong to Diplomacy, or be an outsider.

If the latter I can only think of.

Ripon (unlikely to accept, but) not out of the question—His Pro Mahommedan policy ought to have good effect—& he is a very persistent man—with wealth.

Carlingford (he could only be quietly sounded).

E. Fitzmaurice (not a bad man for the place[,]) he would be a great loss in the Office, but probably a better man could be found for the H of Commons)

Thornton, or still better Ford.

Morier the cleverest man in the Corps, if not made Ambassador, and especially if a junior was put over his head, would be frantic, but he is quite unfit for either Constantinople or St Petersburg.

Ford would only go over the heads of West[,] Stuart, Corbett & Morier. He has been extraordinarily successful in settling questions.

1385. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

1. Secret.

Hawarden Castle. Aug 16. 84.

I thank you very much for your letter about the Memorandum.³ I admit that the future of the Franchise question is a mist, into which it is hard to see. It is not surprising, then, if to different eyes it presents different hues.

I hold then to my opinion that Reform of the House of Lords will after another rejection of the Franchise Bill probably be incorporated in the Liberal Creed. This proposition branches out into several points.

1. My statement that the articles of this Creed take effect nationally is limited to legislation, and to national subject matter. You quote on the

¹ No. 1384 printed, with small omissions, Fitzmaurice, ii. 364-5.

² As ambassador at Constantinople; see nos. 1386, 1390, 1408, 1410, 1416, 1428, and Granville's circular consulting his colleagues, 2 Nov., P.R.O. 30/29/144; Thornton appointed and replaced by Morier at St. Petersburg.

³ See no. 1383; see also nos. 1388, 1392, 1394.

other side only exclusion of Bishops from the House of Lords. On this I have to remark that it has *never* until this year been supported by the rank and file generally. And further, that it will come after a while: though it may merge in the general question of Lords' Reform.

2. It may perhaps surprise you to hear that R. Grosvenor, going beyond me, thinks that Lords Reform is already & by this *one* rejection incorporated in the Liberal creed—I do not go so far.

3. I do not think with you that a Salisbury Government would lay the question to rest by a Franchise and Redistribution Bill. Salisbury hates the Franchise. I do not believe there are ten Tories in the Commons who desire it. How are *they* to deal with the Irish part of it? When they come in, they will ask for time. And if they can 'square' the Irish, they will get it.

4. I believe that a Dissolution, after a second rejection, will put us out without giving them a majority, will postpone the subject, and will thereby more & more weld together the two articles of Reform in Lords & in Commons.

5. Having these views, & expecting it as most likely that we shall be put out & I shall disappear before the end of the year, & having the prospect of leaving this awkward legacy behind me, I feel powerfully urged towards making a representation to the Queen that only by having the Franchise Bill this Autumn can serious mischief be avoided.

6. And if so, I cannot doubt that it is better to make the representation before any controversy revives, and before I myself speak in Midlothian. My experience is that an adverse written argument makes no impression whatever on the Queen, but goes 'like water off a duck's back'. In this paper, I take common ground with her, and *pose* as the defender of the hereditary principle, which in truth I am very loath to abandon.

7. As to the mere question of our existence as a Ministry, it is arguable either way. Most likely, I think, passing the Franchise Bill would get rid of our best security for a majority on other subjects.

I do not feel at all confident that these considerations will turn the balance of your mind; but I think you will admit that from my point of view there is a good deal in them. I believe it is my singular fate to love the antiquities of our constitution much more even than the average Tory of the present day: though I cannot agree that the liberties of the people ought to be sacrificed to an abuse of them.

I shall carefully review the detail, especially the closing passage.

1386. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*¹ [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

2. Private. Hawarden Castle. Aug 16. 84.

1. I hope the sea-air will have enabled you by this time to expel the gout, which has been so unmannerly and perverse.

¹ No. 1386 printed, Fitzmaurice, ii. 365, without the first and last paragraphs.

2. The Queen complains naturally enough of the publication of Duffrin when we had stopped her mouth.¹

3. As to the successor.² I am for various reasons against Ripon for Constantinople. And against E. Fitzmaurice, to whom however in many points I attach great value in the H. of Commons. Carlingford, if he has the other qualities, has the advantage of a very equitable mind. I think you offered it to him on the formation of the Govt? (or is this my old age again.)³ But this is no reason against a repetition. It is one thing from a new Govt. & another from an old one. If however it comes to be offered, I should like it so done as, if possible, to insure acceptance.

3 [*sic*]. I send you a note which I have written to Pouncefote,⁴ and which with the accompanying Draft explains itself. Please to forward it or not, according to the form of communication you prefer.

4. We go northward on the 27th. I believe I am to have a night or a dinner at Balmoral.

1387. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 26]

Walmer Castle. Aug 16/84.

A disagreeable note from Nigra⁵ just come in.

The Austrian Gov are about to instruct their representative to move at the Egyptian Sanitary Board, 4 resolutions (of course those which Bismarck sent to Munster, and which the latter did not bring forward).⁶

They will probably be supported by everybody, but some are unacceptable by us.

I will send them as soon as I can get a commentary which alone will make them intelligible to you—& show the practical & legal aspects of the question.

1388. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*⁷ [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 31]

Walmer Castle. [18 August 1884].

I have nothing to add to what I said to you about the Memorandum,⁸ and you have the best of me as to the probabilities of Salisbury passing a

¹ Not traced.

² See no. 1384.

³ See nos. 191, 192.

⁴ 16 Aug., protesting that (a) the draft of instructions to Northbrook, 12 Aug., with the Queen's commission to report and advise on Egypt was passed, as approved, under Pouncefote's initials only and (b) No. 379, 15 Aug., to Egerton reaffirming withdrawal from the eastern Sudan went beyond the cabinet's decision, Add. MS. 44547, fos. 95-96, F.O. 78/3696, F.O. 78/3664; see also nos. 1389, 1392.

⁵ Not traced, presumably on the sanitary question.

⁶ See no. 1365, and p. 219, n. 4.

⁷ Granville to Gladstone, 17 Aug., asking about the vacant K.G.s and the Lancashire bench of magistrates (see p. 226, n. 2), Add. MS. 44177, fo. 28, not printed.

⁸ i.e. on parliamentary reform, see nos. 138/3, 1392, 1394, and 1397.

liberal distribution bill. Please pay me off for my criticisms, by advising whether I should send the enclosed to Herbert Bismarck, whether there is anything *infra dig* in it, & how you would alter it if it is to go.¹

Ampthill seemed to know little about the matter—but he is probably right as to the row being very much an electioneering matter.

It is possible that Heligoland may be at the bottom of it. But neither Munster nor Bismarck ever spoke about it, after the first opening which I told you Munster had made.²

1389. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 29]

Walmer Castle. Aug 18/84.

I have not forwarded the letter to Pauncefote,³ as he was not to blame.

The two drafts were from Northbrook's notes—I saw no objection, and asked Pauncefote to have them drafted, but not sent till you had seen them.

It would have been a loss of time to send them into the country for my G⁴—I ought to have sent you an explanatory note. I have adopted your alteration.⁵

It is clear I think that Gordon has our messages & does not choose to answer them. Our position is not satisfactory.

1390. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 33]

Walmer Castle. [18 August 1884].

My gout is nearly gone. I am not given to seafaring, but I never enjoyed anything more, after the heat & worry of London than a 3 hours' trip in a sailing vessel, with a fresh breeze, & a perfectly smooth sea.

It is very wrong to have announced Dufferin's appointment. I did not see it. It will create many difficulties. The point of official honour seems to be singularly blunted.

I do not see how to offer Carlingford the Embassy in a way to ensure acceptance. You are quite right about his having previously refused it, but if I remember right, he was then by way of being unequal to any official work.⁶

¹ Sent, 20 Aug., appealing for a clearing up of Anglo-German misunderstanding, P.R.O. 30/29/207, *Die Grosse Politik*, iv, No. 751; see below no. 1394.

² See nos. 1559, 1560, 1567.

³ See p. 229, n. 4.

⁴ His initial on the fold at the foot of the back to indicate approval.

⁵ In the draft to Egerton; changing a wish that native chiefs might be recognized as independent rulers into a hope that this would not be excluded.

⁶ See nos. 191, 192.

1391. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Hawarden Castle. Aug 18. 84.

Doubtless you will have read Cowper's letter in the Times of today:¹ not a very wise one, well meant I do not question, but capable of doing mischief.

I think the idea quite visionary. The Tories would not make such an engagement. Could they keep it if they did? *Nemo tenetur ad impossibile*, & in like manner *nemo tenetur ad absurdum*.

If they would take it, I think we ought to do it.

But quite apart from the chance of their taking, I think that to obviate mischief I ought in Midlothian² to say we would not refuse even this, if it could be made the basis of an accommodation.

It is that the Lords are to *pass* the Franchise Bill on our *bringing in* a Redistribution Bill. They are to accept our Bill as a sufficient sign of our intention, and of the probable vote of the House of Commons.

I think we may prevent mischief which otherwise is likely.

1392. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*³

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Hawarden Castle. Aug 19. 84.

1. I can take no exception whatever to your proposed letter to Bismarck though I imagine a very captious critic might not like your approaching one, with whom you deal on equal terms, through his son. I have written in pencil one word on the first page, and three nearly [at] the close, which will sufficiently explain themselves to enable you to judge whether they ought or ought not to be inserted.⁴

2. After much consideration, & without any doubt I send my memorandum to the Queen with corrections which I think you would approve.⁵ It cannot, I believe, do harm, & there may be a faint hope of good. In any case she will know what she ought to know, so far as I can tell her.

3. Would you like me to say in Midlothian³ a good word for German Colonies?⁶

¹ To the editor, arguing that the Tory peers would pass the franchise bill if the government introduced its re-distribution bill in the autumn, *The Times*, 18 Aug., p. 8d.

² Visit postponed from 1883, see p. 2, n. 3; for his speech at Edinburgh, 30 Aug., on the Lords and franchise reform, see *The Times*, 1 Sept., pp. 7a-8b; see also no. 1409.

³ Granville to Gladstone, 19 Aug., on the danger of merely telling Gordon of military preparations, Add. MS. 44177, fo. 35; Gladstone to Granville, tel. 20 Aug., replying, P.R.O. 30/29/128, not printed.

⁴ Gladstone's amendments are not on the draft to Herbert Bismarck (see p. 230, n. 1) in P.R.O. 30/29/207.

⁵ See Guedalla, ii. 297; and above nos. 1381, 1383, 1385, 1388.

⁶ See no. 1395.

4. I think that when drafts are yours without initials, some note might be put on them to say so?¹

5. Pray sound Sefton if you think proper about Magistrates: and offer your recommendations when they are ripe.²

6. You may remember my hearty concurrence in your advice to the Prince about the late Division in the House of Lords.³ It seems to me not so absolutely clear that it ought to be repeated in November.

7. I am afraid the balance of evidence about Gordon is as you describe it; though one ought to hope he may prove more fair, and more rational, than it implies.

[P.S.] 8. I send you an application⁴ from Lucy Cavendish. Could you give such an instruction⁵ to West as you gave for the Propagandâ? Briggs is a first-rate Colonist.

1393. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 38]

Walmer Castle. Aug 20/84.

I agree about Cowper's letter⁶—It is well meant, it is foolish, but it increases our difficulties, and will probably diminish our minority in the Lords.

I also agree that the Tories will not, & probably cannot accept such a compromise as your construction of Cowper's proposal.

Salisbury's object is dissolution with present constituency. What could be the inducement to him to forego his purpose, by the production of a redistribution bill, which of course he would declare gave the worst possible frame for the new votes.

I agree that it would give you a great advantage, to be the acceptor of a chance of a compromise.

The question is whether it would be better to say so in Midlothian, or reserve it for the meeting of Parl.

If you define it, they will have 2 months to pull it to pieces.

If you leave it open, they will put their own construction on the offer, and accuse you of bad faith when the moment comes.

But, I for one should quite agree with whatever you decide.

Our prospects are not bright at home or abroad.

Our strength is in your great hold on the country, while I doubt Salisbury & Churchill having any—

¹ See p. 229, n. 4, and no. 1389.

² See p. 229, n. 7; Granville to Sefton, 23 Aug., mentioning him for the vacant K.G. and hinting that too few liberals were named J.P.s in Lancashire of which Sefton was lord lieutenant; and reply with further correspondence to 5 Sept., P.R.O. 30/29/153.

³ The Prince of Wales had wished to vote in the Lords for the government on the franchise bill, Lord Crewe, *Lord Rosebery* (1931) i. 204.

⁴ Not traced.

⁵ Not traced.

⁶ See no. 1391.

1394. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 42]

Walmer Castle. Aug 20/84.

Thanks for suggestions. I have sent the letter to H. Bismarck,¹ with some omissions, and alterations which do not affect the general character of it.

It could have been of more use, if of any, had I thought of it before the meeting at Varzin.

I shall be very curious to hear the answer of the Queen,² as showing her own views, and also as some indication of what is told her.

1395. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 44]

Walmer. Aug 21/84.

I forgot to answer your question about saying something in Midlothian about German Colonization³—I think it would do with 'favorable to the general principle of German Colonization[']—but pointing out that there are many complicated details which require discussion but can all be satisfactorily settled.

Please include Derby & me as entertaining your views—lest it should seem that we had been of a different opinion.

1396. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Hawarden Castle. Aug 22. 84.

I have agreed to Hartington.⁴ His first letter⁵ spoke to me of a small force, which I had no means of interpreting. I gather now that he means a few hundreds. I have pressed on him that Harcourt, at any rate, should be communicated with on the subject & by him.

I am very glad that your assent was limited to this minor effort, for which, viewing the character & position of the Mudir of Dongola & his offer about Gordon there is much to be said.

¹ See p. 230, n. 1, and no. 1392.

² i.e. to Gladstone's mem. on parliamentary reform, see nos. 1381, 1383, 1385, 1388, 1392.

³ See no. 1392.

⁴ See from Hartington, 21 Aug., saying that unless Gladstone agreed to the army's advance from Wadi Halfa to Dongola he could not be responsible for military policy in the Sudan; and second letter, 21 Aug., asking for a limited force to be sent forward next day, Gladstone alone being opposed; and reply, tel. 22 Aug., sanctioning, Add. MS. 44147, fols. 105, 111, 121; cf. Hartington to Granville, 22 Aug., and reply, 23 Aug., P.R.O. 30/29/134.

⁵ i.e. of 18 Aug., asking for immediate authorization to the advance of a small force from Wadi Halfa to Dongola, Add. MS. 44147, fo. 99; copy of Gladstone's reply, 19 Aug., P.R.O. 30/29/128.

Paget's report of Kalnoky's conversation, in his Aug. 10, No 223, is I think very unsatisfactory.¹ You are never a grumbler: were I Foreign Minister I should on this occasion feel inclined to grumble a little. He expects further proposals from us: is that reasonable, after we have tried, as he must see, to put our plans into every form that offered a chance of acceptance. He says the Powers are not responsible. This then means that with regard to the Turkish Empire the Powers have rights but no duties. He cannot fail to see that the utter failure of the Conference is a blow to the collective authority of the Powers and in a certain sense to European order and civilisation.

I will be careful as to any thing I say on German Colonisation.

Northbrook is to come over to Dalmeny when I am there.

I am sorry to see accounts that you are still suffering though you do not yourself mention it.

1397. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A and
Add. MS. 44547, fo. 100]

Secret.

Hawarden Castle. Aug. 24. 84.

1. Relatively to the 'Secret' paper, I send you two notes from Ponsonby, and copy of my reply, for perusal.²

2. On Wednesday morning we go to Dalmeny. I do not feel very confident of my physical ability for the duties there, let alone other difficulties.

3. I inclose a note from Dodson for your perusal.³ If joined to Constantinople, it offers a possibility of manipulations which are on some grounds to be desired.

4. I notice Vincent's question about a payment of 300 m[ilia] to the Egyptian Bank. This seems to me a matter of importance. It is simply an Egyptian payment, quite distinct from the Rothschild loan, with⁴ which we had to do. If we advise on this item, shall we not have to give specific advice on every other item, & will not this be injurious? It raises the question what is to be our general attitude with regard to the Egyptian insolvency. I understand the matter so: the Egyptian Government (limiting its expences as far as possible) is to decide for itself about non-payment, acting for the best under the circ[umstance]s. And then as I understand

¹ Reported Kalnoky's regret at the failure of the Egyptian financial conference and his expectation of fresh British proposals, F.O. 7/1064.

² From Ponsonby, 23 Aug., thanking for the mem. on parliamentary reform, Guedalla ii. 297; second letter possibly asking for a shorter version, not traced; but see from Ponsonby, 31 Aug., on the Queen's appreciation of it, *ibid.* 298; for abridged version dated and sent to Ponsonby, 25 Aug., see Add. MS. 44768, fo. 109.

³ To Gladstone, 19 Aug., recording a conversation of Apr. 1884, in which he said he wished to go to the Lords, Add. MS. 44252, fo. 234; see nos. 1400, 1404, 1405, 1408, 1410.

⁴ The rest of the letter is taken from Gladstone's copy.

we are to decline either to condemn or to interfere, and thus far are to give them moral support. This is my construction of our intentions, but I may be wrong. I certainly would not advise them to pay the 11 per Cent. At any rate we seem now to have reached the point at which we must take our line.

Probably you will consult with Northbrook.

1398. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[F.O. 78/3658]

Aug. 26 [1884].

Please to consider whether you can, prudently, sharpen the paragraph A in your draft to Musurus¹ rec[eive]d this day, somewhat after the following fashion. (If you disapprove I am content that it should go as it stands.)

'H.M.G. conceive that the Imperial Govt. will not fail to accept these assurances, as being given from that sincere desire to evacuate Egypt at as early a period as possible, which they have throughout entertained and expressed notwithstanding the declarations and efforts which, as the S[ublime] P[orte] may be aware, have been made by many in support of an unlimited or indefinite prolongation of the present military occupation.'

1399. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

[26 August 1884.]

The Pope has sent a book—through the Cardinal Jacobini—to the Queen.

I shall answer to the Cardinal—this is according to precedent.

Do you see any objection to a book being sent in the same way to the Pope?²

1400. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44177, fo. 46]

Osborne. Aug 26/84.

We were 15 hours coming here by sea from Walmer, and met the only gale which has blown during the last month. The results were disastrous to me, and to the Lady's maid.

¹ i.e. of 25 Aug., acknowledging Turkish rejection of the Anglo-French agreement, 15/16 June, and request for a term to be set to the British occupation; the alteration was adopted, F.O. 78/3658.

² Gladstone returned the letter writing on it his reply: 'I see no objection. Probably he will not be able to read it, W.E.G. Au. 26.'; cf. Ponsonby to Granville, 21 Aug., that the Queen having accepted the works of St. Thomas Aquinas had asked whether she should send a book; and 3 Sept., that her own *More Leaves* would be sent; and 4 Sept., on *The Life of the Prince Consort* being inadvisable since it contained passages on papal aggression, P.R.O. 30/29/44.

The Queen civil but has not touched on your memorandum, or on politics.

The Crown Princess in constant tears for poor Ampthill.¹ She told me he was her only intimate friend in Germany—Says that he cannot be replaced, but that the choice of a successor² is most important.

She would prefer Acton but I told her that it would be for me impossible, & [I] believed almost equally for a person unconnected with him to put him over the heads of the whole Corps Diplomatique.

That it was quite on the cards that he might be as good as Ampthill—but that he had never done any official business and had neglected to distinguish himself in Parliament.

She would like Layard & Hudson, but admitted the objections.

She doubted whether Elliot had sufficient grasp but his high character, and the respect felt for him at Vienna would be of use—She supposed we could not move Lyons from Paris.

She does not know Thornton.

She thinks it essential that the man should have social position & be a liberal. After Bismarck's death, the choice would be comparatively unimportant.

I have no fears for Midlothian, but my confidence does not arise from my ignoring the difficulty of the task.

You did not send me Dodson's letter.

I have sent an extract of your letter concerning Vincent's mem. to Northbrook.

I have [not] seen my way, nor do I see it.

To leave the initiative to the Egyptian Govt would be convenient, but is it practicable.

I should think as regards the Egyptian Bank, that Nubar should offer the same arrangement as that which Rothschild agrees to—and to leave the bank to their remedy, if they decline—

[P.S.] We go back to Walmer tomorrow.

1401. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Rail to the North. Aug 27. 84.

This is indeed a very sad and sudden death. I had no idea that he was gravely ill and had fallen into a vicious habit of regarding diplomatic health as varying conveniently with the seasons and always hitting the proper holiday. This now comes up in my mind with all the force of self-reproach. What a compliment it was to him to be the only *man* (almost) decently spoken of in that curious book on Berlin society.

¹ Died, 25 Aug.

² Sir E. Malet, appointed 20 Sept.; see nos. 1407, 1410, 1412, 1413.

There was not, to my knowledge at least, any other man like him, and I do not suppose you will find any one who will fit with such nicety into the angles of Bismarck's character. That, & the aspect of the man towards the Royalties. The names you recite seem to me a wilderness yielding nothing. Hudson e.g. is old & would be hated by B[ismarck] as a stout Liberal? Has Layard the particular gifts? Elliot is a gentleman, but when he was at Constantinople I was astonished at his ignorance. I only know Murray (Sir C.) superficially: a young old man, who seems to have some points for the place. Is Malet a *friend* of Bismarck? You have probably looked outside also. And I suppose you will take time.

I sympathise with your suffering at sea. We go to Invercauld from Dalmeny this day week. I shall certainly be glad when it is all over. I have to explain to the people at the stations going along that I do not make speeches to them as our desire is that the movement should be spontaneous.

1402. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Dalmeny Park, Edinburgh. Aug. 28. 84.

Last night and this morning Northbrook and I have conversed pretty largely on Egyptian affairs, and with great accord.¹ I have just in concert with him sent you a telegram suggesting an arrangement for getting Lyons to meet him when he goes to you at Walmer on his way² & saying that the reason would be stated by letter.

We both think that unless an understanding can be had with France there is little or no chance of any understanding at all.

When one looks at the Egyptian question and all the consequences direct & indirect which it involves, one is struck by the trumpery nature of the difficulty which is the ostensible cause of the variance between us.³ I will not say of the failure of the Conference because I think Bismarck wished it to fail.

On the one hand the French proposed a plan which however bad it was as a working scheme at any rate recognised the principle that the Law of Liquidation was to be altered, the surpluses to be appropriated, and, if the Egyptian revenues finally were adjudged insufficient for the purposes of Government, the dividends might be touched.

On the other hand we proposed a plan, which was to operate during three years, which limited the action on the dividends to an half per Cent, & which did not absolutely cancel that half per Cent but simply postponed it.

If the French are *disposed* to agree with us, we might build a bridge for them by supplying an additional article in this proposal, to this effect that

¹ In view of his mission to Egypt.

² See nos. 1406, 1408.

³ See nos. 1358, 1359, 1360.

any unpaid portions of this half per Cent, or the whole of it if unpaid, should be a charge upon any future surpluses of Egyptian revenue.¹

This is a concession of which you may remember that the Cabinet approved *on its merits*, but we had made so many efforts to approximate, with such sorry results, that it was held unwise gratuitously to offer another.

But the question remains, has the French Govt an inclination to agree with us, or is it, from Parliamentary or other considerations, glad to have recovered its liberty of action in the matter of Egypt.

Will its difficulties in Madagascar (if any) and in China tend to make it more, or to make it less, inclined to a settlement with us in Egypt?

Northbrook attaches evidently a great importance to this aspect of the case and we both suppose that if England & France were once agreed the others must come in, and without a Conference.

You lately signified to me your fear that the Anglo-French agreement had operated, in France, adversely to the financial plan. I know not whether you have seen reason to adhere to this view. It must one would think be a great object to them to secure neutralisation as the eventual result of these troubles.

But upon the whole we concluded that it was important to us to know the mind of France: that a conversation with you & Lyons would at any rate be the best available means of enabling Northbrook to estimate his position in this respect; and it also occurred to me that Lyons from his position in France might possibly be in a condition (or you might find some other means) to open a channel such in kind as you tried to open the other day in Germany through Herbert Bismarck by your letter to him.²

And now I have explained my telegram, & remain . . .

[P.S.] All I have heard & all I have seen bearing upon the Franchise, since I left home yesterday morning is decidedly satisfactory.

1403. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 52]

Secret.

Walmer Castle. Aug 28 [1884].

The Queen touched very lightly on politics, spoke rather doubtfully about Wolsley's [*sic*] appointment.³ But hoped that as he was to go he would not be interfered with. I said I hoped this would be the case with regard to any military operations, if decided upon, but that the political direction would remain with Northbrook, and H.Ms Gov.

¹ See p. 216, n. 5, and p. 217, n. 1; cf. p. 258, n. 2.

² See p. 230, n. 1, and nos. 1392, 1394.

³ i.e. to command the expedition for the relief of Gordon; proposed by Hartington with Granville's and Northbrook's support, 22 Aug., and accepted by Gladstone, Add. MS. 44147, fos. 121, 134; see p. 220, n. 3, p. 221, n. 1, and no. 1371.

Ponsonby arrived the evening before our departure. He showed me your abstract,¹ which reminded me of Pascals.

He had suggested sending it to the Duke of Richmond, but the Queen objected that Richmond was Cairns (which I believe to be true) and would never take any line without his lead. She is also rather unwilling to pass over the recognized leaders.

Ponsonby had met Goschen after his visit to Osborne. He was anxious for a compromise. He said however that the Queen had repeated to him arguments, which had been used to her, which were very weighty in Goschen's opinion—

The Queen had not said from whom they came. (Ponsonby said they were exactly your's).

After some discussion Ponsonby & I agreed that he should advise the Queen to see Richmond as a country neighbour in Scotland, mention these arguments in the same way she had done to Goschen, and ask what he & Cairns thought of them.

Ponsonby said that he had frequently been sent to Rowton by the Queen to ask his opinion—that the Conservative leaders were sore about it—that Rowton did not like it, and only said, 'All I can do is to ask Salisbury'.

1404. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 59]
[28 (?) August 1884.]

I have got Dodson's letter to you.²

I am not sure that I see how it bears upon Constantinople.

I do not think that he could be made a Peer, retaining his office—It would shut out Rosebery.

Dodson would have little weight in the Lords as a Cabinet Minister.

Carlingford is not likely to accept Constantinople & on reflection there are objections to the loss of an Irishman in the Cabinet, and of one who defends Spencer so well in the Lords.

Dodson unofficially in the Lords, would be a great help.

1405. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Dalmeny Park, Edinburgh. Aug 29. 84.

I ought to have thrown a little more light on the Dodson letter. My meaning was this: that if we could vacate a Peer seat in the Cabinet, here was the power of vacating a Commons seat, and two might be easier to deal with than one.

¹ i.e. of his long mem. on parliamentary reform, see p. 234, n. 2.

² See p. 234, n. 3, and no. 1400.

As regards Dufferin's of the 23rd.,¹ Northbrook's programme offers a basis for dealing with the Sultan as the item of a fixed or maximum time entered into it. Query whether if our overtures are rejected we can intimate any intention of dispensing with the trouble of renewing them? I am not much for a threat of this kind.

3. The Queen sent me a ciphered telegram last night, in a nice tone, recommending moderation.² But my danger is being choked with moderation & drowned in moderation.

4. I think the Memorandum³ has *taken* somewhat in the manner which I hoped.

1406. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 61]

Walmer. Aug 30/84.

I have not yet got the papers with your speech.⁴

The [meeting with] Lyons was a brilliant idea⁵—

His knowledge of the Fr Gov, and his good judgment will be most useful, & I shall like to have his opinion about Berlin. He comes today & stays till Monday.

I doubt however his encouraging us to make overtures to Ferry.

He [Ferry] fears the Chambers, and he is (as you & I have always said) on velvet, looking on our difficulties.

Besides if it be true that Bismarck upset the conference designedly partly because he wished to force us to follow his original advice, partly because he wished us to be on bad terms with the French, & partly because he objected to our having come to an agreement with the French, those causes will remain in operation.

Ferry is perfectly certain to consult Bismarck before taking a step.

I shall be quite delighted if Lyons takes another view.

1407. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 64]

Walmer Castle. Aug 31/84.

We are anxiously waiting for the Observer.

I send you an extract from the Standard Correspondent. He is Abel,

¹ To Granville, private, explaining that the sultan required that any arrangement arrived at with France may be given 'the force of law' because French and German hostility being known, the Egyptians were ready to take liberties, P.R.O. 30/29/191.

² In his speeches at Edinburgh because 'of the immense importance attached to every word which emanates from' him, Guedalla, ii. 297.

³ On parliamentary reform.

⁴ Of Sat. 30 Aug., at Edinburgh, on the Lords and franchise reform, see *The Times*, 1 Sept., pp. 7a-8b; Sat. evening papers carried a tel. summary.

⁵ See no. 1402.

who was the Times correspondent, and who was admitted by Munster to be in communication with the German F.O.

I also send you a letter from the Queen.¹

I have answered² by telling her that Lyons & I agree, that while the Diplomatic body acquiesced in Amphill's having passed over so many of their heads, because he was not only clever but had had great experience at Rome at Washington and at the F.O. and while they did the same with regard to men of European reputation such as Dufferin & Goschen they would consider it an insult to be passed over by men however cultivated, [who] had taken no opportunity of showing their talents for public business in Parliament or in office.

Lyons & I are rather in favour of Malet 1 & Thornton 2, if the latter knows German, which I am ascertaining.

Lyons knows Malet intimately, & has a high opinion of him—conduct—temper, & decidedly able above the average.

He was brought up at Francfort—did very well at Versailles, where he was much liked by Bismarck, who had been a friend of his mothers.

Northbrook suggests sending Carlingford at once to talk all matters over with Bismarck. If B is not inclined to be civil it might be awkward. What do you think.

1408. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 69]

Walmer Castle. Sep 1/84.

Northbrook gave us an interesting 6 hours yesterday.

He has given up the hopes of Turkey, and after hearing Lyons³ the idea of an overture to France at present—also the idea of inviting Blignières to go to Egypt, to assist him in the examination of the land tax. We agreed it would be better to use the French delegate on the spot.

He showed me a minute of Chamberlain,⁴ which you have probably seen, giving conversations he had with Churchill & Rothschild.

The latter saying that Bismarck is very angry, that he will defend the rights of the German Indemnity & bond holders that he will oppose illegal action on the part of the Egyptians, and give us an ultimate [*sic*] ratio, the Mandate of Europe to France, & in his opinion we should not like to face this.

A despatch also came in yesterday from Paget, which you have probably

¹ i.e. covering letter, 29 Aug., P.R.O. 30/29/31, to the crown princess to the Queen, 30 Aug., urging the appointment of either Lord Acton or Lord Arthur Russell to the Berlin embassy, copy in P.R.O. 30/29/44.

² 31 Aug., *Letters*, iii. 533-4.

³ Cf. no. 1402; Northbrook arrived in Cairo, 9 Sept.

⁴ Not traced. Chamberlain was pronouncedly hostile to the bondholders, see Northbrook to Granville, 5 Oct., P.R.O. 30/29/140.

not yet seen, giving Kalnoky's opinion that we must no longer reckon upon Bismarck's friendly support in Egypt.¹

I have no answer yet from Herbert Bismarck.² Derby comes today[.] I hope to concoct with him a good & soothing reply to Bismarck's last complaints about Angra Pequena.³ The last communication to the Cape from the Col. Office was unfortunate.

Northbrook, Lyons & I are strongly of opinion that the Col: Office should not immediately issue a proclamation as to the British limits of New Guinea, without further communication with Germany—unless we mean purposely to quarrel with Bismarck.⁴

Lyons & I persuaded Northbrook not unwilling, that if we are driven to illegal acts in Egyptian finance, it should be done as much as possible by the force of events, and not by decrees which the Khedive has no right to issue.

Northbrook has promised to do all he can to allay Wolsley's [*sic*] ardour for an expedition—the temptation is great for a military man.

He will also let me know as soon as he can form a judgment, whether Baring is or is not the best man at Cairo.

If by chance in the negative, it might be a solution for Constantinople—Baring would do well there—

How about Dodson for Egypt in that case. No presence, and the daughters do not look like Princesses—but he is very sensible, full of our views, & with experience of administration.

You must decide soon about Carlingford being sounded for the Embassy at Berlin.

I adhere to what I said in one of my last letters, rather against it.

I send you a letter from Acton. If you give up Carlingford, might I sound Goschen, D. of Bedford, & Malet. From Acton's account of Louis d'Arco's conversation (he is one of Bismarck's pets) all of them would be liked by Bismarck—& I feel sure by the Crown Princess, who in the way of information is invaluable to an Ambassador. If Goschen went, it must be as an ordinary Ambassador, though of course, he would be able to resign.

¹ In answer to Paget's question, Kalnoky, after his visit to Varzin, spoke of Bismarck's irritation over Angra Pequeña and over the exclusion of German proposals about sanitary regulations in the Suez Canal from the Egyptian financial conference (no. 1366); see from Paget, separate and secret, 24 Aug., F.O. 7/1064.

² i.e. to the letter of 20 Aug., see p. 230, n. 1, and no. 1394.

³ See historical *aide memoire* communicated by Baron von Plessen, 27 Aug., protesting against the Cape government's declaration that Angra Pequeña was British, F.O. 64/1103.

⁴ Derby asked Granville's concurrence in the proclamation of a protectorate, defining its limits, on the north coast of New Guinea (Britain having notified Germany of her intention) in answer to Germany's announcement of her interest in New Guinea; see Granville to Ampthill, No. 225c confidential, 9 Aug., and C.O. to F.O., 28 Aug., F.O. 64/1144.

My letter is more disconnected than usual.

[P.S.] My last word is *against* Northbrook's idea of sending any but the new Ambassador to pay a special visit to Bismarck.

1409. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

No 1.

Dalmeny. S. 2. 84.

To begin with No 1, always uppermost. I am mightily relieved, and more human, having shovelled out of my brain¹ a heap of 'perilous stuff' that was gathered in it. I believe that I have been faithful to the text of moderation for the *present* juncture *quoad* the House of Lords. In all this I was of course, as far as I could holding in my admirable audience, who were sufficiently cool about the 'hereditary principle'. In the monster speech of yesterday, pray look at what I said, in a few sentences, about Foreign Policy generally, leading up to what was meant to be a general acceptance, so far as they touch us, of Germany's colonising projects. Of one thing I can speak very positively—the enthusiasm, here and hereabouts, is certainly not lower, I think rather higher, than in 1880.

2. One more point only on my speeches. There was a very marked coldness about Gordon and our obligations to him. I tried in good faith, but could only raise a very little froth indeed upon the liquor.

3. My one point must be two. I must not omit to mention that the hold of my host upon Edinburgh and Midlothian opinion—and I have no reason to doubt the feeling goes far & wide through Scotland—is very strong indeed.

I write separately on other matters. I am to sleep at Balmoral on Monday.

1410. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

No 2.

Dalmeny. S. 2. 84.

1. In the matter of the Embassy at Berlin, you do not require to be told that as Foreign Minister you should be to a certain extent on your guard against me as First Lord.

2. If it is agreeable to your duty, but only then, I should be glad that the two Embassies should be placed at Carlingford's disposal,² making

¹ i.e. in Midlothian; for speech of 30 Aug., see p. 231, n. 2; for second speech, 1 Sept., on finance, foreign policy, and Ireland, see *The Times*, 2 Sept., p. 10a; he looked 'with satisfaction, sympathy and joy upon the extension of Germany in these desert places of the earth'.

² See Granville to Carlingford, 3 Sept., offering him either Berlin or Constantinople, and adding 'there is one consideration that cannot be set aside[,] the deterrent appearance of home political prospects', P.R.O. 30/29/28 A.

sure that he would prefer Constantinople as the higher easier (though with more bulk of work) and pleasanter. This would strengthen the appeal to him, or make the offer more of an appeal. He adds no strength to the Government, excellent as he is in many ways, and a successor to him might do so. Having on the whole a bad opinion of our chances of surviving the year, I, if I were making the offer, could dwell a little upon this. I suppose that the salary would offer some reasonable inducement.

3. Apart from this and as to Berlin, Hamilton has suggested Lorne: both he and R[osebery] have named Cowper. Of these I think the former the more possible. Goschen excellent but I should think wholly beyond possibility of acceptance. Remember that he has now made his reconciliation with the party on the Franchise. Thornton I think could not be bad yet I do not see that he would be good. The Duke of Bedford has various points of recommendation & something of the born diplomatist, nor do I see the objection to him, if he would go. Of Malet I cannot venture to speak for I have not *known* of him[,] qualifying grounds. In the last days of the Controul some most awkward steps were taken without authority; for which there may be a justification.

4. Unable as I am to offer you valuable aid I can only assure you of confidence and support in what you may do.

I do not much like the Dodson suggestion: nor am I sure that he would.

[P.S.] I am sorry you should be precluded from considering Acton.— Like you I do not desire a special visit to Bismarck.

1411. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

No. 3.

Dalmeny Park, Edinburgh. Sept. 2. 84.

I am quite content with what you tell me of Northbrook but I think he should not wholly lose Turkey from his view, slender as are the hopes in that direction.

Chamberlain's minute I have not seen, and had not heard of.

The consideration of Egyptian Finance is so grave, that for the sake of it, and with the assured prospect of an immediate settlement, I suppose we might be right in facing the question of another & rather wider Conference with a province tolerably well-defined.

Bismarck's fuming does not much alarm me. Turkey & Italy would be fair allies against a mandate to France; nor am I sure that Russia would join in it.

I am sorry about New Guinea *if* the delay be understood as an act of deference to Germany: but consultation with the Colonists has more justification, while it may lead to perplexity.

Hartington has assured me explicitly that Wolseley is most anxious to avoid any expedition to Khartoum, & on this I rely.¹

¹ See from Hartington, 24 Aug., Add. MS. 44147, fo. 139.

1412. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 79]

Walmer Castle. Sep 2/84.

I find that Thornton cannot speak German.

I have rec[eive]d a letter from the Queen¹—which I presume is concerted with the Crown Princess—I generally agree, though I do not attach so much importance to Goschen's family not having 16 quarters.

Derby is for Malet—& has told me secretly that he has won the affections of the Duke of Bedford's daughter, the one who likes society. The Duke hesitates, but as the young lady is 28 years old, it can hardly be for long. It would add to Malet's social position, & powers of being useful.

1413. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 81]

Walmer Castle. Sep 2/84.

I have just read your speech,² & condole with you on your manifest loss of power.

It is clear that age *can* wither you & custom stale your infinite variety.

I am very sorry. I enclose a letter from Herbert Bismarck,³ which justifies my having written to him—I do not believe that he tells the whole truth, but it is satisfactory that he confines the complaint to a matter which will be put right by what we are writing and still more by what you have said at Edinburgh.

You will see that he suggests Lumley—but he is older, & less able than Malet, & has not the same knowledge of Germany.

I should think Malet would be quite as acceptable.

1414. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Invercauld. Sept 4. 84.

I find Hengenmüller [*sic*] here who rather anxiously assures me for communication to you that the meeting⁴ of Kalnoki [*sic*] and Bismarck was a meeting of friendship for the simple purpose of ascertaining upon a review of European facts that nobody was likely to interfere with their pacific purposes. This was told under instruction from Kalnoki [*sic*]. I suppose it is true. He was desirous to know what we should do in Egypt

¹ Of 1 Sept., arguing against Thornton's succeeding Ampthill at Berlin, since he did not know Germany well, and against Goschen because he came from a small Dresden family, P.R.O. 30/29/31; and reply, in favour of Malet, 6 Sept., *Letters*, iii. 505-6.

² See no. 1409.

³ Of 30 Aug., replying to Granville's letter of 20 Aug. (p. 230, n. 1, and no. 1394), P.R.O. 30/29/180.

⁴ i.e. the Varzin meeting, 14-15 Aug., preparatory to the three Emperors' meeting at Skiernerwirce, 15-16 Sept.

& anxious about the indemnities but I held out no hope of any separate action in their favour. He thought there was an impression that Wolseley's mission indicated a turn towards occupation but I told him it had reference exclusively to the Soudan, I told him we had postponed our own military claim for the moment. And lamented the very gross failure of the Conference, as a great blow to the authority of United Europe: due not to the French Government but to the Parliamentary activity of the French Bondholders.

I mentioned to him Disraeli's disinclination to taking Egypt. He seemed perfectly aware of it & had heard that this reason was given: that Egypt in history had been found so easy to take & so hard to keep. One must not criticise the history severely when *animus* is good: & at the present day even if held it would be held with every kind of disadvantage and discredit.

[P.S.] I return the Queen's letter and have not any thing to add to my last letter on the subject of the Embassy.

1415. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Invercauld. Sept 5. 1884.

1. On reading H. Bismarck's letter, (which I retain to show to Harcourt)¹ I incline to suppose it admits that his Father's conduct in the Conference was a return slap for Angra Pequena.

But he seems to have had such a case that I no longer grudge your consulting Germany about New Guinea.

2. I felt sure that in what I said at Edinburgh of German colonisation² I was not going beyond the lines of your feeling. I think it probable that the strong feeling against *me* in Germany may neutralise any good effect the words were calculated to produce. But I in no way regret them on that account.

3. I am very glad you were pleased with the speech so rapidly transmitted.

On the franchise question I spoke with a great anxiety on the one hand to do my duty to the party and the people by not understating their case, on the other to strain myself in the effort to keep the constitution of the House of Lords out of the quarrel: also, thinking the Queen at the present moment not far wrong, I was very desirous to come up to her wishes. I rather think she will see the Duke of Richmond, and I do not perceive that she can do better.

4. On Monday night I sleep at Balmoral & attend the Council on Tuesday: then we shall be at Mar Lodge.

¹ Who was also staying at Invercauld, A. G. Gardiner, *Life of Sir William Harcourt* (1923) i. 508.

² See p. 243, n. 1.

5. I should like to say a great deal to you if we were together about the Rosebery case¹ which supplied the true key to my telegram of yesterday.² Read Norton's article in the 19th Century on Federation;³ or the material part of it. The case has two sides to it. But at the present juncture, & with the impending crisis, or crises, the preponderance on our side is immense, and the particular office in view seems the only one available. Harcourt strongly agrees in all this. We had strong reasons for the course we took on Argyll's resignation⁴ but it has not worked *a merveille*.

6. Rosebery himself suggested to me on Monday, and therefore unhappily after Northbrook's departure, that Dalhousie, a noble fellow, would like to be employed as an extra & unpaid Lord of the Admiralty.⁵ It could not be done without N.'s decided approval; and I have doubts whether this system ought to be encouraged (Herbert is not an extra Lord of the Treasury but only an unpaid one, and I have kept this on by reason of my own position of uncertain continuance). Dalhousie has strong claims. *He* would do the Scotch office when constituted very well indeed, as far as one can presume to judge of a thing still rather in nubibus.

7. I still & always think the situation of this house the noblest in Britain: it is full and merry: the host jovial and kind.

8. I saw the Prince yesterday at the Games: he is really anxious & of good inclinations about the Franchise.

1416. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Invercauld, Ballater. S. 5. 84.

An opportunity of having letters posted in Aberdeen by a departing guest enables me to write to you further.

1. I thank you for the double offer made to Carlingford; & am somewhat dismayed at the result just learned by telegraph.⁶ Harcourt (who is naturally indisposed to appear in the matter) thought the only method of proceeding likely to succeed was that I should open the proposal founding

¹ Gladstone was now ready to bring Rosebery into the cabinet, but, to do so, needed to move Carlingford; see vol. i, p. 258, n. 5, and nos. 469, 1071, and p. 73, n. 1.

² 'About a certain offer which I wished to be made in a way likely to promote acceptance, reflection confirms me'; and reply, tel. 4 Sept., that the offer had been made, Add. MS. 44177, fos. 84, 85; see p. 243, n. 2.

³ See Lord Norton (formerly Sir Charles Adderley), 'Imperial Federation—its Impossibility', arising out of a conference in London, July, under W. E. Forster's chairmanship, *Nineteenth Century*, Sept. 1884, xvi. 505.

⁴ i.e. in May 1881 when Carlingford succeeded him as lord privy seal; for discussion of Carlingford's position in Mar. 1883, when he succeeded Spencer as lord president, combining the two offices, see p. 38, n. 2.

⁵ Not done, see p. 252, n. 5.

⁶ See Carlingford to Granville, 4 Sept., refusing both embassies, 'my desire is to stick to the cabinet for better, for worse', P.R.O. 30/29/22 A; Granville's tel., not traced.

it avowedly on the necessity of our making changes in the Cabinet. Is any thing of this kind still open—or is it open [to] me to make an appeal to him to give us the opening wanted as a favour to his friends in circ[um]stance[s] of crisis. All the other Peers have great administrative offices which *could* not be changed. I incline to think that a tolerable though difficult letter might be framed on this basis¹—& even with reference to Constantinople alone. Pray consider this & let me know.

I am astonished at the paragraph² in P. 4. of Wednesday's P[all] M[all] Gazette. I *believe* that until this morning I never *penned* a name for the office of President of the Council.

There may be another auxiliary reason—Childers's Committee³ is to recommend a Minister of Education, & perhaps we ought to have a President of the Council who would take the office subject to changes.

2. Ought not Elliot [*sc.* Paget] on receiving such very stiff indications or disclosures as those made by Kalnoky⁴ (for which Hengenmüller's [*sic*]⁵ very mild account had not at all prepared me) to have *stood up* to him a little about Egypt & let him know that we felt our position to be very strong, that we had gone to extremes in recognising European rights which seem to be unattended with any inconvenient duties, & that we did not entirely feel that the failure of the Conference was due to France *alone*? This of course not as a *formal* communication but as more or less from himself.

3. Harcourt & I are both rather startled by Penang telegram of Sept 3,⁶ which, as to the means to be employed, looks so like Abyssinia over again. You must have been rather troubled with this bold advice, & will I have no doubt be carefully considering what the case may require.

Your greatly over-generous application of Shakespeare's exceedingly fine lines about Cleopatra⁷ has absolutely forbidden my showing the letter containing them to Harcourt.

I have not for a long period spent so much time in turning over subjects in my mind, as on this last occasion.

¹ See Gladstone to Carlingford, 7 Sept., urging him to accept the Constantinople embassy since his seat in the cabinet was needed for a Scottish peer in the present critical effort to increase the liberal vote in the Lords, referring to great administrative offices and a possible minister for education, Add. MS. 44123, fo. 223.

² Announcing Carlingford's imminent retirement and Rosebery's likely accession to the cabinet, see *Pall Mall Gazette*, Wed. 3 Sept., p. 8 (not p. 4).

³ Select committee on responsibility for money voted by parliament for education, science, and art, reported in favour of the establishment of a board of education under a president, see p. 262, n. 1.

⁴ See p. 242, n. 1.

⁵ See no. 1414.

⁶ From consul Kennedy, reporting Col. Lockhart's recommendation of an expedition of 6,000 British and Indian troops to procure the release of the crew of the wreck *Nisero*, imprisoned by the sultan of Tenom, Aug. 1883, F.O. 37/698; cf. Disraeli's expedition of 1867 to release captives in Abyssinia; see also p. 210, n. 1.

⁷ *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act II, sc. ii, l. 243; see no. 1413.

1417. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 88]

Walmer Castle. Sep 7/84.

Bismarck has not such a case against us as would appear about Angra Pequena¹ as I think that I was justified in merely acting as a medium of communication between him & the Colonial Office, instead of taking a more active part, as I should have done if I had known that the German Gov attached importance to any question of German Colonization but I had constant assurances both from Munster & from Ampthill that the reverse was the case. Towards the end of last year, the latter recorded a conversation with Hatzfeldt, in which the latter said that Bismarck was strongly opposed to such a policy, & would remain so—that a change might come after his withdrawal from office, but by that time England & France would have annexed everything that was to be had²—But I hope that this difficulty will be got over.

I am strongly of opinion that your moderation about the franchise was not only right but highly politic.

I mentioned to you in the summer that I thought Rosebery had established a position, which entitled him to the Cabinet.³ If he got into that, I do not think he would mind in the least what minor office he got with it—Works, Post Office, Duchy etc etc.

A connection of Spencer's has written to me, that if any changes take place in the Cabinet, he ought to be consulted, on account of the strain upon him in his present office. I believe he declined saying to you that he claimed to be relieved & I do not feel sure that Rosebery would be the right man for the Lord Lieutenancy.

I believe that Sir R. Peel said it was a serious matter putting a man into a Cabinet, but a more serious one to put him out. I am afraid after Carlingford's letter,⁴ that it would be a question of turning him out. It was most unlucky the line Pall Mall has taken. I have told nobody but yourself.

Dalhousie deserves anything that can be done for him⁵—I do not know what Northbrook would say. Shall I ask him⁶— I am not sure about him for the Scotch business.

I believe I at the time advised you not to give a salary to Herbert. I can conceive no objection to it after his long service, and your cessation of being Ch[ancellor] of [the] Exchequer.

With regard to answering Kalnoky, I have some hesitation in doing so till I know more clearly what we are going to do.

¹ See p. 242, n. 3.

² Not traced, but see dispatches (collected by T. P. Stavely on Granville's instruction) containing assurances that Bismarck was opposed to colonization, F.O. 64/144, 64/1027; see also W. O. Aydelotte, *Bismarck and British Colonial Policy* (1937) 55-56; S. E. Crowe, *The Berlin West Africa Conference* (1942) 44 note 3.

³ Cf. p. 247, n. 1.

⁴ See p. 247, n. 6.

⁵ See p. 247, n. 5.

⁶ See p. 252, n. 5, and p. 258, n. 2.

I have sent you a letter from Northbrook¹ recording his conversation.

[P.S.] Pray remember that the office which you gave me is always at your disposal.

Your tu quoque about your being my senior, is an entire fallacy. The positions are in every way different.

I have always thought I could play the part of Cranworth, & Aberdare with more activity, and perhaps more use.

1418. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Invercauld, Ballater. Sept 8. 84.

I send for your perusal Northbrook's parting letter of the 3d.² I am glad he describes as impressions only the observations which constitute the greater part of it: for they all aim at our paying the Egyptian bondholders with English money, or tend towards it, and this in my opinion will not work. Nor do I like knuckling under to a conversation like that of Kalnoky reported by Paget (I stupidly wrote Elliot).³

[P.S.] Herewith I send the letter I have *fred* at Carlingford.⁴ Egerton's 579. Kassala.⁵ Did we not tell them to hold on if they could? Ought we not at least to release them from any obligation of this kind?

1419. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Balmoral Castle. Sept 9. 84.

1. I begin with the Postscript to your letter of Sunday,⁶ and my reply to it is this. A review of your official history as well as personal knowledge of you makes me certain of the absolute sincerity with which you speak but your departure would tear away a mass of the vital essence of the Government, and can under no circumstances be thought of while you continue able to discharge the heavy duties, now I fear heavier than ever, of your office. My gratitude is not on this account less due for your generosity, nor less freely given.

2. With regard to Spencer I am a little puzzled. Surely he cannot desire to be relieved from the Lord Lieutenancy, or he would, as he most easily could, have intimated it at the time when he was sounded as to the Viceroyalty of India?

¹ Of 3 Sept., reporting his having seen Kalnoky on his way to Cairo and spoken of Britain's readiness to discuss the sanitary question and to welcome German colonization, and what he expected to propose for Egypt, P.R.O. 30/29/139.

² To Gladstone, as described and, in summarizing his conversation with Lyons, quoting the passage from Paget's letter, Add. MS. 44267, fo. 179.

³ See p. 242, n. 1.

⁵ Not traced.

⁴ See p. 248, n. 1.

⁶ i.e. no. 1417.

3. And the second part of my letter to Carlingford, which will have reached you before this is in your hands, will show you that, if he [Spencer] were to take the Lord Presidency, it would not be the same Lord Presidency which he quitted when he went to Ireland in 1882.

I quite agree about Rosebery's probable willingness to take any Cabinet office. But, of those you mention, Works and the Duchy are now almost absolutely fastened to the House of Commons and it would not be very easy to vacate the Post Office.

To proceed in the matter with Carlingford is something, I admit & feel, of a rough and butchering business, but yet I feel that under the circumstances our case is strong and the thing just. I hope you will not disapprove of it. I talked it through again & again with Harcourt, & saw my way clearly. You say truly that it is not easy to put a man out of a Cabinet: but something depends on the questions 1. whether he can rise higher *in* it, 2. whether he is simply shelved or has a great office offered.

4. With regard to Northbrook's letter¹ I observe that I greatly doubt whether Parliament would or should assume new responsibilities for Egyptian finance and take as an equivalent 'full financial controul': secondly that such controul is a certain though possibly circuitous path toward annexation, and has been the root of the present mischiefs and embarrassments.

5. Kalnoky does not seem to have repeated to him the stiff things reported by Paget, & nothing of them was discoverable from Hengenmüller's [*sic*] communication to me.²

6. I think that I quite understand your position about Angra Pequena and German colonisation, which I take it Bismarck is reluctantly working for Election purposes. I am not sure that my words, if they meet the eye of the mighty man, will please him, as he probably likes to have something to strike at.

7. I had a conversation with the Queen³ on arriving here yesterday, and am very well satisfied with her state of mind. I think she has taken in several things, for instance, that another rejection of the Franchise Bill means in the long run the organic reform of the House of Lords, and this whether we succeed or fail in the contest of the hour. Also, and this is important, that we *cannot* work the two subjects together. She likewise seemed satisfied with my telling her that there probably were things that we might do in the sense of conciliation but that we could not go on with fresh bids. She is disposed to see the Duke of Richmond⁴ and this I encouraged.

Nothing can be more kind and free than her manner.

8. I should much like to have Northbrook's dispassionate opinion on the Dalhousie suggestion.

¹ See p. 250, n. 1.

² See no. 1414.

³ See *Letters*, iii. 537.

⁴ For the Queen's account of her conversation with the Duke of Richmond, see *ibid.* 537-8; see nos. 1425, 1429.

9. I am ordered to stay till tomorrow.

10. Harcourt, vehemently against Sefton for the Garter, says R. Grosvenor is ditto.¹ I told him he might write to you, whom I regarded as my 'top sawyer' in such matters.

11. R.G. is delighted with the popular manifestations & has considerably altered his mind about the result of a Dissolution.

12. Your choice of Malet² is very favourably viewed here.

1420. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Mar Lodge, Braemar. Sept 10. 84.

I quite sympathised with the Queen's anxiety that we should not do any thing out of the common way to set up Bismarck, who is quite sufficiently set up already, in his own estimation and otherwise. But she was entirely satisfied with your ciphered telegram received last night, which represented the matter in its true colours.³

I gave the Queen the whole of your explanation about Angra Pequena as the subject rather troubled her. I left Balmoral this morning. On Monday we go to Haddo for two nights.

1421. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44177, fo. 101]

Walmer. Sep 11/84.

Thanks for your kind words about myself—the offer⁴ is perfectly bonâ fide, but to be used exactly as you think best for yourself.

If Carlingford accepts all is right. If as I anticipate he offers his resignation I hope you will take a little time to consider.

I should like to do what is inconvenient in itself, but not absolutely objectionable—

To give Dodson an unofficial Peerage—

to put Rosebery & Trevelyan in the Cabinet (Surely Peers have held the [Office of] works—)

and to leave Carlingford where he is—

I will write again about the Garters

and will learn Northbrook's dispassionate opinion about Dalhousie.⁵

¹ The offer was postponed and made in 1885, see Gladstone to Sefton, 25 June 1885, misplaced in Add. MS. 44465, fo. 17; see also p. 226, n. 2.

² For the Berlin embassy; see p. 245, n. 1.

³ See Gladstone to Granville, tel. 9 Sept., deprecating any inquiry beyond the routine question demanded by courtesy, whether Malet would be acceptable as ambassador and draft reply that Bismarck had opened the subject by objecting to Morier and proposing Dufferin or Lumley, P.R.O. 30/29/128.

⁴ i.e. to resign, see the postscript to no. 1417.

⁵ Cf. Northbrook to Gladstone, 22 Sept., against making Dalhousie an additional unpaid lord of the Admiralty since there would not be enough for him to do, Add. MS. 44267, fo. 85; see no. 1415, and p. 258, n. 2.

1422. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 103]
Walmer Castle. Sep 11/84. 7 P.M.

Seymour has just telegraphed to me that C[arlingford] adheres to his determination.¹

Is the plan impossible that I sketched this morning—Rosebery Works—Trevelyan Duchy—Lefevre Irish Secretary—Dodson unofficial Peerage.

It would make us 15. But Spencer can hardly count as a regular Member of the Cabinet.

It is a much less strong thing to say to Dodson 'I will do what you ask for yourself, but it is impossible to add two Cabinet officials to the House of Peers, & Rosebery is a necessity'—than to say to Carlingford 'Rosebery is a necessity therefore you must make room for him.'

I believe it would be much better for Rosebery to come in without a popular man, the only Irishman in the Cabinet[,] being turned out for him.

It is true that it is a different thing, turning out a man, and asking him to exchange to a high office, but the offer in this case is one that he has twice rejected.

I particularly dislike raising difficulties, when you have such a difficult knot to untie, but it is better that you should have all views before you.

[P.S.] Trevelyan's claim to a place in the Cabinet is weakened by his nerves having given way under the strain of his present office, but he would not have the same bullying in the Duchy, & his power of speaking seems remarkable.

1423. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 107]
Private. Walmer Castle. Sep 12/84.

In writing to you on the Carlingford affair, I omitted to say that I thought your letter was a masterpiece, surpassing if possible your Midlothian speeches.

Doing what Bright says is impossible, putting a disagreeable thing agreeably.

The late Lord Lytton would have said it reminded him of Bolingbroke.

1424. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
Mar Lodge. Sept. 13. 84.

I have received Carlingford's answer.² It has the aspect of an absolute & dry refusal. But he closes with saying 'as you allude to the Privy Seal,

¹ Cf. Carlingford to Granville, undated, that he had talked with Spencer and could not change his refusal of the embassy, P.R.O. 30/29/28 A, fo. 682.

² Of 11 Sept., giving his reason that he could not take a lower office than his present one and ending that the reason for asking him to resign (that he held office without heavy administrative duties) had been adduced for appointing him, continuing as quoted, Add. MS. 44123, fo. 226.

you will not forget that it was [as] holder of that nominal office, as a Minister "without portfolio" that you invited me to join your Government & take charge of Irish business in the H[ouse] of L[ords].'

This description is inaccurate or ambiguous. I thought it was just worth while to refer to this & ask, in an interlocutory reply,¹ whether his letter was meant to exclude the idea of sitting in the Cabinet 'without portfolio'.

I don't expect much from it, and I may be set hard and fast.

I doubt if you are aware of the difficulty of making the alternative arrangements (I do not mean Trevelyan) to which you refer.

It was one thing to have (say) Works in the H. of Lords when all Estimates were disposed of in 10 or 12 days, it is another thing when they have expanded so as to take 34.

I have however written to Childers to ask whether he sees very grave objection to it.²

I do not *recollect* one in a Liberal Govt since Lord Duncannon:³ but there may have been.

I own myself no better pleased with Paget's report⁴ of Sept 7. about Kalnoky & Egypt. I do not see why we are to take so much *vassilation* [*sic*] especially from such a quarter.

1425. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Mar Lodge. Sept 13. 84.

1. Many thanks for your kind words in the disagreeable affair of Carlingford.

2. From Northbrook's last letter,⁵ I thought him over inclined to be submissive, and to anticipate the submissiveness of Parlt & its willingness, for fear of Bismarck & Co to incur financial responsibilities. I am fearful of disturbing by any dissonance of communication, & as his letter did not require an answer I have not replied to it but perhaps in writing to him you will have such regard to these ideas of mine as you may think fit & convenient.

3. So far as I understand the business of the Egyptian Press Law, I cannot but agree with Nubar & Baring.⁶

¹ 12 Sept., writing as here summarized, *ibid.* fo. 229; for reply, see below no. 1434.

² 11 Sept., asking this question, Add. MS. 44547, fo. 108; for reply, see no. 1437.

³ i.e. in Melbourne's second cabinet, 1835-41, when the office was the first commissionership of woods and forests; he was also lord privy seal.

⁴ To Granville, reporting the good impression left by Northbrook's visit, Kalnoky's view of the conference as an incident which left all unchanged, and his belief that Bismarck's ill-humour was now appeased, P.R.O. 30/29/155; cf. p. 242, n. 1.

⁵ See p. 250, n. 2; next letter, 12 Sept., not yet received.

⁶ i.e. that Egypt was not obliged to submit legislation on the press to the powers, see Baring to Granville, No. 873, recording tel. No. 585, 12 Sept., F.O. 78/3678; and reply acknowledging that tel. No. 304, 10 Sept., asking Nubar Pasha to submit a proposed new law, was a 'blunder', F.O. 78/3684.

4. Richmond is at Balmoral.¹ I think that if he launches any proposal, wh[ic]h HM will encourage him to do, I shall be commanded to look in there on my way to Haddo. Ponsonby has heard that he may suggest what was in the Salisbury–Cairns Mem:² a scheme in the way of which there are many difficulties. If you have anything to say on this, I shall be at Haddo till Wednesday mid-day.

We leave this charming place on Monday.

1426. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 108]

Walmer Castle. Sep 13/84.

I am not surprised that any one should have been alarmed at the proposal for the gigantic expedition.³

But Harcourt ought to be the exception, for at a Cabinet, at which I doubt your having been present, he upbraided us for our degeneration from the days of Palmerston, insisted upon our throwing over the Dutch, and that orders should be sent to our men of war to seize the prisoners *coute que coute*. I trust that no expedition will be necessary.

1427. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 117]

Walmer Castle. Sep 13/84.

I have telegraphed to you a telegram from Sir R. Hart to Stuart Rendel which the latter has sent to me. I send you the full telegram,⁴ which I rather condensed.

Hart is a first rate opinion as to China, but I do not know whether he knows anything of the views of France.

I have no idea of what the German view would be—whether Bismarck would like to move in the matter, whether he really would be glad to finish the China War—& whether if he did so whether [*sic*] he would be willing to cooperate with us on a suggestion of ours.

But we should stand all the better, for making the proposal.

I doubt the advantage of making it alone.

¹ See p. 251, n. 4.

² Of the previous July, see p. 211, n. 1.

³ See p. 248, n. 6; and Stavely's min. of alarm at 'the gigantic scheme' and Granville's min. 'I should like to have the opinion of the War office and Admiralty, as to the scheme, which appears to be of a gigantic character'; draft to Admiralty and War Office cancelled owing to the crew's release, 11 Sept., F.O. 37/698.

⁴ Of 11 Sept., that France and China would fight over Annam, but might agree to arbitration, preferably American, if proposed by a third party, perhaps Britain and Germany together; and Granville to Gladstone, tel. 13 Sept., asking should he sound Germany, and summarizing Hart's tel., P.R.O. 30/29/128 and Gladstone's draft reply, against the approach, written on no. 1427; see p. 172, n. 2, and nos. 1431, 1434.

1428. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 123]

Walmer Castle. Sep 14/84.

We ought to settle soon about Constantinople.

I presume that Carlingford's refusal is final.

Should you wish Goschen to be sounded.

Of the Dips, Ford and Thornton would be the best.

It would serve the Sultan right to give him Morier, but the latter's habit of turning small things into great is dangerous.¹

1429. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Haddo House. Sept 15. 84.

This forenoon on my way from Mar Lodge, amidst various other matters, I saw Sir H. Ponsonby *off* Balmoral and received from his hands the inclosed cover² which please to return through Hartington. My answer³ to the first⁴ or official note was comprised in these words, 'Waste of breath'.

The visit of the Duke of Richmond⁵ *appears* to have been a total failure. He said he did not see his way to an accommodation.

Ponsonby thought the late Speaker⁶ might possibly be of use in finding some channel of communication with the Independent Opposition. I saw no harm, as he is very discreet, in his being asked whether he could do any thing.

I mentioned Malmesbury as having said that Salisbury was obeyed in July, but that he would find it a very different affair in October. This which came on pretty good authority seems to show that he deprecates resistance. I said I could not speak, from want of close knowledge, as to his capacity, which H.M. must know much better: but that from his disposition & age he might be worth thinking of as a medium.

I found from Ponsonby that the Queen had not fully apprehended what I have beyond doubt tried to make clear to her, namely that the 'self-denying' ordinance of the Cabinet drops and becomes dead upon a second rejection of the Bill.

It seems also that she still hankers a little after Dissolution.

Therefore I thought the time was come for me to speak in [a] manner which cannot be mistaken—for myself alone.

¹ See p. 227, n. 2.

² See Ponsonby to Gladstone, 14 Sept., sending the Duke of Richmond's proposal of a clause in the new franchise bill to bring it into force at the same time as a re-distribution bill and ensure the simultaneous passage of both bills, Guedalla, ii. 299.

³ See *Letters*, iii. 538 note.

⁴ Second note, no traced.

⁵ See no. 1425.

⁶ Sir Henry Brand, since 4 Mar. 1884, Viscount Hampden.

I spoke to the following effect. 'Never will I be a party to dissolving in order to determine whether the Lords or the Commons were right upon the Franchise Bill. If I have any thing to do with a Dissolution, it will be a dissolution upon organic change in the H of Lords. Should the Bill be again rejected in a definitive manner there will be only two courses open to me, one to cut out of public life, which I shall infinitely prefer, the other to become a supporter of organic change in the House of Lords, which I hate & which I am making all this fuss in order to avoid. We have a few weeks before us to try and avert the mischief. After a second rejection it will be too late.'

There is perhaps the alternative of advising a large creation of Peers—but to this there are great objections, even if the Queen were willing. I am not at present sure that I could bring myself to be a party to the adoption of a plan like that of 1832.

Ponsonby seemed to comprehend fully the gravity of the situation. I have been told that some impression has been made on the mind of Conservative Peers. But who is to act, to lead? If you can suggest any one in the sense in which I have spoken of Hampden & Malmesbury, pray do so.

Further. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of *reducing* the majority in the Lords. If it could be got under (say) 20, this might have the effect of rendering prolonged resistance impossible.

I have had a fatiguing but remarkable day, from the almost incredible enthusiasm of the people all along the line, which made silence impossible, though I pretty much confined myself to commonplaces.

1430. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 125]

Walmer Castle. Sep 16/84

I have just rec[eive]d a letter from Spencer,¹ rather in a fuss about an attendance at Balmoral. Wishing also to know whether there will be Cabinets at which he ought to attend—before the meeting.

He gives a good account of his reception in the South—considering the difficulty of the situation—Several Priests openly friendly.

He hopes it will not be forgotten that a new Chief Secretary is desirable. For Trevelyan's sake, & the public service, he thinks it very necessary.

He says nothing in the sense which was suggested to me,² but he knows nothing about Carlingford.

He is a little surprised at the rapidity with which military affairs in Egypt have advanced.

I agreed with you about Kalnoky's first conversation with Paget, and agree that the latter who had read all the papers ought to have been more ready, though I doubted the use of my sending instructions to him.

¹ To Granville, 15 Sept., P.R.O. 30/29/29 A.

² See no. 1417.

I have read over again the conversation of the 7th.¹ I cannot find anything to complain of—Kalnoky in a friendly way tells us about Bismarck's views.

I am not aware of Kalnoky having been anything but very friendly to us since he has been in the Foreign Office. Of course we cannot hope that he will separate himself from the German Chancellor, if he be hostile.

I wrote a week ago to Northbrook,² telling him the pith of your remarks on his letter.

I cannot pretend to see my way through this financial difficulty, but I reminded Northbrook of our last plan, with the French treatment of indemnities, and the acknowledgment of indebtedness for the $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

I agree with you[,] Northbrook & Baring about the Egyptian Press Law.³

I forget whether I wrote to you about the Garters.⁴

Harcourt writes strongly in favour of resignation at Xmas.⁵

Staal & Casa la Iglesia are strong in favour of Malet⁶—they have known him in different places & say he has always been much respected and popular.

1431. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 131]

Walmer Castle. Sep 17/84.

I send you two letters⁷ which may interest you.

I wrote to consult Lyons⁸ whether we should approach the French, the Germans or abstain from acting on Hart's advice.

The result on my mind, coupled with your doubts, is to abstain unless I have an opportunity of sounding Mr or Mrs Waddington orally.⁹

Lyons is wrong about the Americans. Although the French have denied it, they did offer mediation.¹⁰

¹ See no. 1424.

² To Northbrook, 12 Sept., as in no. 1425, adding that, Bismarck being in a better humour, the powers might now accept the proposal about the $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (no. 1402) refused by the Egyptian financial conference and mentioning Dalhousie's wish to be an unpaid lord of the Admiralty, P.R.O. 30/29/139.

³ See p. 254, n. 6.

⁴ Apparently not; see nos. 1419, 1421.

⁵ See to Granville, 8 Sept., that Gladstone's popularity did not alter his opinion that they would resign before Christmas, and 18 Sept., answering Granville's request for reasons, P.R.O. 30/29/29 A.

⁶ i.e. for the Berlin embassy; cf. p. 245, n. 1.

⁷ i.e. from Hartington, 16 Sept., that Wolseley's instructions were verbal and negative, not to go to Khartoum unless essential and then only to get Gordon away, P.R.O. 30/29/134; and from Lyons, private, 16 Sept., against Hart's proposal (see p. 255, n. 4) as likely to fail and difficult to execute without harming relations with France, P.R.O. 30/29/174.

⁸ To Lyons, private, 14 Sept., P.R.O. 30/29/204.

⁹ But cf. p. 260, n. 3.

¹⁰ See no. 1099.

Hartington's letter is in answer to my query what were the instructions to Wolsley [*sic*], and what was the exact object of the expedition.

I do not agree with H. in believing that Wolsley [*sic*] wishes to avoid the expedition.

1432. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 133]
Foreign Office. Sep 18/84.

I came to town today, and was in hopes of meeting Hartington, to whom I sent your's & Ponsonby's letters.¹ But he is gone to Holker.

After reading Gordon's 2 letters,² I should have been still more glad to see him (H[artington])—

I have telegraphed to you that they require immediate consideration & discussion, because we cannot remain silent under them, but there is still the difficulty of communicating with him—

I wish the suggestion I made a long time ago that he should have positive orders to come away, had been adopted.

I believe, but am not certain, that the best thing would be to recall him now. But in a dissolution view this would be dangerous, and it might unsettle the Soudan in a disagreeable way.

Can we give precise orders to him & make him understand that he is to obey them, without the opinion of the Cabinet.

1433. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 137]
[18 September 1884.]

The account of the Duke of Richmond³ is not encouraging, it is evident that the intention of the united leaders is to fight.

Hampden is so safe that there can be no objection to him.

Malmesbury is almost broken down—He hates Salisbury, but I doubt his being ready to work for a Tory cave against him.

Your reception in Scotland will have a great effect.

The line which the Times has taken, is very lucky as regards Tory Peers.

I am sorry that we have sacrificed our liberty of action with regard to dissolution, excepting on a violent issue.

Harcourt who is for resignation, thinks it would secure our victory with the constituencies.

He may be right, but a dissolution by a new Gov has always some advantages for them.

Besides the Cabinet as a whole, are unpledged to any particular cry.

¹ See p. 256, n.2; and from Hartington, 20 Sept., saying he had returned them direct to Gladstone with no observations, P.R.O. 30/29/134.

² Egerton, No. 840, extending tel. No. 564, 29 Aug., reported five letters announced by Kitchener from Gordon, F.O. 78/3677.

³ See no. 1429.

1434. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

No 1.

Brechin Castle. Sept 19. 84

1. Hartington's letter¹ is clear exact & fair. To the change of policy which he desires I can never be a party: but that is the affair of the future.

2. On the Hart message² I can say no more than refer to what I have already said.³

3. But I think we are all too much afraid of Bismarck. He will never be really associated in feeling with this Government, until it ceases to be, what it is, the main obstacle to the accomplishment of his schemes in the Balkan Peninsula. Such is my opinion, something between a surmise and a conviction.

3. [*sic*] Carlingford has met me at every point with a hard and resolute negative. I have told him I postpone (not, I drop) the subject.⁴ It is one of very great importance & I cannot dismiss it: certainly not until after consultation with certain members of the Government.

4. As it is impossible to say what combination may be needful, I hope you will be able to keep Constantinople, only just vacated open, for a while.

5. Northbrook's No 4.⁵ I do not think I should do any thing or else you will have to do so much and so often.

I postpone other matters.

1435. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

No 2.

Brechin Castle, Sept 19. 84.

The Gordon Telegram in Baring's 588⁶ beats every thing I have ever seen. I called him at the outset inspired and mad, but the madness is now uppermost. It is fortunate that it does not require any full and conclusive

¹ See p. 258, n. 7; Hartington repeated his view that the abandonment of the Sudan was a mistake and suggested Khartoum, Berber, and Dongola be retained, if Wolseley was successful.

² See no. 1427.

³ See to Granville, tel. 13 Sept., against Hart's proposal, but Britain should make known to France her wish to be of use, Add. MS. 44177, fo. 120; second tel. 16 Sept., reasserting that in this matter Bismarck 'was a bad horse to go up to in the stable', P.R.O. 30/29/128.

⁴ See from Carlingford, 15 Sept., replying to Gladstone (p. 254, n. 1) that he had not intended to imply on 11 Sept. that he would resign the lord presidency and remain in the cabinet; and to Carlingford, 16 Sept., as described, Add. MS. 44123, fos. 229, 230.

⁵ i.e. tel. No. 4, 18 Sept., announcing suspension of payment of revenues (assigned to the servicing of the European debt) into the *caisse de la dette publique* and their use to meet current administrative charges, F.O. 78/3696; Granville wished to inform the powers; cf. no. 1438.

⁶ See from Baring, No. 891, extending tel. No. 588, 20 Sept., sending tel. from Gordon, 17 Sept., that Col. Stewart was to burn Berber, and reporting he had told Kitchener to countermand the order, F.O. 78/3678.

answer unless and until Wolseley acts definitively: but there are certain elements of a reply which seem to me clear, and I think the patience of the Cabinet is exhausted, while we are in danger of becoming simply ridiculous in our communications with him.

1. Our two *main* telegrams of April & May¹ might be referred to as the basis of our policy.

2. He is to conform to it, or else understand that he will cease in any manner to represent the British Government.

3. We & not he are the judges of our responsibility.

4. If I could reconcile his demand for Zebehr with the reference to M. A. Pacha, I would send him Zebehr—with Sir H. Gordon's approval.

5. Why not constitute Wolseley (acting in concert with Northbrook) his superior—and obtain in this the concurrence of Tewfik.²

6. In any case, should not Wolseley be told to treat him with a *firm hand*.

P.S. No 589³ arrived. Only serves to show profound discrepancy of ideas, & to raise more seriously the question whether to inform him categorically that if he cannot act on our policy he must cease to act in our name.

1436. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Brechin Castle. Sept 20. 84.

Reflecting on Gordon's wild telegrams⁴ I think our message in May⁵ is hardly sufficient for the present circumstances.

I paraphrase him thus.

'Send troops to Khartoum, that they may hold it while I go all over the Soudan to fetch out (or otherwise) the Egyptian garrisons. This is contrary I know to your policy, but probably you have altered it in deference to me. Let me know whether this is so.'

Ought he not to be informed at the earliest moment that no troops will be sent to Khartoum for any such purpose, and that he is to act upon our policy as originally committed to him, or not to be any longer officer of ours?

¹ See p. 181, n. 3, and p. 189, n. 1.

² Cf. from Granville, tel. 4.3 p.m. 19 Sept., proposing to place Gordon under Wolseley's command; and reply, 8.0 p.m. 19 Sept., saying he had made the suggestion in 'a letter on its way' and replying to no. 1432 that the cabinet would approve a wide discretion, P.R.O. 30/29/128, Add. MS. 44177, fo. 136.

³ See from Baring, No. 892, extending tel. No. 589, 20 Sept., sending a further tel. from Gordon, F.O. 78/3678.

⁴ See from Baring, No. 890, extending tel. No. 597, 20 Sept., sending tel. from Gordon answering the message of 23 Apr. (p. 181, n. 3) 'I hope to overthrow the rebels west of Khartoum and then there will be no Arabs left in the vicinity. Senaar and Khartoum are all right. We have provisions for five months,' F.O. 78/3678.

⁵ See p. 189, n. 1.

1437. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

No 2.

Brechin Castle. Sept 20. 84.

1. I send you two letters from Childers:¹ and I ought to have mentioned yesterday that I have sent to Carlingford² the report of the Committee on Education on which it may become necessary to act before the Estimates.

2. I own to having misgivings about *our* furnishing detailed explanations of financial steps in Egypt to the Powers. The reasons which strike me are

a. It gives to any one of them an occasion of snubbing us by dissent without any cost or trouble to themselves.

b. It will entail a continuing or recurring task of great difficulty in the preparation of Financial Mem[orand]a which will at any time be subject to the minutest criticism.

c. It is absolutely impossible (I think) for the members of the Cabinet to pass a real judgment on the particulars of these Mem[orand]a.

d. The Powers are aware of all our general views in which these detailed applications are involved.

As to the *form* of your [circular] to Embassies, I do not see that it could be better.

3. With regard to forfeiture of liberty of action as to the motives of a dissolution, I stated at Edinburgh, *for myself alone*, & in the strongest terms, the main proposition I stated to Ponsonby.³ On this my personal mind is clear, & I am sure immutable: while it seemed to me the time forbade me to be silent on such a point.

4. I believe you are probably right in your retrospective regret about Gordon's recall, but the truth is that we have on hand & [*sc.* an] impossible task, & scarcely ever have sufficient knowledge to base our judgments on.

1438. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44177, fo. 145]

Foreign Office. Sep 20/84.

I agree with you in your view of Hartington's letter, and of the policy to which he inclines.⁴

¹ Of 16 Sept., not objecting to the extra work to do if the first commissioner for works (Rosebery) were a peer, but reminding Gladstone of the opportunity to carry out the recommendation of his committee (p. 248, n. 3) and establish a board of education, Add. MS. 44131, fos. 138, 141.

² i.e. as part of the argument to induce him to resign, see p. 248, n. 1; see also copy of report of *Select Committee on the Responsibility for the Vote for Education, Science and Art*, docketed: 'returned without comment by Lord Carlingford', Add. MS. 44123, fo. 221.

³ See no. 1429.

⁴ See no. 1434.

I have told you what I propose to do, (if anything,) about Hart's message.¹

I do not think we are very much afraid of Bismarck, but considering that he has absolute power at home on Foreign Affairs, unlike some other Govts such as our's who may lose all direct influence upon them in a few months, and that he is as nearly as absolute over Russia[,] Austria, France (Lyons says they were never more under him) and really over Italy, it is not a matter of indifference whether he acts in a friendly manner as he did up to a recent date, or whether he tries to make everything as disagreeable as possible.

I will not move about Constantinople for the present.

I am very sorry that you do not take the same view as I did about informing the Powers.² As the announcement was made in the papers, it was necessary to do it at once or not at all. I talked it over with Derby, & we had no doubt it was the right thing to do.

Dilke today told me that he did not think we could avoid it.

I agree with you about Gordon—& am glad that our ideas jumped at the same antidote or palliative. At the War office, Thompson doubts whether Gordon can be put under Wolsley [*sic*] without a commission³ to Gordon, but they will enquire as to what should be done, and as Gordon told Hartington & me, that he would be under the orders of Stephenson who might try him by Court Martial if he did wrong, he is clearly not aware of the technical difficulty.

I have deferred asking the Khedive to move at present, as if he were told, the whole thing will be in the English papers, which had better be avoided for a time.

I will not telegraph more than the telegram⁴ of which a copy will be sent you until I hear again.

How do you like the suggested redistribution bill.⁵

1439. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Glamis Castle. S. 21. 84.

1. I have received yours of yesterday. If Gordon cannot be put under Wolseley, *or* if he can, it seems to me he should be distinctly told no

¹ See to Walsham, No. 852, 4 Oct., recording his sounding Waddington whether France would accept Britain's services to compose her quarrel with China, F.O. 27/2715; and p. 255, n. 4.

² i.e. that the Egyptian government had suspended payments into the *caisse de la dette publique*; see from Northbrook, tel. No. 4, 18 Sept., and reply tel. No. 3, 20 Sept., F.O. 78/3696; see p. 260, n. 5.

³ Gordon no longer held a commission in the British army.

⁴ See to Baring, tel. No. 310, 20 Sept., telling him to direct Gordon, through Kitchener, to obey Wolseley's orders, F.O. 78/3684.

⁵ Not traced.

troops can be sent to Khartoum for the purposes he describes, which are the purposes we have all along rejected.

2. I think I understand the force of your reasons for making communications to the Powers about Egyptian Financial steps, as well as of my own objections. These would I think be removed in a great degree, & your purpose gained, if the Egyptian Govt were to communicate its view & intention (of course after communicating with our representatives beforehand) in a document, *copies* of which we could forward to the Powers, stating that we did not see cause to interfere with the intended action.

3. As to Bismarck I incline to the belief—this *time* you will charge me with suspicion—that when he has supported & when he has opposed us he has been governed by one and the same *principle* all along.

1440. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 151]

Foreign Office. Sep 22/84.

You give some good reasons against the communication to the Powers, & the first looks as if it would be immediately justified. But I suspect the attack upon us will be rather the other way, & we shall be blamed for not having previously ascertained their views—but the complaint is not formidable.

Do you feel certain that it is necessary to send any message at once to Gordon, as we have told him that he is under Wolsley [*sic*].

Dufferin was very pleasant, delighted with his appointment,¹ but he did not throw any light upon affairs. The Turk he says is in a more friendly humour. He saw Kalnoky. I asked him to put down what passed, which he will do.²

1441. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

S. 23. 84.

1. As regards offices; I sent you Spencer's last.³ There is one office disposable, and there are two men to be put into it. The proposal which S. suggests would with the accompaniments be hardly decent for me to

¹ i.e. as viceroy of India.

² From Dufferin, confidential, 24 Sept., recorded Kalnoky's regret at the Egyptian suspension of payments and urged that the bondholders should not suffer; and second confidential letter on Austria's invincible hostility to Bulgarian unity, F.O. 78/3626; and private letter, 2 Oct., added that the three emperors at Skiernewirce might have agreed to Bulgarian unity, P.R.O. 30/29/191.

³ From Spencer, 22 Sept., urging that Trevelyan be replaced (p. 220, n. 1) by Lefevre or Campbell Bannerman, Trevelyan staying in the cabinet, resignation and peerage for Dodson, the cabinet for Rosebery; with note: 'Ld Granville. Probably I should come over to consider this at the proper time. It is difficult. W.E.G. S.22.', Add. MS. 44311, fo. 190.

make. If the Presidentship is not cleared, how is R[osebery] to be brought in? Stripped it must be—and this I rather think ought to lead a well judging man to resign. I have asked myself could we give R. the Privy Seal. But, for this year, no salary has been voted. And we could not keep the Salary alive after the Scotch Minister is constituted. It may be necessary for a few of us to meet before the matter can be settled.

2. I hope you are considering what to telegraph to Gordon. The knowledge that troops have been sent even a part of the way will make him more high and mighty and I hope you will let him clearly understand that our policy is to be followed and not his. Sir H. Gordon I fear has some of his eccentricity of mind without his inspiration.

3. Can you explain the apparent contradiction between the request for Zebehr & the reference to 'Mohammed Ali Pacha'?¹ And is the said Mohammed the Mudir of Dongola? (I have the utmost difficulty in recollecting names, and am frequently at a loss, in consequence, to interpret F.O. telegrams, which assume all names to be known).

3. [*sic*] I would press upon you that Northbrook should not make partial recommendations involving Parliamentary action.² There is not the slightest chance of the acceptance of any scheme by the H. of C., involving British responsibility, unless, as in the Anglo-French Agreement, *it forms part of a complete scheme*. Even then, it will be full of danger, as coming from us, though I do not put any preliminary bar in the way. I am however much struck by the change in Northbrook's mind since he originally set out his views. If you doubt what I have said above, consult Childers or R. Grosvenor.

4. You have stated succinctly Harcourt's idea³ that we should look to the alternative of resignation. You do not give details: but the general idea is far from unacceptable to me. We must of course fully consider beforehand the alternatives upon another defeat of the Franchise Bill. The greatest thing of all however is, in what way to improve the Division.

1442. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

No 1

S. 24. 84.

The utmost allowance must be made for Northbrook's difficulties: yet I am surprised at his recommendation.

¹ See no. 1435; see also Sir Henry Gordon to Granville, 21 Sept., sent to Gladstone, urging compliance with request, contained in a message from Gordon, for Zobeir and referring to Gordon's remarks about the help given by the mudir of Dongola in evacuating the eastern Sudan, P.R.O. 30/29/168; see p. 268, n. 4.

² See from Northbrook, Nos. 2, 3, and 4, 13 Sept., proposing the application of the British government's credit to aid Egypt to pay the coupon on the Ottoman debt of 1871 and to renew the floating debt until a radical solution could be considered; and from Northbrook, No. 9, 28 Sept., withdrawing this recommendation on finding a debt from the British War Office to the Egyptian railways whose payment enabled the coupon to be met, F.O. 78/3696.

³ See no. 1433.

When he went, we knew that Egypt was insolvent, and we determined that we should leave her to pay what and when she could.

He was I thought firmly a party to this decision.

I can hardly think a single member of the Cabinet would entertain the present proposal.

Pressed as I am with all the engagements not of a journey but of a public progress, I cannot attempt to master the present details of Egyptian finance. They cannot I suppose prove more than insolvency and that we knew long ago.

1. The proposal appears to *involve* our taking upon us the whole business of raising the Egyptian revenue from deficit to solvency.

2. It involves the immediate summoning of Parliament.

3. Parliament when assembled would never so much as look at a *piece-meal* plan.

(4. I doubt if it would entertain an entire one, involving our sole liability, without a change of our policy, root and branch: such as we could not make.)

5. We should therefore first have to summon Parlt now on what must have been foreseen in August, & then to fail.

6. And this would wholly break up our plans & solemn engagements to the country, as they now stand, about the Franchise Bill and the Lords.

7. And all this virtually for the purpose of finding dividends for the Egyptian bondholders.

I write upon such knowledge of the case as I possess.

At one I start for Scone, Kingussie, Perth, and Dalmeny.

The arguments in Northbrook's Para[graph] beginning 'Unless' p. 2¹ seem to me quite insufficient.

1443. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

No 2.

Sept. 24. 84.

1. With regard to a message to Gordon.

a. I did not mean a direct one.

b. I recommend a suggestion to Northbrook—on which he would have the opportunity of dissuading, if he saw cause.

c. Gordon has no means of knowing what is meant by our installing Wolseley—he may think it is only *vice* Stephenson.

d. He has been told, I think, at any rate is sure to know, of the movement of troops towards him.

¹ i.e. of Northbrook's, No. 4, 13 Sept.; see also to Northbrook, tel. 25 Sept., rejecting the proposals in No. 4, P.R.O. 30/29/139.

e. And this after he has in the boldest manner set up his policy against ours.

f. I therefore think that he will be justified in surmising that he may go on with his policy & still be our agent, unless we tell him what is really the case.

I think you will agree with me that there is cause for writing to Northbrook in this sense.¹

The greater the embarrassments of the general question, the more important it is not to lose a day that we can help losing, in getting Gordon out or else unshipping him. And now it does appear that the country is clear. For this it is that Wolseley has gone: and the opening of the path much increases our responsibility.

2. What I have written, on Gordon & on finance, appears to me to be so entirely implied in what the Cabinet has long ago decided, that I am not for summoning it at present. But if you think otherwise, I get out of my engagements, as I hope, on Friday night, and after that am free for the purpose.

1444. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*² [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 155]

Walmer Castle. Sep 25/84.

I send you a letter from Ponsonby, which I presume is only a duplicate.³

In a letter from herself,⁴ about some private matters, she tells me that you seemed at Balmoral to be very anxious for a compromise, and that you made yourself particularly agreeable, but she wishes me [to] tell you confidentially that she disapproves of the manner in which you have been agitating Scotland. My first impulse was to decline the commission (It is like the complaint, against Mme de Flahault, that she sent the housemaid to blow up the man cook), but on 2d thoughts I think it better to tell you, and to inform her of my view on the subject.

I rather hope you will burn this note.

¹ Cf. tel. to Northbrook, 28 Sept.: 'We think you ought to take the means you think most discreet, probably through Wolseley, to let [Gordon] know we are not prepared to change our policy and adopt the large plans he recommends', P.R.O. 30/29/139.

² Granville to Gladstone, 24 Sept., announcing Herbert Bismarck's departure for Scotland and sending, without comment, Hartington's letters, 20 and 23 Sept., on the franchise bill (P.R.O. 30/29/134), Add. MS. 44177, fo. 153; Gladstone to Granville, 25 Sept., returning Hartington's letter without comment and sending Ponsonby to himself with his reply, asking for the latter to be returned for circulation, copy, Add. MS. 44547, fo. 113, not printed.

³ See to Granville, 24 Sept., giving the Queen's report of her conversation with Richmond on franchise and re-distribution, P.R.O. 30/29/28 A, fo. 574; cf. to Gladstone, 22 Sept., Guedalla, ii. 300.

⁴ To Granville, 24 Sept., P.R.O. 30/29/31.

1445. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 157]

Walmer. Sep 25/84.

I send you a letter from Hartington¹—though I differ from him in his ultimate view, there is much sense in what he says about an immediate instruction to Gordon.

We could not have passed over without notice his arrogant message, but the telegram directing him to consider himself under the orders of Wolsley [*sic*] would appear sufficient for the present.

I have sent the enclosed draft of telegram to Childers. If he agrees, it² shall be sent at once.

I quite agree that it will be better to discuss orally the question of Cabinet additions.

I hope to send you this afternoon a draft of despatch to Paget, on his conversation with Kalnoky.³

I am enquiring who Mohammed Ali is. I do not believe Gordon means the Mudir. At Northbrook's and Baring's request, I have asked the Queen whether she will give to Wolsley [*sic*] the discretion to offer to the Mudir the K.C.M.G.⁴

I send you Harcourt's letter.⁵ I have no objection if it is founded on the refusal to create Peers.

1446. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Sept. 26. 84.

I will take no notice of the Queen's displeasure.⁶ She does not know the facts. If she did she would know that while I have been compelled to deviate from the intention of speaking only to constituents, which (with much difficulty) I kept until Aberdeen, I have thereby (and again with much difficulty in handling the audiences, every one of which would have wished a different course of proceeding) been enabled to do much in the

¹ Of 23 Sept., a first letter, on receipt of the proposal in no. 1439, hastily written to catch the post and advise against any immediate instruction to Gordon, P.R.O. 30/29/134; and second letter, 24 Sept., Fitzmaurice, ii. 397.

² Gladstone noted here in pencil that it 'was not sent'; for tel. actually sent to Northbrook in Gladstone's and Childers's name, see p. 266, n. 1.

³ See to Paget, No. 154, 24 Sept., imputing more responsibility and claiming more support from Austria-Hungary over Egyptian finance than Kalnoky offered (cf. no. 1396), F.O. 7/1061; sent to Gladstone later in the day with a covering note asking for any suggestions of improvement, Add. MS. 44177, fo. 161.

⁴ Mustapha, mudir of Dongola, made honorary K.C.M.G. from 25 Sept., in recognition of services rendered to the British troops and government in the Sudan.

⁵ i.e. of 14 Sept., cf. p. 258, n. 5, looking to resignation on a demand for the creation of peers which would be refused, P.R.O. 30/29/29 A; see also Gladstone to Harcourt, 25 Sept., Add. MS. 44547, fo. 114.

⁶ See no. 1444; cf. Gladstone to Ponsonby, 15 Sept., Guedalla, ii. 299.

way of keeping the question of organic change in the House of Lords out of the present stage of controversy.

I am much more concerned at Ponsonby's declaration that the Conservatives will require to be 'protected by enactment'.

This means that they will retain and not surrender their power to defeat the Redistribution, and so kill the franchise.

I like the idea of resignation.

I do not like the notion of creating Peers. But circumstances may possibly bend me to it.

At Carlisle I found 10 000 people gathered for the short stopping time of the train.

1447. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. 27: Sepr. 1884

1. First and foremost. In a letter to my wife, Dufferin speaks of sailing on Nov. 6. Surely this can never be. Doubtless it is to suit Ripon's arrangements in India: but can these be of consequence *compared* with the vote in the H. of Lords. I only wish to bring this to your notice.¹

2. Hartington has stated his argument on Gordon admirably but I cannot agree with him.² All along he has put extreme suppositions one way, and he is I think unconsciously biassed by his ulterior view. However, I am under the circ[umstance]s content to wait until the answer comes from Northbrook.³

3. The Queen would have a fair case for refusing to make Peers while she could get a Government without it. On the other hand, I do not see that she could refuse a Dissolution, which would (in my view) *after* the second rejection be far more formidable for the House of Lords, and would seal its doom, as an assembly mainly hereditary. I might be disabled from recommending this course, for I do not see that I could undertake to fight the battle. The odious course of making Peers would be the milder one.

4. Shall we have the usual Dinner & Speech-reading on the 22d?

5. I think the Kalnoky draft excellent and have only suggested a slight softening of a single phrase.⁴

Rosebery *much better*:⁵ all anxiety dismissed Today 2 Pm.

¹ See nos. 1452, 1457.

² See p. 268, n. 1.

³ i.e. to the private message sent by Granville on 24 Sept., p. 267, n. 1.

⁴ 'Some right' to expect support from Austria-Hungary changed to 'some title' in No. 156, 29 Sept., meeting Kalnoky's criticisms of the Egyptian suspension of payments and asking for support from Austria-Hungary in reconstruction in Egypt, F.O. 7/1061; cf. p. 268, n. 3.

⁵ After a fall from his horse, Lord Crewe, *Lord Rosebery* (1931) i. 209.

1448. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 162]

Walmer Castle. Sep 27/84.

In a private letter to Northbrook,¹ I suggested that the Egyptian answer might be that they were anxious to act in a legal manner, and with the concurrence of Europe and if the powers would assist them in dealing with the present financial difficulties, they would gladly take their advice but that it was absolutely necessary for them to discharge the first duty to their country and provide for its administration.

I see that it is announced from Cairo, that the protests will merely be acknowledged—which may be the best plan. But it is probable that a demand for the withdrawal of the Egyptian note may follow—

What amendments of my letter, do you think I had better send by telegraph.

1449. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. Sept. 30 84.

1. I return a paper² which seems to have slipped within your band by mistake.

2. Sir H. Gordon's³ is a fair letter. Ought not Northbrook and Wolseley, after Gordon's renewed request, to give us their opinion about Zebehr?

3. I subscribe to Derby's⁴ account and estimate of Mr Holt as a local Liberal, but hardly as a Cabinet Minister. I shall admit the title of the House of Lords to make a case for a Dissolution when (which I am far from desiring) both Houses are to be dissolved.

4. Yesterday I sent a telegram *en clair* as a reply to you, which as you would I think see[,] referred to Massowah.⁵

5. Madam Novikoff *apropos* to recent Russian action in the matter of Egypt writes to me 'questions of form and slightly offended amour propre sometimes exercise more influence than they ought in these great matters.'⁶ I do not understand the reference.

6. I send for your perusal a letter from Seymour.⁷

¹ 26 Sept., to answer thus protests against suspension of payments, P.R.O. 30/29/139; cf. from Northbrook, tel. No. 6, 27 Sept., reporting similar protests against the non-payment of the Alexandria indemnities, Add. MS. 44177, fo. 164; Gladstone to Granville, tel. 12.10 p.m. 28 Sept., P.R.O. 30/29/128; to Northbrook, tel. No. 5, 29 Sept., giving him discretion to use the same answer, F.O. 78/3696.

² Not traced.

³ Cf. p. 265, n. 1, no later letter traced.

⁴ See Derby to Granville, 28 Sept., on Holt's ability and his opinion that the government ought to dissolve if the franchise bill again failed, P.R.O. 30/29/28 A, fo. 611.

⁵ Not traced.

⁶ See Madame Novikov to Gladstone, 29 Sept., taking the opportunity of a letter of thanks for a copy of *Gleanings* to regret that Russia seemed to oppose Britain in Egypt and ending as here described, Add. MS. 44268, fo. 300.

⁷ To Gladstone, 28 Sept., giving Lambert's opinion that the franchise bill would have

I have been through the Redistribution papers and my impressions are for the most part favourable. This with qualifications which I have explained to Dilke.¹

1450. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*² [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 165]

Foreign Office. [30 September 1884].

A very awkward question has arisen—You remember the decision of the Cabinet, upon which a despatch to Berlin was founded on the subject of New Guinea.³

The Germans had previously admitted our right to the south side of New Guinea—opposite Australia.

The Colonial office thought it necessary that we should have more, and take some of the country north of the island.

Derby would have liked to issue the proclamation previous to giving any information of our intentions to Germany.

But he yielded to the opinion of Northbrook, of Lyons & myself, that we could only do so, if we wished to quarrel with the Germans—& I wrote to announce our intention—& it was settled to delay by telegraph for a few days the ship which was to carry out the instructions.

I was going today to suggest to the Col: Office that we had waited long enough when I rec[eive]d a letter from Plessen saying that after the previous declarations the projected extension of the British Protectorate in the North & North East of New Guinea comes unexpectedly upon the Imp[erial] Gov, and they wish provisionally to reserve to themselves the consideration thereof.

The Imperial Gov conceive that the delimitation of the areas which interest both sides should be the subject of a friendly understanding by means of a commission.

The Col. Office and Childers are very strong that we must not irritate the Australians in this matter—& the matter does not brook delay.⁴

no chance of passing the Commons unless Gladstone adhered to his policy of taking it before and apart from re-distribution, P.R.O. 30/29/28 A, fo. 578.

¹ See to Dilke, 29 Sept., explaining that he wished to preserve the individuality of town and county constituencies, to increase the number of single member constituencies, to lower the figure of the population for a borough, Add. MS. 44547, fo. 116; mem. by Dilke and explanatory note, 18, 20 Sept., min. 29 Sept., and Dilke to Gladstone, 30 Sept., Add. MS. 44149, fos. 241-3.

² No. 1450 is printed Fitzmaurice, ii. 371, with a reading of the last sentence adopted by Granville's secretary in copying the letter.

³ For cabinets of 6 and 9 Aug., see Add. MS. 44645, fos. 167, 176; see to Amptill, No. 225 C confidential, 9 Aug., F.O. 64/1144; and p. 242, n. 4.

⁴ See C.O. to F.O., 28 Aug.; reply, 6 Sept., enclosing instructions to Scott to announce British intentions to Germany; min. delaying the proclamation of the protectorate; and from Plessen, 27 Sept., protesting as here described, F.O. 64/1144; and p. 280, n. 4.

But it seems necessary to have a cabinet, before Derby & I can take an irrevocable step.

1451. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 170]

Foreign Office. Sep 30/84.

I understand your telegram to refer to the private message from Northbrook which I desired to be repeated to you.¹

Italians and Massowah.²

Like you, my first impression was favorable—It is very tempting to give them a reward for their friendly attitude particularly when it relieves us from a difficulty.

But on 2d thoughts it appears to me to be rather early to give the Italians the Queen's shilling—and to hand over on our own authority, any portion of the Ottoman Empire to a European Power. It would be a regular red flag to France.

What do you say?

1452. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 172]

Walmer Castle. Oct 1/84.

I sent you a letter from Sir H. Gordon,³ who seems a very amiable man, but he does not show the great ability with which he is credited.

It has however struck me, that if sent to meet his brother, he might act the part of a tame elephant.

Shall I consult Northbrook & Baring?⁴

I should be delighted to give up the speech dinner, but I have some doubts whether it would be judicious as regards the Peers.

If we give dinners, it might be a good thing for Mrs Gladstone & Lady Granville to give parties.

Everybody would go to each, & it would enable both of us to ask a larger number.

On account of sickness[,] deaths and mournings, we gave none last year.

I have not yet had an answer from Kimberley about Dufferin.⁵

¹ From Northbrook, 27 Sept., on future financial and administrative arrangements for Egypt, including the reduction of the British forces, P.R.O. 30/29/139.

² Northbrook had suggested that Britain acquiesce in an Italian occupation of Massowah.

³ See p. 270, n. 3.

⁴ See Granville to Northbrook, tel., private, 4 Oct., 'what do you and Baring think of Sir Henry Gordon going out to communicate, when possible, with his brother as a moderating influence'; and reply, 'we are decidedly against it', P.R.O. 30/29/140.

⁵ See nos. 1447 and 1457; cf. Granville to Gladstone, 2 Oct., sending Kimberley's reply containing Dufferin's refusal to delay his departure in order to vote on the franchise bill, Add. MS. 44177, fo. 177, not printed; see Sir A. Lyall, *The Marquis of Dufferin* (1905) for departure on 13 Nov., before the bill came to the Lords.

Could you write me one line of whipping for Lyons, which I could send & support.¹

I think of asking Chesterfield, & one of the younger Peers to move & second the address.²

1453. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 175]

Walmer Castle. Oct 1/84.

Lambert is a very great authority.³

I am afraid Escott is quite untrustworthy.

I sent you Derby's letter merely for what it is worth. You know I am not against a creation of Peers—the real complaint against the House of Lords is that they are not in harmony with the R.R. [i.e. representatives] of the people. This would be corrected for a time by the threat of a creation, if successful, or by the creation itself.

I think you must have overlooked Northbrook's strong condemnation of Zebuhr. I suppose Mme Novikoff means the refusal to allow Stahl [sc. Staal] to propose the admission of Russia to the conference.⁴

Many thanks for telegrams rec[eive]d today.⁵

[P.S.] It will be a real pleasure having a *talk* with you.

1454. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

No 1.

Hawarden Castle. Oct. 2. 84.

This letter belongs to the 'Home' Department.

1. Cabinet is summoned for Tuesday at 3,⁶ and I will ask certain persons to meet you and me on Wednesday at noon to discuss the question of offices & see what is best to be done.

2. I entirely agree with you as to dinners and have directed my list to be invited—as you know it is official, with the mover and seconder as well as the Speaker added.

3. But I am against *my* having an evening party. The people in town will be few for division: & while the great Eve [of Session] will for you

¹ See Newton, *Lord Lyons*, ii. 336, for his failure to persuade Lyons to come over to vote.

² 23 Oct., in fact moved by Lord Belper and seconded by Lord Lawrence, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxciii. 5-14.

³ See p. 270, n. 7.

⁴ No. 1453 so far answers points in no. 1449.

⁵ See Gladstone to Granville, tel. 4.32 p.m. 1 Oct., approving Northbrook's suggestions in tels. Nos. 8 and 9, 29 Sept., P.R.O. 30/29/128.

⁶ Changed to Mon. to suit Hartington, see Granville to Gladstone, tel. 2 Oct., P.R.O. 30/29/128; for first autumn cabinet, Mon. 6 Oct., adjourned to Wed. 8 Oct., for further discussion of the franchise bill, see Add. MS. 44645, fos. 179, 182; Gladstone to the Queen, 8 Oct., Guedalla, ii. 304.

usher in some weeks of coming repose for me it will be the commencement of a Session worse than the ordinary as it will have five nights a week of *Government* work—a process of which I experienced the results rather too positively in 1882.

4. I write a separate note about Lyons.

5. Will you ask the Prince of Wales to your Eve dinner? It would be too violent for me?

6. We shall have to deal in Cabinet next week with New Guinea—Bechuana Land—Egypt proper & Soudan more or less—Franchise Accommodation & Seats, more or less. But I should like to try and make progress also with the preparation of the Speech. If we can manage this (and it ought to be moderately short) then perhaps we need not come up for good until the 20th. I hope you will, in the common interest, favour this idea.

[P.S.] 7. I have suggested a small addition to your Circular;¹ and I think you may go up to Salisbury in the Stable.²

1455. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

No 2.

Hawarden Castle. Oct 2. 84

I take it to be quite clear that the most clear of all our duties—and possibly the most remunerative—is to go to work upon the Lords' majority with the hope of cutting it down. And the time has now come, I apprehend, for looking this practically in the face.

As regards official & party men it is simply a question of using *diligence* & this I have no doubt you will look after. I have only to say I hope *distance* will not prevent your thinking about Lansdowne.³

But it seems to me that this is an occasion when without assuming any title you may fairly try the effect of persuasion in cases usually lying beyond your limit of action, on the simple ground that the interests of the order are, at the present stage, so deeply, it may be vitally, involved as to warrant, nay to call for, the vote of Peers not only who are independent in the usual sense, but who commonly abstain from voting. Such are one or two Bishops—in addition to the rich harvest we garnered in July:⁴ when, undoubtedly, a man like Ld A. Hervey (Bath & Wells), of Tory connections, must in all likelihood have been moved more or less by this consideration. Does not Lyons stand in this category? He knows the estimate we hold of his judgment as well as our appreciation of his entire independ-

¹ To liberal peers urging them to vote in the Lords when the franchise bill was before them again.

² An allusion to Melbourne's remark about Peel, see no. 29.

³ For Granville's tel. to Lansdowne, that he should come from Canada to vote on the franchise bill and Lansdowne's refusal, see Lord Newton, *Lord Lansdowne* (1929) 31.

⁴ See no. 1344.

ence. But to save the H. of Lords from a tempest which must strain & may wreck it will we know move some Tory Lords (e.g. my late host, Lord Strathmore) to vote for the Franchise Bill, & why should not the same motive operate upon men like our Ambassador,¹ who are I believe of no party?

1456. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

No. 3. Hawarden Castle. Oct 2. 84.

1. In the matter of Italy and Massowah, I meant to convey willingness to go along with you, but leaning a good deal upon you. I was not perfectly aware how far Massowah was an accepted & practical, or a disputable or merely theoretical part of the Turkish Empire (like some tracts of Arabia). On this I was willing to be guided by you, & I had observed, of course, the views of our advisers in Egypt. So that I am willing to hold back with you if that be your judgment.²

2. I entirely like the notion of consulting Northbrook & Baring about sending Sir H. G[ordon] to his brother.³ He would there probably be a moderating element; & would convey much more living information than any documents.

[P.S.] Ponsonby writes to Hamilton about Angra Pequeña.⁴ I suppose it must be some detail which continues as yet unsettled: I know you do all you can to put the matter forward.

1457. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

No. 1. Hawarden Castle. Oct 3. 84.

I have written strongly to Kimberley⁵—though by no means sure that it is not beyond my province. I think your title as Leader is the clearer of the two, but I am too anxious about the main issue to raise collateral arguments without strong need.

[P.S.] I have not seen any recent condemnation of Zebehr by Northbrook—till tonight.⁶

What about the alternative man set up by Gordon?

¹ i.e. Lyons.

² Cf. Granville to Baring, private tel., 6 Oct., 'we are not prepared to agree to the offer to Italy connected with Massowah', P.R.O. 30/29/200; see no. 1451.

³ See p. 272, n. 4.

⁴ Not traced.

⁵ 3 Oct., renewing the effort to delay Dufferin's departure (see p. 272, n. 5), Add. MS. 44547, fo. 119; and reply, 5 Oct., detailing the Indian reasons against delay, Add. MS. 44228, fo. 158; and Gladstone to Kimberley, 7 Oct., reluctantly acquiescing, Add. MS. 44547, fo. 122.

⁶ Not traced.

With regard to the inclosed,¹ which I presume from the date has gone, ought not some notice to be taken of Bismarck's impudent reference to the English Exchequer. Ought you to have such a remark in your possession without protest. He coolly assumes in effect that we are responsible for all the financial wants and occasions of Egypt.

I hope Northbrook will not send home in an official form any proposal about the Indemnities apart from the general Finance.² I like his plan or rather ideas for the Egyptian army.³

1458. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

No. 2.

Hawarden Castle. Oct 3. 84.

I make two notes on the excellent Draft of Instructions to Wolseley.⁴

1. The *wording* of a Paragraph in p. 2 seem to me to go beyond its intention, and to commit us too directly & too far. I have suggested a simple correction.

2. With regard to Zebehr, I should be better pleased not to go so far as to shut the door absolutely which the Draft now does. The alteration I have put on the margin is I think a mild one.

1459. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44177, fo. 178]

Walmer. Oct 4/84.

I have telegraphed to Northbrook and Baring about Sir Henry [Gordon].⁵

Ditto to Lansdowne.⁶

I will use your observations in a note to Lyons.⁷

The Colonial office has been (between ourselves) slow but they have agreed to everything that Bismarck has asked.⁸ The question now is a real querelle d'Allemand—

¹ Not traced and action not taken; allusion is to Bismarck's criticism of the suspension of payments into the *caisse*, because Britain not the bondholders should bear Egypt's expenditure, cf. from Scott, No. 290 confidential, 24 Sept., F.O. 64/1051.

² See from Northbrook, tel. No. 6, 28 Sept., on distress caused by delay in paying the Alexandria indemnities and his intention to make a proposal, F.O. 78/3696.

³ See Northbrook to Granville, 27 Sept., p. 272, n. 1.

⁴ See F.O. 78/3684; on p. 2 Gladstone altered '[British policy was] to establish a Government at Khartoum, which . . . would be . . . independent of Egypt' to 'H.M.G. would be glad to see a Government . . .'; last paragraph authorizing Wolseley to conclude an arrangement with a local chief other than Zobeir altered to an instruction not to establish Zobeir 'as ruler of Khartoum without referring home first'.

⁵ See p. 272, n. 4.

⁶ See p. 274, n. 3.

⁷ See p. 273, n. 1.

⁸ i.e. to withdraw the claim to the south-west African coast (p. 242, n. 3) where Germany proclaimed her protectorate; but see to Scott, No. 289, 7 Oct., enclosing mem., 4 Oct., on 'Angra Pequena negotiations prepared to correct misapprehensions'; and reply, 8 Oct., F.O. 64/1104; below, p. 296, n. 3.

I shall be in London a little earlier than you.

I was much puzzled as to the summons for the Cabinet. Hartington did not tell me why he was so very earnest against Tuesday & Wednesday, but I suppose he is to receive a party next week.

He suggested Saturday but that appeared impossible. Shortness of time. His own engagement to speak, & my receiving Waddington here today.

I hope Monday will not be inconvenient to you & the Cabinet.¹

1460. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 181]
Walmer Castle. Oct 5/84.

I am glad you wrote to Kimberley.² My argument would be [:] the leader of the House of Lords having urged the necessities of the division on a great Gov question, is met by a refusal on the ground of the necessities of the Indian Empire.

The conflicting arguments are strong—and require the interposition of a higher authority than either of the disputants.

1461. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
10, Downing Street. Oct 7. 84.

Here is an *abbozzo* of a Speech,³ framed upon the principle of saying nothing but what is needful & that in the least pointed way.

1462. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 122]
[Copy] Oct 8. 84.

In your draft to Sir J. Walsham could you substitute for the words 'make any communication' the words 'give any material information', lest France should construe you as engaging now to make some new proposal to her after Northbrook's report is received.⁴

¹ See p. 273, n. 6.

² See p. 275, n. 5.

³ For the Queen's speech, 23 Oct., opening the autumn session, only announcing the franchise bill and referring to the Sudan and Egypt, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxciii. 3.

⁴ See to Walsham, No. 857 confidential, 4 Oct., recording his reply to Waddington that he would 'not be prepared to make any communication' to France until Northbrook's report 'had been received and considered', F.O. 27/2662; Gladstone's alteration made.

1463. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 182]
Foreign Office. Oct 12/84.

I send you the preliminary German answer as to the Conference.¹

I have desired a report to be made of Bismarck's previous opinions about understandings at Conferences (for example, the Berlin Conference).

It is undesirable to give an opportunity to Germany & France to join against us, and the conference is too good a thing for us to be lost, but we cannot accept France & Germany having apparently come to an agreement, that we cannot be allowed to ask any questions at all.

I have asked Lister to consult the Colonial permanent staff, as to what points we should insist upon being answered, in however general a way.²

1464. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
Secret. Hawarden Castle. Oct 13. 84.

1. Brassey's seat is not safe.

2. Lefevre has behaved very well, but it cannot be, for an extraneous reason.

3. These things being so shall I add Dodson to the list, striking out Brassey, and then proceed to submit the list.³

4. At the same time fixing Trevelyan to succeed Dodson?⁴

5. The Opposition leaders have told the Queen they are ready to negotiate:⁵ but Salisbury's speeches⁶ nearly make it a *reductio ad absurdum*. They indicate the basis of Hartington's speech⁷ but even this is shut out by Salisbury's latest utterances.

¹ See mem. by T.V. Lister, 11 Oct., P.R.O. 30/29/128, and to Malet, Africa No. 33, 11 Oct., recording German reply virtually refusing any definition, F.O. 84/1813; cabinet, 8 Oct., authorized Granville to accept a West Africa conference if its scope was defined, see Add. MS. 44645, fo. 182, and to Scott, Africa No. 31, 8 Oct., asking for definition, F.O. 84/1813.

² See notes by T. V. Lister, Percy Anderson, E. Hertslet, 14 Oct., and Granville's min. 'the Conference is too good a thing for us to impede, but we must not be broken down in this matter', F.O. 84/1813; attempt failed, but conference held 15 Nov. to 26 Feb. 1885; cf. S. E. Crawe, *The Berlin West African Conference* (1942) 74-77.

³ i.e. of proposed peerages as follows: J. G. Dodson and Sir H. James; and United Kingdom peerages for Lords Arran, de Vesci, and Herries, and marquissate revived for Earl Breadalbane, see Add. MS. 44768, fos. 121, 122.

⁴ See to Trevelyan, 16 Oct., offering succession to Dodson as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, Add. MS. 44547, fo. 125; and acceptance, 18 Oct., Add. MS. 44335, fo. 172; see p. 264, n. 3.

⁵ See the Queen to Gladstone, 11 Oct., Guedalla, ii. 305-6.

⁶ At Glasgow, 1 and 3 Oct., insisting on simultaneous measures for the franchise and re-distribution to avoid a dissolution and a general election with the old constituencies, see *The Times*, 2 Oct., p. 7a-d, 4 Oct., p. 10a-d.

⁷ Hartington originally against separation, see nos. 1158, 1162, 1178, etc.; for his speech, 4 Oct., at Rawtenstall, pleading for a compromise, see *The Times*, 6 Oct., p. 4b-d; for Salisbury's further speech at Kelso, 11 Oct., see *ibid.*, 13 Oct., p. 10a-d.

6. Hamilton suggests James as Irish Sec[retary]. I think *he* might have the Cabinet with it: and I write to Spencer¹ for the chance of [Campbell] Bannerman's declining.

7. I should be glad of a telegram on No 3.²

1465. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 184-
Foreign Office. Oct 14/84.

I send you an exceedingly polite letter from Salisbury in answer to mine,³ telling him I had settled with the Duke of Bedford, that the private letters of Salisbury[,] Derby and myself, should be returned to the writers, and asking him whether he saw any objection to the Lords being adjourned for a time after the Address.

I telegraphed 'yes' to your questions No 3 & 4—Selborne will be hurt at his brother in law⁴ not being made a Peer, but the persons you consulted last have thought he had no claim.

In offering the Peerages, our experience shows that there should be a hint that your recommendation to the Queen is based upon your hope that they will act with the liberal party.

I should doubt James accepting. Is his seat safe.

When do you come to town—& when will there be a Cabinet—Hartington would not like to write the request, but I know he would be deeply grateful not [to] have one on Tuesday the 21st.⁵

[P.S.] I saw the future Kentish Peer,⁶ looking very well this morning.

1466. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
Hawarden Castle. Oct 17. 84.

Northbrook's & Baring's letters Oct 4-8.⁷

1. As to Massowah—do the Turks wish to occupy? If they do not,

¹ See to Spencer, 13 Oct., proposing this, if Campbell Bannerman refused; reply, tel. and letter, 13 Oct., describing his inducements to Campbell Bannerman to accept, Add. MS. 44311, fo. 207; and p. 282, n. 2.

² See Granville to Gladstone, tel. 2.35 p.m. 14 Oct., agreeing to proposals in paragraphs 3 and 4, P.R.O. 30/29/128.

³ See to Salisbury, 9 Oct., on the disposal of Amptill's correspondence and proposing adjournment until the franchise bill came up from the Commons; and Salisbury's courteous but non-committal reply, 13 Oct., P.R.O. 30/29/153.

⁴ See vol. i, p. 432, n. 4.

⁵ For cabinet, Wed. 22 Oct., settling final details before the session, see Add. MS. 44645, fo. 186.

⁶ i.e. Dodson.

⁷ See from Northbrook, 5 Oct., two letters, urging the temporary use of British credit in order to save the coupon, P.R.O. 30/29/140; and from Baring, 4 Oct., on the new French consul-general, Camille Barrère; and 8 Oct., again proposing to hand over Massowah to Italy, P.R.O. 30/29/163.

could we in a friendly way support, at Constantinople, any offer of the Italians to do it?¹

2. As to early information when there is any, Italy has a good claim & it is very important to keep her as breaking what would in some sense be the concert? No other has any *claim* whatever.

3. Great expectations appear to prevail as to our coming proposals. I earnestly hope that those who hold them will be alone responsible for them. If by improved finance & more cheerful calculations the Coupon can be saved, well and good. I would even say if our credit based *only* on the prospective value of Suez Canal Shares can be turned to account, that door may be open. But as to using British credit proper to make the Bondholders' Dividend, I much doubt whether the Cabinet will ask it, I do not believe Parliament will grant it unless it be as part of a Jingo Policy, and I do not quite see what it is that Bismarck & his obedient Powers are to do against the Government of Egypt backed and approved by us.

4. It seems to me material that Northbrook's report should not be in the hands of Parliament till the Lords have given their vote²—Pray consider this.

[P.S.] Dodson retires in the nicest possible tone & frame of mind.³

1467. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Hawarden Castle. O. 19. 84.

I understand the Queen is keen about the succession of the Duke of Cambridge to the Duke of Brunswick. Doubtless that is in the first place a question of law, and I presume that you will have it, or will already perhaps have had it, reported on.

It does not appear at first sight how the King of Hanover is got out of the way.

I presume it is right for us to support to the best of our power every legitimate claim of our own Royal Family.

[P.S.] I am rather astonished at the impudence of Plessen's communication (in yours of 15th) even from Bismarck.⁴

¹ See nos. 1451, 1456.

² See Northbrook to Granville, No. 15, 24 Oct., F.O. 78/3696; printed for the cabinet, 6 Nov., and amended after cabinet discussion; final version dated 20 Nov., laid 6 Dec., *Parl. papers* (1884-5) lxxxviii. 543.

³ See to Gladstone, 16 Oct., on his pride in having been a member of Gladstone's cabinet, Add. MS. 44252, fo. 239.

⁴ Possibly Lister's mem. of Plessen's communication enclosed in no. 1463 above or F.O. to C.O., 22 Oct., enclosing Plessen to Granville, 15 Oct., that Germany was glad to find Britain in accord with her in New Guinea, F.O. 64/1145.

1468. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 129]
[Copy] Oct. 27/84.

MacCoan's question.¹ Shall I assume that there will be a 'Report' (what is to be in it is another matter) and say it will be presented?

1469. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 188]
Foreign Office. [27 October 1884].

Carnarvon has written to me about a notice of question to Northbrook.²

I have answered and added marked confidential, that 'I was glad to see from his last speech, that he saw the importance of trying to avoid a great disaster—& that no one could contribute more than him [*sic*] to bring about such a result.'

1470. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
10, Downing Street. Oct 29. 84.

Baring's No. 662³

1. Suzerainty. Would it be right to say that in any arrangement to which we are to be parties for a Govt. at Khartoum, regard should be had to the rights of the Porte as Sovereign.

2. 'Pacific arrangements' might be [made] with neighbouring tribes, if opportunity offer?

Will it be possible to fix definitively a Governor for Khartoum without hearing Gordon on the subject? (strange as his last recommendation would appear).

[P.S.] Please to read the letters I send on Chamberlain & Disorder.⁴ The matter rests now until his duel with R. Churchill. They will tomahawk one another.⁵

¹ 7 Oct., whether Northbrook's report would be laid before parliament and reply refusing an opinion, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxciii. 259.

² 24 Oct.; and reply, 27 Oct., alluding as here described to Carnarvon's wish to effect an understanding on the franchise and re-distribution question; and further letters, 29, 31 Oct., P.R.O. 30/29/149.

³ See from Baring, No. 985, extending tel. No. 662, 29 Oct., reporting acceptance of Wolseley's proposal to make the mudir of Dongola governor of Khartoum, F.O. 78/3679; Gladstone's suggestions adopted.

⁴ See from the Queen, 22 Oct., deploring Chamberlain's apparent approval at Denbigh of the 'Aston Park riots', *The Times*, 21 Oct., p. 10d-f; replies 23, 25 Oct., Guedalla, ii. 308-9; for Gladstone's communication with Chamberlain through Dilke, see J. L. Garvin, *Life of Joseph Chamberlain* (1935) i. 472-81; Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 99-100.

⁵ Churchill was to contest Birmingham for the conservatives against Chamberlain and Bright at the next election.

1471. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 189]

Foreign Office. [? 31 October 1884].

A change of words in the draft¹ has quite reconciled the Chancellor to it—after a discussion with Kimberley & Derby

May I send it at once to Waddington, who has kept his messenger till today in the hopes of sending it.

It is possible that the F. Gov may not accept it, but that is their affair.

[P.S.] Do you give me your proxy—

Please send a verbal answer 'Yes' or 'No'.

1472. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. N. 10. 84.²

Lascelles Oct. 29.³ It is no wonder that that unhappy Prince Alexander is in doleful dumps. But why does it not occur to him to work frankly for & with his people? If he is already doing so, doubtless he ought to have every support.

The Three Empires it may be have determined that there shall be no freedom in the Balkan Peninsula.

1473. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 191]

10, Downing Street. Nov. 12. 84.

Please to let this⁴ go forward to Rosebery—unless you see cause to disapprove.

Perhaps we had better meet on this—at four this afternoon.⁵

¹ Not traced; no. 1471 which is undated may be wrongly placed in the Gladstone papers.

² During the break in the correspondence changes in offices made: Sir T. Brassey—secretary to the Admiralty *vice* Campbell Bannerman; H. Fowler—civil lord of the Admiralty *vice* Brassey; G. J. Shaw-Lefevre—postmaster-general *vice* Fawcett with cabinet to follow; see Add. MS. 44547, fos. 133–5.

³ See to Granville, private, reporting Alexander's return from St. Petersburg and Berlin 'very low and discouraged' but restrained from abdication by Queen Victoria's language to him at Darmstadt, P.R.O. 30/29/184.

⁴ Of 12 Nov., denying that he knew of a difference over Egypt, Add. MS. 44547, fo. 136; answers from Rosebery, 11 Nov., declining cabinet office, because he disapproved of the Sudan policy and (his wife being a Rothschild) because of the Rothschild interest in Egypt, Add. MS. 44288, fo. 214.

⁵ Granville returned the letter having written on it his reply: 'I can conceive no objection, but as we are to meet at four, 2 hours delay cannot signify. I have receiv[ed] a civil letter from him & answered it. I will bring this correspondence'; Lord Crewe, *Lord Rosebery* (1931) i. 212–13; Granville to Gladstone, undated, on the Rothschild connexion being a permanent barrier, Add. MS. 44177, fo. 193, not printed.

1474. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 194]

18, Carlton House Terrace. Nov 13/84.

E. Fitzmaurice gathers from well informed quarters, that the dodge is to propose a resolution before going into committee that the Lords will not proceed with the bill, till some date in the Spring.

[P.S.] I am engaged in a tremendous correspondence with Lyons. I do not know whether I shall hook him.¹

1475. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*² [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 195]

Immediate.

10, Downing Street. Nov 14. 84.

I have again been into the depths of the Egyptian question with Childers and I think we have hammered out something³ that will hold water certainly to the extent of warranting us in going before the Powers, and perhaps as a permanent basis.

It is to offer towards making up the full Dividend for the Bondholders[,] should there be a deficit[,] a direct money boon out of the accruing profits on our Suez Canal Shares from the date when we begin to receive Dividend.

The *form* would be to constitute any unpaid portion of the Dividend a charge upon our Suez Canal Dividends after they had paid us five per Cent interest. It might be a charge with a limit, i.e. for a *part* of the deficit or it might even be a charge without a limit, i.e. for the whole deficit.

This would be far more easy to propose to Parliament, if the Powers accepted it, than what would be easily shown to be making up 450 m[ilia] (or a sum approaching it) by the cash and credit of England.

The inducement we offered the Conference was a certain guarantee: this would be a renewal of the old plan with our further offer added.

It may be refused, but it is so substantive an improvement of our offer, & so practical a proof of our desire to meet the case, as to supply an ample warrant for raising our plan in this amended form.

Childers will ask to see you and set forth all particulars. To give you an idea of what it is, I may say that if they got from us (9 or 10 years hence) 1/4 per Cent, it would be 225 000£ a year in hard money, for the whole period of the duration of the Shares. If it were sold in the open market now, the price would be counted in millions.

¹ See p. 273, n. 1.

² Mem., secret, 1 a.m. 13-14 Nov., by Gladstone for Granville and Hartington of conversation with Northcote, in which he asked what assurances he would require about the re-distribution bill and its timing relative to the franchise bill; with note, 'a cabinet today would probably be premature', and reply by Granville, 'It is sad to say, but if you had one, you could not rely on secrecy', Add. MS. 44768, fos. 137-47, not printed.

³ For plan on Egyptian finance, see p. 289, n. 2.

We *think* something might be constructed on this basis. It would *leave Northbrook free to propose to the Cabinet his mode of provision, if this should fail.*

1476. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*¹ [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. N. 15. 84.

It appears to me rather clear that it is for Richmond & Cairns to move if they wish to change the position:² not for us, after S[alisbury] and N[orthcote] have told us in so many words that they *will not pass [the] F[ranchise] Bill till the Lords have got the Seats Bill.*

1477. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Urgent. 10, Downing Street. Nov. 17. 84.

I believe that for the purpose of enlightening Conservative understandings & disarming fears, it would be well to insert in the declaration³ after 'autumnal sittings' the following sentence

'The Franchise Bill would then take effect for voting purposes on Jan 1. 1886'.

[P.S.] This I will do.

Argyll is coming here between 12 & 1.⁴ Shall I tell him what we mean to declare, or the upshot of it? *To act upon if satisfied* but not to divulge.

1478. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. Nov 17/84.

Richmond came to me⁵ (with Salisbury's knowledge and approval).

¹ Note by Granville against a G.C.B. for Normanby, preferring Hartington, Rosebery having revived the proposal of July (see p. 210, n. 2), Add. MS. 44768, fo. 62, not printed.

² For refusal of Gladstone's offers of assurances about the re-distribution bill and its introduction before the franchise bill had passed, see to the Queen, 14 Nov., enclosing to Northcote, 13 Nov., his reply, 14 Nov., and rejoinder, 14 Nov., *Letters*, iii. 571-2; introduced into the Lords, 13 Nov., second reading, 18 Nov., *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxciv. 1-10.

³ To be made in Lords and Commons about the timing of re-distribution relative to franchise and that the terms of re-distribution would be arranged with the conservatives; negotiated by Granville; see to the Queen, tels. and reply, 14 Nov., P.R.O. 30/29/44; draft declaration, P.R.O. 30/29/128; *Letters*, iii. 573-4; declaration as here amended, 17 Nov., *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxciii. 1806-9, 1819-22.

⁴ Cf. Argyll to the Queen, 18 Nov., after the declaration, thanking the Queen for her intervention, *Letters*, iii. 577.

⁵ Cf. Richmond to the Queen, 17 Nov., describing his persuasion of the conservative peer leaders to agree to a discussion of a re-distribution bill by the leaders of the two parties and the liberal acceptance of this course, *Letters*, iii. 575-6.

He & Cairns came up this morning. They are both desirous of finding a *modus vivendi*.

Richmond knows that the Queen had suggested a meeting of the leaders to Salisbury. He believed she had done so to you. Salisbury had expressed his willingness.

Richmond & Cairns do not like the reform question, and they agree with the others in thinking that the 2 bills should be passed simultaneously or at all events the same session. But they are both anxious to find a *modus vivendi*.

He pressed that the Queen's proposal might be accepted—& he hoped that you with any 3 colleagues would meet Salisbury, Cairns, Northcote, & himself—*confidentially & without prejudice* to consider the provisions of a redistribution bill, which he imagined would be on the lines of the Standard copy.¹

I told him that I was aware that the Queen had proposed a meeting of the leaders, and that Salisbury & you had both agreed—but that I knew more to which I could not allude. He answered that he also knew about Hicks Beach, which he thought was foolish. I replied that I knew more than that which I could not divulge. I added that I was much pleased with what he had stated to me, but I thought what was about to be stated by me in the House would facilitate such an arrangement.

I said I would immediately tell you what had passed, that I thought you would agree in my answer, but that I would let him know if you had anything to add.

He said he was ready to call on you—if you wished it.

1479. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Confidential.

10, Downing Street. Nov 17/84.

He [Richmond] spoke very openly—criticized Salisbury.

Said we need not be afraid—His [Cairns's] clear judicial mind, and his entire agreement with him[,] Richmond, would make him useful to us.

He expressed a strong hope that you would not name Chamberlain or Dilke²—they were so leaky, (I suppose he meant to Churchill).³

¹ Not traced; cf. no. 1438; also Gladstone's note of cabinet 22 Oct., which discussed the *Standard* disclosure, Add. MS. 44645, fo. 186.

² i.e. as liberal representative in the discussions on a re-distribution bill; Dilke, but not Chamberlain, named; for meetings and final agreement ('Arlington Street Compact') see Morley, iii. 137–8; *Letters*, iii. 579–80; S. Gwynn and G. M. Tuckwell, *The Life of Sir Charles W. Dilke* (1917) ii. 74–76.

³ Gladstone returned the letter with the note: 'I quite agree: no more can be said or done until *they* have considered what we are to say. W.E.G. N. 17. 84.'

1480. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. Nov 18. 84.

1. I think you might propose 2.30 tomorrow.¹
2. Of course all is strictly confidential.
3. Shall they fix the number. Hartington and Dilke would best explain our project. I am quite satisfied to be *one* tame elephant.
4. By all means let them choose their individuals.
5. I suppose proceedings had better commence by asking them whether they would wish to put questions
6. and if they do not to offer to state our project; by the mouth of one of our best informed.

1481. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. N. 18 noon. [1884].

Q[ue]ry] say[:]²

Nothing will be done to weaken in any way the assurance we have given, which undoubtedly requires that we shall use every effort in our power to pass the Bill through both Houses.

[P.S.] If difficulty arises with the Opposition on this *I* should have no objection to hold this language.

'My answer to Lawson touched a point which had not come within the scope of the authorised declaration, but obviously *we* were bound as above, and whatever happens I personally adhere to the terms of my answer and will abide by them.[']

1482. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44177, fo. 198]

Foreign Office. Nov 18/84.

I have written to Salisbury³—

& personally & confidentially to Richmond.

I am ready to come, but would it not be better to have Kimberley who has been getting up the subject, and has charge of the bill in the Lords.

[P.S.] I agree as to mode of procedure.

¹ i.e. for first meeting between Gladstone, Granville (both later dropped out), Hartington, and Dilke with Richmond, Cairns (also dropped), Salisbury, and Northcote on the terms of the re-distribution bill.

² i.e. in answer to Salisbury, who was to question Granville about Gladstone's answer in the Commons, 17 Nov., that the promise that the re-distribution bill would be made 'a vital question' applied in the Lords as well as the Commons; see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxciii. 1823-4; ccxciv. 6-9.

³ 18 Nov., proposing as in no. 1480, P.R.O. 30/29/153; and reply, 18 Nov., accepting, but suggesting that eight men were too many, Add. MS. 44488, fo. 86.

1483. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*¹ [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 216]
Foreign Office. Nov 18/8[4].

Things went off well tonight.² I believe my answers were safe to various questions of Salisbury.

After the discussion he came over to tell me that he & Northcote were at our disposal.

Remember Richmond's advice to have himself & Cairns as tame elephants.

You could hardly ask for them nominally, but you might propose to have more of your friends, leaving to him to select additional Conservatives.

1484. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
10, Downing Street. Nov. 19. 84.

Do I understand that we are to be four and four? If so we might settle at the Cabinet³ who they shall be. I forgot to mention a place—but I suppose you have mentioned my room. I think you could hardly be away from the *first* meeting?

1485. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 200]
Secret. 10, Downing Street. N. 19. 84.

I send copy of a note which, under the pressure of the circumstances, I have thought it worth while to write to Hartington.⁴

There is I believe nothing in the idea that the reduction of land tax [in Egypt] would be interfered with.

1486. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 201]
Foreign Office. [20 November 1884].

I do not object to trying as hard as we can an *intermediate* scheme.⁵ I

¹ No. 1483 is bound in the Gladstone papers as if dated 28 Nov.; the date can be so read, but the Lords did not sit that day; 18 Nov. saw the crucial second reading debate on which Granville would naturally report; Salisbury's question and his putting himself at Granville's disposal for discussing the re-distribution bill also happened on 18 Nov.

² See *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxciv. 6–10.

³ For meeting of the cabinet, Wed. noon, 19 Nov., on re-distribution proceedings and Egyptian finance, see Add. MS. 44645, fo. 217; for members of meetings between the party leaders see p. 286, n. 1; for Gladstone's notes of meetings between the party leaders, see Add. MS. 44768, fos. 157–61.

⁴ 19 Nov., asking whether Hartington could relieve the tension with Northbrook on the Egyptian financial question, and arguing for a scheme intermediary between his recommendations and that which failed at the financial conference, Add. MS. 44147, fo. 186.

⁵ See to Lyons, No. 986 confidential, 17 Nov., recording a conversation with Wadlington encouraging a fresh approach to France on Egyptian finance, F.O. 27/2662.

think there are advantages in doing so, even if it is not likely to be accepted.

I presume you & Childers can answer the objections to it as a scheme. Could our first proposal be twisted in another way.

Taking the French proposal as a *basis*—and introducing the necessary modifications.

I did not answer last night, my head ached so—But 15 !!! hours sleep at least, has put me all right.

1487. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 203]

Foreign Office. Nov 21/84.

Childers[,] Northbrook, Harcourt, Hartington & Chamberlain¹ have agreed to a proposal, subject to your approval.

France declines preliminary discussions in courteous terms.²

Wishes the proposals may not be sent to her previously to others.

Fears jealousy of other powers, & for other reasons thinks it undesirable.

Waddington says in a marked way that he agrees with Ferry, (implying that it is better for both of us—[])

Childers is very sorry—I do not so much care.

I hope you will have a short Cabinet tomorrow.³

[P.S.] Please ask Hamilton to read the enclosed draft of letter,⁴ which I have sent to Rothschild who had previously called on me.

1488. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. Nov. 25. 84.

There was some pressure last night to get a time named for Egyptian information.⁵ The absorption of the House in the Electoral question enabled me to get rid of it. But I think that before the House adjourns for

¹ They constituted the cabinet committee, appointed, 20 Nov., after the cabinet's failure to agree to accept Northbrook's recommendations on Egyptian finance, 19 Nov., Add. MS. 44645, fos. 217–22.

² See to Lyons, No. 991A, 21 Nov., recording the French refusal of an Anglo-French understanding preliminary to a British approach to the powers on Egyptian finance, F.O. 27/2662.

³ For cabinet, 11.30 a.m. Sat. 22 Nov., which gave discretion to Gladstone, Hartington, and Dilke in the negotiation with Salisbury and Northcote and agreed on the scheme for Egyptian finance to be submitted to the powers, see Add. MS. 44645, fo. 224.

⁴ Confirming the details of Rothschild's proposals for a settlement of the Egyptian financial question, Add. MS. 44177, fo. 206.

⁵ See question about action on Northbrook's report, Gladstone's reply that a scheme was being prepared for submission to the powers, and supplementary questions from Northcote, Lord Randolph Churchill, and others, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxciv. 277–80.

Christmas it will revive,¹ if the Franchise is out of the way, and redistribution in a smooth course.

Northcote asked me when the project would be sent to the Powers: and (not knowing whether it had *gone*) I answered 'Immediately'.

1489. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 212]
Foreign Office. [25 November 1884].

I have sent off the proposal,² not as the Times is authoritatively informed *to the Powers*, but to the R.R. [i.e. representatives of Britain at their courts] to be kept secret by them till they receive a telegram to fire them off—This is by way of their receiving them simultaneously, & gives us time for a little *pourparler* with France.

Nigra does not wish to know before others—but says we shall not have difficulties from Italy as far as he knows.

1490. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]
10, Downing Street. Nov 28. 84.

Wyndham No 395 [*sic*] on the Sultan's personal timidity.³ May not this deserve some attention: and if so *query* whether to get Dufferin's opinion from Aden by a ciphered telegram.⁴

1491. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 218]
Foreign Office. Nov 29/84.

I got a telegram at Windsor from Fullerton, suggesting that we should put off our journey to Bournemouth.⁵

Northcote had told Thurlow last night that he could not say when the Commons would be up, as there was a strong wish that the House should not be adjourned till the Speaker had left the Chair.⁶

¹ See question from Ashmead Bartlett, 2 Dec., and reply that no papers could be laid before parliament adjourned, 6 Dec., for Christmas, *ibid.* 441-2.

² See Granville to the six ambassadors, most confidential, 24 Nov., transmitting mem. of proposals for the settlement of Egyptian finances; and second circular, 26 Nov., making alterations suggested by the chancellor, and circular tel. 28 Nov., instructing to act, F.O. 78/3621.

³ See from Wyndham, No. 398 secret, 15 Nov., received 19 Nov., on the sultan's inclination to make a Russian alliance, and Russia's policy to exploit the sultan's fears for his personal safety, F.O. 78/3627.

⁴ See from Dufferin (on the way to India) tel. 2 Dec., replying to Kimberley's inquiry, that Britain could only assure the sultan of his personal safety in general terms, unless Wyndham could find some practical concession, P.R.O. 30/29/191.

⁵ Where Granville's sister, Lady Georgiana Fullerton, was ill.

⁶ i.e. until the Parliamentary Elections (re-distribution) bill, to be read a second time on 4 Dec., was in committee; for adjournment of the Commons, 6 Dec., and the committal of the bill for 19 Feb. 1885, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxciv. 657-8, 747.

1492. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*¹

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. Dec. 1. 84.

1. Would it not be well that we should go together to the meeting at the F.O. today?² Monson is coming, and possibly he may bring others—to go in with us, or be on ‘the platform’.

2. N. Rothschild dined with me on Friday. He *scoffed* at the French computation of Egyptian Land Revenue.³

3. Will it be geographically a convenient arrangement if we hold the Angra Pequena Islands and Bismarck the Continent. Would he like, possibly, to buy them?⁴

[P.S.] I hope, & infer, that it was not any unfavourable change which kept you from Bournemouth.

1493. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44177, fo. 219]

Foreign Office. [6 December 1884].

I have communicated nothing to anybody.⁵

I got a note from E. Hamilton suggesting that the time was come when some information might be given to Mr Buckle. I forwarded it to Childers, asking whether he could give him any general information on the subject. He seems to have given the whole plan.

1494. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. Dec 6. 84.

I have found my note of Cabinet of 22d ult.⁶ It marks for surrender in case of need

1. Increase of charge on Suez Interest to 1½%

2. Exemption of the Privileged: Northbrook reserving his assent.

¹ Mem. by Gladstone on Egyptian finances, Nov., Add. MS. 44768, fo. 185, not printed.

² i.e. to party meeting, decided on in the cabinet, 28 Nov., to hear explanations of the negotiations on the franchise and re-distribution bills, Add. MS. 44645, fo. 227; and for draft explanations, Add. MS. 44768, fos. 193–6.

³ France contested Northbrook's estimate of Egyptian revenues contained in the circular of 24 Nov., p. 289, n. 2.

⁴ See to Malet, No. 413 confidential, 26 Dec., on Britain's retention of the islands off German South-West Africa, F.O. 64/1105; a joint Anglo-German commission achieved a settlement in 1885.

⁵ Cf. leading article, *The Times*, 28 Nov., p. 9b, and account of the proposals for Egyptian finance, 27 Nov., p. 9a; and report from Paris, 2 Dec., p. 5a.

⁶ See p. 288, n. 3.

1495. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*¹ [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 221]

Foreign Office. [6 December 1884].

Thanks for decisions of cabinet.

Childers says that the Cabinet distinctly left to you full discretion to deal with the question of the Egyptian Finances which you undertook to do in concert with Childers[,] Northbrook & me.

It was very kind of the Cabinet to entrust this easy task to you.

1496. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

10, Downing Street. Dec. 7. 1884.

1. I am glad Childers confirms my recollection generally, but he is wrong in deposing you, as is plain from the nature of the case. I mentioned the point to Harcourt, who confirmed me, without suggesting any exception.

2. I do not see that Ferry has a good plea for delay:² we were obliged to work Egypt with the whole Parliamentary crisis impending, & were *urged* to lose no time in producing our results after Northbrook's mission. As to Bismarck, it is a case of sheer impudence, of which he has an unbounded stock (Malet's telegram³ about the former Cabinets is simply ridiculous).

I sometimes fear that some of the Foreign Governments have the same notion of me that Nicholas was supposed to have of Lord Aberdeen. But there is no one in the Cabinet less disposed than I am to knuckle down to them in this Egyptian matter about which they except Italy behave so ill, *some* of them without excuse. I would give Bismarck every satisfaction about his Colonial matters, and I am ashamed at the panic about Germany in South Africa: but about Egypt we ought not to be kept dangling in the air as is now the case. If Bismarck be unapproachable might not Lyons speak seriously to Ferry on the risks of delay and the impossibility of averting serious consequences if it be protracted.

3. Should France or any body else simply set up a Commission of Inquiry as a Counter-proposal, I hope you will at once treat it as no proposal at all, unless accompanied with a *modus vivendi* for the interim.

Should they raise the territorial question with the financial, might you not bring to the front the question of neutralisation? I do not now see any

¹ Gladstone to Granville, 6 Dec., complaining of Baring's extravagance in telegrams, P.R.O. 30/29/128, not printed.

² See to Lyons, No. 1079, 8 Dec., rejecting Ferry's proposal for delay in submitting the scheme for Egyptian finance to the powers, and instructing as in paragraph 3 of no. 1496, F.O. 27/2662.

³ See from Malet, tel. No. 45, 6 Dec., calling attention to Bismarck's reference in the Reichstag, 3 Dec., to the *Kunstlichkeit* of Gladstone's former cabinets, translating it as 'artificiality', with Fitzmaurice's min. suggesting 'ingenuity' was better and Gladstone's min. that no notice should be taken, F.O. 64/1052.

chance of agreeing with France on this branch of the subject, except upon some such basis.

4. The Turkish proposal¹ which reached me today seems in its latter heads 7-9 particularly to offer some opening for a request to Turkey to admit neutralisation in principle.

5. I do not feel sure, but you will judge, whether it would be safe, now or shortly, to stimulate the more slack Powers a little, by referring to the possibility of communications with Turkey.

6. It occurred to me to suggest for your cons[ideratio]n whether to ask Harcourt, as he knows a good deal, (to confer with the Chancellor or) to give a preliminary consideration to the question what could be done in the way of neutralising Egypt.

1497. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 222]

Foreign Office. Dec 9/84.

I am much obliged for your long letter. Such are of great use to me.

No. 1. The question of the mandate of the Cabinet seems to be on a satisfactory footing.

Northbrook, Hartington, Kimberley[,] Dilke & I had some gossip together yesterday about Egyptian Finance.

They approved of the idea of a nearly identical circular pressing for an answer.

I have sent one round for observations, but as I have already said the pith of it to Waddington, & to Nigra and I shall have an opportunity of doing the same to Munster tomorrow, perhaps it will be better for the present to rest on these conversations.²

The feeling of my colleagues was in favour of my using strong language to Germany & to France but when it was sifted the implied menace was that we should treat Egypt as Tunis, which it is evident is a threat which cannot be used by me, unless I have quite a different mandate from the Cabinet, than any I have yet rec[eive]d.

The inclination was rather in favour of beginning with our Suez Canal scheme, rather than with Neutralization which had not been very favorably rec[eive]d in this country, & which would offend the Turks.

But I will have the latter subject looked up & referred to Harcourt & the Chancellor.

¹ See from Wyndham, No. 419 secret, 25 Nov., received 3 Dec., substance telegraphed, reporting that Turkey would send a special ambassador to treat on Egypt and proposing heads of agreement, F.O. 78/3627; accepted, to Wyndham, tel. No. 50, 27 Nov., F.O. 78/3629; see below, nos. 1558, 1564, 1607.

² See to Lyons, No. 1079, 8 Dec., pressing for a reply to the British proposals on Egyptian finance (p. 289, n. 2) and hoping that France would not be hostile, F.O. 27/2662; and to Malet, No. 391A, 10 Dec., F.O. 64/1052; no circular sent.

Musurus has been here—He knows nothing of the Envoy, or of the bases.¹

Waddington hinted that we should get no answer till after the conference²—but rather drew back again when I objected. He said he had no instructions.

1498. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 146
and P.R.O. 30/29/29A]

[Copy]

Dec. 9. 1884.

1. It is only just now that I have learned the grossness of the inequality between the taxation of the rich in Egypt & that of the poor, as represented within, it is quite monstrous.

It really w[oul]d seem as if the imposition of a fair share of taxation on the rich now so unjustly favoured w[oul]d save the Bondholders & everybody else.

When I acquiesced (mentally) in Northbrook's recom[mendatio]n not to touch the land settlement, I had not an idea of the grossness of the case. I dare say we could not *standing alone* bring about this change; but it is a common interest of all the Powers.

Childers with his knowledge of the case w[oul]d probably suggest a *modus operandi*.

2. I wrote a few mild words about the Zanzibar dispatch, presuming that there must be some strong reasons known to you Derby and Kimberley in favour of the plan: but I did not gather from the papers what they were.³

It seems that whenever there is a dark corner in South African politics there is a German spectre to be the tenant of it.⁴

1499. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 230]

Foreign Office. Dec 10/84.

Bismarck has certainly withdrawn his complaint of my having betrayed his confidence about Egypt to Waddington.

& has come to terms about the publication of records of conversations with Herbert Bismarck.

But he complains of Samoa, the Cameroons, and Bechuanaland.

You will see the record of my conversation with Munster on these

¹ But cf. to Wyndham, No. 373, extending tel. No. 56, 5 Dec., sending the bases, submitted by Musurus for an agreement about Egypt, F.O. 78/3621.

² The Berlin West Africa conference, 15 Nov. 1884 to 26 Feb. 1885.

³ See to Kirk, No. 86 confidential, 5 Dec., instructing him not to accept a protectorate over the Kilimanjaro district, but to assist, with material help, the sultan of Zanzibar to establish himself there, F.O. 84/1676; for Gladstone's min. that the plan 'involved considerable responsibility', see P.R.O. 30/29/128.

⁴ The holograph of the last paragraph is in P.R.O. 30/29/29 A.

3 points.¹ Munster cannot doubt it's being perfectly satisfactory but he is not a very good judge of what Bismarck will or will not think.

I read one sentence out of your letter to M. 'I am ashamed of the African jealousy of German colonization' of which Munster made a note.

I will have a mem sent you about Zanzibar.² It was very strongly urged by Derby[,] Kimberley & Dilke, and I believe it to be right.

1500. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Hawarden Castle. Dec 11. 1884.

I felt some compunction in sending you a letter of so many paragraphs on Monday; but I hope you never answer me for answering sake.

I will now only trouble you by saying it will be natural to us, especially if our plan has not succeeded, to show, when Parliament meets, that we used all reasonable urgency with the Powers to obtain an early decision.

[P.S.] Have you and Lady G. any northward tour in view—if so pray remember us. We expect the Aberdeens, Dalhousie, Lady M. Alford, Mr Hutton next week.

1501. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44177, fo. 233]

Foreign Office. Dec 11 [1884].

I send you all the papers respecting the Kilimanjaro District.³

The printed paper at the top will give you probably all the information you require.

1502. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/144]

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 12. 84.

The Kilimanjaro papers so far as I can make out their purport, leave me, I must confess, wholly unsatisfied. I cannot see, nor have I yet conceived, an adequate reason for our being 'dans cette galère'. The tone of the Memm prepared by F.O. people or others disquiets me, and in places savours much of annexationism. As for instance when it is laid down that we are to seek 'compensation' on the East Coast of Africa for concurring in measures *equal for all* on the West Coast.

¹ To Malet, No. 147 Africa, 10 Dec., not traced; but see to Malet, No. 33 consular, 19 Dec., on its assurances against British annexation of Samoa or Tonga, F.O. 58/199; cf. exchange of letters between Granville and Derby, 11 Dec., P.R.O. 30/29/120.

² See mem. by C. H. Hill explaining No. 86 to Kirk, and meeting the arguments against the extension of Zanzibar; sent to Gladstone, 11 Dec., F.O. 84/1693.

³ See Hill's mem. and mem. by Lister and mins. in P.R.O. 30/29/144.

Either I am very blind, or you and the other Ministers concurring in the Draft dispatch must have reasons in your minds outside what are here presented.

My first sense of want of proof [of] the necessity of doing any thing. My second as to the thing to be done. I remember nothing of the telegram, stated to have laid it down that we ought on no account to be forestalled by other Powers in this Kilimanjara district. But I should have thought that the proper direction to work in, if we work at all, was to procure if possible the application on the East Coast of the principles which it is now attempted to apply on the West.

Cannot this matter stand over until we can come to understand it a little further by Conference in the Cabinet?

1503. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 235]

18, Carlton House Terrace. Dec 12/84.

I quite agree.¹ But I hope that what I have recorded of my conversations with Ambassadors will serve the purpose. On reconsideration H[arting- to]n[,] Northbrook & Kimberley thought this was a better mode, than a circular.

1504. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 13. 84.

I sent you a telegram² on an important & urgent request from Baring today,³ though without any indication of your views. It is most disagreeable to guarantee Nubar & Co against personal responsibility, but it seems in honour & policy unavoidable. Is there no chance that the executory means of enforcing the decree may break down? Cannot time be gained? Considering the extreme violence of such a personal resource simply to replace a Sinking Fund, would not the Italians possibly do some decided act to save themselves from such a proceeding?

At present it seems as if we were getting deeper into the Nile mud; and unless our scheme is admitted, we shall soon have to consider of some pretty decided measure.

¹ i.e. with need to show parliament that Britain had done everything to hasten the Egyptian solution, as suggested in no. 1500.

² See tel. 13 Dec., adopting Baring's recommendations, but suggesting he play for time, P.R.O. 30/29/128.

³ See from Baring, tel. No. 769, 12 Dec., reporting that Nubar Pasha wished to accept the judgement against the Egyptian ministers and officials on account of the suspension of payments into the *caisse* with private tel. urging care in considering the answer, P.R.O. 30/29/163; see nos. 1438, 1448.

Pray consider whether it is hopeless to get the Turk to consent to neutralisation. In principle the whole Ottoman Empire is in a *degree* neutralised by the Treaty of Paris.

1505. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 15. 84.

On the papers from Northbrook & Childers I have at once telegraphed to London a message which will go at once to you & which I think you will approve to move you to ascertain what I do not think we yet know viz. when the judgment of the Court ag[ains]t the Egyptian Govt *could* be executed, & when it probably *would*.

There are Lawyers in Egypt and I should think we ought to secure the best legal advice as to the course the Egyptian Govt may probably take.

Childers makes two assumptions as to neither of which has proof (so far as I know) yet been given.

1. That the only way of supporting Nubar & Co is by *forcibly* arresting the execution of the judgment.

2. That this must be done at once.¹

In putting to us (most properly) these difficult questions, it seems to me Baring might have provided us with such materials of judgment as answers to these two questions would have afforded.

1506. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Walmer Castle. [15 December 1884].

Shall I send the enclosed despatch to Malet,² or be satisfied with publishing a memo in our own blue book.

Enclosure

It appears from the precis given in the newspapers that the Memorandum of the ([4th Oct.]) has been omitted from the papers on Angra Pequena just presented to the German Parliament.³

¹ See to Baring, private tel. 13 Dec., before Gladstone's letter, instructing him to play for time, and to support Nubar Pasha against any attempt to upset his ministry; and private tel. 15 Dec., instructing him to ask the question in paragraph one, P.R.O. 30/29/200.

² See from Malet, No. 395 confidential, 18 Dec., reporting a communication to Bismarck on the lines of no. 1506, F.O. 64/1105; see also note by Sanderson, 18 Dec., P.R.O. 30/29/128; and Malet's No. 415, 31 Dec., reporting publication in the *National Zeitung*, F.O. 64/1105.

³ *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstags, Angra Pequena, 1884*; for C.O. mem. on Angra Pequena, 4 Oct. (see p. 276, n. 8) to prove that Germany had misunderstood British policy there, see print in P.R.O. 30/29/120 and F.O. 64/1104; cf. exchange of notes between Granville and Gladstone, P.R.O. 30/29/128.

H.Ms Govt regret that some irritation was felt in Germany on this subject. HMs Govt desire and this is the wish of the country that our relations with the German Govt and the German people should be of the most friendly character.

The Memorandum of the ([4th Oct.]) had for its object to explain the misunderstanding which had arisen on both sides; and which it is hoped is now at an end.

It gives a full exposition of the policy of H.M.s Gov.

It is hoped that the Chancellor will feel no objection to give the same publicity in Germany to this document as has been given to the other diplomatic papers.

Please send to Pauncefote.¹

1507. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 238]

Foreign Office. Dec 17/84.

I send you an account of a conversation with Nat Rothschild.²

I hope, unless I find a telegram to the contrary at the Stafford Railway Hotel, to pay you a visit tomorrow afternoon,³ & to ask for a dinner and a bed—I am obliged to be back here on Friday.

1508. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 242]

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 17. 84.

I send you herewith two letters from the Duke of Bedford with my replies;⁴ all growing out of a recent speech of Geo. Russell's. I think Derby might like to see them, and perhaps you will kindly send them on. If there be any thing more written, it will come to you in due course.

¹ Gladstone in sending on to Pauncefote for drafting wrote: '1. I take it for granted that everything *controversial* will be or has been as far as possible excluded from the inclosed mem. 2. I concur in what Ld. G. writes: but I presume Sir E. Malet will not *officially* request the publication. W.E.G. D. 16. 84' and Sanderson minuted that the draft was suspended, P.R.O. 30/29/128.

² See copy of mem. by Granville, 17 Dec., recording Rothschild's promise to delay an answer to Vincent's application for a renewal for two months of the Rothschild loan to Egypt, so as not to embarrass the British attempt to settle the Egyptian financial question, Add. MS. 44177, fo. 240.

³ In order to discuss Sir James Carmichael's plan to reform Egyptian taxation as part of the financial settlement; for unavailing attempt to gain the approval of Childers and Northbrook, see Gladstone to them, 19 Dec., P.R.O. 30/29/128; cf. no. 1498.

⁴ See from Bedford, 12 Dec., asking whether the government sanctioned the abolition of the House of Lords urged by Russell at Aylesbury; reply, 13 Dec., that Russell objected to the hereditary principle, which might be thought an open question; from Bedford, 16 Dec., withdrawing his support; reply, 17 Dec., that since 1852 'the great Whig families' and radicalism had been essential to liberalism; and further exchange, 21, 22 Dec., Add. MS. 44488, fos. 254-98 *passim*.

1509. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*¹ [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 243]

Foreign Office. Dec 20/84.

Nigra comes to Walmer today.

I send a draft² recording the questions he is about to repeat to me and some despatches from Baring³ on the same question. Shall I give the same answer as on the first occasion⁴ adding that I will immediately press the Turks for an answer whether they mean to take possession of the Red Sea Ports or not, that if as is likely I get no early answer, it will not be our business to object to Italy taking Beiloul, Zulla & Massow[ah], *with certain conditions as to Massowah*⁵—that it is not, as the Italian Gov admit, our business or in our power to give away Ports which belong to Turkey, with whom the Italians would have to deal.

Please send a short telegram to Walmer.⁶

1510. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 246]

Walmer Castle. Dec 22/84.

I wrote to Lyons⁷ to tell Waddington that the Chinese showed some inclination, though with great reluctance, to move, & to ask him to ascertain from M. Ferry, whether he would wish to hear anything more on the subject, & if so whether he would prefer my letting him know, or whether I should encourage the Chinese to approach the French directly.

If Ferry's answer⁸ (as is probable) is favorable shall I say that I will attend to the matter which is full of difficulty, & carefully consider the most judicious way of forwarding the matter—(meaning a hint that if the system of delay is to be adopted, two can play at it). What do you think?

¹ No. 1509 sent also to Kimberley.

² See to Lumley, No. 270, 22 Dec., recording Nigra's question about the British attitude to an Italian occupation of the Red Sea ports and his reply as here proposed, F.O. 78/3728; see nos. 1451, 1456 and p. 279, n. 7; and A. Ramm, 'The Planting of Italian Power in the Red Sea', *E.H.R.* (1944) lix. 223, and C. Zaghi, *P. S. Mancini* (1955) 161-2.

³ See especially No. 1000 confidential, 3 Nov., discussing British and Egyptian policy and recommending acquiescence in the Italian occupation, F.O. 78/3728.

⁴ See to Lumley, Nos. 227, 229, 5 Nov., F.O. 78/3727; No. 243 most confidential, 25 Nov.; No. 258 confidential, 9 Dec.; No. 259 very confidential, 9 Dec., F.O. 78/3728.

⁵ Starred passage added at the end.

⁶ His tel., 21 Dec., concurred, provided there was no concealment and the Italian occupation of Massowah left Turkish sovereignty undisturbed, P.R.O. 30/29/128.

⁷ See to Lyons, No. 1090 confidential, 19 Dec., as here described, F.O. 27/2719; cf. p. 253, n. 4.

⁸ See from Lyons, No. 721 A, 22 Dec., and private, 22 Dec., reporting Ferry's rejection of this overture, P.R.O. 30/29/174.

1511. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 249]

Walmer Castle. Dec 23/84.

I had already concocted a despatch to Lyons,¹ telling him to press the Fr Gov again for an answer, when I rec[eive]d your telegram.²

But we have no strong lever with them.

If we could tell them, which we cannot that we are about to Tunisify Egypt, it would have an effect, but I know of no other.

And that is a threat which we cannot make.

Ferry does not encourage me to communicate further proposals from China, adheres to his own offer & hints that he would prefer direct negotiations.

I do not think I am bound to tell the Chinese the latter part, at present.

Northbrook is very unhappy about his plan³ & the alternatives which have been proposed, and those which are being considered.

I presume we must accept as accomplished facts, the Bismarckian annexations in the Pacific—but with a complaint of his having acted outside the negotiations that were going on.⁴

1512. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 253]

Walmer Castle. Dec 23/84.

Childers gives no decided opinion as to be [*sic*] what should be said to Rothschild. He says if I wish to appear sanguine as to the result of our negotiations, I shall say 2 months, if I wish to appear the contrary 2 weeks.

What do you advise as to the time, after a preface in the same words, as on the occasion of the last renewal.⁵

1513. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Hawarden Castle. Christmas Day 1884.

1. I do not feel very certain how far it will affect Ferry, as we are so

¹ See to Lyons, No. 1098, 24 Dec., complaining of the French delay in answering the British proposals on Egyptian finance, F.O. 27/2662; cf. p. 292, n. 2.

² Gladstone to Granville, tel. 23 Dec., accepting Granville's proposals in mem. on Egyptian finance but urging a more direct way of dealing with delay, Add. MS. 44177, fo. 248.

³ On Egyptian finance; see nos. 1485, 1486.

⁴ See to Malet, No. 403A, 20 Dec., expressing surprise at the German announcement (Malet to Granville, tel. No. 48, 19 Dec.) of their hoisting their flag on Pacific islands and at three places on the north coast of New Guinea, since he understood the question was reserved for discussion between the two governments, F.O. 64/1145; cf. also Gladstone to Granville, tel. 24 Dec., urging care in Meade's interview with Bismarck, P.R.O. 30/29/128; cf. p. 271, n. 4, p. 280, n. 4, and p. 310, n. 1.

⁵ i.e. of the Rothschild loan to Egypt; see p. 297, n. 2; cf. to Baring, private tel. 17 Dec., reporting Rothschilds' readiness to renew the loan; and tel. 30 Dec., reporting that they had agreed to do so for two months, P.R.O. 30/29/200.

much in the dark as to his motives but I should think we are fully entitled to tell him¹

- a. that the delay which has occurred has been by us totally unexpected and would if known act powerfully on public opinion in this country
- b. that it is attended with the most serious embarrassment
- c. and that if continued it will entail on us after a time the necessity of further considering our course.

Even the two first of them would not be very agreeable for him to receive.

In my own mind I can map out this further consideration of our course but the Cabinet has decided on nothing.

2. I should be disposed to frame the answer to Rothschild accordingly— I have got your question about him but have not seen the application² to which I presume it refers.

3. I send for perusal a letter of Northbrook's and my reply.³

4. I am not aware of the precise nature of your case against Bismarck as to the form of his proceeding.⁴ In substance I presume he is right—& I am quite ready to agree with you as to the form.

Writing on Xmas Day I cannot omit to say heartily 'a happy Christmas' to you all. But the Egyptian phantom troubles everything.

1514. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 256]

Walmer. Dec 25/84.

I send you the offer which Tseng now officially authorizes me to make.⁵

It may be answered by telling him that I have sounded the French Gv. & that they will not entertain any proposal but that which they themselves have made:—

I may advise him to communicate directly with the French:—

or I might tell the French, that I am authorized officially to make a proposal

That as M. Ferry has said that the negotiations are closed and that no terms are acceptable but those which he has already stated, I could not take any action in the matter, but that if it had been otherwise, I could not

¹ Cf. to Lyons, No. 1117, 31 Dec., F.O. 27/2662; see nos. 1497, 1511.

² But it was reported, see p. 297, n. 2.

³ See from Northbrook, 22 Dec., that his disagreement on Egyptian finance would prevent his sharing responsibility for the policy; and reply, 24 Dec., urging him to await the powers' replies to the British proposals, Childers's 'holding fast' to these only meant waiting, Add. MS. 44267, fos. 170, 179.

⁴ In New Guinea; see p. 299, n. 4.

⁵ See to Parkes, No. 296A, 24 Dec., sent to Lyons in No. 1112 confidential, 24 Dec.; and for reply on the lines of the third possibility outlined in no. 1514, see to Waddington and to Lyons, No. 1113 confidential, 26 Dec., F.O. 27/2719.

have taken upon myself to say that the Chinese proposal would have been unacceptable.

In any case would it not be well to have a cabinet on Monday on this—on Colonial matters, & possibly on Egypt.

[P.S.] If you think I may instruct Lyons to act on my 3d proposed course, which appears to be the best, please telegraph to me.¹

1515. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 260]

Walmer. Dec 26/84.

'Les beaux esprits se rencontrent'

I sent off a telegram this morning to Malet, in the sense of your telegram just rec[ei]ve[d] urging an answer about Egyptian policy.²

The Lord Chancellor was of your opinion about the Chinese,³ & I have written to Waddington accordingly. He is come back.

As to Bismarck in Egypt, I will not tell Malet, to withdraw his permission.⁴ It would be ungracious to do so. But on reflection, I prefer not giving any further encouragement to it. It would be so very inconvenient.

His mere presence would be a counterpoise to Baring & the British Army.

The Khedive & Nubar would be at his feet.

And his own impressions of what we were doing there, would not be improved by all the European Colonists would tell him.

The suggestion came from Malet, not from Bismarck himself.

1516. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 263]

Foreign Office. Dec 26/84.

I have no objection to write such a despatch, as you suggest,⁵ but I suppose we ought to wait for Lyons's answer⁶ to the pressing despatch I sent last against delay.⁷

¹ See Gladstone to Granville, tel. 26 Dec., 'I agree with number three and suppose you will act upon it at once', P.R.O. 30/29/128.

² To Malet, tel. No. 46, 23 Dec., not traced; summarized and the action on it reported in Malet's No. 407, 27 Dec., F.O. 64/1052, and tel. No. 51, 27 Dec., F.O. 64/1053.

³ See to Selborne, 25 Dec., sending no. 1514, and asking him to telegraph if he agreed with an answer according to the third possibility; and reply, tel. 25 Dec., agreeing, P.R.O. 30/29/141.

⁴ See Granville to Gladstone, tel. 25 Dec.: 'Bismarck wishes to go to Egypt . . . Malet has told him that we should have no objection . . . I have doubts'; and reply, tel. 26 Dec.: 'Inconvenient but can you object . . .', P.R.O. 30/29/128; for failure of the project, see nos. 1517, 1520.

⁵ See no. 1513.

⁶ See from Lyons, No. 734, 30 Dec., which was an evasion, F.O. 27/2668.

⁷ See to Lyons, No. 1098, 24 Dec., F.O. 27/2662.

This may take the form of Ferry's objections, which I presume we should have to discuss, with some hope of coming to an agreement—
or of a rejection—
or of an evasive & dilatory reply.

In either of the last cases, we ought to be prepared for our course¹—& it is a great pleasure to me to know that you have considered & framed it—I own I do not see my way—I never knew such an imbroglio. When can you tell me your plan.

I sent you the record of my conversation with Nat Rothschild.² In which he asked me what the Gov wished him to do—respecting Vincent's application for a renewal for 2 months. I told him that I was ready to make the same request as I had done when there was a question of renewal [earlier].

He then stated the doubt whether 2 months would not encourage delay in the negotiations.

He suggested a fortnight—you inclined (so I understood) to that view at Hawarden.

Childers gave no opinion as to which period we should take, but suggested that if we wished to appear sanguine as to a settlement, we should take 2 months, if the contrary 2 weeks.

I ought to write to Rothschild.³ Which period do you wish me to suggest.

We are close upon the 31st—& in any case could not adopt before the end of the year the other vague suggestion that he might be made use of to make Egypt Bankrupt. He was not himself clear how this could be done.

I wrote to Northbrook⁴ that he ought not to resign, but if he does, the last thing Hartington said to me on the subject, was that he should be bound to go with him in consequence of the advice he had given when Northbrook accepted the mission.

Your letter⁵ seems to me to be much to the purpose.

1517. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 26. 84.

1. I have telegraphed to you about China⁶
2. and about the Bismarck incident,⁷ which is not agreeable. I hope you will not give too much weight to my telegram as mine: but I did not see

¹ See to Lyons, No. 1117, 31 Dec., restating arguments against delay, *ibid*.

² See nos. 1507, 1512.

³ Letter to Rothschild, not traced.

⁴ Not traced, but see from Northbrook, 19, 20 Nov., 21 Dec., proposing his resignation after the cabinet's failure to accept his recommendations on Egyptian finance, P.R.O. 30/29/140.

⁵ See p. 300, n. 3.

⁶ See p. 301, n. 1.

⁷ See p. 301, n. 4.

how you were to get out of it, particularly after what Malet had said, and this being so I hoped it might be turned to account.

3. With regard to Zanzibar it is a blow to me altogether unexpected and from Kimberley's note¹ I fear the differences will be sharp. But surely we are not in a condition to discuss it in Cabinet so at least I had imagined, until you get answers to the queries which you put in your last telegram suspending the former dispatch?²

4. With regard to Egypt, you will have now seen that nothing has come of my reference to Northbrook and Childers jointly³ except the very sinister intimation conveyed in N[orthbrook]'s letter which is by this time in your hands. What I hope is that when we meet in Cabinet⁴ we may meet upon a state of things which will allow some definite proposition to be made. As matters now are I fear there would be a renewal of the suggestion to alter our ground before we have either obtained an answer or conveyed an intimation that we must act without one—a point to which I yet hope we may not come.

5. Have you considered whether you could at all ease the matter by indicating to Waddington,⁵ as far as you dare, two points of probable approximation.

a. the Carmichael idea on which at any rate something might be done for the benefit of the bondholder

b. the idea of neutralisation, as a thing perfectly congenial to our new proposals.

6. Also might not the Rothschilds do something, in their own interest, towards accelerating the answer?

1518. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 271]

Dec 27 84.

I have some doubts about my suggestion as to answer⁶ about New Guinea, & the Pacific Islands. I propose going up early on Monday, & will write from London.

¹ See Kimberley to Granville, 31 Dec., hoping that 'we shall take timely and effective measures to obtain such control over Zanzibar as may enable us to frustrate the French and German designs', P.R.O. 30/29/136.

² See to Kirk, tel. recorded in No. 96, 20 Dec., instructing him to suspend action on No. 86 confidential, 5 Dec. (see p. 293, n. 3) and to report instead whether the Kili-manjaro district could be considered as already under Zanzibar or could be declared so without British help, F.O. 84/1676.

³ See p. 297, n. 3.

⁴ The cabinet did not meet on Egyptian finance until 3 Jan., see p. 305, n. 4.

⁵ No conversation on these lines traced.

⁶ See p. 299, n. 4; and Granville's min. summing up the correspondence on New Guinea and concluding 'had we not better wait before sending our remonstrance to see the issue of the Bismarck-Meade conversations', F.O. 64/1145.

1519. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 272]

Walmer Castle. Dec 27/84.

I will see Munster on Monday.

But the answer¹ is difficult.

If we adhere to that which we have given B[ismarck] will make an excuse by it, to go against us. If we give up the point there is no security that we shall not be equally thrown over, with an additional weapon in the enemy's hand.

Shall I say that we should be prepared to give our favorable consideration to the subject, if we knew what were the intentions of Germany & France—or can you suggest something better?²

1520. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

No 1.

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 28. 84.

Probably my telegram³ about Bismarck's tour did not well convey my feeling. I had not the least idea of encouraging it but wished that if it were to be we might draw some good out of it. Meantime I am really dismayed at learning what it had never entered into my head to dream of, namely that Malet was the author of the suggestion, and not B. himself. A more gratuitous piece of folly I never heard of. Might not Malet of his own accord point out to B. that his suggestion of course was founded on the belief in a settlement previously.

You will see from the inclosed that Derby takes much offence at his annexations.⁴ As to the manner I do not know the facts, and do not discuss it: there appears to be an element in him which I do not wish to characterise. But as to the things done, in themselves, I do not know whether we have reason to complain? I think Derby is quite right in wishing to have a continuous line of coast in South Africa: but as to extending the terminus northwards, and (I presume) assuming the responsibility for Zululand outside the region which we have steadily disclaimed, I see great objection to it; and generally, considering what we have got I am against entering into a scramble for the remainder.

It is strange that the French do not see what D. mentions as to Egypt.

¹ i.e. to Münster's demand that Britain induce the khedive to agree to the addition of German and Russian members to the *caisse de la dette publique*; see Pauncefote's mem. of Münster's demand, 27 Dec., Add. MS. 44177, fo. 274.

² See no. 1522.

³ See p. 301, n. 4.

⁴ See from Derby, 26 Dec., urging Britain's taking possession of the South African coast between Natal and the Cape and St. Lucia and Natal, Add. MS. 44142, fo. 108; cf. to Granville, 28 Dec., insisting although he agreed the scramble for colonies was 'somewhat ridiculous', P.R.O. 30/29/120; extract of no. 1520 beginning at 'I think Derby is quite right' sent to the Colonial Office on Gladstone's instructions, F.O. 84/1693.

I am sorry to say the affair of my sleep does not mend but goes the other way: and unless it improves I may again have to consult Clark. The Autumn sittings I fear are more than (my) human nature can withstand.

[P.S.] Baring 792.¹ Glad Nubar does not intend to insert reductions of Land Revenue in his Budget.

1521. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

No 2.

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 28. 84.

1. Rothschild.² I would not take a fortnight: and should like 6 weeks or 2 months better than a month.

2. New Guinea. I shall be glad to hear further. At the present moment, I doubt whether the high line which Childers takes can be sustained.³

3. The name of a 'plan' for Egypt startles me, so very dark does the whole matter look. The notions that I have are probably less unsatisfactory to me than they may be to others. None of them perhaps new, except in their combination. I will try to send you a rough outline tomorrow.

4. If any thing reaches you *which would give the Cabinet matter for decision & action about Egypt*, be it good or bad, you will of course wish the Cabinet to meet and will probably communicate with me by telegraph.⁴

Tomorrow will start my 76th year.

1522. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 275]

Walmer. Dec 28/84.

I send you all that reflection (not exclusively during daylight) has extracted from my brain.

Two imaginary conversations for tomorrow with Munster.⁵

No 1. is on the whole the best course that suggests itself to me.

No 2. requires your most careful consideration. If it succeeded, I

¹ See from Baring, tel. No. 792, 27 Dec., reporting the difficulty of the Egyptian government in assessing the land revenue and Nubar Pasha's doubts about effecting the reduction in land tax recommended by Northbrook, F.O. 78/3681.

² See nos. 1512, 1516.

³ 'The act of the Germans in taking possession now of what we might have occupied some months ago . . . is disastrous in the last degree', to Granville, 23 Dec., P.R.O. 30/29/119.

⁴ The cabinet was summoned for 2 Jan.; the discussion on Egypt adjourned to 3 Jan., Add. MS. 44646, fos. 2, 4.

⁵ Enclosure no. 1 became Granville to Malet, No. 419, 29 Dec., unexpectedly in F.O. 64/1052; application satisfied and became part of the arrangements of 15/16 March, see nos. 1519 and 1600.

should not mind the abuse—but it would be humiliating to make an abortive attempt.

Pray telegraph to me in London, where I shall be before one o'clock.

When previously speaking to you about Heligoland, I think I told you that some years ago, the war office thought it was of no use to us, but the Admiralty did not agree.

Enclosure No 1.

In answer to Count Munster's application respecting the addition of German & Russian Commissioners to the Caisse, I reminded Count Munster that no objection had been made to the principle of this being done.

It was first raised in the Conference by Russia asking to be admitted, and by Germany stating that if a Russian Commissioner was added to the Caisse, Germany would expect also to be represented. This proposal was renewed after the French had announced an ultimatum from which they said they could not depart. This ultimatum was one which we could not accept, & the main object of the Conference being thus at an end, I objected to the discussion of accessory & minor points. When on the ([9 Dec])¹ I was sounded again by Count Munster on this subject, my answer was not unfavorable to the consideration of it, at the proper time, when alterations of the law of liquidation and of the practice under it might be properly considered.

The German & Russian Govs have made a direct application to the Khedive & his Gov, and have rec[eive]d from them what appears to H. Ms Govt to be the correct answer.

They expressed no opinion unfavorable to the thing itself, and stated their readiness to act upon the proposal, if it were agreed to by all the Powers. The Khedive would not be expected to take the initiative without their consent, more especially of that of England, at the present moment.

Our position was this. Some weeks ago we communicated our proposals on Egyptian Finance to the Powers. We have reason to believe that Italy does not see objections to our financial proposals. No objections will be originated from Austria or Russia, who will be prepared to act with the Powers. From Germany and France we have rec[eive]d no indication of their views.

Under these circumstances England could hardly be expected to give her assent to partial alterations of the law or of the practice in Egypt, until the general settlement of the question was more advanced.

The assurance which Prince Bismarck had courteously authorized Count Munster to make, gives a different complexion to the matter. I accept Prince Bismarck's assurance, adopting a phrase happily used by

¹ First claimed by Germany on 22 Nov., see F.O. 64/1052.

him on a late occasion, as an assurance coming from one gentleman to another.

I shall be prepared to discuss at once with Count Munster, the mode in which an addition to the numbers of the Caisse can be made, without additional expence to the Egyptian Gov.

Enclosure No 2.

I reminded Count Münster that on the () he had bound me in honour to keep secret what he was about to tell me, and he even expressed a wish that I should not mention it to my colleagues.

He had spoken on that occasion to me about Heligoland. He informed me that it was the intention of Germany to open a canal into the Baltic, which would offer great commercial advantages to us & to Germany. For the security of that canal it would be necessary to give a good & fortified harbour to Heligoland. This could only be done at a great expence which England could not be expected to undertake, but for which Germany would be prepared. It would be necessary for Germany to have possession of the rock, but with conditions which would give all the advantages of the Harbour to England.

Count Munster added that he would put the question to me in a few days—this he had never done. I was prepared with an answer, if he had done so.

I should have told him that I had mentioned the subject to Mr Gladstone alone—that we both felt the immense burden on the Gov of the Reform question at home, and of the Egyptian question abroad—that we could not add another subject which might excite much discussion, but that when these questions were settled, we should be prepared to give a friendly consideration to his question.

Since then the Reform question has been set free from it's principal difficulties.

The assurance which Count Munster had just given raised hopes of a settlement of the Egyptian financial difficulty.

If this was attained in a manner generally in accordance with H.M. Gov's views, and if colonial questions in other parts of the world could be arranged between the 2 Govs, we should be prepared to (ask the Cabinet to) enter into a friendly consideration of the suggested plan respecting Heligoland, and of the necessary conditions which should attach to it.

I requested Count Munster to assure me that we should both be bound in honour as to secrecy, in the same manner, as we had been bound with regard to his first conversation.

1523. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 29. 84.

I send herewith a paper¹ which contains the most and best I can make of the question of Egyptian Finance. As it turns on a Financial question in the main I should like Childers² to see it perhaps before others. I do not know whether it will convey daylight or only denser darkness.

I have had a very hard day but have to be thankful for a much improved night ushering it in as well as for the kindness which in the shape of some hundreds of letters telegrams and packets has helped to make the day a stiff one.

1524. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Private.

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 29. 84.

I hope that when Hartington finds occasion, if unhappily he shall find it, to urge the point you name,³ he will *also* bear in mind that I agreed in the autumn of 1883 to remain in the Cabinet and become responsible for a plan of Redistribution, in order to meet his express demand.

1525. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44177, fo. 288]

Foreign Office. Dec 30/84.

I began to write a telegram to you but spared you, knowing that you are aware of my warm wishes. I am delighted to hear of the good night.

I saw Northbrook today, & heard from Hartington,⁴ who encouraged by you pressed me to urge the French to give an answer—

I have spoken to Waddington, I have written private & public letters to Lyons.⁵

I have not yet sent your strong sentences,⁶ because Lyons assumed that Ferry would speak to him at the beginning of the new year.

Northbrook does not wish for strong language. What he desires is that we should begin discussing conditions which are not in our unanswered

¹ For holograph draft of secret mem. 29 Dec., on Egyptian finance, see Add. MS. 44768, fo. 199; cf. mem. 2 Jan., Add. MS. 44769, fo. 1 and P.R.O. 30/29/129.

² The mem. was docketed: 'sent to Mr. Childers, Dec. 30'.

³ i.e. his resigning together with Northbrook; see p. 302, n. 4.

⁴ See Hartington to Granville, 28 Dec., that he had told Gladstone Northbrook would resign rather than wait longer for the powers' replies to the British proposals, that Gladstone urged pressure upon France, but that this was useless without 'a hint of Tunis', P.R.O. 30/29/134.

⁵ See to Lyons, No. 1117, 31 Dec., F.O. 27/2662; to Lyons, private, 31 Dec., P.R.O. 30/29/203; see nos. 1513, 1516, 1521, and p. 309, n. 2.

⁶ See nos. 1513, 1516.

proposals. This I agree with you in thinking objectionable but then the same reason appears to apply to my broaching to Waddington some extraneous considerations which you suggest.

I wish to negotiate through Lyons with Ferry. If Lyons cannot get an answer at the beginning of the year, then we should take action.

I have sent your 2 plans to Childers, and am exceedingly obliged to you for having put your ideas on paper.

I have reluctantly refrained from accepting your offer to come up. But I should think we must have a Cabinet at the beginning of next week.

1526. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44177, fo. 293]

Foreign Office. [30 December 1884].

There was nothing omitted in my private letter.¹ The unnumbered enclosure was meant to be one.

I have communicated the latter[,] No 1[,] to Munster. Northbrook is to make some enquiries respecting Heligoland.

1527. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Hawarden Castle. Dec. 31. 84.

An obscure telegram,² not from you but sent by your directions, appears to mean that you know France will make no reply before the middle of January, and suggest a Cabinet for which I name Friday at four.

I intend however if I can to come up tomorrow reaching Euston 5.55 and hope to see you either then or on the following day early.

We seem to be reaching a point where roads divide.

If the French are paltering with us, as there was already some reason to believe, it cannot I presume be submitted to.

Through their fault not ours Bismarck will gain his not unnatural purpose of keeping us widely apart.

Close cooperation with Germany, though I do not say indispensable, thus becomes of immense importance.

I for one am ready for it because I think that as far as I understand the matters at issue the Germans are on most of them substantially right.

¹ i.e. no. 1522, on which Gladstone had telegraphed 11.45 a.m. 30 Dec., that one or two enclosures seemed to be missing, that Granville was 'on good lines', and that he would come to London; see also Seymour to Granville, tel. 12.10 p.m. 31 Dec., acknowledging no. 1526 and saying that no. 1522 was now understood, P.R.O. 30/29/128.

² See Granville to Gladstone, tel. noon, 31 Dec., 'French Government will not give answer till the 15th [January]. Ought we not to have a Cabinet at the end of this week', P.R.O. 30/29/128; Gladstone wrote here, 'Now made clear, 7 PM.'

I did not anticipate good from Meade's interview and as far as I can judge from the Memm¹ it has not wrought good.

My *recollection* of our proceeding about New Guinea was that we took a part of the coast into protection, without prejudice to any question touching the remaining (unoccupied) part. IF this be so—but Meade ought to know better than I—it was 'without prejudice' for the Germans as well as for us.

Let me suggest that *if Meade is wrong* it would be most desirable to explain this to Germany at once & *before* we take any step with regard to France.

1528. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/128]

Draft Telegram to Mr Petre. Hawarden Castle. Dec. 31. 84.

I do not fully understand the detail of this telegram,² but if I am right in my apprehension of its general scope it seems open to objection.

Something is desired on behalf of Portugal, to which the assent of Germany is required.

We are to use influence with Germany, to obtain this assent.

But we are about to insert a condition of using this influence viz.

That Portugal shall agree not to cede Delagoa Bay to any Power without our consent.

'Any power' means, or at the least includes Germany: and presumes that Germany may think it to be for her interest to obtain Delagoa Bay.

Can we use influence with Germany, to lead her to concede something to Portugal, for asking which concession we first exact from Portugal a condition which is *ex hypothesi* adverse to Germany?

1529. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 1]

Foreign Office. Jan 3/1885.

You were lucky to be off—We had two hours on the 4 drafts³—but a friendly & full discussion.

¹ i.e. by Meade, 24 Dec., recounting conversation with Bismarck at the Berlin West Africa conference in which Meade sought a colonial settlement with Germany; see from Derby, 16 Dec., two letters, P.R.O. 30/29/120; from Malet, No. 405, 24 Dec., F.O. 64/1145.

² See to Petre, draft tel. 31 Dec., on the possibility of securing (a) German agreement to the extension of Portuguese territory from Ambriza to the south bank of the Congo and (b) a Portuguese undertaking about Delagoa Bay, P.R.O. 30/29/128; draft suspended.

³ i.e. after Gladstone left the cabinet, see Granville to the Queen, 3 Jan., P.R.O. 30/29/45, *Letters*, iii. 591–2; for cabinet, Fri. 2 Jan., 4 p.m., adjourned to Sat. 3 Jan., noon, see Add. MS. 44646, fos. 2–4; see F.O. 27/2725 for drafts A, B, C, D; draft A: No. 7 to Lyons, 3 Jan., inviting a resumption of negotiations on Egyptian finance; draft

All the points were decided unanimously. We adopted the words suggested by Chamberlain,¹ a[s] a substitute for the paragraph in the first despatch, regarding the counterproposals of the French.

Some excisions, and some amendments were adopted, & it was settled to keep back the political despatch and the concluding one, marked C and D, till after Lyons first answer.

I trust there is nothing to which you will much object.

I send the drafts to the Queen, telling her that it is possible you may want some changes to be made, but that it is desirable to get off the despatches as soon as possible.

If you do not object to the drafts please telegraph to Ph[illip] Currie, F.O.²

1530. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*³

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Imme[di]ate]

Hawarden Castle. Jan. 4. 85.

I have done the needful by telegraph, but there are two observations I wish to make, though I have little doubt both have been present to your mind.

1. I presume there is no chance of such an event as this; that the French sh[oul]d say we cannot enter on a discussion *without* the political element,⁴ & that thereupon the door should close sharply on the whole affair—I presume you have made sure that Lyons should telegraph for instructions in such a case.

2. It will of course be borne in mind that we cannot fulfil our offers without Parliament and that in this respect we shall be in the same condition as we were last summer with the Anglo-French agreement. But we can stake ourselves on the issue—which I suspect is more than Ferry would do.

So much for business, to which I have bid I hope a short farewell. I am in an odd state—my disturbance of sleep has commuted itself into some other disturbances, lumbago (which I strangely miscalled rheumatism) and one or two more—and my two last nights have been quite natural. This is a very great gain & pleases me immensely; if it will continue so much the better.

B: No. 8 confidential, 3 Jan., offering concessions; draft C: on general policy with assurances about the duration of the British occupation, and draft D: reserving the consideration of measures to be taken if France rejected the overture, were not used.

¹ See note with draft A.

² See from Gladstone, tel. 1.55 p.m. 4 Jan., that he had told Currie he thought the wording judicious, P.R.O. 30/29/129.

³ Hamilton to Granville, 5 Jan., sending no. 1530 by special messenger, inquired whether Buckle of *The Times* might not be approached as Gladstone was worried about the attitude of the press, P.R.O. 30/29/129.

⁴ i.e. draft C.

1531. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*¹ [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 91]

Walmer. Jan 5/84 [sc. 1885].

No 1. objection—I believe I have quite obviated this, by writing yesterday to Lyons that there were two more drafts not sent to him—but that if the French were to ask about the political side of the question, he had better answer at once though from himself that he was sure we should be ready to discuss it.

No 2. I will write to Lyons as to the extent we will pledge ourselves.

I cannot help hoping that it has been a false alarm about your old indisposition . . .²

1532. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

No 1. Hawarden Castle. Jan 6. 85.

I send you herewith copy of a letter³ which I have written to Hartington on the proposal for a new expedition to Suakim. I think you will apprehend the point I have stated.

1533. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*⁴ [Add. MS. 44178, fos. 5 and 9]

Foreign Office. Jan 6/85.

I send you Lyons private letter as well as his despatch.⁵

The Cabinet⁶ will of course consider them tomorrow. Will it be possible for you to telegraph your view before one o'clock.

It is impossible on this Egyptian business to anticipate what will be the opinion of all our colleagues, but judging from the little that was said before you went away, and the much afterwards I believe they will con-

¹ No. 1531 which clearly answers no. 1530, being dated with the old year's date, has been bound with the 1884 letters in the Gladstone papers.

² Details of a remedy for lumbago omitted.

³ 6 Jan., opposing, if only wanted 'as suggested by somebody else' and not 'requisite for the . . . success of the expedition against Khartoum', P.R.O. 30/29/129, Add. MS. 44547, fo. 159; from Baring, No. 10 confidential, 2 Jan., endorsing Wolseley's wish for the Suakin expedition and war against Osman Digna, F.O. 78/3799, prompted Gladstone's letter.

⁴ No. 1533 has been bound as two incomplete letters in the Gladstone papers; the copy in the Granville papers shows that they were one.

⁵ i.e. No. 6, 5 Jan., declining the invitation to resume negotiations (p. 310, n. 3) and promising to reply to the proposals of 24 Nov. by 15 Jan. (no. 1489), F.O. 27/2728; cf. *D.D.F.* v, No. 515; and private, 5 Jan., on his suspicion that Ferry had settled his refusal with Bismarck, P.R.O. 30/29/174.

⁶ Not attended by Gladstone; see Granville to the Queen, 6 Jan., telling her the cabinet was summoned by Hartington's wish to consider a fresh Suakin expedition and to discuss draft C, and further letter, 7 Jan., reporting the meeting, P.R.O. 30/29/45.

sider our position to be weak in making an ultimatum for discussion of our views before they [the French] are allowed to state theirs.

But the only concession that Ferry makes is that he promises his counterproposal on or before the 15th & he expresses a belief that we shall come to an understanding.

The Queen protests strongly in a marginal pencil note, against the passage in the political draft,¹ which promises evacuation on the restoration of order in Egypt.

Is it possible that Ferry's political demands may be less than those we have demanded.

[P.S.] Delighted to hear good accounts of your health.

It never was more precious.

1534. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

No 2.

Hawarden Castle. Jan 6. 1885. 6 P.m.

I had been thinking over the contingency of French refusal, but I did not expect it so sharp and soon.

A strange infatuation seems to possess Ferry; but that does not help us.

I will put down what had occurred to me.

The French reply places us *primâ facie* in presence of the 'alternative'. Your telegram of course gives me only the naked negative. I suppose it will depend on the accompaniments whether the Cabinet will wait until the 15th. I am willing to take their decision whichever way it be; making sure that it will not savour of servility, and, if you wait, will intimate the need of dispatch when the day comes.

But supposing on the other hand that you have closed your separate transactions with the French, what then?

Then, I think there is still one step to be taken before facing the alternative: namely, to make known to the Powers the effort we have made, and to ask for their support, or approval, or acknowledgment of its spirit and intention, whichever you may think expedient; signifying also our hope for its prompt expression, on account of the urgency of the circumstances by which we are pressed in Egypt.

I assume it to be possible that, if we draw forth a favourable reply, it may accelerate (on and after the 15th) the action of France and affect its tone.

If this also fail, then we have only to deal with the 'alternative'; and that is to say to choose between doing less, and doing more, than we have done.

¹ i.e. draft C; cf. from Ponsonby, 9 Jan., sending the Queen's strong protest against a binding promise; and reply, 11 Jan., that the words were written by Gladstone, adopted by the cabinet and could not be struck out on his sole authority, P.R.O. 30/29/45; and no. 1538.

I frankly admit the difficulties on *both* sides of this question, and do not wish to prejudge it.

If we reach that point, I am disposed to admit that the conduct of the Powers (except Italy), active only in thwarting, and absolutely useless in helping, the execution of a task, which we undertook with their approval and greatly for their advantage, has given to this country (whether to this Ministry or not) rights and claims beyond what, if enjoying their cooperation, it might have been entitled to: rights and claims growing out of the necessity of the case.

It is I suppose an indisputable proposition that we should maintain the peace of Egypt while we remain there.

Is it possible to do this, at the same [time] leaving finance *prospectively* to the Egyptian Government, and declaring our stay to be provisional, and prolonged only as in your draft dispatch of Sunday.¹

On the other side there lies guarantee, assumption of financial controul, and abandonment of *definite* ideas of withdrawal: in brief, what Hartington has repeatedly described, including I suppose the maintenance of the Law of Liquidation.

Some ingenious brain may devise some other method.

Whatever is proposed² should be sifted to the bottom before a final decision, both as to the question what remains to be done, and as to the question who should do it.

1535. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Jan 7. 1885.

I wait your intimation of today, without much doubt what it will be: and I return Lyons's letters, which appear very judicious.

It may be worth while to mention that if upon any special case arising you should wish him to address any *duplicate* to me here of what he writes to you, it would reach me in the afternoon of the arrival, and I could telegraph or write to you upon it.

With respect to any suggestions I may offer you from time to time, pray understand I do not look for any answer except you find one necessary; but take it for granted they have your attention according to their deserts.

All is going on well with me here: nights good thus far, and other matters duly attended to under Clark, great laziness, and 12 hours in bed. It is I think a question of the *quantity* of real brain work. I do nothing of a serious character, outside the few public matters that now come. The difference from the last occasion I think is taking it in time.

¹ i.e. draft C.

² See to Lyons, No. 20, 7 Jan., recording the cabinet's decision to await the French reply to the proposals of 24 Nov., promised for 15 Jan. (see no. 1533), and not raising the alternative question, F.O. 27/2725.

1536. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 11]

Foreign Office. Jan 7/85.

I read the first part of your letter¹ to the Cabinet—and they agreed to take the course² you proposed in your telegram of this morning.

I purposely did not read that part of your letter, which related to the 2 courses to be taken if we cannot come to terms.³

Hartington & Chamberlain however both tried to get a decision—they both attacked Harcourt who proposed limiting our stay, but paying the full interest in the mean while.

Harcourt was very peaceable. Kimberley warlike against Germany. Chamberlain wishes on leaving Egypt, to declare that we will make war on any one else that goes there. Dilke was at the Cabinet—having grown fat. I trust to hear of your continued good nights.

1537. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Jan 8. 85.

See my telegram of today.

It seems to me that the Cabinet trod wisely and warily in the critical discussions of yesterday.

Obviously the latter part of my letter of 6th was fit to be reserved under the circ[umstance]s.

I sincerely trust we may be able to agree with the French, so beset with difficulties are all the courses which are open to us if we have to move without Europe—or at least the two courses which alone I can now prefigure.

I am not afraid of the Powers and their *sommations*.

Dê nec terrent ac Jupiter hostis.

I fear lest, if we forswear finance and remain only in provisional occupation the country should be disturbed and our obligations to the Khedive compromised.

And as to the Hartington–Chamberlain ideas, I doubt 1. whether any one has yet attempted to think them through in their judicial aspects—2. whether it is possible for us to become sponsors for the policy of our opponents, though I admit that the continued recusancy of the Powers would give some elements of a justification for that policy. All this I name that it may be carefully reflected on.

¹ i.e. no. 1534 above.

² To await the French communication promised for 15 Jan., tel. 7 Jan., P.R.O. 30/29/129.

³ i.e. stopping before the paragraph: 'If this also fail, then we have only to deal with the "alternative" '; cf. Granville to the Queen, 7 Jan., reporting the cabinet, P.R.O. 30/29/45.

If I were in London I should like to turn the Chancellor's mind on to the subject to view the different alternatives in the light of public law.

I think the country would shudder at a new war against Osman Digna. I was astonished at something like levity in the eagerness with which Baring recommended it:¹ and a little surprised at Wolseley's appearing to think his 'destruction' a plainly practicable matter. We can defeat, but can we catch him? Would you not rather try to get hold of him by stratagem if it were in any way practicable. After all he does not seem able to do us much harm.

[P.S.] Many thanks for reference to the Band² which may come to be useful.

1538. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 14]

Foreign Office. Jan 9/85.

A diplomatist³ who begged not to be quoted told me this afternoon that M. Ferry believed his counterproposals would be accepted by us—

He believed them to be a joint guarantee of the powers [of a loan to Egypt], a tax on the coupon, liberty of the Suez Canal, & agreement with us about the Daira & Domain.

This sounds almost too good to be true.

I was at Osborne yesterday evening.⁴

The Queen much exercised by the unkindness of the German Imperial family, who are frantic at the mésalliance the Princess Beatrice was about to make.⁵

The Queen verged upon radicalism in her arguments the other way.

H. My does not like the sentence about evacuation in the political draft C. She thinks any announcement on the subject would much weaken Lord Wolsley [*sic*].⁶

And she objects to anything which seems to indicate a precise date.

The Queen was much amused at two explanatory crosses, which it seems you inserted in a description of your health.⁷

The Bridegroom is goodlooking & pleasing.

¹ See p. 312, n. 3.

² A relief for lumbago as suggested, 5 Jan., see p. 312, n. 2, p. 317, n. 3.

³ i.e. Count Nigra, see no. 1548.

⁴ Cf. *Letters*, iii. 591.

⁵ Her engagement to Prince Henry of Battenberg was announced, 30 Dec., P.R.O. 30/29/44.

⁶ See p. 313, n. 1; the reference to Wolseley was contained in the letters exchanged between Granville and Ponsonby referred to in this note.

⁷ See Gladstone to the Queen, 5 Jan., Guedalla, ii. 324; and p. 317, n. 4.

1539. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

No 2.

Hawarden Castle. Jan 10. 85.

1. I own to an immense relief on reading Wolseley's answer¹ about an expedition to Suakim, to which I could only have been a party on his demand, and then, after all that happened last year, with great repugnance though no hesitation.

2. On the other hand I attach very little weight to his *dictum* that we ought to hold Suakim for some years. He is admirable in the conduct of an expedition & an army, not much out of it.

3. I return Ponsonby's letter² about evacuating Egypt. To disclaim annexation is of little use, if indefinite occupation is intended and desired—if for instance we are to remain when & while there are 'friendlies' to be supported. At the bottom of the whole affair evidently lies an opinion that the extended military occupation of Egypt is a good for us 1. as securing high military establishments, 2. as promoting 'prestige'. But I am one of those who look upon it as a certain weakness, a possible discredit & even danger.

4. But of course we must be most careful to keep the question of Wolseley's expedition & return completely disentangled from all questions of neutralising or evacuating.

5. Do you think W. has in his hands all you can say to help him in looking out a Governor for Khartoum? Would it be well to put to him the case of Hassan, in this view, that if he is thought of it should also be considered whether he ought not to go there & show himself forthwith?

1540. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

No 1.

Hawarden Castle. Jan 11. 85.

How kind of you to send your present³ which arrived this morning. It will have to undergo the ordeal of Sir A. Clark's judgment; but it looks most promising and satisfactory—I get on well, having only had one night of extreme badness since I came here & several very good.

I am utterly puzzled about the two crosses [of] which you heard at Osborne, and unconscious of having made any.⁴

¹ i.e. a negative to the question whether a fresh Suakin expedition was really necessary; see Gladstone to Hartington, 11 Jan., Add. MS. 44547, fo. 161.

² To Granville, 9 Jan. (see p. 313, n. 1); alluding to tribes surrounding Wolseley who would regard a promise to evacuate as an abandonment of 'friendlies' and unite to defeat him.

³ A patent belt, see marginal note on the letter book copy.

⁴ Hamilton explained to Granville, 12 Jan., that Gladstone wrote to the Queen 'if the enemy . . . does not re-establish himself . . . Mr. Gladstone will look forward to his being shortly ousted altogether' and that he had put crosses above 'enemy' and 'his' to connect them and to avoid the misunderstanding that Gladstone would be ousted, P.R.O. 30/29/28 A.

1541. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Hawarden. Jan 13. 85.

I am much disinclined to the very grave proposal of Governor Sir H. Loch that we should negotiate with the Dutch Government to obtain possession of 'their part of New Guinea[?].¹

Waiving all the general considerations which bear upon the question, I will deal only with the particular features of the case.

I think the suggestion wholly deficient in the *primâ facie* grounds which ought to be presented in proposing to us to set on foot such a negotiation. It is the suggestion of the Governor of a single Colony in a matter that concerns many Colonies: of one excellent man, but one not of much colonial or political experience, and one who has been thought rather disposed to make business. Behind him there stands nothing like a responsible authority: and to sustain his suggestion he falls back on the eminently irresponsible 'newspaper press' of his Colony. Thus the proposal is that we shall, on his suggestion, assume the entire responsibility of initiating a very singular proceeding.

2. The Dutch Government belongs, in Europe, to the order of secondary States; and I understand it to be the wise traditional policy of this country to do all we can towards maintaining in respect and honour the States of this order. Now the proposal, not founded on any intention, or even any presumption, that they should sell themselves out of an important transmarine occupation, is in my view a rather disparaging proposal.

3. Were a First Class Power, say France or Germany possessed of this occupation, would Sir H. Loch have ventured on his proposal? I leave this question to answer itself.

4. But while there are First Class Powers, and Holland a second class Power, in Europe, their respective ranks as colonising Powers are very different. I suppose Holland to be the second among the colonising Powers of the world. And the first among them has found at the Cape that, where the Dutch go, they know how to stamp their own image and superscription pretty deeply.

5. I am afraid that this proposal, which begins with an act of disparagement to Holland, would end with disparaging us. It is not within the lines of the ordinary communications between Governments. It therefore requires some special and rather solid grounds to warrant it. Nothing less surely than this, that if the Dutch are prepared to negotiate, we are (in principle) prepared to put forward a substantive proposal. Let us suppose that we put our question. It is eminently one to draw forth a fencing answer. For if we ask, and Holland answers, and thereupon we do nothing,

¹ See Loch to Derby, tel. No. 4 secret, 7 Jan., copy in P.R.O. 30/29/120; a British protectorate had been proclaimed on all the coast between the Dutch and German possessions.

she is left in a position almost ludicrous. This she will be pretty well aware of. Will she not then have in her enough of the instinct of self-defence to say 'when you put to us an interrogation so exceptional, are we to understand that provided we entertain the idea you are prepared to make us an offer?[']

6. Sir H. Loch proposes that we shall institute what is called a 'fishing inquiry' through the Governors, to 'discover' whether the Colonies are prepared to contribute towards a purchase. He has not yet so much as an inkling of this discovery in the case of *his own* Colony. And what does he mean by 'contributing *towards*'? Is any body else to contribute? Does he think the House of Commons will accept the honour of the lion's share in buying out the Dutch? He ought to have said not 'contribute towards' but 'supply the funds for'.

7. If the Australian Colonies through their really responsible organs were to start and sustain Sir H. Loch's proposal, then, in my judgment, would begin to arise the serious question, whether we should take any substantive step in relation to it!

8. I may observe, finally, that we are as it happens in the act of expostulating with Germany because she has, without prior communication between her and ourselves, occupied a few spots on the north eastern coast of the Island. Is it conceivable that, at the same moment, we, without a word to her, nay for the purpose of forestalling her, are to set about I know not how much wire-pulling for the purpose of getting possession of the chief part of this very Island? I am aware that Dutch New Guinea has all along been excluded from the correspondence with Germany. But why? Because it was already disposed of.

I think you will already have cried '*Ohe jam satis*' and I will go no further.

1542. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

No 2. Private.

Hawarden Castle. Jan 13. 85.

Exercise your own discretion as to sending this¹ to H.M. It is outspoken. I have got here another man, known to you, who is as bad as myself. His name is F. L. Gower—I think in some way related to you?

Is this Loch a Jingo. I can hardly suppose Jingoism to flow into him from Lytton through those two most pleasing sisters.

[P.S.] Perhaps it would be but fair to Derby (to whom I send a copy)²

¹ i.e. no. 1541; cf. Granville to Derby, undated, sending a copy of Loch's tel., to draw his attention to it, at the Queen's wish; and reply, 10 Jan., doubting whether the Dutch would agree and expecting a German claim, if they did, P.R.O. 30/29/120; cf. Gladstone to the Queen, 23 Jan., *Letters*, iii. 593-4; Guedalla, ii. 325-6.

² 13 Jan., sending copy of no. 1541 'written to Granville at his request', Add. MS. 44547, fo. 163.

that the letter should go to the Queen who I think ascribes to him all recalcitration.

1543. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 162]

[Copy] No. 3.

13 Jan: 1885.

The time¹ for the full knowledge of Ferry's proposal being near & the cat already pretty well out of the bag, I write to observe that it appears to me that, as apparently he is not to bring in the military occupation, much may turn on Childers's view & advice.

What if the joint guarantee² dwindle to a guarantee by England & France.

Will they in that case proceed as in 1855, which would give no special *claims* against special *duties*—or will he halve the sum? If he halves the sum why should not half the payments be made to our Bank and half to theirs? The great object is to have security but not controul.

I am deeply anxious that we should not except for very substantive cause, miss the new opportunity: so very sorry even at the best are the other alternatives.

Observe the morality of the Times leader today³—'we keep our pledges *unless, for cause shewn*, as seems likely in Egypt'. This is worthy of its very worst periods, & you must feel it an honour to be abused in such an article.

1544. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 19]

Walmer. Jan 13/85.

You have circulated a letter of Baker's.⁴

He was civil till we refused to send him back to the Soudan (of which he has an agreeable recollection to the tune of 40,000£). He has been very abusive since.

He has knowledge on the subject, and his idea about the Turks ought not to be dismissed without due consideration, but he does not give us the slightest help as to how his plan is to be carried out.

It might be worth my while to ask him what are the inducements he would propose to the Sultan and what are the checks against Turkish misgovernment & rapacity, if they exercise the physical authority. Shall I?

[P.S.] The Turkish Envoy⁵ will be here soon.

¹ i.e. 15 Jan.; see p. 314, n. 2.

² i.e. by the European powers of the proposed loan to Egypt.

³ On Bismarck's speech in the Reichstag, *The Times*, 13 Jan., p. 9a.

⁴ Not traced.

⁵ Fehmi Pasha to negotiate on Turkey's behalf over Egypt; see p. 292, n. 1, and p. 329, n. 2.

1545. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 21]

Foreign Office. Jan 15/85.

I have done all I can as regards Childers.¹

He will have rec[eive]d this afternoon Nigra's statement of the French proposals, which I have no doubt is correct.

I suppose we shall have them from Paris tomorrow.

I have asked Childers how soon he will be ready for a Cabinet, & I have asked Hamilton to warn our Colleagues that they may be summoned for the beginning of the week. Hartington would like Monday.² The sooner the better.

1546. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Hawarden Castle. Jan 16. 85.

The variations in the unauthenticated texts of the Counter-proposition are bewildering. There is little chance of its turning out to be such as will admit of acceptance, under the instructions already received, without a Cabinet *ad hoc*. What alarms most is the idea of an international Controul. If we are obliged to break off, that I take to be our best fighting-ground, for we should represent both Egyptian liberty and English feeling. Our gain seems likely to be that in one form or other the principle of touching the coupon is admitted.³

I feel sure you do not wish a Cabinet to be called until we have in hand the matter for discussion.

Inclosed is an interesting & characteristic letter⁴ from Derby for your perusal. I fear he is being chastised, in part, for iniquities of mine.

1547. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 23]

Walmer Castle. Jan 16/85.

The Queen complains that the last telegram is discouraging to Wolsley⁵

¹ Answers tel. from Gladstone to Granville, 15 Jan., urging communication with Childers on Egyptian finance, P.R.O. 30/29/129.

² See Gladstone to Granville, tel. 10.47 a.m. 16 Jan., proposing either 17 Jan. or Mon. 19 Jan., adding 'expedition [to Suakin] seems desirable'; tel. 6.10 p.m. 16 Jan., proposing after receiving no. 1545 'the earliest practicable day', P.R.O. 30/29/129; met Tues. 20 Jan., and, unable to agree to accept the French proposals, adjourned to 21 Jan., see Add. MS. 44646, fos. 10-23; see p. 326, n. 1.

³ See no. 1538; for arrival of the French answer, 17 Jan., see no. 1548.

⁴ Of 15 Jan., asking that he might claim that colonial policy was the joint policy of the cabinet and not be obliged to bear sole responsibility, Add. MS. 44142, fo. 155; for Gladstone's defence of Derby to the Queen, see *Letters*, iii. 593-4, Guedalla, ii. 325-6.

⁵ See from Ponsonby, 15 Jan., on the Queen's fear that the British answer to Baring's tels. Nos. 9 and 13 was not strong enough and suggesting that Granville did not fully support Wolseley, P.R.O. 30/29/45; Granville's answer, not traced.

[*sic*]. I have submitted that we have full confidence in him as to the Expedition but that neither H.M. nor the Cabinet would like to give him full discretion as to future policy.

I know these to be your views.

1548. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 28]

Foreign Office. Jan 17/85.

Waddington gave me the note, & said he had hoped to be be [*sic*] able to do so yesterday,¹ but it was impossible as he was obliged to telegraph about some little details.

I read it & told him that I could give no opinion upon so important a paper until I had consulted my colleagues.

I hope it will be printed in time for the post.

If by any chance it does not reach you tomorrow, all the points are in the statement Nigra ('a diplomatist') gave me, & which I sent you.²

If the Powers' guarantee be entertained, they might have some claim to an enquiry but the Commission proposed, appears to be most objectionable, composed of persons who are all committed up to the hilt, all opposed to us, and none caring about the Egyptians—

I hope Tuesday will suit you,³ pray let me know if you will be in London on Monday.

1549. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 35]

Foreign Office. Jan 18/85.

Hamilton & I settled Tuesday in order to give more time for consideration and also to avoid the great fatigue of a journey on Monday immediately followed by a long & possibly difficult Cabinet.

I have telegraphed to suggest your adhering to your original plan.

It would give you more time for rest, & more opportunity of previous discussion.

I send you a letter from Northbrook.⁴ I have sent his proposed telegram

¹ See Granville to Gladstone, tel. 11.30 a.m. 16 Jan., announcing the French reply on Egyptian finance for Sat. evening or Sun.; tel. 6 p.m. announcing for Sat. afternoon, 17 Jan., F.O. 27/2761; to Lyons, No. 54, 17 Jan., F.O. 27/2725.

² See no. 1538; Granville telegraphed the substance of no. 1548 up to this point to Gladstone, Childers, Northbrook, and to the Queen, 5.50 p.m. 17 Jan., Add. MS. 44178, fo. 27.

³ See exchange of tels. 17, 18 Jan., Gladstone proposing Mon. for the cabinet, and Granville preferring Tues. 20 Jan., P.R.O. 30/29/129; see p. 321, n. 2.

⁴ Of 17 Jan., meeting the French counter-proposals on Egyptian finance, either with qualifications or acceptance, except that for an international inquiry into revenue on which he suggested a question to Baring about an alternative, P.R.O. 30/29/140.

privately to Baring,¹ though I doubt the suggestion being of much use—or being very desirable.

Munster is to bring me a communication on Egypt from the German Govt.²

I shall thank him for giving such an early statement of his views on the Fr[ench] proposal, but shall assume that it means no change from his wish that we should come to terms with France, if possible.

1550. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Private.

Hawarden. Jan 18. 85.

I do not think of coming up tomorrow, for I can give you I think perfectly well on paper all my ideas, such as they are, on the French proposals, which reached me this morning. The R[ail] R[oad] always makes special arrangements, which I am loath to disturb.

If on reading this early tomorrow you telegraph to me that you desire to see me I can get to town in the evening.

1. Upon the whole, I am relieved on perusing the paper, which is ably written. For

a. there is not in it, so far as I see, an international controul.

b. The point capital for honour and for finance, that of a deduction in case of need from the dividends, is conceded, not only in principle, but apparently to nearly as great an amount (in the aggregate) as was demanded in our last proposals.

c. No question is raised about the occupation; not a benefit in my particular view, but the removal probably of a stumbling block in the Cabinet or in Parliament. Now for particulars in the proposals before us.³

I. The Enquête.

a. It is impossible I think to object in principle.

b. But I agree with you in disapproving the instrument, and surely we can show very strong cause against it as being too numerous for (Turkey

¹ On 18 Jan., asking whether an alternative could be inquiry by European representatives in Cairo into the administration of the Egyptian railways, daira, and domains, P.R.O. 30/29/201; unfavourable reply, private tel., 19 Jan., P.R.O. 30/29/164.

² See to Malet, No. 37, 19 Jan., recording Münster on German readiness to discuss Egyptian finance, to join the guarantee of the loan, and demand for the admission of Germans and Russians to the *caisse*, which Granville accepted, F.O. 64/1073.

³ The rest of no. 1550 was the basis of the reply to France, see to Waddington, 21 Jan., F.O. 27/2761, to Lyons, No. 69, 21 Jan., F.O. 27/2725; Waddington to Ferry, *D.D.F.* v, No. 533; cf. Gladstone's further memoranda (*a*) objections that Lyons might make, (*b*) amendments to proposals about the guaranteed loan, the reduction of interest, and the canal, 20 Jan., (*c*) amendments to the proposal for an international inquiry into revenue, 22 Jan., P.R.O. 30/29/129.

doubtless making her claim) six or seven Diplomatsists and about as many members of the Caisse will be an unwieldy body—but more even than this, the members of the Caisse are not as I understand financiers, and most of all having been appointed in a particular sense to defend a particular interest, as against the Egyptian Government, they are deficient in the conditions of authority, which must include undeniable impartiality as well as competency.

c. If any one of the Caisse is believed by his Govt to be specially competent, I do not know whether we could resist; but this need not be raised by us.

II. The Guarantee.

a. Again I do not see that we can object in principle.

b. In practice I suppose Italy would join, and if the Guarantee were Anglo-Franco-Italian, we should probably preponderate. I assume that the three Kaisers will not come in.

c. The scheme is not at all developed: and in the discussion of details we should have an advantage from the superiority of our financial position.

d. The important point of substance to press in regard to it seems to be the importance of using all possible means to create an operative and strong Sinking Fund as we suggested, not only to get rid of pecuniary liability, but much more to relieve Egypt from what might grow into a danger of intervention prejudicial to its just autonomy.

III. Daira & Domain.

Even if it be necessary to leave the management without change, yet if the progressive sale of these lands gives the best promise of an effective Sinking Fund, we ought to have it arranged for, and it seems difficult for France to find a ground of objection to this part of our plan. Their objection is taken to the change in the *Régime*.

I have not detected any serious demands to be made, unless upon these heads.

The proposal as to strangers¹ appears good—and why should we not *better* it by referring to inequalities of class taxation, which [*sc.* where] France will probably join us in the desire for any just and practicable reform.

So again as regards the Canal the paper seems to stand well.

There is I suppose an underground difference between us which is in principle important. Our leanings are those of Northbrook to autonomy for Egypt, those of France probably to controul.

In all the detailed arrangements no doubt you will keep our aim in view. The ground is one which we can afford to hold strongly: but I do not

¹ i.e. to place foreigners on the same footing as Egyptians in regard to taxation in order to increase Egyptian revenue.

imagine that you will desire, if it can be avoided, to proclaim any abstract principle as to this matter, on which issue could be joined.

The arrangements for meeting our own particular charges will no doubt have Childers's close attention, but I suppose they will hardly fight upon the very moderate demands put forward by us in this respect.

I am hardly able to form a judgment how far time, under present circumstances, and after the postponement of the Caisse action,¹ has the same urgency, or any thing like the same, which it presented before. You will know whether and how far you can expedite matters by preliminary conversation with Waddington, to whom I suppose the management of the matter has been retransferred by the French Government. You might I suppose fairly ask him tomorrow, what answer the French Government has had from the Powers on the subject of their sharing in the Guarantee of the Loan and likewise point out the totally undeveloped character of the proposal as it stands.

I should *like* to limit the inquiry to the Guaranteeing Powers, but the others would say that the reduction of the Coupon gave them a standing-ground.

I do not read the summary from a Diplomatist as having a colour nearly so answerable as the proposal *in extenso*; and I cannot help hoping we shall find, that while it offers much to be carefully worked out in detail, there is little to give rise to doubt or diversity of view in the Cabinet. The great point no doubt is to get rid of inquiry by the *Caisse*.

P.S. (by Telegram) In this letter I have left the figures to Childers, who knows them much better. If five per cent is too little, we may ask more.

1551. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 166]

[Copy]

19 Jan: 85.

I am not surprised at the Chancellor's remarks, and I think Chamberlain's speech² open to great objections, but I am not sure that it supplies me in particular with cause for a mode of action to which as you know I have too often had occasion to resort.

1552. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 39]

18, Carlton House Terrace. Jan 21. 85.

One cannot depend on Waddington. He is always sanguine.

¹ Brought against Egyptian ministers and officials for suspension of payments into the *caisse*, see p. 295, n. 3.

² i.e. at Ipswich, 14 Jan., threatening the House of Lords and pleading the cause of the agricultural labourers, see *The Times*, 15 Jan., p. 7a-c, and no. 1562.

Otherwise his reception of our proposals was good. He thought them a good 'entrée en matières'.¹

1553. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*² [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 41]

Foreign Office. [22 January 1885].

I wrote to Carlingford last night (as well as to Northbrook at length).

You see he answers the question as to himself, which I put to you about Hartington & says that he did not mean to vote against the 2d reading but only against a clause.

Northbrook has not answered, I have asked him to call here.³

1554. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret.

Hawarden Castle. Jan 22. 85.

Here I am after a journey of 5½ hours from door to door, through the unsought & ill deserved kindness of the L N W Railway, which entirely spoils me by special service.

There was one part of my conversation of today with Hartington which I should like not to leave in any case without record. He referred to the difficulties he had had, and he 'gratefully' acknowledged the considerateness of the Cabinet. He said the point always urged upon him was, not to break up the Liberal party. But he said can we avoid its breaking up, within a very short time after you retire, & ought this consideration therefore to be regarded as of such very great force. I said, my reply is in two sentences. First, I admit that from various symptoms it is not improbable there may be a plan or intention to break up the party. But if a rupture of that kind comes, this is my second sentence, it will come upon matters of principle, known and understood by the whole country, your duty will probably be clear and your position unembarrassed: but I entreat you to use your utmost endeavour to avoid bringing about the rupture on one of the points of this Egyptian question, which lies outside the proper business of a Government and is beyond its powers, which does not turn upon clear principles of politics, and about which the country understands

¹ Cabinet voted, 20 Jan., 'that the French proposals form a reasonable basis for a friendly communication with a view to a settlement' against Hartington, Northbrook, Childers, and Carlingford, but did not agree until 21 Jan. to base the reply on no. 1550, Add. MS. 44646, fos. 10-23.

² No. 1553 has been placed first since it must have been written before nos. 1554, 1555 dated from Hawarden, where Gladstone did not arrive before 8 p.m., on his return from the London cabinets.

³ Northbrook and Hartington renewed their offers to resign after voting with the minority in the cabinet, 20 Jan., Carlingford actually resigned; letters, not traced; Carlingford's reply, Add. MS. 44178, fo. 43.

almost nothing and cares, for the most part, very little. All this he took without rejoinder.

I hope that you with Childers on financial reform will find no difficulty in marching onwards with your present authority & equipment. God speed your labour.

P.S. We are going to Holker next week & Hartington said he would try to come and see us there.

1555. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Private.

Hawarden Castle. Jan 22. 85.

I only wish you to know that Hartington & I went over much delicate & vital matter & though he will probably tread the same ground with you, I should like just to say that it was not only a frank but in tone a very satisfactory, and I hope an useful conversation.

I am much pleased with your reports: but I am inclined to think single-ness of guarantee would be a great difficulty *with France*. Childers seems to take this view like me.

1556. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Jan 26. 85.

I could not help being scandalised, as regarded the Government, and especially as regarded you, by Baring's dispatch of [9] Jan. [No.] 29.¹ The sentiment has been revived in my mind today by Sir P. Lumsden's impertinent telegram of Jan. 13.² It is very well that the officers of the permanent Civil Service at home in our several departments, whose title would be just as good, do not take such liberties, for they would make Parliamentary Government impossible.

It occurred to me that you might convey to Baring through Northbrook an idea of our opinions. It would not be necessary for N. to make himself a party. Zeal for him may have helped to lead Baring into error.

2. I hope the French will now be expeditious as well as good humoured, and that you may soon be able to render your understanding with them complete: with the others great dispatch is not so needful.

3. Affliction has again fallen on my brother, and another daughter,³ the

¹ See from Baring, No. 29 confidential, 9 Jan., putting strongly his view that control exercised over Egyptian expenditure should be exercised locally and not from London, F.O. 78/3799.

² To Granville, tel. 13 Jan., protesting against the government's acceptance of the Russian proposal for the limit of the zone in which the Joint Russo-British commission should operate, F.O. 65/1235.

³ i.e. Annie Gladstone, daughter of Sir Thomas Gladstone.

most devoted and efficient nurse of the one who died, has fallen a victim to her affectionate labours, and breathed her last on Saturday. They have however requested that the marriage¹ may not be put off, so I suppose it will probably hold. On Friday we go to the Duke of Devonshire's at Holker.

1557. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*² [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 45]

Foreign Office. Jan 27/85.

I will suggest to Northbrook to write to Baring. I did complain in a private letter to the latter.³

I telegraphed yesterday a snub to Lumsden.⁴ I am much afraid he was not a good selection but Kimberley took great pains on the subject.

Waddington is to begin discussing the details of the Egyptian finance tomorrow.

Bismarck has had a violent conversation about Colonies with Malet. I am drafting a reply.⁵

Edmond Fitzmaurice has not strong health & has always a tendency to be a hypochondriac—

He is doubtful whether his health will enable him to go on.⁶ I insisted on his seeing Sir Andrew Clark. The latter says he is not well, but advises him not to give up work—& in the meanwhile to go for a fortnight to Bath.

George [Leveson Gower] told me last night of the dreadful misfortune in your family. It is too sad.

1558. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 52]

Foreign Office. Jan 28/85.

I have seen Northbrook, who will write to Evelyn Baring, as to the aggressive despatch.⁷

¹ Stephen Gladstone to Miss Wilson.

² Fitzmaurice, ii. 405, refers to Gladstone to Granville, 27 Jan., on his wish to resign, but the letter has not been traced.

³ See to Baring, private, 9 Jan., 'your last despatch about finance is slightly aggressive. . . . It is all very well preaching to converts against delay, but you omit the particular way in which we can force Europe to move quicker', P.R.O. 30/29/201.

⁴ See F.O. to I.O., 26 Jan., asking concurrence in a tel. to Lumsden repelling his threat to resign in protest against the British acceptance of the Russian proposal, see p. 327, n. 2, F.O. 65/1235.

⁵ See from Malet, No. 45 secret, 24 Jan., recording Bismarck's complaint that everywhere Germany tried to found a colony England 'closed in', adducing examples and reading the dispatch of 5 May 1884 to Münster to prove neglect of his overtures for a colonial understanding; and reply, No. 8, 7 Feb., on the independence of British colonial policy, F.O. 64/1146; see also 'Correspondence respecting New Guinea', *Parl. papers* (1884-5) liv.

⁶ See p. 373, n. 1.

⁷ See p. 327, n. 1.

He says Baring when he wrote it, did so on hearing of Blum's enquiries and that he had no idea of your being inclined to favour the proposal.

Khartoum appears to be saved. Poor Lady Stewart, at this time of glory for her husband,¹ knows him to be seriously wounded a ball in the stomach, & 3 other near relations killed or wounded.

The Turk is a very good fellow, but the length of the conversations is appalling.²

Waddington has not any instructions—but he doubts there being any difficulty beyond settling some of the details of the loan.

1559. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Private.

Norris Green, West Derby, Liverpool. Jan 29. 85.

Unless memory fails me wholly, which is not impossible, this remarkable dispatch of May 5 is to me a perfect novelty.³ I suppose that if Münster's fate is yet trembling in the balance you would not (supposing me right) like to show him up. But when he is gone you might think the case ought to be cleared. *Primâ facie* Bismarck has some ground of complaint. He certainly blundered in interpreting 'without prejudice' but yet he is so far right that he would have been entitled (which I do not think Malet sees) to proceed freely on the unannexed coast [of New Guinea] *but for* the volunteered declarations from his side which bound him to communicate with us. I think we ought to let him off easy on the question of his proceedings in New Guinea, the case standing as it appears to do.

There is a very important part of the subject which does not appear to have been opened to him. It is that there are three parties in the field, not two; that we have to act in the face of great colonial communities which will have, & which know that they will have, preponderating power in the Southern Levant (so to call it), and which mean not only to argue but to bully in this matter. For this point in the situation Foreign States ought to make some allowance.

I for my part, and I think you, do not mean to be bullied by them, but I am not sure that all our colleagues are altogether like-minded.

I see my way clearly to this [:] that German colonisation will strengthen and not weaken our hold upon our Colonies: and will make it very difficult for them to maintain the domineering tone to which their public organs are too much inclined.

¹ Sir Herbert Stewart was mortally wounded soon after the victory of Abu Klea, won by his desert column on the way to establish communication with Gordon.

² For special mission of Fehmi Pasha, arrived 19 Jan., see p. 292, n. 1, and nos. 1544 and 1664; for account of conversation on the ten Turkish bases, see to Wyndham, No. 45A, 28 Jan., F.O. 78/3745.

³ See p. 328, n. 5, and *Die Grosse Politik*, iv, No. 738; for historians' controversy about this dispatch see S. E. Crowe, *Berlin West African Conference (1942)* 51–53, 211–18, W. Windelband, *Bismarck und die europäischen Grossmächte, 1879–85 (1942)* 486–7.

I suppose B[ismarck]. ought to learn from us that whatever be his understandings elsewhere & his present intentions towards us, we shall endeavour in every question to be guided by permanent & not fugitive considerations & to treat every German claim which may concern us in an equitable spirit.

1560. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 54]

Foreign Office. Jan 30/85.

I have no recollection of the Despatch of May 5 & am sure that some of the more important passages were never mentioned to me.

I asked Munster about it. He could remember nothing about it, but to save himself, said he was sure if he had been ordered to do so, he had communicated it to me.

We cannot I should think give up the whole of the North Eastern shores of New Guinea but should I say that we are ready to discuss the boundary.

The answer will be very long.

1561. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 56]

Foreign Office. [30 January 1885].

I have written rather a strong complaint to Waddington of his instructions which he daily expected never coming.¹ In the mean while a draft conversation is being prepared here.

1562. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

I. Holker. [31 January 1885].

After the Birmingham speech I thought it necessary to write the inclosed note² to Chamberlain. Hartington has seen it. I had only the notice of a few hours that another speech was coming, and I did what I could by a telegram (*en clair* not having my cipher at hand). Upon the whole, weak-kneed Liberals have caused us more trouble in the present Parliament than Radicals. But I think these declarations by Chamberlain upon matters which cannot humanly speaking become practical before the next Parliament, can hardly be construed otherwise than as having a remote and (in

¹ See to Waddington, 30 Jan., F.O. 27/2761; cf. to Lyons, No. 93A, 30 Jan., on the British regret at the delay and the desirability of settling before parliament met, F.O. 27/2725.

² Of 31 Jan., on his Ipswich (p. 325, n. 2) and Birmingham (29 Jan.) speeches and the danger of going beyond the cabinet's views on undecided questions, Add. MS. 44126, fo. 52; part printed, Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 111; *The Times*, 15 Jan., p. 7^{a-c}, 30 Jan., pp. 6c-7d; Ponsonby to Gladstone, 20 Jan., remonstrating in the Queen's name; and reply, 31 Jan., reporting his letter to Chamberlain, Guedalla, ii. 324, 326.

that sense) farsighted purpose which is ominous enough. The Opposition can hardly fail in their opportunity, I must add in their duty, to make them matter of attack. Such things will happen casually from time to time, and always with inconvenience; but there is here a degree of method and system, which seem to give the matter a new character.

You are I think eminently in a condition to notice the subject to Chamberlain, if you think fit, for you are pretty sure I suppose to hear of it in the House of Lords.

1563. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

2. Holker. Jan 31. 85.

With regard to the very provoking delays of the French (probably caused from behind) both Hartington and I think that, if you think it prudent, there is a point you may use with very great force.

I was pressed in the House of Commons, *even before* we adjourned on or about Decr 26, to say whether we should have the French answer before adjourning, & then to say when we should have it.

At the rate at which matters are now travelling, it seems uncertain whether the matter will be settled or not when we meet on the 19th.

If it is not settled, I suppose we cannot lay papers. There will be eager and almost indignant demands for the cause of so strange a state of things. We shall be *compelled* to give dates *vivâ voce*: it will all bear the aspect of an indictment against the French Government—can this be good for the relations between the two countries?

There is another view yet more serious. The tone of the press and of Opposition speeches shows that there will be plenty of *volition* to resist the scheme. These delays will create a real sentiment of anger and bitterness, which will very greatly increase the difficulty of carrying the plan, and which may doom Egypt to another period of suspense and almost torture.

I am deeply impressed with the force of these considerations which I think will be patent to a Foreign Govt anxious, as the Govt of France has shown itself, for a speedy and effectual settlement.¹

1564. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

3. Holker Hall. Jan 31. 85.

I would deal liberally with Bismarck about the N.E. coast of New Guinea subject to the two conditions

1. not to appear to give in to bullying

¹ Cf. Waddington to Ferry, 18 Feb., referring to the British wish for a settlement before parliament met, 'c'est par là que nous avons barre sur le Cabinet anglais', *D.D.F.* v, No. 586.

2. to have an eye to the Colonies & to the *terms* of any proclamation which may already have been issued. A *cession eo nomine* would perhaps be awkward.¹

[P.S.] I thought you would very likely have indicated to Fehmi, *apropos* of the evacuation of Egypt, the idea of neutralisation, to try to probe him on that subject.²

1565. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 57]

Walmer Castle. Feb 1/85.

I wrote to Chamberlain before his speech, asking for caution in what he said on Foreign Affairs—and I had nothing to complain of—I intended raising the question of the home utterances, if he had been present at the Cabinet, not as a complaint of his holding opinions from which I might partially or wholly differ, but of his action, as a member of the Cabinet.³

I doubt the opportuneness of writing now—If you & Hartington think it should be done, it would be better that I should do so immediately before the meeting, on the ground of the necessities of debate—

I am delighted that you have written.⁴ It was due to yourself as prime minister, and to your colleagues—and it comes with such immense authority. Chamberlain dare not say of you that you are a weak-kneed liberal, which he probably would not hesitate to say of some others of his colleagues.

He is playing very high stakes, but I doubt in the wisest manner for himself.

1566. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 60]

Foreign Office. Feb 1/85.

I came back to town today. Our two drafts in answer to the conversation with Malet, and to the note delivered by Munster are argumentative and chiefly meant for home consumption.⁵ They are not ready to go to you this evening, because I cannot decide till I know your opinion.

The important thing is the conclusion to which we are to come, and which is to be the tail of one of these notes.

¹ i.e. in reply to the note from Münster, 28 Jan., denying Britain's right to any part of the N. coast of New Guinea, F.O. 64/1147; see no. 1450, and p. 280, n. 4, and p. 318, n. 1.

² See no. 1496, and p. 329, n. 2; agreement reached that no other foreign interference should follow Britain's departure, but date for this refused, and neutralization raised in the next conversation, see to Wyndham, No. 59A, 7 Feb., F.O. 78/3745.

³ See from Chamberlain, 6 Jan., acknowledging Granville's note, 5 Jan., asking caution about foreign affairs before his speech at Ipswich, P.R.O. 30/29/117.

⁴ See p. 330, n. 2.

⁵ See p. 328, n. 5, and p. 335, n. 1.

I quite agree that we should be easy with Bismarck about New Guinea, & that we should avoid the word 'concession' or the appearance of being bullied. But these objects are not easy to combine.

I send you therefore 3 courses.¹ Possibly you and Hartington may suggest a fourth.

It would be very useful that I should be able to tell Munster tomorrow what our conclusion is.

Please telegraph answer. The alternatives are marked by letters.

The word 'protest' as regards Massowah is in Baring's telegram, and also in Nigra's description of the agreement.

It is Egypt, & not us, who protests.²

I am writing to catch the post.

1567. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Holker. Feb. 3. 85.

We telegraphed today³ as you desired a joint reply, Hartington agreeing after full conversation.

Your reply to Münster will probably be a testing one. If Bismarck wants a quarrel he can still make one under his protest and claim the whole North Coast. He will have a bad case on the merits, but he has shown in this dispatch of Münster's that he is a perfect master of the art of involving a question in a cloud of words, as well as of plain & laconic speech, according as he may desire the one or the other.

I own myself, as to Samoa, unable to understand in what way the late proceeding is consistent with its independence, but I am not cognisant of the prior treaty on which they profess to found themselves.

[P.S.] Your letter is dated Feb. 1. but your box only came this morning.

1568. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Early.

Holker Hall. Feb. 4. 85.

Here is the Chamberlain correspondence as far as it has gone. I must make some at least provisional attempt at answer to Chamberlain's clear

¹ i.e. to adhere to the extension of British New Guinea; to assume that the German naval commander had misinterpreted his government's intentions and to offer friendly discussion; to do this adding the British view that the best joint boundary lay between East Cape and Huron Bay, P.R.O. 30/29/129.

² i.e. if Italy landed troops or lowered the Egyptian flag at Massowah, it being agreed that the Italian and Egyptian flags should fly side by side, from Baring, tel. No. 49, 30 Jan.; from Nigra, 31 Jan., communicating Mancini to Nigra, 30 Jan., F.O. 78/3857.

³ To Granville, tel. 3 Feb., answering no. 1566, rejecting first course on New Guinea as logical but inequitable and preferring third, Add. MS. 44178, fo. 64, P.R.O. 30/29/129.

letter but I shall think it over till tomorrow. I presume you would not accept the offer of resignations.¹ If otherwise please send a word by telegram.

1569. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 65]
Foreign Office. Feb. 4/85.

Waddington at last called here. He apologized for delay—said that delay was caused by the difficulties of the details, and by the fact that Ferry, although the Chamber was sitting, did these things himself. He glided over communications with other powers.²

I send you a rough note of the substance of what he told me.³

He will give it in detailed writing on Friday.⁴

He says Ferry is as anxious as we are in his own interest to get the thing quickly settled.

Childers[,] Pauncefote & I see nothing unfair in the proposed way of carrying out the agreement,⁵ although some attention will be required to the details.

I had a talk with Munster again. He was frightened out of his wits—& went home to consult his archives.

He found the famous despatch, but a telegram not to act upon it.⁶ He begged me to keep this *secret*.

1570. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 71]
Foreign Office. [6 February 1885].

Northbrook[,] Derby, Chamberlain[,] Dilke, Trevelyan & Childers agreed to the telegram I sent to Malet today.

Childers did not like the ending upon which we had agreed to the answer to Malet's report of conversation. I have made another arrange-

¹ See p. 330, n. 2; from Chamberlain, *secret*, 3 Feb., claiming freedom on undecided questions, offering to resign and hinting at Dilke's resignation, Add. MS. 44126, fo. 55, printed Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 111–13; see also Granville to Gladstone, pencil, undated, 'What was the Queen's answer on the Chamberlain correspondence'; and reply, 'Ponsonby wrote that he thought she was satisfied—but she has said nothing . . .', P.R.O. 30/29/29 A; further letters, 5, 7 Feb., Add. MS. 44126, fos. 62, 65.

² For the French communications with other powers, especially Germany, which delayed the rejoinder to the British reply to the French proposals on Egyptian finance, see *D.D.F.* v, Nos. 543, 550, 554.

³ See Ferry to Waddington, 4 Feb., *D.D.F.* v, No. 555; and Granville's summary for Gladstone, Add. MS. 44178, fo. 68.

⁴ See from Waddington, 8 Feb., F.O. 27/2761; and to Lyons, No. 125, 9 Feb., F.O. 27/2725.

⁵ A convention for the proposed new loan to Egypt; a khedival decree for reforms in taxation to increase Egyptian resources; a convention for the Suez Canal.

⁶ See p. 328, n. 5, and nos. 1559, 1560.

ment, & reserved the answer about New Guinea to the despatch properly on that subject, and have added that we do not admit the protests.¹

Rosebery came here for a few minutes, saying he supposed you had sent me his answer²—that he had rested the objection on the guarantee.

I asked him whether an act which was settled before he came in, would compromise him—He doubted that it would be settled! I told him that Waddington had just been with me, & that it was as good as settled.

1571. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 73]

Foreign Office. [8 February 1885].

I am glad Rosebery has acted as he has done—and I quite approve what you propose to answer³—

Q[uer]y. Sweeten the office of Works with the Privy Seal, as he is silly enough to care.

1572. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. Feb. 11. 85.

I send for your perusal a note from the Archbishop of Canterbury & my reply.⁴

P.S. N[eville] Lyttelton came in to luncheon. I said, Graham commands, Greaves Chief of the Staff. He replied 'I have not much confidence in Graham: Greaves is a capital man, saw service in Ashantee and New Zealand.

Graham has great fighting qualities, & the soldiers will believe in him. Does not understand general's work:['] & he then explained what is supposed to have been his error, (I believe in making his square advance).

You will observe the coincidence with Wolseley's views of the men.

I hardly *know* a better head than N. L.

¹ See to Malet, No. 85, 7 Feb., showing that since the dispatch of 5 May was not communicated, Britain was unaware of Germany's desire for colonies and that her own colonial policy was independent; and to Münster, 7 Feb., answering on New Guinea as third proposal in n. 1, p. 333, F.O. 64/1147.

² Of 1 Feb., refusing a fresh offer of cabinet office because of his disagreement with Egyptian policy, Add. MS. 44288, fo. 219; Lord Crewe, *Lord Rosebery* (1931) i. 216–17; see p. 282, n. 4.

³ See Rosebery's offer to serve after the fall of Khartoum, it being now a matter of patriotism and not of principle, Add. MS. 44288, fo. 221; and Gladstone's offer of cabinet, the Board of Works, and the privy seal, Add. MS. 44547, fos. 175, 177; Crewe, *op. cit.* i. 216–18; cf. announcement in the cabinet, 9 Feb., Add. MS. 44646, fo. 31.

⁴ See from Benson, 10 Feb., asking should he issue a form of public prayer for the British forces in the Sudan; and reply, 11 Feb., suggesting delay, since further military operations were uncertain, Add. MS. 44109, fos. 141, 148.

1573. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 75]
Foreign Office. Feb. 11/85.

I agree with your letter to the Archbishop.

The minority was in the right this morning.¹ I was in a difficulty having agreed to what it would have been better not to agree—obviously a compromise with the Duke of Cambridge.

1574. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 76]
Foreign Office. [14 February 1885].

Childers has desired Pauncefote at the meeting of the experts to insist upon a clause repudiating multiple controul [*sic*].²—

that it was the unanimous wish of the Cabinet that this should be done.

My recollection is that the Cabinet desired the thing, but that you & others agreed that it was better not to bring in the phrase—

Pauncefote says that as the proposal now stands everything has been eliminated, which could be construed into increased power of the Caisse—

Pauncefote is afraid of raising the question. It will probably be disagreed to, and either breaking off, or having to yield the point would be a great risk.

This has been my view from the first, but I do not like to differ from Childers without your sanction, on a proposal of his which has a desirable object.

1575. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]
10, Downing Street. Feb. 14. 85.

My recollection is entirely at one with yours, except that as far as I recollect no one requested that a repudiation of multiple controul should be verbally propounded.

It is like asking the French to undergo a needless humiliation. We certainly should not agree to it were we in their place.

Coming in at 6 after sitting quite unexpectedly 1½ hour with R. Spencer, I am so sorry to find I have been wanted.

¹ i.e. in the cabinet, when a vote was taken on a proposal adjourned from 9 Feb., and the majority decided on a Suakin expedition under Graham against Gladstone and Granville, who wanted Greaves to command, Add. MS. 44646, fo. 35: Guedalla, ii. 332.

² i.e. of Egyptian finance, by the commissioners of the *caisse de la dette publique*, instead of the single financial adviser.

1576. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*¹

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. Feb. 21. 85.

I inclose a paper with a few important queries about Egypt & the Soudan. I do not[,] as you will[,] ask for any detailed information. But I wish to know up to what point I may safely make definite assertions on the points I have named—or on any other of sufficient importance to be named.

And I refer to you not only because your Department is the fountain-head, but that we may be in exact accord.

Perhaps you will let me hear on Monday.²

1577. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44178, fo. 81]

Foreign Office. Feb 21/85.

Is this³ what you want, or do you wish to have any more.

From what Hartington tells me, it will probably be necessary for you to be careful not to put stress upon delay having been caused by military opinions. It might lead to contradictions.

If you say anything more about Gordon, there is a passage in Newman which he falsely applies to the Pope, but which would admirably fit Gordon.⁴

Do you care to have it.⁵

1578. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*⁶

[Add. MS. 44769, fo. 31]

F. 24 [1885].

Shall I answer Tyler as on the other side?⁷

I did not use Newman after all: & I return it with many thanks.

¹ Exchange of notes between Granville and Gladstone, 19 Feb., on wording of tel. No. 14, 19 Feb., to Thornton about the Afghan boundary, P.R.O. 30/29/129; Granville to Gladstone, 19 Feb., sending further news about Gordon and asking whether it changed his intention to make a statement, Add. MS. 44178, fo. 80, not printed.

² i.e. 23 Feb., when the Commons were to debate Northcote's motion for a vote of censure on the Sudan and Egyptian policy of the government.

³ Not traced.

⁴ Not traced.

⁵ Gladstone wrote here: 'Thanks, I should'.

⁶ Mins. by Gladstone, 24, 26 Feb., Granville and other members of the cabinet against French proposal on the Suez Canal, P.R.O. 30/29/145, not printed.

⁷ Granville wrote here: 'Yes' and at the end: 'This question of Afghan boundary is becoming very serious.' Tyler asked whether Britain was prepared to protect Herat and was told, as proposed in no. 1578, that steps were being taken to secure the whole frontier of Afghanistan including Herat, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* 24 Feb. ccxciv. 1174.

1579. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44769, fo. 33]

10, Downing Street. F. 25. 85.

Q[uer]y

1. Propose to Russia that *both* instruct their agents to avoid all fresh occupations of doubtful spots, and that both agree to push their views by diplomatic claim and conference of the Comm[issioner]s.

2. That a frontier line be traced, at all points where the two parties are agreed, upon maps adopted by both.

3. That if on any portion or portions of the frontier they cannot arrive at an agreement then the line of claim made by each be accurately traced, in the same manner, upon maps acknowledged by both parties.

4. Pending a settlement, might not the course followed in the Island of San Juan by England & America (joint occupation) be applicable in principle to these disputed spots?

1580. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. Feb. 26. 85.

I have your telegram of yesterday to Lumsden:¹ and I write to remind you of my suggestion which I thought you approved and which would be met by adding the words 'not to attack'.

As it stands, might not it be supposed indirectly to sanction attack on some (possibly improper) Russian advance.

1581. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 83]

10, Downing Street. F. 26. 85.

Gourley's question. Shall I answer as over:

The Italian Govt as an independent Power does not require the sanction of the British Govt for such measures as it may think proper to undertake.

Italy is in the best relations with this country but there is no alliance or plan of military cooperation between them.

Am not aware what comm[unicatio]ns there may have been between Italy & other Powers.²

¹ Tel. No. 17, 25 Feb., that the Russians would stay in their advanced posts but avoid collision with the Afghans, that he should advise the Afghans not to advance, F.O. 65/1236; Gladstone's addition not adopted.

² Gourley asked whether Italian expeditions on their way to the Red Sea coast were to assist Britain at Suakin, and had her 'sanction' and that of the European concert and was answered as proposed, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxciv. 1417-18; Granville wrote: 'Yes please. I have attended to your other suggestion' and returned the letter.

1582. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 85]

Foreign Office. March 2/85.

I am not aware of anything desired by the Secretary of State for India, not having been done.

Sir P. Lumsden has been entirely approved in not advising the Affghans to retreat beyond the parts now occupied by them—and in his communications with the Russians.

He seems a little puzzleheaded, and his threats to resign, on misconception of his instructions is embarrassing—& is certainly unbecoming on the part of an officer sent on such a mission.

I am afraid that I do not see what are the points on which the Queen differs from Her Majesty's Gov.

The complaint of Sir Peter Lumsden seems to be that he has not rec[eive]d an answer to his telegram of the 14th, which only arrived this afternoon, much behind some later telegrams.

Kimberley, Northbrook and I propose the enclosed telegram.¹

1583. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. Mch. 3. 85.

The Lumsden telegrams. If you think it wise I should not dislike a little more *exposition* to the Russian Govt showing how discreditable collision would be, how the risk of it arises out of Russian action, how unavailing, in its essence, such action is to establish a title, and how we have found it impossible to take the responsibility of advising the Afghans to yield indefinitely on ground which Russian troops are occupying for the first time.

I have initialled the telegrams.²

1584. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 89]

Foreign Office. [3 March 1885].

I agree that these reasons are difficult to answer—the one strong argument the other way is that it [is] undesirable to refuse to Wolsley [*sic*] the means which he judges are necessary to give him the greatest military efficiency.

¹ To Thomson, tel. No. 21, to Lumsden, tel. No. 4, 3 Mar., approving Lumsden's refusal to advise the Afghans not to attack the Russians but instead to resist; from Thomson, tel. No. 24, 2 Mar., forwarding Lumsden's complaints, 25 Feb., of irresolution and of Afghan girdings at being held back; from Thomson, tel. No. 28, 2 Mar., forwarding Lumsden's tel. 14 Feb., asking for instructions since the Russian advance had now crossed the Afghan boundary, F.O. 65/1237.

² i.e. to Thomson and to Thornton, tel. No. 17, 3 Mar., that the Afghans had been told to resist any further Russian advance, *ibid*.

Why not ask the Khedive to say that military considerations are predominant, that all the civil authorities should consider Lord W's authority as Commander of the Forces supreme—

& tell Baring & Wolsley [*sic*] that is all the latter wants, while his having the title of Civil Governor, would give a false view of our policy.¹

1585. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. Mch 3. 85.

Gibson's question for today² makes it needful to consider the suggestion I made to you that, under the very natural peculiarities of the case & on that ground alone the papers on Egyptian Finance should be laid, if there is a desire for them entertained by the Opposition, even in their incomplete state.³

Can this be done or not?

[P.S.] It appears that Chermiside's title (not a very important matter & wholly distinct from Wolseley's) was given *without* a Cabinet on Sept 28.

1586. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/145]

Early.

10, Downing Street. Mch 4. 85.

I am willing to accept your form of words as a mode of dealing with Wolseley's inadmissible proposal to become Governor General of the Soudan, *if* it will suit the views of the whole Cabinet. I am communicating with Harcourt—& in this sense and if he agrees I had better refer to Kimberley Chamberlain and Dilke. Perhaps you will communicate with Hartington and Northbrook who rather seemed to lean in favour of the project.

[P.S.] I send you copy of your words.⁴

¹ See to Baring, tel. No. 72, 6 Mar., as proposed, Gladstone's draft arriving too late, F.O. 78/3812. Baring's tel. No. 109, 25 Feb., reported Wolseley's request for the title of governor-general of the Sudan, F.O. 78/3813.

² i.e. for papers on the Egyptian financial proposals; extracts from Northbrook's report and other papers were promised when the negotiations were concluded, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cxciv. 1898-9.

³ Northbrook's report, papers on subsequent negotiations, declaration, 17 Mar. and convention, 18 Mar., were laid when negotiations were complete on 18, 19, and 23 Mar., *Parl. papers* (1884-5) lxxxviii. 647-837.

⁴ i.e. no. 1584. No. 1586 is marked by Granville, 'Hartington agrees & Northbrook'; min. by Northbrook, 4 Mar., acquiescing reluctantly and against his personal wish; and min. by Gladstone listing views of those he names and Childers as agreeing in objecting, P.R.O. 30/29/145.

1587. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*¹ [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 92]

Foreign Office. [4 March 1885].

I have just heard that Herbert Bismarck² is here, & will be at my house at one o'clock.

1588. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 93]

18, Carlton House Terrace. March 4/85.

I see that D. Woolf [*sc.* Wolff] is to ask you a question about me in re Bismarck.³

An answer must be made to his accusations. The question is how this should be done.

Whether I should make a statement in the House of Lords, or write you a letter, or another despatch.

Whether I should give you a brief for an answer, which could not be very short, or whether you would refer D.W. to what I have to say in any of the 3 ways I have suggested.

I need not say that whoever is in the right, a personal quarrel between the German & English Foreign Minister is a very serious thing.

I leave entirely to you, the easiest mode of getting rid of this difficulty.

1589. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. Mch 4. 85.

Bearing in mind the closing part of Bismarck's speech according to Scott's telegram,⁴ my inclination would be to answer Wolff in the dilatory way, by stating that my impressions had been the same as yours & that I w[oul]d not give any opinion on the question whether the subject was one which Parliament was fully entitled to examine at the proper time, but that

¹ Min. by Gladstone, 4 Mar., insisting on the circulation of Wolseley's proposed proclamation to the cabinet since it looked to future good government after the British evacuation, and further mins., *ibid.*, not printed.

² Stayed with Rosebery, 4-9 Mar.; for conversations which ended the Anglo-German colonial quarrel by agreement over New Guinea, Bechuanaland, and St. Lucia Bay, see Herbert Bismarck to Prince Bismarck, 7 Mar., *Die Grosse Politik*, iv, No. 760; to Scott, No. 96A secret Africa, 9 Mar., F.O. 64/1149; see also *D.D.F.* v, Nos. 610, 615; S. Gwynn and G. Tuckwell, *Sir Charles W. Dilke* (1917) ii. 99; Lord Crewe, *Lord Rosebery* (1931) i. 234-5.

³ i.e. 5 Mar., how Bismarck's reference in the Reichstag, 3 Mar., to his advice against Britain's taking Egypt was to be reconciled with Granville's reference to his advice to take it; for reply referring him to Granville's prospective statement in the Lords and deprecating parliamentary discussion see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcv. 126.

⁴ No. 25, 3 Mar., that it ended with an assurance of intention to return to a calm and friendly tone on Egypt, F.O. 64/1149.

it would not be for the public interest that I should enter upon it at the present moment.¹

Your interview with Herbert Bismarck will afford you useful opportunities. I presume he has come *ad hoc*. If you think it proper & of any use, I should not at all *dislike* to see him.

1590. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*²

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

H of C. Feb. [*sc.* March] 5-6 Midnight 85.

After the 'cloth was drawn' at Rosebery's, with about nine round the table, including John Bright, a genial & free discussion arose chiefly between Rosebery Bright & me, H. Bismarck occasionally intervening, on colonies, colonisation, federation, & the like, in a general way. When we went into the drawing-room I did not use any words of approach but H. Bismarck did and so went into the matter of German colonisation. I stated my opinions in the sense of my Midlothian speech last September.³ I told him I was so bound to those opinions that I could not recede from them if I would. That I felt certain those opinions, which on every fit occasion I should uphold in Parliament, would prevail if they had fair play, that is to say if we could keep them disengaged from any other subject which might be a cause of quarrel nearer home, but that if they were so mixed then I could not with confidence answer for the result. He said there could be no cause for quarrel nearer home such as I referred to if the opinions I had declared with regard to German colonisation should govern the proceedings of the Cabinet. He spoke in a modest and thoroughly friendly manner. He said we are the youngest of the Great Powers and we wish to undertake this function of colonisation which belongs to a Great Power. But we only hope to do it on a very small & humble scale. And we are, in doing it, giving to you the strongest proof of confidence in the future friendship of the two countries. For we know that if a Continental Power were to attack our little Colonies, we could invade them in return. But we also know that you can assail our Colonies with effect and that we cannot get at you in return as you are masters of the sea. I cannot presume to answer for any practical result but nothing could be more rational or more friendly than the conversation. I pointed out to him that it was our duty to deal tenderly in the matter with the prejudices of our Colonies which were sure to become the dominant power in the Australasian region, and to this he quite agreed. I also told him that while there had been some discussions connected with particular acts, he

¹ For Granville's statement, 6 Mar., that his reference was not aimed at Bismarck, that he meant 'opinion' and that the 'opinion' was given in 1882 and 1883, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcv. 227-9.

² No. 1590 printed, Fitzmaurice, ii. 430-2.

³ See p. 243, n. 1.

might not be aware of the acts we had refused to do, or words we had refused to speak.

He [did] not repeat to me any complaint of any kind so I avoided the polemical ground altogether.

1591. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]
10, Downing Street. Mch 6. 85.

A word by way of postscript to my note of yesterday in which I conveyed to you that according to Herbert Bismarck there is and can be no quarrel about Egypt if colonial matters are amicably settled. Now I do hope that you are pressing forward the Pauncefoot [*sic*] settlement for the North Coast of New Guinea which seems to me the main or only point remaining. It is really impossible to exaggerate the importance of getting out of the way the bar to the Egyptian settlement. These words strong as they are are in my opinion words of truth and soberness; as, if we cannot wind up at once these small colonial controversies, we shall, before we are many weeks older, find to our cost.

1591A. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/145]
Baring's Tel. 137.138. 10, Downing Street. Mch 8. 85.

1. I hope the proposal of arrests¹ and the modes proposed will be most carefully considered by our best authorities.

Ought not some one, there if not here, to be made cognisant of the presumptions of guilt said to exist?

Military necessity at first sight is less displeasing than a new law?

2. You see Wolseley still harps on his 'new policy' which does not exist. I am amazed at the light manner in which Baring takes up the notion.

1592. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*² [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 98]
10, Downing Street. Mch 13. 85.

Mr Blunt again.³ There is a thing which I think might properly be said to him, but I do not feel as if I were the person to say it. It is this[:]

¹ i.e. of Egyptians alleged to be in communication with the Mahdi, to be made by Wolseley; see mins. by Harcourt and Trevelyan against, Carlingford, Rosebery, Derby, Granville, and Selborne for, P.R.O. 30/29/145.

² Granville to Gladstone, 13 Mar., on making Enfield captain of the corps of gentlemen-at-arms, Add. MS. 44178, fos. 96, 97; exchange between Granville, Gladstone, and Hartington, 12-15 Mar., on referring Wolseley to Gladstone's statement on Sudan policy in sanctioning his proclaiming his mission to destroy the Mahdi, P.R.O. 30/29/129, not printed.

³ See from Blunt, London, 12 Mar., offering to arrange negotiations with the Mahdi through his own intermediaries, Add. MS. 44110, fo. 84.

'You tell us that the Mahdi will not deal with Wolseley and Baring, our accredited representatives in Egypt—and you yourself do not deal with the Foreign Office our proper representative here.

Why then does not the Mahdi send either some representative of his own with his views ready to be presented to us, or some communication of them, which might come to head quarters at once?

Any thing short of this appears to be paltering with the case'.

It is an awkward business for not the very slightest chance ought to be wholly passed by.

1593. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 100]

18, Carlton House Terrace. [13 March 1885].

I particularly wish to maintain the isolation in which Blunt has placed me.

He is cranky, & untrustworthy—& changeable.

It is impossible to begin treating on the terms he proposes, after our recent declarations.

But I see no harm in Hamilton writing by your desire what you suggest. But I should prefer the omission of the words between brackets.¹

It would bring forth volumes as to why he cannot deal with me.

1594. *Memorandum by Mr. Gladstone*² [Add. MS. 44769, fo. 39]

10, Downing Street. Mch 13. 85.

Question of Mr Richards [*sic*].

I inclose a sketch of answer for your consideration.

Can I insert the sentence in brackets?

Or any thing in lieu of it—e.g. that the two Govts. are considering how to obviate any risks which may be incidental to these advances.

If you see cause, would you come here at 2.30 to settle this reply?

Question 24 Mr M'Coan.³

Shall I point out the fundamental difference in the nature of the provisions, & say we have formed no intention to raise any question as to the Declaration of Paris.

¹ i.e. 'and you yourself do not deal with the Foreign Office our representative here'; no. 1593 was returned to Gladstone; cf. note by Granville, 6 Apr., of pleasure that Blunt was not encouraged, Add. MS. 44178, fo. 113, and Gladstone's further suggestion, 10 Apr., that the proposed intermediary should come to London, Add. MS. 44769, fo. 66.

² No. 1594 is marked for 'Ld Granville Ld Kimberley Ld Northbrook'; answer given by Gladstone, 13 Mar., *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcv. 1084.

³ Whether Britain should not repudiate the Declaration of Paris on contraband of war as Russia had denounced the 'Black Sea clauses'; answered as proposed, Kimberley and Northbrook having approved, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcv. 1083.

Enclosure.

With regard to the Afghan frontier two subjects of solicitude have arisen, which are in themselves distinct from one another. One is the agreement between Russia and England to ascertain by inquiry and correspondence what the line of frontier ought to be.¹ The other is the advances which have been made by Russian and by Afghan forces to points within the debateable or debated ground. As regards the second it has been agreed between Russia and England that no farther advances are to be sanctioned on either side.² The present question relates entirely³ to the first of these subjects, which is at present under treatment by diplomatic communications. There has not yet been a full comparison of the views entertained on the two sides respectively, that is to say by Russia on the one hand, and by England and the Ameer of Afghanistan on the other, with regard to it. It would therefore be premature to pronounce any opinion as to any mode of solution which it might be proper or improper to adopt for differences not yet fully discussed or ascertained.

1595. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*⁴ [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 103]
18, Carlton House Terrace. [13 March 1885].

I like the answer—

Q[uer]y 1^o omit 'ought to be'.

We agree with the Russians that we are not inventing a frontier, but ascertaining that which belongs to the Affghans.

I would amend the phrase between brackets, perhaps adding 'during the negotiations'.

1596. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]
Mch 15/85.

I should send it⁵ & desire Mr Scott to act unless he has reason to know that it is not required.

I fully expect fresh questions to be put in H of C. tomorrow or next day & I really think if I have no definite answer to give it will be necessary to

¹ Min. of approval by Kimberley, 13 Mar., suggested re-wording here which was adopted: 'to ascertain the line of frontier by inquiry and correspondence'.

² This is the sentence in brackets referred to above; Kimberley accepted but without the addition of the words 'during the negotiations' (see no. 1595) and was supported by Northbrook.

³ 'Entirely' omitted on Kimberley's suggestion.

⁴ No. 1595 has been dated in the British Museum 18 March and bound under that date in the Gladstone papers.

⁵ To Scott, tel. No. 28, asking for H. Bismarck's good offices in the Egyptian negotiations, not traced; no. 1596, on a sheet from Granville headed by a question whether it was expedient to send the tel.

promise the papers complete or incomplete?¹ Should this be hinted to Mr. Scott—The matter has been 3½ months in suspense.

1597. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/145]

10, Downing Street. Mch 16/85.

As about the Bismarckian Declaration, so about this Turkish demand,² we seem to be in a situation which absolutely requires us to consider not whether the proposal is good but whether it is so bad as to make it intolerable.

I can hardly doubt that the Sultan's object is to get a political agent with some sort of recognition into Cairo.

This man will be paid by and entirely dependent upon him.

Should we try to secure these points.

1. The Commissioners of the Caisse not to be dismissible at pleasure by the Governments they represent.

I mention this but can conceive there may be much objection to it.

2. Sir J. Pauncefote's suggestion—which however would I presume have to be extended to all the delegates.

3. The main point it seems to me is one on which I am not informed—that the Turk should in all things be bound, & that all should be bound, by the majority. If there is no sole power of action or veto or obstruction in the members individually, I should not so much be afraid of him & should be disposed to comply—especially when France has done so.

4. Is it worth considering whether the appointment of *all* future Commissioners could be made dependent on the assent of the Govts represented on the Caisse.

1598. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/145]

10, Downing Street. Mch 16–17 85. 1 a.m.

The reservation in the Russian answer of today³ may be in bad faith, but I do not see that we have any choice but to receive it as in good faith, and if in good faith it is not *per se* unreasonable for an engagement not to make further advances naturally relates to such advances as had been made before and hardly covers extraordinary circumstances. I send the sort of reply that occurs to me.

¹ Papers announced, 16 Mar., *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcv. 1445; see p. 340, n. 3.

² Bismarck demanded before signing the Egyptian agreements a declaration of illegality of the suspension of payments into the *caisse*; Turkey demanded admission to the *caisse*, see circular dispatch, 17 Mar., and to Wyndham, No. 62, 10 Feb., F.O. 78/3745.

³ See from Thornton, tel. No. 8, 16 Mar., that Russia accepted the agreement not to advance described by Gladstone (see no. 1594 enclosure) with the reservation 'unless for some extraordinary reason such as a disturbance in Pendjeh', F.O. 65/1237.

[P.S.] Pray consider carefully the matter: the ground is slippery. What we say we must stick to.

Harcourt & Childers have seen & concur.

1599. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/145]

10, Downing Street. March 17. 85.

What do you think of telegraphing to St Petersburg something such as I have written.

If so, I would not mention it today.

It also occurs to me as worth cons[ideratio]n whether the intended answers sh[oul]d be made known to Salisbury & Northcote beforehand.¹

In accepting the Russian reply we take it for granted with reference to the illustration they have used that they mean such a disturbance in Penjdeh [*sic*] as should produce anarchy in the district and not one which the local authority was able & was exerting itself to put down. Communicate this forthwith.

1600. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 102]

Foreign Office. Mch 17. 85.

Declaration signed—My interpretation of Münster's answer accepted by him and all the Ambassadors.

Convention to be signed tomorrow.²

1601. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Early. 10, Downing Street. Mch 21. 85.

The business of the Gordon Journals is I think a very serious one in its probable or possible outcome.³ I have been reading some of the salient parts, with much difficulty. In VI 352 I find the following passage[:]

'H.M.G. told me, or rather my friend Baring told me, I was not to

¹ For answers to Stanhope and Gibson on 'the agreement' with Russia, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcv. 1204, 1244-7, 1427, 1439-44, and Add. MS. 44769, fos. 44, 47.

² i.e. 'Declaration on Egyptian Finance . . . and the free Navigation of the Suez Canal'; 'Convention . . . on Egyptian Finance, signed 18 March'; notes on no. 1600 by Gladstone, asking whether he should announce the signature and by Granville replying affirmatively; see p. 340, n. 3.

³ See *General Gordon's Last Journal. A facsimile of the last of the six volumes of journals dispatched by General Gordon before the fall of Khartoum* (Kegan Paul, 1885); facsimile in Add. MS. 44631; sent home to the War Office by Gordon, through Baring, the last instalment leaving Cairo, 26 Feb., F.O. 78/3801; Hartington promised publication, 13 Mar., *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcv. 1069.

leave Khartoum for the Equator till I had permission. I have his telegram (so that if it were possible or if I would do it) if I did leave Khartoum I should be acting against orders.¹

I do not know that we have the telegram referred to, and unless we have it should you not make this passage (it is a very grave one) known to Baring and ask for the telegram to which Gordon refers.¹

1602. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. Mch 23. 1885.

1. Baring's No 171.² Separating manner from matter, I think the cool way in which he returns to the charge, against the repeated answers of the Cabinet, is little less than impertinent.

2. As regards the matter. Wolseley himself, with or without Baring, set up Prince Hassan, and now without a word of explanation or apology they want to knock him down again.

I have I think mentioned to you that we might consider whether Wolseley might be made formally, as he is now substantially, master *in the region to which his present military action extends*. That is I suppose he might be Governor, or have some other title [if] desired.

As far as I can make out from the map of Colonel Stewart, Wolseley's military action is in the Mudiric of Dongola—possibly that of Berber—clearly not at this moment Khartoum, pretensions to which *at this moment* would seem to be a mockery.

1603. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/145]

10, Downing Street. Mch 23. 85.

Hartington and Harcourt both approve of my proposition. If you and Northbrook do the like, I think you will be safe in explaining it to Baring with whose mode of proceeding in this matter, as with us in some others, I confess myself to be extremely dissatisfied. I hope that in some manner marked by your usual tact you will give him a lesson which he much needs.

He has urged with a pertinacity hardly respectful a most unreasonable and dangerous proposition and has not even confined himself to confidential telegrams for the eye of the Government alone. In his position *he* ought to have been the person to suggest some mollifying term, but he has done nothing of the kind.

¹ Not done; see F.O. 78/3744.

² Tel. No. 171, 22 Mar., urging again that Wolseley be named governor-general of the Sudan, F.O. 78/3813; for the Queen's wish that the title should be given, see Guedalla, ii. 341; see also p. 340, n. 1; Baring had pressed four times since 25 Feb. for a reconsideration of refusal.

However as the phrase which Wolseley now uses points to the people in immediate contact with him I have endeavoured to do Baring's work and to suggest a method which however inconsistent with what Wolseley himself has earlier led us to adopt seems to meet and provide for what may be termed the rational portion of his aim.

1604. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Foreign Office. March 23/85.

Poor Parkes¹ is an immense loss, particularly at this moment.

I am inclined to transfer Plunkett from Japan, and to send Satow from Siam—the last is a great advancement but he seems an excellent man, and knows Japan & Japanese thoroughly.²

1605. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. Mch 25. 85.

The title of Governor General seems to imply a considerable group or combination of provinces to which his authority extends: so in India, so in Canada. It is most important in the Soudan to prevent the growth at this moment, of any such idea in connection with Wolseley's mission, and for that reason that he should not bear the same title that was so unfortunately taken by Gordon.

It is a *political* question. Those who think Wolseley as tested by experience a good judge of political questions, may give weight to his opinion.

Q[uer]y. Supreme Administrator or Commissioner.³

Much depends on the Arabic or Egyptian tongue.

1606. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 106]

Foreign Office. March 25/85.

Plunkett⁴ would not like to go to Peking on account of his wife.

I can think of no really first-rate man in our service for the post, at the present time, excepting Satow, who would be known by the Chinese, as recently a clerk to the legation in Japan.

¹ Died 22 Mar.

² Gladstone returned no. 1604 writing on it: 'I am able to lament Parkes very sincerely: but have not sufficient knowledge to offer any suggestion. W.E.G. Mch 23/85.'

³ See mins. by Selborne, Northbrook, and Hartington, 23, 24 Mar., urging the adoption of Wolseley's proposal and further min. by Gladstone agreeing provided 'general' was dropped, P.R.O. 30/29/145; course adopted and no rebuke sent to Baring.

⁴ Hart was appointed, 2 May, but did not take up his post, so that Walsham succeeded Parkes on 24 Nov.

By far the best outsider would be Sir Robert Hart formerly in our service—a K.C.M.G.—[who] was recommended by Hammond and put at the head of the Chinese Customs, where he has been receiving the incredible salary of 20,000£ a year.

He has been cheap at the money—saved them millions.

He talks Chinese like a Chinese 'elevé dans le serail, il en connait les détours' & has great influence.

He is popular & respected by the English.

Is the fact of his having been for 20 years a servant of the Chinese Gov, a reason against his appointment.¹

1607. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. Mch 25. 85.

For fear of their misunderstanding 'tomorrow' would it be right to remind Musurus that tomorrow ends at 4.30 of our time, before which an affirmative reply should be *in our hands* or there remains only the declaration in Parliament that the Sultan's engagement of last week remains unfulfilled (together with the consequences?)²

1608. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Imme[diat]e 10, Downing Street. Mch 25-6. 85.

Waddington strongly urges immediate communication to Prince Bismarck about the Turk's holding back: believing he would give the Sultan the benefit of the rough side of his tongue.³ This seems worth considering.

I told Waddington that I conceived we should have to say something to all the Ambassadors if the matter is not settled before I am called upon to proceed in the H. of Commons tomorrow.⁴

1609. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*⁵ [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 172]

Foreign Office. [28 March 1885].

I asked the Turkish Amb[assado]r and Hassan Fehmi Pasha whether

¹ No. 1606 is marked 'answered' by Gladstone, but no answer has been traced.

² For Granville's declaration to Musurus and Hassan Fehmi that if they did not sign the Declaration and Convention 'tomorrow' they would be offered their passports, see to Wyndham, No. 109A confidential, 24 Mar., F.O. 78/3745.

³ See to Malet, No. 169, 28 Mar., recording his request to Münster, on 26 Mar., for Bismarck's help at Constantinople in persuading Turkey to sign, F.O. 64/1073.

⁴ Gladstone's motion, 27 Mar., authorizing the guarantee of the payment of an annuity of £315,000 for the purpose of a loan to be raised by Egypt under the Convention between the powers and Turkey, altered, when Turkey did not sign, to 'with the authority of Turkey', *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcvi. 681-766, 849-957.

⁵ Nos. 1609 and 1611 have been bound in the Gladstone papers with the letters for 1884.

I was rightly informed that they were authorized to formally declare that the Sultan consents to the proposed loan and will sanction it by Firman.

Their Excellencies replied that they hoped within 48 hours to be instructed to sign the Declaration, but in any case they gave the assurance I had stated regarding the consent of the Sultan to the loan.

The Ambassadors of the other Powers and I took note of this assurance and declared that we accepted it.

The Turkish Ambassador added that the Firman was sufficient for the validity of the guarantee of the loan.

1610. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. Mch 26. 85.

I suppose the 'accepting'¹ by the Ambassadors means that they acknowledge the concurrence of the Sultan in the loan for Egypt to have been effectively given, & that I am to expect no other declaration on their part.

1611. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44176, fo. 171]

Foreign Office. [28 March 1885].

The Ambassadors would not go a step further.

But they all promised to telegraph asking their Govs to exert pressure.

Murusus sent at 7 o'clock to ask to see me about the declaration to Parliament.

I suppose he wanted to modify the portion in which he & Fehmi expressed a hope of getting instructions. But I was at Windsor.

1612. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Immed[iate]. 10, Downing Street. Mch 28/85.

Rosebery will call on you about his invitation to Berlin.²

I have told him I am not unfavourable but that you are the person whose judgment should prevail.

It seems to me that at this moment there might be utility in the presence of one of us at Berlin who as [a] gentleman would carry weight in saying

¹ See p. 350, n. 2; for another 48 hours' respite, the powers' 'acceptance' of assurances described in no. 1609 and intimation from Granville that he would still press for Turkish signature, see to Wyndham, Nos. 113A, 113B, 26 Mar., F.O. 78/3745; signed 30 Mar.

² i.e. from Herbert Bismarck, see Rosebery to Gladstone, 28 Mar.; cf. Hamilton to Sanderson, 7 Mar., on Herbert Bismarck's having told the Prince of Wales that Bismarck would like Dilke or Rosebery to go to Berlin, P.R.O. 30/29/129; visit, postponed owing to Everard Primrose's death, took place, 21-27 May, see Lord Crewe, *Lord Rosebery* (1931) i. 235.

1. That on the frontier question¹ the Cabinet is sincerely pacific & desires only impartial justice.

2. That we are absolutely bound to take up the question of any real aggression, not only on Herat, in the manner we have described.

1613. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

The Durdans, Epsom. Mch 30. 85.

I am sorry to hear you are unwell.

The telegram describing de Giers' answer² will I hope enable you to instruct E. Fitzmaurice to give an appeasing answer to Stanhope.³

Hartington slept here & we have talked over the language to be held in answer to queries about preparations. I have begged him & he is inclined to say that they do *not* grow out of any unfavourable turn or prospect in the negotiations.

As regards the Bosphore Egyptien,⁴ we know at least I *know*, nothing of the merits. The suppression would it appears be subject to a legal appeal. This seems to me

1. to facilitate the action of the Egyptian Govt

2. to make it highly inexpedient for us to take any active part—it would not do for *us* to be overruled by a Court in Egypt. Might we say that, viewing the fact of an opening for appeal, we see no cause for interfering adversely, to stop or impede the action of the Egyptian Govt?

I hope however that Musurus will have *signed* before any thing is allowed to be done.⁵

It looks as if Ferry was to predecease us⁶—and now, after recent experience, I shall not grieve.

Lyons alludes to a mine to be sprung in the Canal negotiations.⁷ I should suppose it will be *neutralisation*, in all likelihood: and it occurs to me that this would be a far better thing to challenge Parliament upon, than either the Budget or the Vote of Credit.

¹ i.e. with Russia over the Afghan frontier.

² See from Thornton, tel. No. 10, 28 Mar., reporting that the Russian answer to Britain's protest, 31 Mar., against Russia's occupation of Afghan territory met all Granville's recent observations, F.O. 65/1238; see p. 355, n. 1.

³ Asked, 30 Mar., when the Anglo-Russian Afghan frontier commission would begin work and was told that a conciliatory answer from Russia held out hopes of an early beginning, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcvi. 994.

⁴ An anti-British Cairo newspaper published in French, suppressed on Baring's advice; for French protest and rupture of diplomatic relations with the khedive, see *Parl. papers* (1884-5) lxxxix. 665, and F.O. 78/3986.

⁵ See p. 351, n. 1.

⁶ Ferry's ministry fell, 2 Apr.

⁷ See Lyons to Granville, private, 30 Mar., as described, alluding to the Suez Canal commission which assembled at Paris, 2 Apr., and meaning an attempt to gain some French or German advantage or to raise the sanitary question, not neutralization, P.R.O. 30/29/174.

1614. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Lion Mansions, Brighton. Mch 31. 85.

I heard with much regret of your indisposition.

I find the change of air, and the sea, telling very advantageously on me; & we have come, on my son's recommendation, to capital quarters, with open door like an hotel, but quiet as a private house.

We cannot I think mourn over Ferry, after his conduct during the last four months, so different from that of last spring, and so much prompted by a feeling which I can only call infatuation.

I am now tempted to read all telegrams in the light of one idea—how far they open the means or chance of that 'quietus' which I am ready to make 'with a bare bodkin' or any thing else.

Baring's 'Private' of yesterday is *interesting* in this view:¹ but the Sultan's thorough and incurable falseness is such an impediment to any arrangement. After five years, what have we had from him? Only

1. Montenegro boundary
2. Thessaly
3. signing the Declaration

and all by compulsion. Ought I to add his adhesion in the Conference last year? Any other course would have compromised his Tribute.

I am eager to know the text of de Giers's reply.²

[P.S.] But for the Sultan's rascality, it might be practicable enough to arrange speedily for a winding up of the whole concern in Egypt.

1615. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

No 1.

Lion Mansions, Brighton. Ap 1. 85.

Both your letters submitted to option appear to me appropriate & wise, and I send them on.³

I had observed Pauncefoot's [*sic*] protest against Ferry's action in the matter of the Suez Canal. I do not recollect a stranger contrast than between the Ferry of a year back and the Ferry of the last four months. We have no reason to regret his fall: neither have we to rejoice in the accession of Freycinet on whom the Ferry of last year was such a decided improvement.

I do not know when you expect to get the reply of de Giers;⁴ which it seems to be hoped will set the Commission in motion.⁵ That will be good

¹ To Granville, private, 30 Mar., 'if there is to be a war with Russia an arrangement with the Sultan about the Sudan becomes almost a necessity', P.R.O. 30/29/164.

² See p. 355, n. 1.

³ See Granville to Musurus and to Fehmi Pasha, F.O. 78/3793.

⁴ See p. 355, n. 1.

⁵ i.e. the Anglo-Russian Afghan frontier commission, which had awaited the arrival of the Russian commissioner since Nov. 1884; news of the clash between the Russians and Afghans at Pendjeh, 30 Mar., not yet received.

for the time, and will probably bring out valuable information. More than this I suppose we cannot hope from it.

1616. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

No 2.

Brighton. Ap. 1. 85.

I send you copy of a letter I have written to Hartington.¹

There is another subject, the gravest of all at present, which I commend to your meditations.

If, as appears to be the case, Osman Digna is for the time beaten and has quitted the ground, this is the equivalent of a great defeat, inflicted happily without bloodshed. Will it not impose upon us the necessity of reconsidering the 'situation'?² Does it not place us in a position the exact reverse of that which we have been holding with reference to the Mahdi (to whom we have said we could not with advantage make any proposal)? Ought we not very seriously to consider whether we should not, in possession of the field of action, send some emissary, perhaps a native, to him and state our willingness to come to an agreement with him? It may be that we do not yet know what our terms should be, but the question is whether the time has not nearly come for us to determine what they ought to be? A part of the proposal might be that he should come to the camp with a safe conduct.

The next day or two will probably bring telegrams throwing more light on this subject.

The lowest of all the motives bearing on it is that if we cannot kill the War in the Soudan it will kill us, and not with an altogether clean death.

1617. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44178, fo. 108]

Holmbury. April 2/85.

Ferry is certainly no loss to us. He arrived at the Quai d'Orsay, quite ignorant of Foreign Affairs, & the more he learnt of them, the more subservient he became to Bismarck, and the more tricky to us.

You will have seen that Lyons says that he is a great friend of Freycinet, which is the only good point I know of him [Freycinet].³

Courcelles [*sc.* Courcel] I believe is a courteous, highly trained dip-

¹ 1 Apr., asking him in view of the budget and vote of credit, to get 'from Wolseley a full statement of the military means he will require for the contemplated, though only contingent, expedition to Khartoum'; and reply, 8 Apr., against deciding yet to abandon or pursue the expedition, Add. MS. 44148, fos. 3, 7.

² No change in military plans in the eastern Sudan took place.

³ 'It so happens that personally he and I are particularly good friends', to Granville, private, 31 Mar., P.R.O. 30/29/174, printed Newton, *Lord Lyons*, ii. 350-1.

lomatist. He will probably be Bismarckian. It is very difficult for a French Foreign Secretary not to be so.

The answer from Russia is disappointing.¹

I do not see how you can avoid the Cabinet for which Kimberley & I wish.²

I have no objection to make against your letter to Hartington, or to your observation, about Osman Digna.

1618. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 111]
Holmbury. April 3/85.

I am sorry that you doubt the necessity of a cabinet.³

Kimberley thought we must have one, and I agreed.

As the Russians (otherwise civil) decline our proposal, and adhere to their own, the difficulty is great as to what we ought to do.

He has not said so to me, but I believe Kimberley thinks that the only alternatives to fighting are the 'uti possidetis' or arbitration.

In any case we ought to utilize the recess⁴ as much as possible.

Freddy [Leveson-Gower] hopes you will be able to stay several days here. It is very enjoyable.

1619. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]
[Brighton]. Ap 3. 85.

It is not doubt but ignorance which describes my state of mind—I do not know, and nobody has told me, what the Russian answer *means*. If I were forced to put a construction on it, I should say it was that they were ready to examine a line proposed by themselves, but no other line. But this seems impossible. I know they do not accept your circumscripti of the debated country—but I know nothing else.⁵ I take it for granted however that you and Kimberley know their meaning.

I am due at Victoria tomorrow morning 11.7.

¹ See Giers to de Staal, 15/27 Mar., communicated 1 Apr., refusing British proposals, 13 Mar., for a settlement of the Afghan frontier and insisting upon the Russian view of where the Afghan frontier lay, F.O. 65/1238; A. Meyendorff, *Correspondance diplomatique du Baron de Staal* (1929) 175-8.

² See note by Granville with the Russian reply that he had asked Gladstone for a cabinet.

³ Cf. Gladstone to Granville, tel., 2 Apr., '... If you think Cabinet requisite it should probably be on Saturday at 12', P.R.O. 30/29/129; for cabinet, Sat. 4 Apr., which considered Giers's dispatch and adopted a reply, see Add. MS. 44646, fo. 72; see to Thornton, tel. No. 37, dispatch No. 119, 4 Apr., regretting the Russian reply but refusing to accept it as the last word, F.O. 65/1239.

⁴ 31 Mar. to 9 Apr. for Easter.

⁵ See mem. by Phillip Currie for Gladstone on the meaning of the phrase in the Russian reply claiming 'territories situated on the line', P.R.O. 30/29/129.

1620. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44547, fo. 196]

[Copy]

9 April 85

On consid[eratio]n I incline to think it will be enough if without specifying contents of Thornton's No 14¹ you recommend Cab[ine]t to press for action wh[ich] should include Pendjeh [*sic*].

1621. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

[London]. April 9. 85.

The House behaved well in the Pendjeh business.²

I shall send you the paper³ I have written on the Soudan modes of action. I have not attempted to close, but a conviction has taken pretty fast hold of me, and my personal responsibility to the country is in this matter very great.

But for Pendjeh, we should have been ripe for considering it on its merits. *Query* however whether Pendjeh affords improved means of considering it in connection with that particular event?

I will consider with you tomorrow whether to call a Cabinet for *Saturday*. I hope you may have matter for it from St Petersburg.⁴

1622. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. Ap 10. 85.

Lumsden is an extremely bad narrator.⁵ He has now men with him who might help him. Would it not be well to send to him some such demand as I have sketched within⁶ that we may be in a condition to meet fairly the further explanations which we shall without doubt receive from Russia within a very short time.

¹ See from Thornton, tel. No. 14, 8 Apr., reporting Giers's secret communication that if the present proposal was rejected Russia would add that she would not insist on keeping Pendjeh, but allow investigation by a commission, F.O. 65/1239.

² For Gladstone's statement on the Pendjeh incident when parliament reassembled after the recess, 9 Apr., and his answers to further questions, none of them belligerent or tendentious, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcvi. 1158-66.

³ Mem. circulated for the cabinet of 9 Apr., but not discussed until Sat. 11 Apr., Add. MS. 44646, fo. 77; printed, Morley, iii. 555-9.

⁴ For cabinets of Sat. 11 Apr., Mon. 13 Apr., see Add. MS. 44646, fos. 77-89, and informal cabinets of 14 and 15 Apr., see Morley, iii. 179-80; the reversal of policy in the Sudan (to prevent a renewal of Wolseley's broken-off campaign) and the Russian crisis were discussed together.

⁵ See Lumsden's tels. Nos. 21-25, 29 Mar.-1 Apr., telegraphed by Thomson to Granville, 7 Apr., describing the clash, 30 Mar., at Pendjeh, F.O. 65/1239.

⁶ Calling for a consecutive account with particulars of times, places, distances, and numbers of the clash at Pendjeh, detached from no. 1622 and now with tel. to Thomson, No. 46, to Lumsden tel. No. 21, 10 Apr., F.O. 65/1240; for reply, see p. 359, n. 6.

1623. *Memorandum by Mr. Gladstone*¹

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

April 13. 1885.

*As to the battle.*² 1. It is understood that the arrangement of March 17³ is fully recognised on both sides as binding on the two Governments from the date of its conclusion, and on their officers from the date of its receipt: that on both sides every effort shall be made to ascertain the facts connected with the recent conflict: and, when they are ascertained, they will be tried by the agreement of March 17 as their standard, and justice will be done accordingly.

As to Withdrawal. 2. The Russian forces will be at once withdrawn from the debated land (say to Pul-i-Khatum?),⁴ and the Afghans shall not re-advance—in the terms of M. de Staal's No 4 (?)⁵

As to the frontier. 3. M. de Staal's closing paragraph⁶ is not clearly understood.

Perhaps it bears the construction that, in dealing with all territory to the North of the 'Russian line', should the commissioners fail to agree, H.M. Government will undertake to proceed on the principles laid down in the instructions to which an approving reference is made in No ?⁷

(*Query whether to glance at the plan of giving Pendjeh to Russia, Zulficar to the Ameer.*)⁸

If the true construction, however, is that the Russian line is, on a certain ground, but *simpliciter*, to be adopted, the memorandum and its contents must fall to the ground. But we feel confident that this construction cannot be the true one as it would be inconsistent with the intimation conveyed by M. de Giers in his dispatch of the [1st] April.⁹

4. Reduce as much as possible the limits of the inquiry on the spot by previous understanding between the Governments as to main points.

¹ i.e. on the proposals which de Staal was willing to make to his government for an agreement, forwarded through Reginald Brett, P.R.O. 30/29/129 and Brett to Gladstone, secret, 11 Apr., Add. MS. 44400, fo. 117; for cabinet discussion of no. 1623, see Add. MS. 44646, fo. 89; to Thornton, No. 148 very confidential, replying as proposed in no. 1623, F.O. 65/1240; no. 1623 is in Hamilton's hand.

² De Staal's proposal shelved the question of responsibility for the clash at Pul-i-Khisti or Pendjeh until full reports had been received.

³ Altered in the reply to 16 Mar.; see nos. 1594, 1598.

⁴ Altered by Granville to 'a point to be decided'.

⁵ Points 2 to 4 covered the withdrawal of both Russian and Afghan forces and the prevention of the Afghans' return; points 5 to 7 covered the delimitation of the frontier by the joint commission.

⁶ Stipulated for a preliminary verbal assurance that territory north of a certain line would be regarded as outside Afghanistan.

⁷ Altered to 'to which reference is made'.

⁸ This was omitted.

⁹ Altered to 'M. de Giers' telegram of the 7th instant'.

1624. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. Ap 14/85.

I take it almost for granted that you will be disposed to remonstrate here, at St P[etersburg], or both, on the telegram received today about Russian reinforcements.¹

The plea is *futile*.

The act most mischievous & increases every difficulty.

And it utterly traverses M. de Staal's pacific movement.

1625. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Ap 14/85.

I am too happy if any thing can be done,² but there are fixed points in the case which Northbrook's mem. hardly keeps in view viz.

1. The words decided on by the Cabinet for my letter of yesterday to the Queen.³

2. The Vote of Credit to be laid & explained on Monday or Tuesday next.

I always built my hopes as to H[artington] on the prominence we were giving to what was to be understood as the Russian consideration. (Childers? or) Kimberley is probably in the best position to work this. I am doubtful about Childers.⁴

1626. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44178, fo. 114]

Secret.

Foreign Office. April 14/85.

You offered a Marquisate to Spencer.⁵

He refused partly on my advice.

I am not quite sure that he did not rather regret. He would have rather fancied being Marquis of Rockingham.

Would not this be a good opportunity for you to sound him again—if the P. of Wales' visit⁶ ends as well as it has begun.

¹ See from Thornton, tel. No. 18, 13 Apr., reporting Russia's using the clash at Pendjeh as justification for reinforcing her advanced posts; to Thornton, tel. No. 53, 14 Apr., regretting any movement likely to add to the present difficulties, F.O. 65/1240.

² i.e. to keep Northbrook in the cabinet.

³ 14 Apr., giving the advice of the cabinet that the statement in an enclosed mem. should be made to both Lords and Commons when the vote for additional military expenditure was asked for on 20 Apr., postponed to 21 Apr., Guedalla, ii. 344-5.

⁴ The wording of the reasons for the vote of credit in general terms, joining the Sudan with Afghanistan, was to conceal disagreement about withdrawal from the Sudan; for final version, announcing the abandonment of further offensive operations in the Sudan, see p. 360, n. 2; no. 1625 is written under a note from Granville referring to Northbrook and also doubting whether the government could survive the secession of Hartington and Selborne.

⁵ Not traced.

⁶ i.e. to Ireland, 7-27 Apr., see Sir Sidney Lee, *King Edward VII* (1925) i. 238-41.

1627. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. [17 April 1885].

The answer¹ you send me on your inquiry is not quite what I should have expected.

Probably I do not understand the matter, but if I do, Nubar's ground is a good one.

The Capitulations are Treaties.

Treaties are not to be interpreted by one party only.

The French will be in a difficult & hardly tenable position.

1628. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44548, fo. 3]

[Copy] April 18 1885.

Re Kimberley's conversation as to Penjdeh [*sic*]. There are four versions.

1. Russian in telegram of 16 Ap.²
2. Kimberley's recital to the Cabinet.³
3. My language in H. of C. after conversation with you about no assurances.⁴
4. Your account in the draft to Thornton circulated today.⁵

I do not think that No 4 as it stands agrees *altogether* with 3 or with my recollection of 2.

You will I have no doubt see that these finally hang together & will tell me if what I said requires to be modified.

[P.S.] I suppose the rambling disjointed story which has come from Lumsden today⁶ will have to go, whole or part, to St Petersburg: but it may be better to wait until our dunder headed representative has sent the consecutive account for which we have asked.

¹ i.e. on the legal position in the case of the *Bosphore égyptien*, see p. 352, n. 4; see tel. No. 213, 16 Apr., on Nubar Pasha's hope that the French would now agree that the application of the international laws of Egypt to foreigners (i.e. to the printers of the suppressed paper) was outside the scope of diplomatic action, F.O. 78/3813; settled on this basis, note by Granville, P.R.O. 30/29/129.

² i.e. Giers to de Staal, tel. 4/16 Apr., giving Russia's view of the basis of negotiation on the Afghan frontier proposed by Granville in a conversation recorded in Nos. 148, 149 to Thornton, 13 and 14 Apr., F.O. 65/1240.

³ Not traced, but see his and other mins. on the dispatches to Thornton, P.R.O. 30/29/145.

⁴ 16 Apr., in answer to questions, that there had been friendly conversation between Granville and de Staal but no assurances received or given about particular points of the Afghan frontier, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcvi. 1866.

⁵ See to Thornton, Nos. 150 confidential, 151, 17 Apr., that Russia's communication of her version of the causes of Pendjeh should not interrupt negotiation and the difficulty remained whether Russia accepted the British wording of the undertaking about the causes of the incident, F.O. 65/1240.

⁶ See from Thomson, No. 91, 17 Apr., forwarding further comments by Lumsden on the Pendjeh incident, F.O. 65/1240.

1629. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. Ap 18. 85.

You will see that I have sent a note to Childers¹ as a contribution in aid of your proceedings on the Loan with Bismarck. The matter will remain in your hands and his—I am not aware of any objection to the course he now proposes in order to feel the French pulse.

1630. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. Ap. 19. 85.

I send herewith the original Memorandum² (for tomorrow) in Hamilton's handwriting, and in my own, on the margin, all this I contemplate by way of padding. You will see that in p. 3 I propose deliberately to *repeat* the most important part with a view to clear understanding. Pray make any suggestions, for the matter is very important, and I wish even a little to *entr'ouvrir* without pointing to France. While we remain for war in the Soudan all the world can bully us, and they have cause to know it.

[P.S.] If your mind is sufficiently free, and if Childers has not told you in outline his Budget, I should like to see you for five minutes on your way to [the] Cabinet.³

You shall have a fair copy in due time.

1631. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

H of C. Ap 20/85.

Harcourt tells me that the Chancellor, & the Law Officers are now agreed & that their opinion is adverse to our course so far as regards the stoppage or seizure of the Office of the Bosphore.

If this be so, and if we have to alter our course, I presume the quicker it is done the better. Perhaps you may have some more favourable view to present. I am writing upon an assumption.

[P.S.] I hope to see you tomorrow before Cabinet. Dilke has sent me the inclosed note.⁴ I have shown it to Hartington.

¹ Of 18 Apr., criticizing his proposal for a dispatch to Berlin on the loan of 9 millions to be raised by Egypt, Add. MS. 44548, fos. 3-4; reply, 18 Apr., P.R.O. 30/29/129.

² *On the situation in the Soudan*, 15 Apr., Add. MS. 44769, fo. 69; statement of reasons for a vote of 11 millions, for the Sudan and Afghanistan, decided upon in detail in the cabinet, 20 Apr., Add. MS. 44646, fo. 95, above no. 1625, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcvii. 284-6, 317-22; the repeated part announced the abandonment of further offensive operations in the Sudan.

³ The cabinet on the budget, 20 Apr., adjourned owing to disagreement to 21 Apr., see Add. MS. 44646, fos. 95, 97.

⁴ See from Dilke, 20 Apr., insisting that he could not accept the proposed additional duty on beer; and reply, 21 Apr., begging him to reconsider and showing the damage his resignation would do, Add. MS. 44149, fos. 336, 338.

1632. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 118]
18, Carlton House Terrace. [20 April 1885].

I have seen the Chancellor today.¹

He is terribly cast down.

He says there is no objection to the course we have taken—though he expects it's only use will be to gain time.

He believes that the French must meditate some sort of expedition.

I do not know that that would be more inconvenient than a refusal to ratify the convention.²

1633. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
10, Downing Street. Ap 21. 85.

A letter from Childers³ on the notion of postponing the Budget.

Do you remember a childhood story of a Frenchman who tumbled into the Thames

'I will be drowned & nobody shall help me'

Also one from Dilke.⁴

1634. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
Secret. 10, Downing Street. Ap 21. 85.

I send you copies of two letters⁵ which I have written to Childers and Dilke respectively.

I shall attach very great weight to your views in this serious matter.

¹ Cf. Selborne to Granville, 18 Apr., on his fear that the French refusal to accept the Egyptian government's suppression of the *Bosphore égyptienne* would endanger Britain's position in Egypt, P.R.O. 30/29/141; see no. 1627.

² i.e. on Egyptian finance.

³ Of 21 Apr., urging the cabinet's settlement of the budget that day and insisting on the increase of the duty on beer to the point of resignation; cf. second letter, 21 Apr., stating that if the principle were settled he would postpone his statement, Add. MS. 44132, fos. 115, 116.

⁴ Of 21 Apr., replying that he adhered to his decision to resign rather than accept the additional duty on beer but would support the government on all other issues, Add. MS. 44149, fo. 340; cf. S. Gwynn and G. M. Tuckwell, *The Life of Sir Charles W. Dilke* (1917) ii. 119.

⁵ 21 Apr., on his disappointment at Childers's insistence on immediate agreement on the budget and urging delay, and to Dilke, 21 Apr., arguing further against his resignation, Add. MS. 44548, fo. 5.

1635. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. Ap. 22. 85.

I have written to Kimberley¹ as within about the projected message for Russia.

1636. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 121]

10, Downing Street. Ap. 24. 85.

Is this the objection taken: 'do not in the present dispatch play your last card'.

If so, might there be an alternative method of presenting the case—see within.²

[P.S.] I mentioned this to Dilke only. He was ready for *either* mode of statement.³

1637. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. Ap. 24. 85.

1. I have adopted your words about Cantacuzene's call.⁴

2. Plunkett on Port Hamilton. It was agreed that we should simply try to get a [first] refusal or pre-emption. It seems to me that active steps at this moment would be a great mistake, as they would supply Russia with a plausible ground of complaint, which otherwise she will have great difficulty in finding.⁵

3. Please to look at questions 26 & 27⁶ & advise or inform me. The others I think I can see my way to manage.

¹ 22 Apr., on the importance of knowing what was to be done to strengthen Herat's defences, since some members of the cabinet wished an attack by Russia upon Herat to be taken as an act of hostility against Britain, P.R.O. 30/29/129.

² See Gladstone's mem. of possible language to Russia, 24 Apr., Add. MS. 44769, fo. 88; see also enclosed note by Gladstone: 'Sir N. Rothschild says Staal sought an interview with him—blustered somewhat—talked at large—and said "*I do not despair of peace provided the English Government do not send an ultimatum*"'; cf. A. Meyendorff, *Correspondance diplomatique du Baron de Staal* (1929) 199.

³ For version decided, see Granville to de Staal, 24 Apr., replying to de Staal to Granville, 21 Apr., which answered the British comments on de Staal's overture of 11 Apr. (p. 357, n. 1), F.O. 65/1041; Meyendorff, *op. cit.* 202-3.

⁴ The communication of the Russian counsellor of embassy is not identifiable as separate from de Staal's communication recorded in No. 158, 25 Apr., to Thornton, F.O. 65/1241.

⁵ Port Hamilton had already been occupied; see from Plunkett, No. 87 very confidential, 21 Mar., received 24 Apr., on the danger of its being seized by Russia and tel., 23 Apr., reporting his communication of the occupation to Japan, F.O. 46/329.

⁶ Whether, if negotiation with Russia failed, recourse would be had to the protocol of 1856 on the use of the good offices of a friendly power before resort to war; and Gladstone's evasive reply, since anything he said would be tantamount to a declaration to Russia, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcvii. 657-8.

I am going up to see John Bright, who behaves so well & I will speak rather freely to him as [an] old colleague & safe man.

1638. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/28 A, fo. 775]

10, Downing Street. Ap. 26. 85.

I certainly am under the belief that if Port Hamilton has been made into British Territory or put under our jurisdiction, it is beyond, and therefore at variance with the intention of the Cabinet.¹

It may be that this is not done but only that some British force is present there, on water & land, making use of it.

I have no more to say being myself rather in the dark.

[P.S.] I hope the Russians will not send too speedy a reply, in great part because of the expected but not early arrival of Stephen²—which is at last to put us in possession of our case.

1639. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 123]

Foreign Office. [26 April 1885].

We have announced to the Chinese, Japanese, & the Coreans, that we have occupied temporarily Port Hamilton. The Admiral has orders not to hoist the flag until the Russians arrive. I believe this is quite within the Cabinet decision.

If I do not hear to the contrary, I will tell Northbrook that he may go on—

Russian answer³

If they refuse, which I do not think certain, unless they suspect that we are going to give way—(It is the obvious game of the Russians here to hold the language they do—) I believe they will say that they might have agreed to an arbitration on any ordinary matter, [but] they cannot trust their honour to any other keeping but their own.

I wonder whether there is any truth in the account of the discontent at Moscow & St Petersburg.

¹ For cabinet decision, 11 Apr., 'Port Hamilton: pre-emption or first refusal to be sought from China and Japan', see Add. MS. 44646, fo. 77; and Gladstone to the Queen, 11 Apr., reporting decision that 'Granville should make such arrangements with China and Japan as would render the occupation available in case of need', i.e. war with Russia, Guedalla, ii. 344.

² i.e. in London from the camp of the British commissioner on the Anglo-Russian frontier commission; Gladstone wrote 'Stevens' but it is corrected in pencil.

³ See no. 1643.

1640. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44548, fo. 7]

[Copy]

April 28. 85.

Pray consider questions 16–17 especially 16—a most awkward one—& let it also go to Northbrook.

Can we answer

‘Port Hamilton has not been occupied, that is to say there is no annexation, or British jurisdiction or flag. So the rest of the question falls to the ground.’

May I say *no* to 17.

1641. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 125]

Foreign Office. [28 April 1885].

16 Would it not be sufficient to say ‘no’—(The Russian Govt have not made any representation).

I will speak to Northbrook at the Cabinet, but I do not think that we can deny the occupation—

The question No 17
‘No’.¹

1642. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*² [Add. MS. 44173, fo. 97]

10, Downing Street. [28 April 1885]

Northbrook agrees with me, that ‘no’ is the best answer to No 17 (Port Hamilton question).

The Russian Gov have made no representation.

1643. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*³ [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. May 3. 85.

I felt and still feel a doubt whether some such words as you or as Kimberley suggested ought not to be inserted in our answer to Russia,⁴

¹ The cabinet met, 28 Apr., 2 p.m.; for Gladstone’s reply, as here proposed, 28 Apr., to the question as here described, and continuing whether the government would consider withdrawal, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcvii. 969.

² No. 1642 was dated in the British Museum as possibly 28 Apr. 1881 and is bound in the Gladstone papers as a paper of that year, but Port Hamilton was not seized until Mar. 1885.

³ Min. by Gladstone on de Staal’s letter of 30 Apr., P.R.O. 30/29/145, not printed.

⁴ For the Russian reply to British dispatch, 24 Apr., agreeing to arbitration on the interpretation of the supposed Anglo-Russian agreement (p. 346, n. 2), the resumption of the delimitation of the frontier, and shelving question of blame for the battle see F.O. 65/1242; see to de Staal, 4 May, for British rejoinder incorporating Gladstone’s first proposed addition to the paragraph on blame for the battle, and otherwise agreeing, F.O. 65/1242.

after the words [gallant officers on either side] 'put upon their trial but' in the first sentence. I mean something to the effect that

'the differences between the two Governments which arose out of the engagement at Puli khisti rendered it necessary to provide means for a settlement consistent with the honour of both'

or

'necessary to consider how consistently with the honour of both the correspondence could be allowed to terminate, or provision could be made for bringing the correspondence to a close'.

These are only forms of phrase intended to indicate my idea which is not to introduce any thing that would bristle, but merely to make more of a statement of our position than the paper as now sketched conveys.

Something of this kind would it appears to me be quite within the intentions of the Cabinet.

1644. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]
Foreign Office. [3 May 1885].

I like your first amendment, as good in itself, and better than the 2d & 3d.

Would it not be better instead of 'to accept the proposal of H[is] I[mperial] M[ajesty] to substitute 'to adopt the arrangement as agreed upon by H. I. My.'¹

Reference to a 3d party, is our proposal, not the Emperor's.

1645. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*² [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 130]
18, Carlton House Terrace. May 5/85.

The Russians sounded me about the King of Denmark as referee, I said the Cabinet had not considered the question but that they would probably agree with me in chosing the Emperor of Germany—notwithstanding some obvious objections.

What is our best course.

To consider the enquiry as made about the K of Denmark, & say 'yes' or 'no'

or to suggest any names for ourselves

or at once to ask Munster to let me know whether the Emperor would consent, if asked by both.³

¹ Gladstone returned the letter with his reply written on it: 'I agree. W.E.G. May 3' and Granville's amendment was adopted.

² Granville to Gladstone, 4 May, promising to slip away from a party and to come to see Gladstone, Add. MS. 44178, fo. 129, not printed.

³ Gladstone wrote on the letter: 'It w[ould]d put the K. of D[enmark] in a false position', but did not return the letter; neither to de Staal, 5 May, nor to Thornton, No. 173, 5 May, mention the king of Denmark, F.O. 65/1242.

1646. *Memorandum by Mr. Gladstone*¹ [Add. MS. 44769, fo. 107]

May 6. 85.

In a conversation today with Granville

1. I moved him to put forward as much as possible his communications with Fehmi Pacha

a. on neutralisation, on wh[ich] *we* see our way

b. on being ready to confer & arrange as to Suakim, and to hold out to France the hope of our being able to enter on the subject of neutralising Egypt, when the Finance convention for Egypt has been disposed of in that country.

We agreed in misliking the idea of the K. of Denmark as Arbitrator or Referee, and in desiring the Emperor of Germany.

And in positive adherence to our line already announced as to the Soudan.

And he concurred in thinking I ought to give Ponsonby who was coming here an inkling of the possibility of serious difficulties within the Govt. in relation to Ireland.

I then opened the Irish case with reference to the Memm A² I wrote last night as summing up Chamberlain's views—(he had read & affirmed its accuracy.) I had shown it to Hartington who said he had no suggestion to offer upon it.

I had ruminated upon it and put down this morning a few heads (B)³ with a view to the possibility of accommodation.

I hoped that other Ministers also would suggest any thing that might occur to them in this sense—light & safety might *possibly* be thus obtained by some happy thought—

The present situation was extremely menacing. Spencer had suggested as an extreme of concession from him a Crimes Act for 12 months, an Act to put down the Vice Royalty, and a promise in *general* terms of a large measure of Local Govt next year.

Granville suggested a Viceroyalty Act, Land Purchase Act, and Crimes' Act limited to Hamilton's points.

I told him I did not see in this proposal as it stood the elements of a settlement, but encouraged him to make proposals, and hold communications in the Cabinet freely.

I told him I had given no pledge or indication of my future *conduct* to Chamberlain, who however knew my opinions to be strong in favour of some plan for a Central Board of Local Govt in Ireland on something of an elective basis. (Chamberlain perhaps does not know that in regard to

¹ No. 1646 partly printed, Morley, iii. 191-2.

² See Add. MS. 44769, fo. 103.

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 105.

Police I go farther than he has gone—and that if he were to acquiesce in Spencer's present views I probably could not).

What I believe though I have put no question & received nothing I can call information—in fact it is inference only—is that Chamberlain believes himself to have the support of at least four other members of the Cabinet

Dilke	Trevelyan
Childers	Lefevre

and intends to carry the matter to extremities if his general basis cannot be adopted.

On the other hand I thought nothing unless Spencer were to be in decided concurrence with Chamberlain could carry through the Cabinet the plan of a Central Local Board, essentially elective, though by double election & with a distinct property representation.

Under the circ[umstance]s, while the duty of the hour evidently was to study the means of possible accommodation, the present aspect of affairs was that of a probable split, *independently* of the question what course I might individually pursue.

My opinions I said were very strong and inveterate. I did not calculate upon Parnell and his friends, or upon Manning and his Bishops. Nor was I under any obligation to follow or act with Chamberlain. But independently of all questions of party, of support, & of success, I looked upon the extension of a strong measure of Local Govt. like this to Ireland, now that the question is effectually raised by the Crimes' Act, as invaluable itself, & as the only hopeful means of saving Crown & State from an ignominious surrender in the next Parliament after a mischievous & painful struggle. (I did not advert to the difficulties which will in this session be experienced in carrying on a great battle for the Crimes Act.) My difficulty would lie not in my pledges or declarations (tho' these, of a public character, are serious) but in my opinions.

Under these circ[umstance]s I said I take into view the freedom of my own position. My engagements to my colleagues are fulfilled: the great Russian question is probably settled: if we stand firm on the Soudan we are now released from that embarrassment: and the Egyptian question, if the financial Convention be safe, no longer presents any very serious difficulties. I am entitled to lay down my office as having done my work.

Consequently the very last thing I should contemplate is opening the Irish difficulty in connection with my resignation should I resign. It would come antecedently to any Parliamentary treatment of that problem.

If thereafter the secession of some members should break up the Cabinet, it would leave behind it an excellent record at home and abroad.

Ld. Granville while ready to resign his office, was not much consoled by this presentation of the case.

1647. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*¹

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret.

10, Downing Street. Ap [*sc.* May] 6. 85.

I am inclined to send the inclosed letter² to Chamberlain, if you do not disapprove.

I have no reason to think he supposes me in any way bound to act with any section of men or opinions on the impending Irish questions. Yet he may think so; and if he does it is desirable to remove such an idea from his mind, which is the aim of this letter.

[P.S.] In 1830 the Govt. of the day were beaten and resigned on a secondary question when a very big one indeed was immediately impending. Lord Russell's case in Feb. 1852 seemed a little like this.³

1648. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44178, fo. 132]

Secret.

Foreign Office. May 6/85.

Allusions such as are in your letter (page 2) always make my skin creep.

But I agree that it is well that you should take away from Chamberlain the right to say, that you are in the same boat with him.

1649. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[Add. MS. 44548, fo. 12]

[Copy]

May 7. 1885.

I did not gather distinctly from the conversation in Cabinet today⁴ whether it is absolutely too late to rid ourselves of the very grave & formidable restraints which it seems are to be imposed upon us, as to our powers of taxation, by the arrangement with Spain. All I can say is that if there is now a power of retreat, nothing will be done to compromise it. The fatal blot in the Budget is the immunity given to wine; & unless we can get rid of it I do not know what chance there is of amending in case of need the financial scheme to meet altered circ[umstance]s.

¹ Date corrected from copy in Gladstone's letter book, Add. MS. 44548, fo. 11.

² Of 6 May, claiming his release from office since 'his covenant with his colleagues' was 'substantially fulfilled' by the Irish measures already passed, Add. MS. 44548, fo. 11, Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 148; for Chamberlain's proposals for the establishment of Irish county authorities and a central board with powers of taxation and legislation, see *ibid.* 143-8; note of cabinet, 9 May, Add. MS. 44646, fo. 120, and below, no. 1701.

³ When Palmerston brought the government down on the militia bill, when war against Russia was impending; in 1830 Wellington was brought down on the Civil List, when the question of parliamentary reform impended.

⁴ By the arrangement of Dec. 1884 Britain was engaged to modify her wine duties, extending the 1s. duty to a higher limit of alcoholic content, simultaneously with Spanish modifications of her tariff in Britain's favour, see vol. i, p. 343, n. 5; note of cabinet, 6 May, does not mention this discussion, Add. MS. 44646, fo. 117.

1650. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. May 8. 85.

Malet's Tel. of yesterday.¹

1. May you not venture to assure Bismarck privately that we do not anticipate the raising of any very sharp issue such as could give umbrage to either nation.

2. King of Denmark's consanguinity is most unequally weighted between the two.

3. Bismarck seems I think to be right about delaying the award until after the delimitation.

1651. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*²

[Add. MS. 44178, fo. 134]

10, Downing Street. May 11. 85.

Please to read these notes about postponement.³ It ought not to be done if you disapprove.

1652. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44178, fo. 127]

Foreign Office. [11 May 1885].

If the Russian Gov do not overthrow Staal's and Lessar's agreement with Kimberley & me, I do not see what the hitch is to be.⁴

We agree to have a protocol, and then a convention.

We are prepared if the Emperor of Germany proposal breaks down to accept Denmark.⁵

But of course there are slips between the cup and the lip.

Argyll raises a debate on Affghanistan this evening—attacking Randolph

¹ See from Malet, tel. 7 May, reporting Bismarck's disinclination to the German emperor's acting as arbitrator on the Anglo-Russian agreement (p. 364, n. 4), recommending the king of Denmark, and adding as in paragraph three, F.O. 64/1081.

² Min. by Gladstone with other mins. on the draft agreement with Russia, P.R.O. 30/29/145, not printed.

³ i.e. of all three measures proposed for Ireland: 'No Home Rule, no coercion [renewal of the Crimes Act] no remedial legislation [land purchase], no Ireland at all'; for committee of the cabinet, appointed, 18 Apr., for Irish legislation and its failure to carry its proposals through the whole cabinet, 9 May, see Add. MS. 44646, fos. 108-27; cf. S. Gwynn and G. M. Tuckwell, *The Life of Sir Charles W. Dilke* (1917) ii. 129-33; A. G. Gardiner, *The Life of Sir William Harcourt* (1923) i. 524-5.

⁴ See to Thornton, No. 173, 5 May, recording agreement to settle the main line of the Afghan frontier before delimitation in detail; to Thornton, No. 176, 8 May, enclosing mem. and draft agreement as the basis of protocol and convention, F.O. 65/1242.

⁵ i.e. as arbitrator; see to Thornton, No. 179, 9 May, *ibid.*

Churchill & Salisbury. Is there any reason why I should not give an inkling of the progress which has been made.¹

[P.S.] Staal thought he could give the answer about boundaries today.²

1653. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. May 11. 85.

If you will tell me how far you will go in giving the 'inkling' tonight, I will take care (with my raven's throat) to sing in tune.³

1654. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 135]

18, Carlton House Terrace. May 11/85.

Although there might be no great abstract objection to giving a little more information to Cross, it would be of the worst example, to show to Members, who ask questions which they have no right to put, that by an appeal from Fitzmaurice to you they can get all they want.⁴

1655. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 136]

Secret.

Foreign Office. [12 May 1885].

The Prince of Wales is thoroughly though unintentionally indiscreet—and he is especially abusive of our Foreign policy—& I doubt his being a little better informed, would make much difference—The Queen would I should think strongly object to regular reports from the Cabinet.⁵

On the other hand it is desirable that he should have some training in political matters.

¹ Argyll's motion called attention to Gorchakov's circular dispatch, 21 Nov. 1864 and denied that Russia's advance was unexpected; debate interrupted by Donoughmore's illness, resumed, 12 May, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcviii. 109–20, 302–23.

² Condition, as to Pendjeh's boundary, attached to acceptance of the Russian proposal to neutralize Pendjeh during the Anglo-Russian negotiations, see to Thomson, tel. No. 72, and to Thornton, tel. No. 81, 6.15 p.m. 11 May, F.O. 65/1242.

³ For announcement in Lords and Commons, that agreement had been reached on the 'delimitation of the Afghan frontier and on reference to the judgement of the sovereign of a friendly state of the point of honour', 11 May, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcviii. 108–9, 162–3.

⁴ Cross asked Fitzmaurice for information on the Suez Canal negotiation, 8 May, which Fitzmaurice refusing, he renewed his pressure in a question to Gladstone, 11 May, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcviii. 22–23, 148.

⁵ See Hamilton's mem., 12 May, of conversation with Knollys, who sounded him about renewing Beaconsfield's practice of sending the Prince of Wales, possibly without the knowledge of the Queen, a note of important cabinet decisions; sent by Gladstone to Granville and Hartington, 12 May, with comment that the constitutional difficulty could be overcome but he did not like acting behind the Queen's back, Add. MS. 44769, fos. 115, 117.

1656. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. May 13. 85.

The Commons Ministers yesterday were much disposed, without difference of view, to leave it in your hands *either* to take the King of Denmark as arbitrator on failing to get the Emperor of Germany, or if you thought it better to suggest the names of other Sovereigns. There was also a suggestion that we might put forward the President of the U.S. not now within the terms of reference.¹

1657. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Early. 10, Downing Street. May 15. 85.

How to deal with Milner's question?²

I made a suggestion, on the back of a telegram, about the Gov[ernor] of Kassala.

1658. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*³ [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. May 18. 85.

1. In our own interest I hope it may be wise and right to publish the whole series of Lumsden's telegrams upon & since the Pendjeh battle.⁴

2. Considering the gravity of the question which may arise upon the Budget in three weeks' time, I cannot help feeling desirous that we should before then have done whatever may be practicable towards fairly opening the question of neutralisation for Egypt.

The plan was to get the Turkish consent and then propose jointly to France.

But considering how sure the Sultan is to suspect any thing rational and liberal, I suggest for your consideration whether it might not be more hopeful to get France, which I suppose to be in earnest on this question, to join us in the initiative, and try to bring the Sultan up to the mark?⁵

¹ Cf. to Thornton, No. 180A, 12 May, on the Russian preference for the king of Denmark as against the British preference for the emperor of Germany, F.O. 65/1242; see nos. 1669, 1675.

² Meant to urge the acceptance of Italy's help to relieve Kassala; Gladstone's answer that he was not aware Italy would help, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcviii. 623-4; Granville failed to return no. 1657 after writing on it his reply: 'Would it be possible with your Scotch to answer by another question. Whether he can state the grounds on which he knows that the Italians are ready to go to Kassala'.

³ Min. by Gladstone, 16 May, on impossibility of going back on the decision to evacuate Dongola, P.R.O. 30/29/145, not printed.

⁴ Gladstone wrote here: 'I have just seen the papers: [*Parl. papers* (1884-5) lxxxvii. 335, laid 21 May] see P.S.'.

⁵ See to Lyons, private, 20 May, offering to instruct him to tell France that there was a draft Anglo-Turkish agreement covering neutralization of Egypt, P.R.O. 30/29/204; instruction sent to use, at his discretion, as a lever to gain ratification of the financial convention.

P.S. As far as I can see the worst & most absurd things have been omitted from Lumsden's telegrams. I do not ask that they may be printed. But I would press *this*.¹ That some *asterisks be put in to show that there are omissions*.

1659. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. May 19. 85.

I am afraid you do not go to the Council at Windsor today, as I do. It would have afforded an excellent opportunity for conversing on the situation,² which I much desire, though not with a view to any immediate conclusion. *I am afraid our Irish policy is going to blossom into heavy obstruction & a block of business: complicated by the Budget, and by the wrath of the Tories against us for the unpardonable sin of probably making peace with Russia.*³

But there is nothing about which I feel greater anxiety than the fate of the Financial Convention in France:⁴ & nothing seems to me so important as to promote its progress, if it be in our power, by broaching neutralisation as I suggested yesterday, or by any other means in our power.

1660. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44548, fo. 18]

[Copy]

22 May 85.

If you approve of my note to Chamberlain⁵ on the astonishing inclosure from the Birmingham Post, please to let it go on.

1661. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 138]

18, Carlton House Terrace. May 22/85.

At what hour do you go⁶—

¹ Cf. Hamilton to Fitzmaurice, 15 May, reporting Gladstone's view against partial publication and hope that papers directly dealing with the negotiation might be omitted, P.R.O. 30/29/129.

² For the cabinet crisis, 16–19 May, over the renewal of the Crimes Act, land purchase, and local government for Ireland, and the budget, when Dilke, Chamberlain, Spencer, Childers, and Gladstone severally offered to resign, see A. G. Gardiner, *The Life of Sir William Harcourt* (1923) i. 525–7; S. Gwynn and G. M. Tuckwell, *The Life of Sir Charles W. Dilke* (1917) ii. 133–9; Morley, iii. 192–5; Add. MS. 44646, fos. 131–4.

³ Starred sentence printed, Fitzmaurice, ii. 455.

⁴ Cf. min. by Gladstone, 19 May, P.R.O. 30/29/145, not printed; bill passed the French Chamber on 30 May and the convention was ratified.

⁵ i.e. of 22 May, calling attention, on account 'of its local origin', to the London letter in the *Birmingham Daily Post*, 22 May, with its minute account of the cabinet crisis, Add. MS. 44548, fo. 19.

⁶ i.e. out of London for the Whitsuntide recess. 22 May to 4 June.

The Law officers have promised a report on the Egyptian questions for this morning.

It would be very desirable that we should meet Childers.

I do not know whether he is still confined to his room.

1662. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 139]
Holmbury. May 24/85.

I got a similar letter¹— It is the 3d application which he has made to me—& if his doctor has really advised him to go, it is difficult to resist. I have told him that I was sure you would wish the thing to be kept quiet till the beginning of June. But pray write as you think best to him.

[P.S.] I go back to town on Wednesday. Earlier if required.

1663. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 141]
Hawarden Castle. May 25. 85.

I send for your perusal when least inconvenient two letters which I have addressed to the Queen on the state of opinions in the Cabinet—one of them prospective in the main, & enormously long.²

Send them on to Hartington, if you should think proper.³

They are purely personal, and will explain themselves.

The idea of leakage⁴ is the most scandalous that has yet occurred, and has most appearance of *purpose*.

Shall I speak of it in Cabinet when we meet? and in rather strong language?

1664. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]
1. Hawarden Castle. May 26. 85.

This short interval of days not Parliamentary is precious, and the very vague replies, which I alone have seen from Paris about the Financial Convention and its progress, do not mitigate anxiety.

Might not Lyons, personally if not officially urge upon Freycinet that the case for dispatch is really very strong

¹ See Fitzmaurice to Gladstone, 22 May, resigning; and second letter, 25 May, suspending his resignation, after an appeal from Granville, Add. MS. 44490, 247, 261; see no. 1665; for earlier application, see no. 1557.

² Of 23 May, on cabinet divisions about land purchase, the renewal of the Crimes Act, and local government for Ireland, Guedalla, ii. 354–58; the second letter not traced.

³ Cf. Hartington to Gladstone, 29 May, returning them without comment, speculating on the leakage as the result of Chamberlain's and Dilke's wrongly thinking their resignations had been accepted, and on the possibility of a settlement, Add. MS. 44148, fo. 75.

⁴ See p. 372, n. 5; Gladstone does not record any mention of it in the next cabinet, 5 June.

that had we guaranteed alone, at this moment the finance of Egypt would have been settled and the indemnities paid—

that we, to meet the wishes of the Powers, & especially in deference to France, agreed to a joint guarantee, much disliked in Parliament and that the consequence thus far has been that the indemnities remain unpaid, and the finance unsettled—

that under these circ[umstance]s we urge that the speedy progress of the Bill before the Chamber is really [a] matter of urgency.¹

Might not Italy also be urged in the same direction?²

Further is it not clear now that the Sultan means to do nothing in the matter of Hassan Fehmi's mission?³

And if so might not Musurus be told for the immediate information of his Government that the circ[umstance]s are urgent, that we have waited for some months and that unless we receive a favourable reply at once we must hold ourselves free to take other measures on the several points involved.

And might a hint be given to Italy of the nature of this communication.

[P.S.] Might not Rosebery try to find out very gently how Bismarck reconciles his demands as to Zanzibar with his acts in Egypt?⁴

1665. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

2.

Hawarden Castle. May 26. 85.

I wrote as well as I could to Fitzmaurice yesterday.⁵ I did not shut the door, but his letter left no hope. Probably you will be able to arrive at a final conclusion with him tomorrow. From his acuteness, accuracy, diligence, and devotedness, he will be a loss.

What do you think of Ashley to succeed him or do you think of any one else? My only doubt is whether the state of his wife's health allows him with sufficient confidence to reckon on being always available? Dilke might be consulted about Geo[rge] Russell?

I told Hamilton to communicate if possible with R. Grosvenor who is at sea.

¹ See to Lyons, No. 534, 27 May, following the lines of no. 1664, but leaving Lyons discretion to use these arguments or not; and cf. to Lyons, No. 552, 29 May, recording conversation with Waddington in similar terms, F.O. 27/2726; see no. 1676.

² No instructions sent to Lumley until Salisbury telegraphed No. 35, 28 June, F.O. 45/521.

³ The draft agreement with Turkey on Egypt negotiated by the special emissaries was allowed silently to drop and no communication was made; nos. 1544, 1558, 1646.

⁴ For Rosebery's mission to Berlin, from which he was now on his way back, see p. 351, n. 2, and nos. 1666, 1667, 1670.

⁵ Hinting at the hope that he would not resign and praising his ability, courage, and devotion, Add. MS. 44548, fo. 19; for reply suspending his resignation, see p. 373, n. 1.

1666. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 143]
Foreign Office. May 27/85.

I will write to Lyons as you suggest leaving it to his discretion to do the best he can to accelerate matters.¹

You are aware of the circular which is gone to France and all the Powers.

Italy has assured me that she is doing her best to expedite matters.

With regard to Turkey, at all events as to the Ports in the Red Sea, we have given the warning to both Fehmi Pacha, and to Musurus, and I have told Nigra so.

It appears that Rosebery has already left Berlin.

It is odd that he has not yet written to me but his wife says that his letters to her are in good spirits.

1667. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 145]
Foreign Office. May 28/85.

I have put off my departure again till tomorrow. Hoping to see Rosebery, who has not written, Waddington & possibly Staal with the Russian answer.²

What are we to do if as is possible & indeed probable, it is a counter proposition about Zulficar.

1668. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]
Hawarden Castle. May 28/85.

I note briefly some points arising upon letters & telegrams—they are put so as to be separable—

1. In an interesting recent letter from Baring,³ which exhibits his difficulties in a lively way, I am concerned to see complaints of the conduct of the Khedive. Now really a man was never so bound to man as the Khedive is to us—Does it not deserve cons[ideratio]n whether in such a case as the promotion mentioned by B. he should receive some warning that if he consults us in matters like the *Bosphore* he cannot be at liberty to traverse his own purposes by such an appointment?

¹ See p. 374, n. 1.

² For Russian amendments to the frontier line agreed upon, 7 May (no. 1652) see to Thornton, No. 1806, 12 May, and Kimberley's min. of conversation with Lessar, F.O. 65/1242; for British reply, see to Thornton, No. 191 B, 16 May; for narrowing of disagreement to the line about Zulficar Pass, see to Thornton, No. 193, 21 May, F.O. 65/1243; for Russian reply, received 29 May, see p. 376, n. 4.

³ To Granville, private, 20 May, on the parts played in the Egyptian system by the khedive, the prime minister, and the British agent, P.R.O. 30/29/165; cf. No. 437 secret, 24 May, substance telegraphed, on the deteriorating political situation and Nubar Pasha's despondency, F.O. 78/3804.

2. Neutralisation.

I do not wholly accede to Lyons's argument so well put in his of May 26.¹ It is not the plan but the principle of neutralisation which it seems to me might draw the French onwards and thus help the Financial Convention as to which I observe he does not report any progress. According to Waddington, our assured friendliness to neutralisation is of importance, as indicating what we might proceed with when the finance is settled. As regards Bismarck I doubt whether he could in this point alter the mind of the French. As yet I do not venture to rely on the statement in the Standard that he himself *desires* it: which if true is a very weighty & to me most acceptable fact.

3. Zulficar.

When we met at H. of C. last Thursday we did not seem able clearly to define the limit of our demand. *Is not this however done* by the Viceroy's Tel[egrams] of the 5th & 10th April which speak not of the Zulficar pass but of *the passes at Zulficar which lead to Gubran*?²

It w[oul]d be difficult for Russia either to contest these on principle, or to deny that they are within the meaning of the words agreed to by S[taal] and L[essar].

4. Kassala. Baring's 296.³

Here we have distinctly held out to us the massacre of 2000 people 'if the town is *taken*'. But why does not the town make terms? In the case of Sinkat and Tokar, there was a massacre at the resisting & captured town, *never* I think at the one which surrendered or made terms. Why should they resist? What object can there be, except to uphold Egyptian power, which is to be withdrawn? It is piteous to see fidelity and valour so thrown away. But if all this be generally true, *can we show* that we have made representations accordingly[,] to the commander at Kassala, and is it not *our duty*, if we cannot show it, to make such representations without delay? For communication I think has never been cut off as it was in the case of Khartoum.

1669. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 148]

Foreign Office. May 29/85.

Staal has brought the Russian answer.⁴ They agree to everything but the

¹ To Granville, private, 26 May, arguing against communicating to the French the Anglo-Turkish agreement (see p. 371, n. 5) since this implied communication to Bismarck and might invite a protest, P.R.O. 30/29/174.

² See p. 375, n. 2; for viceroy's tel. see F.O. 65/1240; section 3 of no. 1668 became detached and was bound with June letters.

³ See to Granville, tel. No. 296, 27 May, reporting that the massacre of the inhabitants and garrison of Kassala was threatened on its surrender, F.O. 78/3813; see p. 377, n. 3.

⁴ See to Thornton, No. 218B, 30 May, recording the Russian answer, F.O. 65/1243.

definition of Zulfigar [*sic*—I do not like to give an opinion without Kimberley but it looks like denying to the Affghans the full command of the pass.

I doubt it being possible to leave this point to the arbitrator who is to decide on the point of honour.

Rosebery was told by Bismarck that the Russians regret their assent to arbitration & wish to get out of it, so I thought it better to clench the matter today & told Staal that as we were agreed upon terms of reference, I would tell him, that we accepted the K of Denmark (with reasons).¹

1670. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 146]

Foreign Office. May 29/85.

Rosebery stated to me from notes his various conversations with the
2 Bismarcks.

The father does not deny that he has been thwarting us, but at the end, & especially after seeing Courcelles [*sc.* Courcel] on his return from Paris, was more conciliatory in his language.

Rosebery seems to have been reticent & prudent.

He threw out as from himself the idea of neutralization.

The Prince said he had never heard of it, and should like to consider it.

Rosebery promises to write a full report.

1671. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 151]

Walmer Castle. May 30/85.

Many thanks for your suggestions.²

Capitulation of Kassala Garrison.

Our responsibility was covered some time ago. They are probably so hated, as to be afraid of coming away. I have telegraphed again to Baring.³

Khedive. I have some doubts about telling Baring to sit more upon the Khedive. I have [a] strong suspicion that he does not see the Khedive enough, and sits down upon him too much when he does. But I may be mistaken. I will write to him.⁴

¹ See to Thornton, No. 218A, 30 May, recording conversation with de Staal in which Granville accepted the king of Denmark as prospective arbitrator, if terms of reference were agreed upon, F.O. 65/1243.

² i.e. of verbal amendments to the draft No. 218A to Thornton.

³ See tel. No. 157, 30 May, asking whether nothing further could be done to arrange the capitulation of the Kassala garrison on favourable terms to avoid massacre, F.O. 78/3812.

⁴ See p. 375, n. 3, and to Baring, private tel. 31 May, on Britain's 'hearty co-operation' with the khedive while he co-operated with his ministers and explained Britain's true policy to the Egyptians and on advantage of frank intercourse with Baring, for communication to the khedive, P.R.O. 30/29/201.

I have telegraphed to Kimberley as to the Viceroy's occupation of the passes, but it will not be new to him.¹

I will sound Waddington about Neutralization²

I suppose Hartington was not very ill.

1672. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Hawarden Castle. May 30. 85.

1. Afghan frontier. Dufferin's telegram seemed to me highly apposite. You might I should think say to Staal that you take for granted Russia would not withhold from the Ameer the passage or passages between Zulficar and Gubran as that would nullify the concession. If you obtained his assent to this your ground would be strong with the Russian Govt and is there any thing else that you need struggle for?

2. About the arbitration *in case of need* I do not see the ground of your objection

a. it would be on the *meaning* of the word 'passage' in the Staal and Lessar project accepted by you and K[imberley]. Therefore analogous to the present arbitration.

b. We have had surely much wider arbitrations: the case of San Juan by the King of Holland—and did we not ourselves arbitrate on part of the Afghan frontier (towards Persia?)

I have telegraphed you on these suggestions.³

[P.S.] I see in the Telegram from Thornton that de Giers only wants the road to Akoolat. This seems to *give us* the road to Gubran.

I hope you & Northbrook will observe great caution about Port Hamilton.

1673. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44178, fo. 153]

Walmer. May 30/85. 9 P.M.

Kimberley cannot give an opinion without consulting our experts. He asks me to meet him in London on Tuesday.⁴ I should have preferred Monday.

¹ Granville's tel., not traced; for reply, 29 May, proposing to hear Lessar's explanations before deciding whether Britain should resist the viceroy's proposal, no. 1673, see P.R.O. 30/29/136.

² See to Lyons, No. 561 confidential, 2 June, recording conversation of 29 May with Waddington on the neutralization of Egypt, F.O. 27/2726; see no. 1679.

³ Gladstone to Granville, tel. 30 May: 'Your objection. I will at any rate supply precedents and explain myself, but I suggest another point from Viceroy's telegram', P.R.O. 30/29/129.

⁴ See Kimberley to Granville, tel. 6 p.m. 30 May, proposing to have the line proposed by Russia for the area of the Zulficar pass examined by experts and proposing the meeting with Granville on Tues. 2 June, P.R.O. 30/29/136.

The Indian Gov wants the Affghans to have command of the passes, the Russians object to the Affghans cutting their communications.

If the worst comes to the worst, a formula might be invented, on which the Commission might act on the spot.

But it would be infinitely better to settle it now.

A private telegram¹ just rec[eive]d from Baring enables me to send him a message in your sense.

1674. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Hawarden Castle. May 31. 85.

Matters seem to be moving in the right direction but I hazard one or two remarks.

1. Khedive. I quite agree about Baring. As he sits upon us so no doubt he may upon the Khedive. Like other people however he has great difficulties.

2. Pauncefote's interesting letter of May 29.² Are not Freycinet's words too vague & likely to lead to disputes on their construction? I have put down at a venture some French words which will show what I mean.

3. Also Lyons' of 29th,³ an excellent letter. But I am not sure that he entirely comprehends *our* position, I mean that of the Cabinet, as to the Egyptian occupation. In my opinion, a great change has silently come about. You and I have always I believe been desirous to shorten the occupation to the uttermost. But many in the Cabinet long held more or less by the visionary notion that it was beneficial to us in some way, instead of seeing that it was an incumbrance and a danger. But it appears to me that *now* the general view of the Cabinet has come to be in conformity with ours. And if this is so, what have we to quarrel about with Bismarck? As long as he favoured a prolonged occupation, he was thrusting us into danger. But if his real object now is to bring the occupation to an end what have we to do but let him cooperate with us. I write all this because Lyons seems to think we still have ideas in favour of putting off the winding up of this most unhappy, most embarrassing concern.

Unless earlier summoned, I propose to reach Downing Street a little before four on Thursday.⁴

¹ i.e. of 30 May, P.R.O. 30/29/165.

² To Granville, from Paris, 29 May, P.R.O. 30/29/195.

³ To Granville, private, 29 May, saying that he would use his discretion about Egyptian neutrality (see p. 371, n. 5, and no. 1668) and adding 'all the indications here are that Bismarck is forming a coalition of Powers to put an end to the present state of things in Egypt', P.R.O. 30/29/174.

⁴ For cabinet, Fri. 5 June, the first since the critical cabinet of 16 May (p. 372, n. 2), to decide on the postponed budget and to arrange the remainder of the parliamentary programme, see Add. MS. 44646, fo. 138.

[P.S.] I am a little puzzled about the over confident announcement in the Daily News of yesterday.¹

1675. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*²

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Walmer Castle. [31 May 1885].

I object to referring the boundary or any part of it to the arbitration of Denmark. If Russia & England who know all about it, and profess to wish the same thing viz: to prevent collisions, are unable to settle it, how is a King who knows nothing about it to do so.

Besides, the question of partiality, which practically does not much signify in one case, is all-important in the other.

It would be better than this, although very undesirable, to settle a formula of what it is we both desire, & refer it to the Commission on the spot.

But I hope we shall settle it.

It is too bad of the Daily News announcing 'on the highest authority' that all was settled.

I do not know whether they will insert the contradiction which I thought it needful to send.

1676. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Hawarden Castle. June 1. 1885.

I can hardly suppose a serious difficulty can grow up in the case of Zulficar, if as you say what the Russians want is only to prevent the Afghans from cutting their communications, and if this only means that they will not let the Afghans have all of what may be called the branch roads from the main pass. Neither party ought to have its communications cut by giving all the branch roads to the other.

I for one have never seen as yet any map which would enable me to form a real conception of the rights of the question.

Wolverton who has been with us takes this to town.

[P.S.] I quite agree to the draft about Zanzibar.³ But the great man ought not to go on torturing us in Egypt meanwhile.

O for the day when we shall escape from the consequences of the original folly there.

¹ P. 5c, announcing the receipt of the Russian reply to the British counter-proposals as practically settling in a satisfactory manner the whole question of the Afghan boundary.

² No. 1675 marked 'I agree K[imberley] June 3'.

³ To Kirk, No. 73, 27 May, instructing him to hold back the sultan of Zanzibar from military operations against the Germans in East Africa, F.O. 84/1722.

Three cheers for the French Chamber.¹

Ridgeway No 63.² Surely Ameer should be informed forthwith & called upon *to disavow his agent*. This incident looks rather like a double game.

1677. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 155]

Foreign Office. June 2/85.

Kimberley & I have carefully considered the Russian Communication.

We have consulted Stephens [*sc.* Stephen] as to the locality—the difference between us & the Russians is great.

We can see no Mezzotermine between adhering to our own proposal, and conceding what was not agreed to by the Indian Gov & by the Ameer, excepting the enclosed answer.

K[imberley] & I would be prepared to give the enclosed answer at once to Staal, if you approve—We think that any other answer would require the submission of the matter to the Cabinet.

Perhaps you will think that their consent is necessary for that which we propose.

1678. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Hawarden Castle. June 2/85.

Though sorry you should be troubled with so much matter extraneous to your now overwhelming Department, I feel bound to send to you for *perusal*

1. My letter to Hartington May 30.³

2. Spencer to me May 31.⁴

3. My reply June 1.⁵

P.S. It occurs to me that any difficulty in the way of speaking to the French about *neutralisation* is now removed.

¹ Which had passed the bill allowing the ratification of the Egyptian financial convention; see p. 371, n. 5, and no. 1659.

² See Ridgeway to Granville, No. 63, 31 May, F.O. 65/1243.

³ On the difficulties of the government since Jan. 1884 and especially since the fall of Khartoum and their agreement, if not on the details of the Irish question, at least that Chamberlain and Dilke should not resign on that when the question was the budget, Add. MS. 44148, fo. 80.

⁴ On his opposition to any declaration about Irish legislation such as would satisfy Chamberlain and Dilke and recounting a conversation with Dilke in Dublin which led him to expect that Dilke would not resign, Add. MS. 44312, fo. 116.

⁵ That he was not disposed to make any further concessions on Irish legislation and regretting the failure, owing to division in the cabinet, of Chamberlain's plan for a central board (no. 1646, and p. 369, n. 3), *ibid.*, fo. 122.

1679. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 157]

Foreign Office. June 2/85.

I broached incidentally the subject of neutralization to M. Waddington. You will get a confidential record of our conversation.¹

You had forgotten to tell me that you had done so yourself, which he told me, & made me look a little foolish for a minute.

He seemed to think you had given a greater part to the Turk than I am sure you intended.

He evidently thought that the idea of neutralization would be very acceptable in France.

He had written to Freycinet all you said.

1680. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

H[awarde]n. June 3/85.

I have telegraphed agreement in the draft with a suggestion for your cons[ideratio]n.

What has passed through my mind is this

On the one hand I think Thornton's observations (May 29) in his third page equitable.

And I think de Giers's description a fair one 'communication entre les points situés du même côté de la frontière.'

But then he qualifies the concession of the defile qui traverse la première rangée de hauteurs. And this I suppose to be just what ought not to be qualified.

The Russian Govt itself has sanctioned in terms the basis 'Zulficar entre *Pendjeh*', and this is not fulfilled unless there be exclusive controul by the Afghans of the main portion of the passage.²

1681. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

H[awarde]n. Jun. 3/85.

1. I am *very* sorry for what occurred about neutralisation. When I wrote to you it was not in my thoughts that at one of those hasty opportunities which a Levee affords I had revived this subject with Waddington. I think the reason was that I looked on it as a revival only. Unless my memory greatly deceives me I did not say a word which I had not said to him, probably more than once, *last year*, and which I did not suppose you

¹ See Granville to Lyons, No. 561 confidential, 2 June, F.O. 27/2726.

² Gladstone quoted from Giers to Staal, tel. 16/28 May, defining the Russian view of where the Afghan frontier should lie at the Zulficar pass, differing at one point from the British proposal, 22 May; Thornton to Granville, No. 181, 29 May, on p. 3 reported Russian arguments in favour of their view, F.O. 65/1243.

to have said to him. What I thought was that the idea had then been fully opened and approved, but had dropped out of view in consequence of the Controversies on finance.

Probably there is no hope at all from the Sultan as to neutralisation or any thing else. But I had the idea that if the French went keenly into it they might join us in pressing the Sultan.

The matter seems perhaps less urgent now that the Financial Convention is safe, and we may get to know what Bismarck 'the overlord' of France thinks of it.

I hope the Italians are going on with the Convention.

[P.S.] 2. In my letter about Zulficar, which I sent off rapidly, I ought to have said that I thought we were quite safe as regarded the Cabinet while we are only contending that the Afghans ought to have the pass, and not all the appendages of the pass.

3. Does not O'Connor's No 44¹ at the close give a good opening about present dealing with Port Hamilton.

4. Baring 310.² Quite right probably but the statement should charge all sums due to England like other lawful payments & show deficit accordingly: so I think.

1682. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 161]

Confidential.

Foreign Office. June 5/85.

I have not seen Hartington since his return from Ireland.

I am sorry to say that from what I hear from Spencer, Lady Emma the Duchess, and Westmoreland (his racing factotum) he is very unwell.

1683. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. June 7. 85.

Please to read the inclosed.³ They are circulated by Spencer's [request], and I send them to you before they start. Please to send them on.

¹ i.e. tel. No. 44, 1 June, urging an answer to Korea's protest against the occupation of Port Hamilton and concluding that assurance of its being temporary would satisfy; see also Granville's tel. No. 31, 3 June, in that sense; both F.O. 17/987.

² i.e. tel. No. 310, reporting Egypt's financial estimates and capacity to pay her way provided the payments due to Britain for the army of occupation and the Suez Canal were postponed, see from Baring, No. 462, 1 June, F.O. 78/3805.

³ See Gladstone's note that Spencer had circulated a letter from H. Vivian, M.P., with a note of his own: 'that unless the Executive Act [i.e. a renewed Crimes Act] (in one form or another) is to be a pre-condition [of new Irish legislation] a formidable division in the party (quite apart from the cabinet) is to be anticipated', Add. MS. 44646, fo. 141; cf. Vivian to Gladstone, 6 June, Add. MS. 44491, fo. 50; the cabinet of 8 June decided to postpone the crimes bill; see also mem. by Gladstone on Spencer's views, 8 June, Add. MS. 44769, fo. 125.

My opinion—between ourselves—is that except with the pre-condition the Bill *cannot be carried*.

I will call on you after luncheon, unless you forbid me.

Your note received. I will come at 2.30.

1684. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Imme[diat]e]. 10, Downing Street. June 8. 85.

This is a mode of proceeding which (I think) I mentioned yesterday as having its recommendations.

Besides the one member of the Cabinet whom I named to you, there is I think at least one other who would be very possible but for an unfortunate declaration two years back.

1685. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Immediate. 10, Downing Street. June 11. 85.

I send H.M.s last telegram and the reply I propose.¹ If you have any doubts, please send on to Hartington—perhaps better send it on in any case.

What would you think of asking Staal whether he expects an early reply from his Govt.²

1686. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 162]

Foreign Office. June 11/85.

Would it not be well with regard to the first part of your answer to point out that the attack on the Budget was led by an ex Cabinet Minister, a few weeks after Lord Salisbury had declared that his party was ready to assume the Gov.

The second part goes almost beyond the question which the Queen puts —& might seem to H.M. as a slight encouragement to refuse our resignation.

¹ i.e. after the defeat of the government, 8 June, on the proposal to increase the beer and spirits duty; see to Gladstone, tel. 11 June, expressing surprise that this defeat should be regarded as ground for resignation, and asking whether Gladstone would remain if Salisbury refused to form a government; and reply, tel. 11 June, citing precedents, but saying that Salisbury's refusal would change the situation; and to Gladstone, tel. 11 June, accepting the government's resignation and saying she would summon Salisbury, Guedalla, ii. 363-4.

² No action recorded.

I should prefer saying that the refusal of the Conservatives to form a Gov, would change the situation—¹

I send Staal's answer.²

1687. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 164]

10, Downing Street. June 12. 85.

You were to speak to Spencer on the Monday night. Have you any reason to think he would have yielded on the one point which was still outstanding?³

1688. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

10, Downing Street. June 13. 85. 10.15 a m.

Read the inclosed telegram.⁴ The letter⁵ will keep. Salisbury you will see leaves Balmoral at two—is ready to form a Government—but on account of his 'unexampled difficulties' wishes us to reconsider. This is so clear a case that I am at once putting my reply as inclosed into cipher and unless you see difficulty & tell Hamilton (the bearer) so it will go at once that the Queen may have it & tell Salisbury.⁶

1689. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/129]

Secret.

10, Downing Street. June 13. 85.

If any inquiry comes from Salisbury today about support on Irish measures, my mind is to settle reply with you alone as the most prudent course for the moment?⁷

¹ Granville's amendments were adopted, see p. 384, n. 1; the resignation was announced in parliament, 12 June; see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcviii. 1521-2, 1528-31.

² See de Staal to Granville, 10 June, that Russia was ready to sign the protocol agreeing to arbitration on the responsibility for Pendjeh but maintained her objection to the British proposal of 22 May for the line of the Afghan frontier at the Zulficar pass, F.O. 65/1244; question rested there for Granville's successor.

³ Granville wrote 'No', and returned the letter.

⁴ i.e. from the Queen, tel. 12 June, saying that she had seen Salisbury, who was reluctant to take office owing to the impossibility of a dissolution and continuing as here summarized, Guedalla, ii. 366; *Letters*, iii. 666.

⁵ i.e. from the Queen, 11 June, expanding the telegrams referred to in no. 1685 and mentioning the difficulty of her coming to London, Guedalla, ii. 364-5, *Letters*, iii. 662-3.

⁶ Gladstone's reply refusing to reconsider his resignation, not traced; but see to the Queen, 13 June, Guedalla, ii. 367-8.

⁷ No inquiry has been traced, but see p. 386, n. 2.

1690. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 165]
Foreign Office. [13 June 1885].

I hear that Palmer has done much good work for the Volunteers.

John Fowler is a friend of mine. I know that he put his services entirely at the disposal of the War office, the docket however of R Grosvenor is probably correct.

1691. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 166]
Copy. Coombe Hurst, Kingston Hill. June 14. 85.

I send you herewith a letter from the Queen¹ which moves and almost upsets me.

It must have cost her much to write, and it is really a pearl of great price.

Such a letter makes the subject of it secondary but though it would take me long to set out my reasons I remain firm in the intention to accept nothing for myself.

1692. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 167]
Foreign Office. [16 June 1885].

I will tell Hartington & Rosebery what has passed.²

Please telegraph for me if I am wanted.

I see no objection to meeting Rosebery's wishes, if practicable.

I approve of Lingen's Peerage—

1693. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
Secret. 10, Downing Street. Jun 16. 85.

I circulate the short Memorandum I showed you yesterday, amended, & in the mildest form available for its purpose.

Without it, I should, after making a start in opposition, be debarred from all liberty of choice.

¹ Of 13 June, offering him an earldom; and reply, 14 June, declining, Guedalla, ii. 368–9, Morley, iii. 209–10; no. 1691 printed, Morley, iii. 210.

² See mem. by Gladstone, 16 June, of conversation with Balfour, Add. MS. 44769, fo. 129; and from Balfour, 16 June, concurring that any arrangement made between the in-coming and out-going administrations should be made through the Queen and be public and should promise support to Salisbury's minority government on the disposal of parliamentary time and finance, Add. MS. 44491, fo. 122; and Gladstone to the Queen, 17 June, refusing specific pledges, Guedalla, ii. 371; further correspondence between the Queen and Gladstone and the Queen and Salisbury, Add. MS. 44769, fos. 157–80.

Memorandum [Add. MS. 44769, fo. 152]

Secret.

To avoid misapprehension at this juncture, I circulate a few words among my colleagues.

I propose, when the new Government shall have been formed, to take my seat in the usual manner on the front Opposition Bench.

With the desire to restore my throat and voice to something more like a natural condition, I hope to use the first proper opportunity (should one be found) of absenting myself for a time from actual attendance. But this would be a bodily not a moral absence.

My place would remain unaltered for the remainder of the Session.

I do not perceive, or confidently anticipate, any state of facts, which ought to alter my long cherished, and I believe well known, desire and purpose to withdraw with the expiration of this Parliament, from active participation in politics.

1694. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 168]

Secret.

Foreign Office. [17 June 1885].

Many thanks—I do not see that I have a right to object to the amended draft¹—which very properly reserves your rights.

1695. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 169]

10, Downing Street. Ju 20. 85.

One word more about Zebehr. Is there any sort of justification for keeping him in prison & handing him over to our successors.²

1696. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 171]

Foreign Office. June 23. Midnight [1885].

It appears to me that your contention is perfectly sound³—Let me know at what hour you would wish me (& Harcourt) to come to you.

¹ i.e. enclosure in no. 1693; the draft with amendments, one omitting a sentence about withdrawing from the leadership of the party, Add. MS. 44769, fo. 150.

² No action has been traced; Granville wrote: 'Can we release him against the advice of Sir E. Baring during the interregnum' and Gladstone noted: 'I have seen Ld. G. & he will prepare a draft going as far as he is able in my sense. Ju 23.'

³ As expressed in Gladstone to the Queen, 23 June, repeating his refusal to give specific pledges; see also to the Queen, 18 June, two letters, from the Queen, 20 June, and reply, 20 June, Guedalla, ii. 372-5; Morley's account (iii. 207-8) of audiences with the Queen and interviews with Ponsonby, and of Gladstone's tel. to the Queen, 21 June; see also mem. by Hamilton of conversation with Salisbury, 23 June, on the publication of the correspondence, P.R.O. 30/29/29 A.

1697. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 172]
18, Carlton House Terrace. June 26 [1885].

Errington accepts with grateful thanks to Gladstone.¹

I heard from L[owthian] Bell's son yesterday that his father could not get my telegram till this morning.

He has now sent me this enigmatic answer.²

1698. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 175]
Private. 18, Carlton House Terrace. July 15/85.

When I said that I saw no great political inconvenience in your taking a complete rest for two months, I forgot the question coming on about Spencer in the House of Commons.³

Would it be possible by a letter⁴ or by some such means to make known what you intended to say about him in a speech.

Do not trouble yourself to answer this note.

1699. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 177]
10, Downing Street. July 21/85.

Sorry to miss you. I consulted⁵ Spencer[,] Selborne, some other Peers, and Harcourt who happened to come to the Lords.

Selborne at first saw no objection to question one—excepting with regard to the word 'Judicial'. But he afterwards agreed that the answer would be that the Govt were not and could not be responsible for the

¹ Cf. Errington to Gladstone, 27 June, thanking and accepting the offer of a baronetcy, especially as it would rehabilitate him after imputations recently made, Add. MS. 44491, fo. 223.

² See tel. 26 June, thanking, but sending letters which he would wish to communicate to Gladstone before accepting, Add. MS. 44178, fo. 174; cf. Lowthian Bell to Gladstone, 27 June, accepting a baronetcy, Add. MS. 44491, fo. 210.

³ See Parnell's motion to call attention to Spencer's maladministration of the criminal law in Ireland, 17 July, and subsequent debate (the so-called Maamtrasna debate from the principal case adduced), *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccxcix. 1064–1150.

⁴ Gladstone was absent. Harcourt spoke for the liberals as well as Hartington, who read part of a letter from Gladstone describing Spencer's administration as 'perhaps the most even-handed and intelligent that we have ever known', *ibid.* 1125–36; see also mem. by Gladstone, Add. MS. 44178, fo. 181.

⁵ On three questions to expose the conservative disclaimer of responsibility for the liberal policy in Ireland, *ibid.* ccxcix. 1085, 1098; whether the disclaimer extended to the viceroy's 'judicial' acts in using the prerogative of mercy; whether the declaration that every prisoner had the right to have his case re-examined by a new viceroy meant that every case would be reviewed; whether such a reinvestigation had been promised in the Maamtrasna case.

action of a previous administration. He objected to the 2d & 3d—upon which I asked him to draft an amended form (which I enclose).

He is exceedingly indignant with the Govt about Ireland, his opinion was against putting any further question, but that he was ready to defer to Spencer's judgment.

Spencer & the other Peers were against putting questions.

Harcourt strong in that sense. Hartington thinks that it would be better not to put [a] question, but if it is done, it should be in the Lords.

In these circumstances I thought you would not wish me to give any notice.

[P.S.] I hope the East wind has done you no harm. Lady G. has asked Wolverton to put us off from our 'Palatine' trip, in order that the vessel may be at your disposal. But it appears that he has a man party at Portsmouth for Goodwood races, & another party to the Scilly Islands, before our turn.

1700. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
1, Richmond Terrace, Whitehall. Jul 21. 85.

About the questions of course I acquiesce, but I cannot help thinking it a great mistake, from more than one point of view.

How kind of you & Lady Granville about the yacht: but nothing would have induced me to profit by displacing your tour.

The East wind is against a bad throat for the *moment*, but it is of no consequence.

1701. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
1, Richmond Terrace, Whitehall. Jul 23. 85.

1. Pray read the first half of Bowen's letter¹ about Port Hamilton. You know all my reluctance in that matter: and I cannot but wish we were well out of it. Bowen may not be of great weight in himself; but what he reports seems to deserve attention.

2. In writing to Derby² I said that present appearances were not favourable to the plan called Chamberlain's, but that a larger demand seemed to be taking its place. He reserved his judgment but the larger seemed to repel him less than the smaller.

¹ To Gladstone, 4 June, received 14 July, that the British occupation of Port Hamilton was 'deeply regretted by the English Civil, Naval and Military authorities' in the Far East, and referring to Admiral Dowell's letter to Northbrook (see p. 390, n. 2), Add. MS. 44491, fo. 30.

² On 17 July, enclosing letters to explain the new departure on Ireland since it was now said a central board (see p. 386, n. 2) would not suffice and there must be a separate parliament; and reply, 19 July, that if this were so, he would prefer Ireland to be treated like Canada, Add. MS. 44142, fos. 137, 138; cf. Morley, iii. 215.

1702. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add MS. 44178, fo. 183]

18, Carlton House Terrace. July 31/85.

I send you what Northbrook & Childers say about Port Hamilton.¹ Till I saw Bowen's letter, I believed that all the authorities were agreed.

I shall be curious to see Dowell's letter,² when it arrives.

Northbrook says he has sent you the report of the Admiralty.

Have you read the *Standard* of today on Randolph.³

1703. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

1, Richmond Terrace, Whitehall. Aug 1. 85.

I quite admit that Hong Kong is prejudiced & that Bowen is not an authority: further that we had strong temporary reasons for the adoption of a temporary measure: but I have heard nothing to show that the annexation or permanent occupation of Port Hamilton is desirable. I doubt if of the men of forty years ago any one would have accepted the sort of argument which is made in its favour.

1704. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*⁴ [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Most private. 1, Richmond Terrace, Whitehall. Aug 6. 85.

As far as I can learn both you and Derby are on the same lines as Parnell, in rejecting the smaller & repudiating the larger scheme. It would not surprise me if he were to formulate something on the subject.

For my own part I have seen my way pretty well as to the particulars of the minor & rejected plan, but the idea of the wider one puzzles me much. At the same time, *if* the Election gives a return of a decisive character, the sooner the subject is dealt with probably the better.

¹ See from Northbrook, 28 July, showing why, when war with Russia seemed likely, Britain was right to occupy Port Hamilton from which a small expeditionary force could have taken Vladivostock; mem. by Childers, 17 July, on the value of Port Hamilton; from Childers, 29 July, accepting Northbrook's opinion and deprecating attention to official opinion at Hong Kong, P.R.O. 30/29/22 A.

² For Admiral Dowell to the Admiralty, see printed mem. of Admiralty Intelligence Committee, 25 May, sent by Northbrook's secretary to Gladstone, 29 July, Add. MS. 44491, fo. 354.

³ A violent attack on Lord R. Churchill on the theme that a smart thinker need not be a sound thinker, *Standard*, 31 July, p. 4f.

⁴ No. 1704 printed, Morley, iii. 216; the smaller and the larger plans were those of Chamberlain for local government and of the Irish parliamentary party for a separate parliament.

1705. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 185]

Walmer Castle. Aug 6/85.

I asked Plessen where I could find for a friend a full account of the Austro Hungarian union.

He has only sent me the enclosed.¹ If you wish for more, please let me know.

1706. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

1, Richmond Terrace, Whitehall. Aug 7. 85.

Many thanks for the inclosure.² It is concise and clear. But I find that the subject is to be taken up at large in the Fortnightly Review.³

[P.S.] We are off tomorrow.⁴ My voice is better & Dr Semon is sanguine about a cure.

1707. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Sept 3. 85.

We have all come back safe and sound, entirely delighted with Norway; I in rude health, and with the throat in a state of fair promise.

But, having expected much embarrassment, I find more. I own my opinion that Hartington has once more been hasty and premature about Ireland.⁵ It is the time and manner of his tackling Parnell that seems to me erroneous, for as to Parnell's speech and doctrine,⁶ taken as they stood, they were intolerable. I have written fully to Hartington⁷ on the subject and told him I must consider my course carefully for I am as

¹ i.e. Plessen to Granville, 5 Aug., briefly describing the *Ausgleich* of 1867 as an acknowledgement of Hungarian independence and a recognition that certain affairs, foreign affairs, and the army, were common to both countries, P.R.O. 30/29/22 A.

² i.e. in no. 1705, on the docket of which is a note of no. 1706.

³ See Arthur J. Patterson, 'Dualism in Austria Hungary', *Fortnightly Review*, Nov. 1885, xxxviii, new ser. (xlv, old ser.) 699.

⁴ For a sea cruise to Norway on board the *Sunbeam* with Sir Thomas and Lady Brassey.

⁵ Hartington declared, 31 Aug., at Waterfoot, Lancs., that no government could concede the demand made by Parnell in his recent speech, 'fatal to the integrity of the empire and the prosperity of its people', *The Times*, 31 Aug., p. 8a-d.

⁶ Parnell at the banquet given to him by the Irish parliamentary party in Dublin, 24 Aug., declared 'our great work and our sole work in the new Parliament will be the restoration of our own parliament', *The Times*, 25 Aug., p. 4a-b.

⁷ To Hartington, 3 Sept., opening as here described and regretting that he had joined issue with Parnell in so pointed a manner, not because of his doubts about Irish legislative independence but because of his committing himself, Add. MS. 44148, fo. 114.

yet a free man. Before leaving England I had shown him a memorandum stating generally my ideas.¹

We go to Hawarden on Monday.

In one point I agree with Parnell. I think he will be able to bring out his question; and it will *now* probably be one of the biggest ever put in this country. It annoys me when I find people measuring it by the proportion of number [of Irish members] between 80 or 85 and the rest of the House.

I hope you enjoyed your yachting.

[P.S.] George [Leveson Gower] was as usual handy and indefatigable on the voyage.

P.S. Upon the whole I lean to the idea that, if I am to make an Address with the idea of standing, it will have to be in the nature of almost a short pamphlet.²

1708. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Sept 9. 1885.

I send you a copy of a letter which I wrote yesterday to Hartington.³ In the main it will explain itself & the view I take of the position in which I stand for the moment. Please to return it.

I think it impossible to make through my mouth or pen a formal manifesto to which all the leaders of the party shall be pledged as if it were a Queen's speech.

I find the bulk of matter such that any Address from me must amount to a moderate pamphlet. This helps towards the solution of any difficulty connected with a speaking campaign, and what is more important exhibits the document as mine and leaves others more free.

*The problem for me is to make if possible a statement which will hold through the Election, and not to go into conflict with either the right wing of the party, for whom Hartington has spoken, or the left wing, or extreme

¹ On 7 Aug. Gladstone had a long conversation with Hartington on Ireland, see Fitzmaurice, ii. 461 and P.R.O. 30/29/22 A for Hartington's report, 8 Aug., of it to Granville; Gladstone's mem. 'Aug 7. 85 read to Ld Hn,' Add. MS. 44769, fos. 217-19.

² Gladstone's election address, Add. MS. 44699, fo. 79; corrected proofs, Add. MS. 44769, fo. 234; published, 17 Sept., in Edinburgh and Manchester papers and sold in the London streets as a penny tract on the afternoon of 17 Sept., see Gladstone to Lorne, 17 Sept., Add. MS. 44492, fo. 96.

³ To Hartington, 8 Sept., again urging a waiting attitude, agreeing that unity for the general election was only possible under his own leadership and arguing against a party meeting, Add. MS. 44148, fo. 127; cf. Hartington to Granville, 10 Sept., that if Gladstone 'now favoured a separate Irish parliament, he wished seriously to qualify the view that liberals would unite only under Gladstone's leadership', P.R.O. 30/29/22 A, part printed Fitzmaurice, ii. 462-3.

left wing for whom Chamberlain I suppose spoke last night.¹ I do not say they are to be treated as on a footing: but I must do no act disparaging to Chamberlain's wing.*² Dilke for the moment is under his mantle.

After the Dissolution things will define themselves. There is no very threatening difficulty unless one arise from Ireland; we shall then know whether there is one and what it is. If my darkest estimate of it come true, and if the party and I are at variance as to the means of meeting it, I am fixed in my determination not on that account to enter into a schism, or aggravate the difficulties of others.

I have spent much time and reflection on the Irish part of my Address, and indeed you will not be surprised when I say I find the whole, in every line and word, a trouble.

I must try to get your judgment on the foreign part, were it only to prevent blundering in matters of fact.

In conformity with what I have described I could not seek to bind you or make you responsible unless as to the accuracy of foreign facts.

But you stand apart from any divisions among us, and on that account, unless I learn by telegraph (for time presses) that you had rather not, I should like to send you a proof.

Rich. Grosvenor has been here and has seen the paper (not yet finally corrected). His first opinion is that it is well suited generally to the occasion of the coming Election.

Hartington (after my remonstrances about Ireland) has pressed me strongly to proceed.³ I want your utterance on that subject; and if the waters are smooth I suppose I ought also to have Chamberlain's.

P.S. I shall write to Chamberlain.⁴ His socialism repels me. Some day mischief will come. The question is, when.

1709. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 187]

Walmer Castle. Sept 9/85.

How good of you to write to me

We finished our cruize yesterday—(a perfect success)—

Your letter has been forwarded to me from Walmer. I am delighted to have so good an account of you. But pray continue the care of your throat.

¹ For Chamberlain's speech, 8 Sept., at Warrington, repudiating Parnell's claim for an Irish parliament, as going far beyond what was meant by home rule, see *The Times*, 9 Sept., p. 6a-e.

² The starred passage printed, Morley, iii. 222.

³ See to Gladstone, 6 Sept., but Hartington coupled this pressure with pressure for an announcement of Irish policy, Add. MS. 44148, fo. 120.

⁴ See to Chamberlain, 9 Sept., asking Chamberlain's opinion whether 'to cut out' or to stand for Midlothian with an address attempting to avoid collision with either wing of the party, Add. MS. 44126, fo. 93, Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 121-2.

As for the address I should under ordinary circumstances have remonstrated even with you, against length. But it may be quite necessary at present as there are so many subjects on which it is difficult for you to speak or write with absolute plainness.

*The longer I think of it and the more I hear, the more I am convinced that the only hope of the Liberal party at the present juncture, is in your retaining the lead at all events for a time.

I cannot doubt that this is the opinion of all the late Cabinet.

The question remains as to how much of a platform need be announced, and whether it would be agreed to by the principal persons in the Cabinet.*¹

1710. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Sept 11. 85.

I have your telegram;² & a proof will be sent you I hope by tomorrow's post.

I would you were at my elbow here, as a good angel of the party. I have letters this morning from Hartington & Chamberlain³—I dare not send each to the other & have very hard work in answering them.⁴ Both but especially Hartington seem to me too much to handle the matter as if we were now deciding on the programme of a Liberal Government: instead of which as you justly observe we are considered [*sc.* considering] only of a footing for the party at the Election which is a thing far more free and open. The first of the two is I think impossible, the second within moderate compass. But H[artington] seems to be in a rather pugnacious & also suspicious mood. I think he has taken in poison at K[imbolton] as usual within the last three days.⁵ I have recommended his communicating with you on the situation.

[P.S.] Have you read 'Russia Europe & the East'.⁶ Much nonsense in the opening: but a very curious detail of the Egyptian transactions, in the Arabi sense, occupies the bulk of the work. Who wrote it?

¹ Starred passage printed, Fitzmaurice, ii. 462.

² Tel. 11 Sept., asking for a copy of the address, Add. MS. 44178, fo. 195.

³ From Hartington, 10 Sept., again urging a party meeting and a declaration of Irish policy, his disinclination to a separate Irish parliament, and offering to go to Hawarden, Add. MS. 44148, fo. 132; from Chamberlain, 10 Sept., insisting that he could not join a government not ready to grant local authorities powers of compulsory purchase, urging Gladstone to stand but asking how he would avoid collision with either wing of the party, Add. MS. 44126, fo. 95, Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 122-3.

⁴ To Hartington, 11 Sept., against putting his election address as a draft before the leaders of the parliamentary party and urging that they were only concerned with the general election, Add. MS. 44148, fo. 136; to Chamberlain, 11 Sept., in the same sense and agreeing that the limited plan for Ireland was no longer possible, Add. MS. 44126, fo. 100, Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 124-5.

⁵ A reference to the Duchess of Manchester.

⁶ Lapenne, *Russia, Europe and the East*, not traced.

1711. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 196]

18, Carlton House Terrace. Sep 11/85.

Thanks for your letter which I found on my return from Shropshire & Staffordshire with Leveson last night.

A slight move in the iron trade—but I should fear to be only speculative and temporary.

I return with many thanks your letter to Hartington.

It seems to be a pity that they cannot express their own opinions, without indirect sneers at one another.

Grosvenor has promised me a proof for tomorrow evening of your address. From the very general account he has given me of it, I like it much. It will do immense good. The candidates are all in suspense. Some complaining of Hartington and some of Chamberlain.

I think you are right, to issue it without consultation, but you will probably send a short line to some of the colleagues to explain that you thought it fairer to them.

Grosvenor could not remember the foreign part. I shall be much surprised, if I object.

1712. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 200]

18, Carlton House Terrace. Sep 11/85.¹

Thanks for your note just rec[eive]d. I fully sympathize with all your difficulties, some of them unnecessarily created for you. I shall be glad to be of use.

I saw Dick Gr[osvenor] yesterday. He had invited Hartington to meet him at Eaton.

I suggested that 7 miles from Hawarden, unless you & Hartington were to meet, would be awkward.

He went to Holker last night, whence I hope he will be able to go to you with more satisfactory accounts.

Grosvenor was better than his word, and I was able to read the proofs before going to bed of your remarkable state paper. You do not submit it to me as a whole, but you cannot object to my stating the opinion, that it is singularly statesmanlike, skilful, and acceptable.

I have made a few slight suggestions as regards the Foreign part to none of which I attach importance excepting as to any allusion to Bismarck which it would be in my opinion expedient, and more dignified to avoid.

I should hesitate sending you such rough notes, but I have promised to be at a local meeting this morning, & Godley will be able & willing to make out my scribbling.

¹ The date was corrected by Gladstone to 12 Sept.

Enclosure.

Page 1 Para 14 (Egypt) Is it not unfair to ourselves, & not quite true, to say that we failed to 'mitigate' any of the results etc. etc.

Page 2 Para 1 'though I felt less than many others' and 'I for one hold'. May not this be taken to separate you more from the cabinet than was the fact.

I suppose Bright did not agree, nor did Harcourt much later in the day, but I believe all the rest did.

Page 2 Para 5 seems to me to afford some food for criticism, & might be shortened. It should be made more clear that you do not mean that it is we or the Egyptians who are responsible. Ought not 'English' to precede the word 'Force' in para 6.

Page 2 Para 3 'that country' means the Soudan, but at first sight reads as if it were Egypt.

Page 2 Para 8 'But the consequence, which Providence ordinarily allots to folly is retribution, not compensation'. Is not 'folly' an unnecessarily strong word for us to apply to ourselves—and could not a sentence be added showing that 'compensation' is a misnomer of what is suggested.

Page 2 in the same para 'of this we have evidence within the last few weeks, for we have not been permitted etc. etc.['] This is a point and an illustration, but not to my mind at all the strongest instance of the humiliations and difficulties which have been imposed upon us by Germany France, & the other powers.

It will be construed as a personal attack upon Bismarck arising from soreness on our part, & yet it [is] only a very small part of the indictment which we could raise against Bismarck's conduct to us during the last 18 months, if it were congruous with public opinion at the present moment, to make such an attack—& it will certainly encrease the difficulties of the next liberal Foreign Minister.

I should be very glad, if you found it possible to leave it out. Also, though I agree that the present Govt were right to make the concession, it is not altogether necessary to say so before a general Election.

1713. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/28 A, fo. 882]

Haw[arde]n. Sep. 14. 85.

Your letter was most comforting, and altogether the immediate difficulties are clearing away on the two sides, the latest letters being favourable.

I thank you for your valuable criticisms. I think I can meet them all either in form or substance, except that I do not see how to alter the paragraph about our mistakes in the Soudan (which I take to have been 1. *Landing* at Suakim 2. The worst, sending Gordon.)

No doubt it will be criticised by the politicians: but I write mainly for the Electors, and in this view you will notice that the paragraph leads up to the following paragraph, and my defence, a partial but a practical one, is that our errors would at every point have been aggravated by the Opposition if they had had their way.

Error 1 was I should say generally approved. Error 2 was generally applauded. The *biggest* errors in politics are often the most pardonable. I always apply this to Mr Pitt & the Revolutionary War.

I have ventured on making an addition to the Egyptian part of the Address which I think you will not disapprove. In the paragraph on sources of comfort, I wind up thus: 'and finally have indicated provisions on a reasonable basis for the future Government of Egypt, and the exercise of its legal autonomy, without foreign intervention.'

This is an expansion of what I have said elsewhere in the draft Para[graph] 8 of Slip 2.

1714. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 214]

Walmer Castle. Sep 16/85.

I was much relieved by your more cheery letter.

When is your shell to burst.

'England & Russia & the East' is the title given by Sir H. Rawlinson to vol: [1] of his collected Essays on the subject.¹

Baxter wrote a pamphlet on England & Russia in Asia.²

1715. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 216]

Walmer Castle. Sep 20/85.

I am told that the author of 'Russia, Europe & the East' is M. Lapenne who was president or Vice President of the International Court of Appeal at Alexandria. He had left Egypt before the Arabi rebellion.

The manifesto seems to me, within my limited sphere of observation an immense success—& so I find is the opinion of Sydney, Enfield & Wolverton.

I note a few changes.

Did Hartington and Chamberlain see it before publication.

I am glad to hear Brassey's testimony, to the ring of your voice.

¹ Sir H. C. Rawlinson, *England and Russia in the East* (1875).

² W. E. Baxter, *England and Russia in Asia* (1885), 96 pp.

1716. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Sept. 22. 85.

1. I inclose a note from Chamberlain with copy of my reply¹ and a better note from Dilke.² In a little time I propose to write further to you on the future of the Party.

2. I send you a long letter from Blunt,³ simply because you are so often mentioned in it. When you return it, I must write him a few lines? but one might as well correspond with Arabi. His statement about equivalents in p. 8, and Bismarck in p. 9, have no foundation as far as my recollection goes. The statement about Dervich's presence at the meeting which decided to defend the forts is curious, but the Sultan's profound rascality is capable of any thing—except consulting, when not under force, his own true interests & those of his people.

3. Although the Union of the two Bulgarias⁴ is in itself good I am uneasy at the news, and shall endeavour to avoid saying any thing until I know more. International law touches the question: the foolish ambition which may get the upper hand in Austria, and the sharp feud of Slav and Hellene, also cause misgiving. What say you?

4. Hartington & Chamberlain did *not* see my Address before publication. Chamberlain however asked to see the Paragraph on Land—and I sent it, with that on Registration.⁵

1717. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44178, fo. 218]

Walmer Castle. Sep 26/85.

Thanks for your note, & enclosures.

I found them yesterday afternoon—they having been backwards & forwards from London to Walmer while I was starting Leveson at Eton. I see Blount [*sc.* Blunt] has been publishing in the papers his letter to

¹ See from Chamberlain, 20 Sept., further to the exchange, 12 and 14 Sept. (Add. MS. 44126, fos. 102, 104), reverting to his inability to join any government on the narrow programme of Gladstone's published election address; and reply, 22 Sept., repeating that his aim was only to unite the party for the election and neither to anticipate nor to force on a split, Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 126–8, 129–31.

² To Gladstone, 16 Sept., denying that there was any objection to Gladstone's words in his draft address about 'registration or supplementary reform', Add. MS. 44149, fo. 365.

³ Of 19 Sept., strongly repelling the assertion, repeated in Gladstone's election manifesto, that the occupation of Egypt was the consequence of obligations undertaken by Salisbury towards France and giving his own history of its origin, Add. MS. 44110, fo. 132.

⁴ The rising in Philippopolis and the proclamation of the union, 18 Sept.

⁵ For extract of the draft address, sent to Chamberlain, see Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 128–9.

you.¹ His facts are all wrong, and he does not seem to know that if faults have been committed for which I of course am chiefly to blame, nothing was written without your cognizance. I agree that it is better not to answer his arguments. Salisbury has creditably to himself, not only as minister, but from the first in opposition, declared that we were bound in honour to support Tewfik.

I see that Chamberlain has foolishly spoken² what he wrote to you.

From a few words he wrote to me in a non political letter, I feel sure that his head has been a little turned, by his electioneering progress.

He treats with you de Prince à Prince—& he is not quite arrived at that.

George Hamilton told Freddy [Leveson Gower], that we were all in a fool's paradise about the Elections, that we should win a few in the counties but lose much more in the towns.

[P.S.] I quite agree with you about the Bulgarian question. It is a good thing in itself, and Chamberlain is right in saying that it shows the Hollowness of the Beaconsfield & Salisbury triumph. I am glad that it did not happen in our time, & you seem to be right in meaning to be reticent, till we know more about it.

The international engagements, the Greek, Servian, & Roumanian feeling all make it a very difficult question.

I send you back Blount's [*sc.* Blunt's] letter. I am vexed to find that I have left Chamberlain's & Dilke's letters in London.

Leveson has got into the remove.

1718. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Sept. 29. 85.

I think I may congratulate you on Leveson's good place in the school.

Inclosed is my reply³ to Blunt for your perusal.

The direct appeals made to me about Bulgaria have compelled me to send a reply which Hill I think will probably publish in the *Daily News*.⁴ I considered its terms very much with a view to divesting them of danger.

¹ i.e. of 19 Sept., published in the *Daily News*, 25 Sept., p. 3e, with a covering letter to the editor challenging Gladstone to a public discussion on Egypt in Midlothian.

² 24 Sept., at Lambeth, declaring that it would be dishonourable in him to join any government which excluded the three points of compulsory powers for local authorities to purchase land, free education, and equalization of taxation, see *The Times*, 25 Sept., p. 7a-d.

³ 29 Sept., insisting on the joint responsibility of all the cabinet for actions in Egypt and refusing to enter into public controversy with Blunt because of his strong opinion of the bad effect of Blunt's conduct in Egypt, Add. MS. 44492, fo. 135.

⁴ See Gladstone to Hill, 24 Sept., answering an appeal to him in a letter to the *Daily News*, dwelling on the danger of provoking an Austrian move on Salonica by favouring the Bulgarian rising, but recalling Austria's assurances that she had no designs on Salonica, Add. MS. 44492, fo. 116.

The Derby's come here on Thursday for a few hours¹ and I shall speak to him all I can of what after a little further consideration I mean to write to you.²

Childers is prepared to go far with respect to Ireland. I have counselled reserve as to his details which he seems to have considered a good deal.³

Chamberlain has I think gone a little farther than he had intended as to conditions of taking office. But of this more anon.

Clark has been and is well pleased with me. There is I think no doubt of my being able to make some speeches to moderate audiences in Midlothian. Rosebery wants me to speak at Manchester but I have not encouraged this idea.⁴

1719. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 223]

Walmer Castle. Sep 30/85.

Many thanks for your note, and the kind answer as regards me, which you have sent to Blunt.

I shall be deeply interested in the letter which you promise to send me. The subject is a difficult one.

I hope you will spare your voice, however strong it happily is.

I should doubt the expediency of using it for any works of super[er]ogation.

I have to speak at a non political dinner in honour of the reformed corporations.⁵ I shall follow Cross, and it will probably be open to me to give broad hints as to local Gov in England & Wales.

Your passage on the subject in the Manifesto was excellent. Am I wrong in thinking that on this point you and Goschen are substantially agreed & indeed with Chamberlain, excepting on his plan of compulsory [*sic*] taking land to give it to others.

I presume that while the system of municipal corporations is excellent, and the working of them generally very good, the danger of the bigger

¹ For Derby's account of this visit, see Derby to Granville, 2 Oct., part printed, Fitzmaurice, ii. 465.

² See no. 1720.

³ See Childers to Gladstone, 27 Sept., proposing to announce to his constituents that he accepted a separate Irish parliament provided imperial matters were reserved for the imperial parliament, Add. MS. 44132, fo. 184; and reply, 28 Sept., expressing sympathy but advising him not to particularize, Add. MS. 44548, fo. 45; printed, Morley, iii. 235-6; Childers accepted the advice, Add. MS. 44132, fo. 186.

⁴ See Rosebery to Gladstone, 25 Sept., Add. MS. 44288, fo. 254.

⁵ To propose the toast to the mayors and corporations at the dinner in celebration of the jubilee of the municipal corporations; for speech as in paragraph 7 of no. 1719 and supporting Gladstone's reference to local government in his election address, see *The Times*, 10 Oct., p. 7a-c; and no. 1733.

ones is to attempt too much, and to be too ready to lay burdens upon their successors, and of the smaller to indulge in something of jobbery.

Leveson writes delighted with Eton.

[P.S.] There is a striking phrase of yours 'local Gov is the foundation of our liberties, and of our aptitudes'. The ring of [it] is excellent, but I am [not] quite sure that I understand completely the last word.

1720. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Private.

Hawarden. Oct 5. 85.

I need not make a long story of the threatened letter, which now descends upon you.

The speech, in which Chamberlain announced,¹ to my great surprise, that he could not take office unless his three points were adopted by the incoming Government, rather cut across my purpose. But his answer to a note which I wrote to him² seems sufficiently to open the door, so I proceed.

*You hold a position of great impartiality in relation to any divergent opinions among members of the late Cabinet. No other person occupies ground so thoroughly favourable.

I turn to myself for one moment. I remain at present in the leadership of the party, first with a view to the Election, and secondly with a view to being, by a bare possibility, of use afterwards in the Irish question, if it should take a favourable turn: but as you know with the intention of taking no part in any schism of the party should it arise, and of avoiding any and all official responsibility, should the question be merely one of Liberal v. Conservative, and not one of commanding Imperial necessity such as that of Irish Government may come to be after the Dissolution.* I return to my main thread of discourse.

It seems to be felt that the ground has now been sufficiently laid for going to the Election with an united front: that ground being the common profession of a limited creed or programme in the Liberal sense, with an entire freedom, for those so inclined to travel beyond it but not to impose their own sense upon all other people.

No one I think is bound to determine at this moment on what conditions he would join a Liberal Government, should one have to be formed after the Dissolution. At the same time, as the position I have just described appears to have been approved by the party generally, the question

¹ See p. 399, n. 2; and cf. reception at the National Liberal Federation conference at Bradford, 1 Oct., *The Times*, 2 Oct., p. 7a-c.

² 26 Sept., asking whether, if a government could be formed which could carry a scheme of Irish local government with adequate securities for imperial unity, he would still insist on the three points; and reply, 28 Sept., that he had not contemplated this contingency, Add. MS. 44126, fos. 107, 109; Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 161-3.

I think may now be entertained whether the leading men are not in a condition, if so disposed, for an understanding among themselves reaching a little farther into the future. The question they may put to themselves, and the reserves with which I should join it, are I think much as follows. As to the reserves, they would embrace all the contingencies now unforeseen, which may emerge between the present time and the time for action. As to these, all would remain free, and especially as to the Irish question, the possible forms of which I think no one can forecast. But, *presuming* that these are set aside, there remains this matter for consideration. If the party and its leaders are agreed as to the immediate measures on the three subjects of Local Government, Land, & Registration (so-called), are not these enough to find a Liberal Administration plenty of work, as principal subjects, especially with Procedure, for several years; and, if so, do they not supply a ground broad enough to start a Government, which would hold over, until the proper time should come, all the questions on which its members might not be agreed, just as the Government of Lord Grey held over, from 1830 to 1834, the question whether Irish Church property might or might not be applied to secular uses?

I would suggest for consideration, whether you might not, at some time before the Dissolution, promote a small meeting of leading men of the late Cabinet, to weigh this subject. It seems to me that even after all that has been said there exist rational and sufficient grounds for common action, probably reaching over a considerable time.

You would of course communicate with Hartington, to whom I am sending this evening a message through R. Grosvenor; and no doubt with Chamberlain, whose cooperation you would, I take it for granted, desire. You would know what other names to add.

*My desire would be, in the event I have supposed, to place myself in your hands for all purposes, except that of taking office; to be present or absent from the House, and to be absent for a time or for good, as you might on consultation and reflection think best.*¹

1721. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Private.

Hawarden Castle. Oct 5. 85.

1. I refer you to my other and longer letter of this day.

2. This morning came a letter from the Queen,² written in a very kind tone, and pressing me to dissociate myself from Chamberlain. *Cela donne à penser?* It may have been suggested by his speech about the conditions

¹ The starred paragraphs, pp. 401 and 402, printed Morley, iii. 222, 223.

² Of 2 Oct., sending 'prints' of Princess Beatrice and Prince Henry, and urging him to dissociate himself 'entirely from the extreme set of visionaries, who excite the people's hopes' by promising what is 'impracticable or dangerous'; and 'interim reply', 5 Oct., Guedalla, ii. 379-81; see no. 1729.

of taking office. I have sent her an *interim* answer and will make my reply in a day or two, thinking I see my way pretty well as to the substance. But the step on her part is peculiar and suggests a special motive.

3. Now for my puzzle on Local Government.¹ I think it lies at the root of all our national aptitudes, by teaching the art of government in various limited but effective forms, to those persons, all over the land, who either in towns or rural districts, have from their position & circumstances, more or less of an opening towards public life.

4. I think no great charges would lie against our Municipalities unless extravagance—and in this matter will Parliament escape whipping?

1722. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 231]

Walmer Castle. Oct 6/85.

1000 thanks for your note—the information about the Queen, and the perfect paraphrase of the Pascal sentence in your manifesto.

The enclosure 'donne à penser, beaucoup à penser'

I must think over the best way of meeting your wishes.

*The first difficulty is whom to consult. Perhaps H[artington] and C[hamberlain] separately. Beyond that the selection is difficult, & the whole ex-cabinet, particularly without you, is objectionable.*²

Besides, although you have a right to dictate your own terms, are you not rather on the edge of a razor, when you state willingness to undertake Ireland under possible circumstances, but will not give a helping hand with regard to the important subjects, you have recommended to the nation.

Hartington wrote me a scolding letter 2 days ago but a civil note today asking me to see him,³ after he has heard what Dick Grosvenor has to tell him. I go to town tomorrow, but have had rather a bad cold.

1723. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*⁴ [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Private. No 1.

H[awarde]n. Oct 8. 85.

Cham[berlain] came here yesterday and I have had a great deal of conversation with him.⁵ He is a good man to talk to, not only from his

¹ See above, no. 1719.

² Starred passage printed, Fitzmaurice, ii. 464.

³ To Granville, 3 Oct., complaining that no liberal peer had spoken since the end of the session, especially that Granville had not done so and of the want of support for his views, P.R.O. 30/29/22 A; second letter, not traced.

⁴ No. 1723 is printed, from Gladstone's copy, by Morley, iii. 224-5.

⁵ Cf. Chamberlain's account of this interview in Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 166-8.

force and clearness, but because he speaks with reflection, does not misapprehend, or (I think) suspect, or make unnecessary difficulties, or endeavour to maintain pedantically the uniformity and consistency of his argument throughout.

As to the three points of which he was understood to say that they were indispensable to the starting of a Liberal Government, I gather that they stand as follows.

1. As to the authority of Local authorities for compulsory expropriation. To this he adheres; though I have said I could not see the justification for withholding countenance from the formation of a Government with considerable and intelligible plans in view because it would not at the first moment bind all its members to this doctrine. He intimates however that the form would be simple, the application of the principle mild; that he does not expect wide results from it, and that Hartington, he conceives, is now not disposed wholly to object to every thing of the kind.

2. As regards re-adjustment of taxation, he is contented with the terms of my Address, and indisposed to make any new terms.

3. As regards free education; he does not ask that its principle be adopted as part of the creed of a new Cabinet. He said it would be necessary to reserve his right individually to vote for it. I urged that he and the new school of advanced Liberals were not sufficiently alive to the necessity of refraining when in Government from declaring by *vote* all their individual opinions: that a vote founded upon time and the engagements of the House at the moment with other indispensable business would imply no disparagement to the principle, which might even be especially saved (without prejudice) by an amending Resolution: that he could hardly carry this point to the rank of a *sine quâ non*. He said 1. that the sense of the country might bind the Liberal majority (presuming it to exist) to declare its opinion even though unable to give effect to it at the moment: that he looked to a single declaration, not to the sustained support of a measure: and he seemed to allow that if the Liberal sense were so far divided as not to show an unanimous front in that case it might be a question whether some plan other than and short of a direct vote might be pursued.

The questions of the House of Lords and Disestablishment he regards as still lying in the remote distance.

All these subjects I separated entirely from the question of Ireland; on which I may add that he and I are pretty well agreed. Unless upon a secondary point, namely whether Parnell would be satisfied to acquiesce in a County Government Bill good as far as it went, maintaining on other matters his present general attitude. We agreed I think that a prolongation of the present relations of the Irish party to the Parliament would be a national disgrace, and the civilised world would scoff at the political

genius of countries which could not contrive so far to understand one another as to bring their differences to an accommodation.

All through Chamberlain spoke as reducing to an absolute minimum his idea of necessary conditions, and this conversation so far left untouched the question of men he apparently assuming (wrongly) that I was ready for another three or four years engagement.

1724. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*¹

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret. No 2.

H[awarde]n. Oct 8. 85.

In another 'private' but less private letter I have touched on measures, and have now to say what passed in relation to men.

He said the outline he had given depended on the supposition of my being at the head of the Government. He did not say he could adhere to it on no other terms, but appeared to stipulate for a new point of departure.

I told him that the question of my time of life had become such that in any case prudence bound him, and all who have a future, to think of what is to follow me. That if a big Irish question should arise, and arise in such a form as to promise a possibility of settlement, that would be a crisis with a beginning and an end, and perhaps one in which from age and circumstances I might be able to supply aid and service such as could not be exactly had without me. Apart from an imperious demand of this kind, the question would be that of dealing with Land Laws, with Local Government, and other matters, on which I could render *no* special service, and which would require me to enter into a new contract for several years, a demand that ought not to be made, and one to which I could not accede. I did not think the adjustment of personal relations or the ordinary exigencies of party constituted a call upon me to continue my long life in a course of constant pressure and constant contention with half my fellow countrymen, until nothing remained but to step into the grave.

He agreed that the House of Lords was not an available resort.

He thought I might continue at the head of the Government and leave the work of legislation to others. I told him that all my life long I had had an essential and considerable share in the legislative work of the Government, and to abandon it would be an essential change, which the situation would not bear.

He spoke of the constant conflict of opinion with Hartington in the late Cabinet, but I reverted to the time when Hartington used to summon and head meetings of the leading Commoners, in which he was really the least antagonistic of men.

He said Hartington might lead a Whig Government aided by the Tories, or might lead a Radical Government.

¹ No. 1724 is printed, from Gladstone's copy, by Morley, iii. 225-6.

He did not, expressly at any rate, refer to the First Lordship; nor did he name any other person; nor did he seem to name these two as the only forms of Hartington's leadership as more than first impressions.

I recommended his considering carefully the personal composition of the group of leading men, apart from a single personality on which reliance could hardly be placed, except in the single contingency to which I have referred as one of a character probably brief.

He said it might be right for him to look as a friend on the formation of a Liberal Government having (as I understood) moderate but intelligible plans, without forming part of it.

I think this was the substance of what passed.

1725. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

No 3.

Hawarden Castle. Oct. 8. 85.

I would suggest your showing my letter No 2 on *men* to R. Grosvenor, who is in no sense a party in the case.

I think Chamberlain is in high good humour.

[P.S.] My reply to H.M. not yet written.¹

1726. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 239]

18, Carlton House Terrace. Oct 9/85.

I had 2 long talks with Hartington. R. Grosvenor was present during the most important portion of them.

He agrees with me in thinking that they may be summed up in Hartington being of opinion, that you can form a Gov which would receive a general support of the liberal party, although there might be some difficulty as to details, but that it would be premature, & hopeless at the present time to try to settle a Gov without you.

It is clear that Hartington and Chamberlain would like to be out [of] office although for different reasons.

It is clear to me that Hartington would not accept either of Chamberlain's suggestions, that he should head a Whig, or a radical Gov. It looks to me very much as if the Tories would come in again.

I will send your 'private' letter to Hartington, if you think it best, but Dick & I think it would do no good, and would only perturb him in the middle of speeches which luckily will be made in a better atmosphere than that which he sometimes breathes.

I shall hope soon to have another opportunity of seeing him.

¹ See no. 1729.

1727. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*¹

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret.

Hawarden Castle. Oct 10. 1885.

Many thanks for your letter. I quite understand how natural it is that at the present juncture pressure, and even the whole pressure, should from both quarters be brought to bear upon me. Well, if a special call of Imperial interest, such as I have described, should arise, I am ready for the service it may entail, so far as my will is concerned. But a very different question is raised. Let us see how matters stand.

A course of action for the Liberals, moderate but substantial, has been sketched. The party in general have accepted it. After the late conversations, there is no reason to anticipate a breach upon any of the conditions laid down anywhere for immediate adoption, between the less advanced & the more advanced among the leaders. It must occupy several years, and may occupy the whole Parliament. According to your view they will, unless on a single condition, refuse to combine in a Cabinet, and to act, with a majority at their back; and will make over the business, voluntarily, to the Tories in a minority, at the commencement of a Parliament. Why? They agree on the subjects before them. Other subjects as yet unknown may arise to split them. But this is what may happen to any Government, and *it* can form no reason. I say that, even if I am wrong and to be condemned for perverseness, *they* still have no justification whatever. They have nothing to urge except personal misgivings or apprehensions, and these cannot be allowed as valid grounds of action.

But what *is* the condition demanded? It is that a man of 76, after 53 years service, with *no* particular qualification for the questions in view, should enter into a fresh contract of service, in the House of Commons, reaching according to all likelihood over 3, 4, or even 5 years, and without the smallest reasonable prospect of a break. And this not to solve a political difficulty, but to soothe and conjure down personal misgivings and apprehensions: I have not said jealousies, because I do *not* believe these to be the operative cause; perhaps they do not exist at all.

I firmly say this is not a reasonable condition, or a tenable demand, in the circumstances supposed. Indeed no one has endeavoured to show that it is.

Further abated action in the House of Commons is out of the question. We cannot have there, in these times, a figure-head Prime Minister. I have gone a very long way in what I have said; and I really cannot go farther.

Lord Aberdeen, taking office at barely seventy in the House of Lords, apologised in his opening speech for doing this at a time when his mind ought rather to be given to 'other thoughts'. Lord Palmerston in 1859

¹ No. 1727 is printed without the last three sentences from Gladstone's inaccurate copy, by Morley, iii. 226-8.

did not speak thus. But he was bound to no plan of any kind: and he was 74, i.e. in his seventy fifth year.

As to the initial support of the party, I have no doubt or fear.

In speaking of leading, I think Chamberlain had *in view* the leading of the House of Commons.

I address to Walmer at a venture.

1728. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret. No 2.

Oct 10. 85.

I think my 'secret' letter of today should be shown to Hartington. And probably also to Chamberlain.¹ It is, *selon moi*, they, and you, who should primarily consider on what conditions the horses can be put together.

The Irish subject in my mind altogether overshadows all this. I consider Parnell's last² as a *step*, not in the wrong direction, perhaps as much as he desired. I think you, and all, should read Gavan Duffy's letter to Carnarvon.³

[P.S.] I do not quite understand why such *copious* references are made to Palmerston in Hartington's speech.⁴

1729. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret. No 3.

Hawarden Castle. Oct 10. 85.

I send herewith for perusal, and this time to yourself alone, the Queen's letter, and my reply.⁵ I am quite uncertain whether it is rightly or wrongly framed, but if wrongly, it is not for want of thought and anxiety, for it is a serious affair. I hope it will not mislead her, either as to myself or anybody else.

¹ No letter to Chamberlain traced, see no. 1737; Granville to Hartington, 13 Oct., sending no. 1727 as the outcome of his having told Gladstone that Hartington believed the whole party would support Gladstone as prime minister but that neither he nor Chamberlain wished for office, P.R.O. 30/29/22 A.

² i.e. his speech at Wicklow, 5 Oct., replying to Gladstone's insistence that a separate Irish parliament must not lead to a separation of the two countries, by asking for trust and quoting historical illustrations, generally construed as advocating federation, *The Times*, 6 Oct., p. 10a-b.

³ Not traced.

⁴ Hartington in a eulogy of the retiring member for Bury, 8 Oct., alluded to Palmerston's national rather than party policy and bade those who thought he was not advanced enough to consider the support he gave to Gladstone in carrying through the financial reforms of 1860, see *The Times*, 9 Oct., p. 7a-c.

⁵ 10 Oct., sharing the Queen's dislike of 'socialism', but noticing how much it was now in favour with both political parties, recounting his conversation with Chamberlain, but refusing to define his views for the period after the elections, Guedalla, ii. 381-4; see no. 1721.

1730. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 245]

Walmer Castle. Oct 12/85.

Your letter to the Queen is excellent, & I can readily believe must have cost much thought.

I will send your letter to Hartington¹ leaving out the sentence about the 'lead in the Commons'.

With any encouragement from him, & his speech yesterday [*sc.* Saturday]² seems to me to be more 'coulant' than his talk to Grosvenor & me, I will communicate with Chamberlain, but shall ask you to let me alter another sentence, so as to avoid the appearance of my having said anything authoritatively about his views, of which I know nothing excepting what I heard from you.

1731. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Oct 12. 85.

I readily consent to both the changes. I had no intention of bringing you forward at all: and as to leadership, as I do not feel certain, it is better to leave the matter to Chamberlain's initiative. You will be sure to notice what I said yesterday as to time.

1732. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

[Hawarden]. Oct 12. 85.

1. In me you have a hearer something more than dispassionate about the Chamberlain proposition.³ I do not see my way to a plan workable and equitable. But C[hamberlain] told me that H[artington] was disposed to allow a trial of the principle, which would probably be barren. Hence my mode of referring to it in writing to the Queen.

2. My letter to you of the 11th was not meant to press precipitate or even rapid action but to lead you to prepare your mind for what may come. It is not the only thing that may come. I have a decided impression that the Irish question may come also, and may loom very large—but I can see at present no farther into the mill-stone.⁴

3. I think the Greek and Servian pretensions, and the threats of war in

¹ See p. 408, n. 1.

² At Rawtenstall, 10 Oct., mostly on foreign policy, but answering Churchill's invitation to him to go over to the conservatives by saying that confidence was as necessary in a party as unity and that he had this in his late colleagues, see *The Times*, 12 Oct., p. 8a-d.

³ i.e. to grant local authorities powers of compulsory purchase, referred to in Gladstone's letter to the Queen (no. 1729) as perhaps not offering 'insuperable obstacles to the union of the party and of the leading men'.

⁴ For this expression see *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, edited J. G. Tait (1939), entry for 22 Dec. 1825. I am grateful to Miss Mary Lascelles for this other instance.

support of them, *monstrous*.¹ On the other hand, are the Government frankly recognising the Union, and endeavouring to circumscribe the disturbance within the frontier of the United Province. *If they are* I should be very glad were it possible for us to give them a helping hand in the cause of peace. Please to think of this.

1733. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 247]

Walmer Castle. Oct 12/85.

The more I think of Chamberlain's proposals for compulsory purchases, the more impracticable they appear to me, apart from any question of principle.

Would it be an unreasonable thing to ask him to draw the clauses which he would wish to introduce.

I was at a Municipal dinner the other day. There were 400 Mayors & Town Clerks.²

Neither Grosvenor nor the President, nor the Secretary could tell me the proportion of Liberals and Tories.

During the first speeches when Ashmead Bartlett was more cheered than Cross or Alfred [*sc.* Arthur] Balfour, George Russell & I agreed that we were in a minority, but when I got up I never was so well rec[eive]d in my life—probably as a little protest.

I remarked that several speakers spoke with great praise of Salisbury's statement respecting local Gov, the liberal town clerk of Manchester was almost enthusiastic.

1734. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 251]

Walmer Castle. Oct 21/85.

Hartington answered my letter, enclosing your's by saying, that he would soon send me an answer, which I have rec[eive]d today, & which I forward.³

It confirms me in the notion that it will be very difficult to come to any agreement, much before the pressure of necessity arises.

Let me know whether I shall send your letter to Chamberlain.

¹ *The Times* correspondent in Vienna announced a Servian war on Turkey in a week's time with Austrian support, and in Athens the Greek reply to European representations, that war preparations would continue, 12 Oct., p. 5a-c.

² For the 'Municipal dinner', see p. 400, n. 5.

³ 16 Oct., promising an answer and apologizing for romancing about Palmerston; and 20 Oct., describing a message sent to Gladstone, in reply to no. 1727, that if Gladstone resumed office, his reservations in giving support must extend beyond details as long as he did not know the Irish policy, P.R.O. 30/29/22 A.

It may be better for me to wait for an opportunity, which can easily be made, to see him.

[P.S.] Remember the enormous discount for which there is margin in Hartington's grows.¹

1735. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44548, fo. 46]

[Copy]

Oct. 22. 85.

I return Hartington's letter. It is all that could be reasonably expected. As to Ireland I have reserves myself, for I do not pretend as yet to see my way to a due protection for the Landlords; against them Parnell seems to have issued a new proclamation of war, and how can we make over the judicial rents to his mercy. I am trying to familiarise my mind with the subject and to look at it all round, but it still requires a good deal more looking at before I could ask myself to adhere to anything I had conceived. I adhere however to this one belief that there is great advantage in a constructive measure (which would be subject to change or recall) as compared with the repeal of the Union.

You must have been startled at my being drawn out into the public Journals so fully about Bulgaria.² It was entirely owing to Laveley's supposing himself entitled to publish a letter which had passed between us as individuals. Münster came over here, and highly approved my letter to Gueshoff. His account of Bismarck's wishes was quite satisfactory. Mad. Novikoff however will have it that Austria has prompted Servia. I feel pretty confident you do not disapprove, on the merits, of what I have said.

My time for Midlothian is not settled. But I hope that if you travel northwards while we are here you will pay us a visit.

1736. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 253]

Walmer Castle. Oct 23/85.

Many thanks for your note which I have forwarded to Hartington.

You have certainly a large quantity of oil available for distribution at your service.

I presume you read very few of the speeches which fill the papers every day.

¹ The postscript printed, Fitzmaurice, ii. 471.

² *The Times*, 17 Oct., p. 8b, published Gladstone's letter to Gueshoff, 15 Oct., explaining the letter to Laveley approving Bulgarian union, but deprecating Greek and Servian interference in Bulgarian affairs; 'to interfere' copied as 'to intrigue' caused an exchange of letters with the Servian minister in London, *ibid.*, 21 Oct., p. 10a; cf. *Daily News*, 17, 21 Oct., pp. 5b, 5f.

Those of Salisbury, Hartington, Chamberlain & Goschen appear to me to show great ability.¹ But all too long.

I hope to avail myself of your hint and propose myself before long to Hawarden.

I have no reason to doubt our finding ourselves in accord on Foreign Affairs.

1737. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Oct 24. 85.

I forgot to say that I would rather leave it in your hands to decide whether you would send my letter² to Chamberlain, and when. With you, I do not see any hurry.

You will see, from the letters which I inclose, that Chamberlain's path in the matter of Free Education, should he continue to tread it, is by no means a smooth one. I think he will pull up. Bright is most sound.³

Your note of yesterday has arrived. I may perhaps be in London on Wed[nesday] or Thurs[day] next to have my throat examined. I should go to Garland's Hotel in Suffolk Street.

1738. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 259]

Walmer Castle. Oct 25/85.

May I come to you next Saturday—

Have you read Ch. Greville's Memoirs.⁴ They are long but interesting —& show up a good deal that might have been left quiet.

Clarendon seems to have been absolutely without reticence on Cabinet secrets.

& it is amusing to see Charles taking upon himself the part of 'Adviser general to the whole community. He served his friend, and watched his opportunity'.

Hobart Pacha (who however is not to be trusted) writes to me that the Sultan is furious with Salisbury and told Hobart that he wished you were back.

¹ For speeches of Salisbury at Brighton, 15 Oct., 1 hour 20 minutes, of Chamberlain at Trowbridge, 14 Oct., 1½ hours, at Birmingham, 19 Oct., and of Goschen, at Edinburgh, 10 Oct., 1 hour 20 minutes, at Glasgow, 14 Oct., at Hendon, 21 Oct., see *The Times*, 16 Oct., p. 7a-d, 15 Oct., p. 6a-e, 20 Oct., p. 7a-c, 12 Oct., p. 10a-e, 15 Oct., p. 8a-d, 22 Oct., p. 6b-e; for Hartington, see p. 409, n. 2.

² i.e. no. 1727.

³ See Bright to Gladstone, 23 Oct., deprecating Chamberlain's raising of the subject of free schools before it was ripe and of the land question in a way in which it would never succeed, Add. MS. 44113, fo. 219.

⁴ Charles C. F. Greville, *A Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria from 1837 to 1852*, second part (1885).

1739. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 262]

Walmer Castle. Oct 28/85.

I return the two enclosures. They are very important.

It is difficult not to share Bright's suspicions.

With regard to Free schools, I thought that Chamberlain abandoned them for the present session.

I suppose one of his objects, is to have a channel through which to turn Church endowments.

Mundella spoke to me in London against free schools, but I see he has gone the other way.

I will turn up in Suffolk Street.¹

1740. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 266]

London. Nov 28/85.

I have spared you during your hard work. But I must write one line of congrats on your triple personal successes.²

The enormous majority after your admirable speech on Wednesday³ seems to have made Scotland secure, and has been the first compensation for our being so knocked about at first.

I am glad Hartington has done so well.⁴

There are compensations, but the prospect for the future is not clear.

1741. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Dec 4. 85.

I have been waiting for the ripening of events or I would have written sooner.

Spencer comes here as I expect, next *Wednesday*, probably also Rosebery, and I think IF (but only IF SO) it suited you equally well your advent at that time would be more profitable.⁵ Sir T. Acland, a dear old friend, & the Cunliffes, may also be here.

¹ Granville to Gladstone, 29 Oct., on his having failed to find Gladstone at Garland's Hotel, and asking for a time, Add. MS. 44178, fo. 264, not printed.

² Polling in the general election began on 24 Nov., mostly over by 5 Dec.; Gladstone returned for Midlothian, 27 Nov., Herbert Gladstone for Leeds West, 26 Nov., Henry active in the Midlothian election as his father's secretary, William did not stand.

³ i.e. at Edinburgh, 24 Nov., clinching the declaration which opened the campaign, 9 Nov., that the Irish demand for larger powers of self-government must be dealt with by the new parliament, *The Times*, 25 Nov., p. 12a; Gladstone's majority, 4,631; liberal victories in the 7 Glasgow seats also announced that morning.

⁴ His victory in N.E. Lancs., with an increased majority, announced that morning.

⁵ See Granville to Gladstone, 3 Dec., asking for a dinner and a bed 'on Saturday', Add. MS. 44178, fo. 268, not printed.

1742. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 269]
Chatsworth. Dec 8/85.

My journey was successful, but tiresome having kept me at Chester forty minutes, in a Hansom between Wellington & Donnangle 8 miles, half an hour at Stafford, the same at Lichfield, and at Derby—when Freddy [Leveson Gower] and his son joined me.

To my great surprise I found Spencer at dinner, on his way to you tomorrow. Hartington is very sorry not to go to you, but he is engaged to meet the Prince of Wales at Dinner today in Lincolnshire.

He is very angry with Chamberlain and with Harcourt, but discussed Ireland dispassionately, without much expression of opinion.

He thinks it premature to decide anything upon the address at present, but is inclined to let the Tories show their cards, before action on our part.

You will find Spencer as usual very pleasant to discuss with.

After much hesitation I have decided not to accompany him.¹

His having seen Hartington & me makes it less important, & we all thought that my leaving Hawarden, rushing to Chatsworth, and then back again to Hawarden would give rise to some foolish talk. But if you still wish to see me, please telegraph, & I will be with you tomorrow.

1743. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*²

[Hawarden]. Dec 9. 85.

You have, I think acted very prudently in not returning here. It would have been violently canvassed. Your report is as favourable as could be expected. I think my conversations with Rosebery and Spencer have also been satisfactory. What I expect is a healthful, slow fermentation in many minds, working towards the final product. It is a case of between the devil and the deep sea. But our position is a bed of roses compared with that of the government.

1744. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo 274]
Chatsworth. Dec. 11/85.

Thanks for your letter. The family were delighted with your congratulations.

Derby is gone to Knowsley—full of perplexities. It might be worth your while to ask him to call at Hawarden on his return.

I presume Wolverton is in high spirits. He deserves his success—the victories in Dorset are almost entirely due to his personal energy.

¹ i.e. to Hawarden.

² No. 1743 printed, Morley, iii. 261, but neither the original nor a copy has been found.

You see that Dilke recommends procrastination & promises help to the Conservative Local Gov. Bill.

This advice may not be quite disinterested at this moment, but it will probably be backed up by Chamberlain.

1745. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 276]

18, Carlton House Terrace. Dec 17/85.

You may like to know that Thring says the Gov will not adjourn, but go on with the Queens speech, as soon as Members are sworn & the Speaker chosen.¹

1746. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 277]

18, Carlton House Terrace. Dec 17/85.

I send you a letter² just rec[eive]d from Derby—

I have not seen many people. My brother, Wolverton, Aberdare, Playfair—& two or three MP.'s to whom I could not put names.

I gather that there is great annoyance with Dilke & Chamberlain, though a general agreement, that it will be better to let the Tories produce their plans.

I am inclined the same way, though I do not feel sure, that it may not land us into a hole.

What are your plans as to coming to London.

The Standard announces today Mr Gladstone's plan for Ireland.³

Hatzfeldt called on me & I on him, but unsuccessfully. I believe I meet him in the country next week.

The Balkan provinces question does not seem to be as much settled, as the Times announced.⁴

¹ The election results finally declared, 19 Dec.: liberals, 333; conservatives, 251; Irish, 86; leaving the liberals with a majority of 82 over the conservatives but no majority over the conservatives and Irish combined.

² Of 17 Dec., appealing for contradiction of a report that Gladstone planned to give large powers to an Irish parliament subject only to the veto of the imperial parliament, since it would split the party, was impracticable, and the party ought not to be committed without previous discussion, P.R.O. 30/29/22 A.

³ See the *Standard*, 17 Dec., p. 5c, for the unauthorized version ('the Hawarden kite') of Gladstone's scheme for Ireland, given to the Central News Agency by Herbert Gladstone on his own initiative; published in *The Times*, 18 Dec., p. 6a.

⁴ First leader, 12 Dec., p. 9a-b, announcing 'that the Eastern difficulty may be regarded as virtually settled', was explained, 17 Dec., as meaning that the fundamental difficulty had been overcome by the decision not to insist on restoring the two Bulgarias, p. 9a-b.

In Egypt Salisbury seems to have made a mistake in following Wolsley's [*sic*] advice, and remaining half way between Dongola, and Waddy Halfa.¹

Wolff does not appear to have done nothing.²

[P.S.] Charles Peel is to have Rose's place.³

R. Bourke probably the Clerkship of the Council.

Who is the knight 'Brierly' for his artistic merits.

1747. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 281]

Copy. Secret.

Hawarden Castle. 18 Dec. 85.

I cannot better begin my letter than by mentioning that, in reply to a request from the Central News to receive an interviewer on Irish matters, I have just telegraphed as follows.

'From my public declarations at Edinburgh with respect to the Government you will easily see I have no communication to make.'

Hartington will probably send on to you a letter which I wrote to him yesterday,⁴ also you will have very important letters *not mine*.⁵

I have thought it best to take no notice of the Dilke escapades.⁶

*Thinking incessantly about the matter, speaking freely, & not with finality to you, & to Rosebery & Spencer—the only colleagues I have seen—I have trusted to writing for H[artington]n (who has had Harcourt & Northbrook with him) & to you for Derby.

If I have made *any* step in advance at all, which I am not sure of, it has most certainly been in the direction of leaving the field open for the Government, encouraging them to act, & steadily refusing to say or do *anything* like negotiation on my own behalf. So that I think Derby will see that in the main, I am entirely with him.*

I receive so many & such diversified communications, that I am somewhat stunned, or at any rate bewildered: but I think I know my own mind, & it is pretty clear on one point: almost all men seem to me to be in too

¹ An engagement had to be fought at Kosheh in the Sudan, 16 Dec.

² i.e. at Constantinople when he had been on a special mission since August 1885 to negotiate with Turkey on Egypt.

³ Peel remained clerk of the Council and was not appointed clerk of the parliaments *vice* Rose, died.

⁴ 17 Dec., that the Irish demand to manage Irish affairs by an Irish legislative body should be met, that a conservative government would do this better than a liberal, avoiding any statement of his own intentions, Add. MS. 44148, fo. 167, Morley, iii. 262-4; and reply, 18 Dec., on his difficulty in reconciling Gladstone's advice against commitment with the position Gladstone had taken, Add. MS. 44148, fo. 177; Gladstone's further letters, 19, 20 Dec., fos. 182, 184.

⁵ Not traced; from Harcourt and Northbrook.

⁶ For Dilke's speeches 9, 12, 17 Dec., putting local government reform first and urging the postponement of an Irish settlement, see *The Times*, 18 Dec., p. 8d; said by Morley (iii. 264-5) to have provoked the 'Hawarden kite'.

great a hurry as to determining what is to be done a month hence on the opening of the Session.

What will Parnell do? What will the Government do? How can we decide without knowing or trying to know, both if we can, but at any rate the second?¹

Without concluding, I lean to the proposition that if the Government undertake to make at once a proposal dealing with & meant to dispose of the *whole subject* of Irish Govt. it may be right to give them provisional confidence, should they, after the swearing in, ask it by proposing an adjournment.²

Short of this, I do not see my way. The dangers of the situation are too great, time too precious, for the mere folding of our arms.

This letter is at your discretion for use in proper quarters.

Be very incredulous about me.

I do not look upon Police as an insurmountable difficulty.

Chamberlain's speech of yesterday³ relieves me. I will write to him.⁴

[P.S.] I keep Derby's letter.

1748. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 283]

Confidential.

Walmer Castle. Dec 21/85.

On getting home on Saturday night from non political meetings at Dover & Folkstone, I found a letter from Hartington, sending me your letter, & the enclosures which I have forwarded to you viâ Spencer.

Hartington told me of his intention to make an announcement.⁵

I telegraphed that I would write, & wrote strongly dissuading him.⁶ But my letter would only reach him this morning, & the letter must have been sent Saturday or yesterday.

¹ Starred passages, pp. 416 and 417, printed, Morley, iii. 268; for text of tel. from the Central News Agency, 18 Dec., and draft reply on the back, see Add. MS. 44493, fo. 239.

² Parliament met on 12 Jan. and proceeded, after the swearing in, to the Queen's speech and debate on the address, 21 Jan., *C.J.* (1886) 3-12.

³ 17 Dec., at Birmingham, a balanced discussion of the alternatives of allowing the government to remain on sufferance or turning it out, *The Times*, 18 Dec., p. 7a-c.

⁴ Secret, 18 Dec., that it was best for the conservative government to act on Ireland, repeating the injunction to be incredulous and denying that he had begun any separate negotiation, Add. MS. 44126, fos. 125, 127; Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 170; cf. S. Gwynn and G. M. Tuckwell, *The Life of Sir Charles W. Dilke* (1917) ii. 198-9.

⁵ See to Granville, 19 Dec., repudiating non-commitment since Gladstone's letting it be known that the demand for home rule must now be conceded released him and announcing his intended declaration, P.R.O. 30/29/22 A.

⁶ See tel. and letter, 20 Dec., urging him to avoid any declaration which might provoke the catastrophe of a liberal split and to see Gladstone, P.R.O. 30/29/22 A, Fitzmaurice, ii. 467-8.

1749. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*¹

Dec 22. 85.

In the midst of these troubles, I look to you as the great feud-composer, and your note just received is just what I should have hoped and expected. Hartington wrote to me on Saturday that he was going up to see Goschen, but as I thought inviting a letter from me, which I wrote, and it was with no small surprise that I read him yesterday in the Times.² However, I repeated yesterday to R. Grosvenor all that I have said to you about what seems to me the plain duty of the party, in the event of a severance between nationalists and tories. Meantime I care not who knows my anxiety to prevent that severance, and for that reason among others to avoid all communications of ideas and intentions which could tend to bring it about.

1750. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

Dec 26. 85.

I have put down on paper in a memorandum³ as well as I can, the possible forms of the question which may have to be decided at the opening of the session. I went over the ground in conversation with you, and afterwards with R. Grosvenor, who was going to London to speak to Hartington in that sense. After his recent act of publication I should not like to challenge him by sending him the written paper. Please, however, to send it on to Spencer, who will send it back to me.⁴

1751. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 285]

Secret.

Walmer Castle. Dec 27/85.

*I have been asked to request you to call a cabinet of your late colleagues to discuss the present state of affairs. I have declined, giving my

¹ Nos. 1749 and 1750 are printed, Morley, iii. 268-9, but neither originals nor copies have been found.

² See Hartington to the chairman of his election committee in N.E. Lancs., 20 Dec., that no proposals on Irish government had been communicated to him and that he stood by his rejection of home rule, *The Times*, 21 Dec., p. 8a, B. Holland, *The Life of the Duke of Devonshire*, ii. 103; the formal beginning of the liberal split.

³ Outlining the possibilities: liberal support to a conservative government on an Irish measure; the breakdown of the conservatives' alliance with the Irish and their resignation; asking whether he should then serve if the party supported a duly guarded plan of home rule, Morley, iii. 270-2, copy P.R.O. 30/29/22 A.

⁴ See Spencer to Gladstone, 29 Dec., in favour of allowing the conservatives to go on in a minority, copy with covering letter to Granville, P.R.O. 30/29/22 A; and reply, 30 Dec., making a still firmer movement towards bringing the conservative government down and assuming office, Morley, iii. 272-3; Spencer to Granville, 31 Dec., enclosing copy of a further letter to Gladstone, on his 'despair', P.R.O. 30/29/22 A.

reasons, which appear to me good.* Please consider that you know nothing of this.¹

*At the same time I think it would calm some fussiness that exists, if you let it be known to a few that you will be in town and ready for consultation, before the actual meeting.*²

I consider what you told me about Arthur Balfour,³ as perfectly confidential, and have told no one.

1752. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*⁴

Dec. 28. 85.

Thank you for stopping the request to which your letter of yesterday refers. A cabinet does not exist out of office, and no one in his senses could covenant to call *the late cabinet* together, I think, even if there were something on which it was ready to take counsel, which at this moment there is not. On the other hand, you will have seen from my letter that the idea before me has been that of going unusual lengths in the way of consulting beforehand, not only leading men but the party, or undertaking some special obligation to be assured of their concurrence generally, before undertaking new responsibilities.

The one great difficulty in proceeding to consult now, I think, is that we cannot define the situation for ourselves as an essential element of it is the relation between nationalists and Tories, which they—not we—have to settle.

If we meet on Tuesday 12th to choose a Speaker, so far as I can learn, regular business will not begin before the 19th. By the 12th we shall have given ourselves a much better chance of knowing how the two parties stand together; and there will be plenty of time for our consultations. Thus at least I map out the time; pray give me any comments you think required.

I begged you to keep Derby informed; would you kindly do the same with Harcourt. Rosebery goes to London tomorrow.

¹ It was at Harcourt's request; cf. Hartington to Granville, 25 Dec., against a meeting of the liberal ex-cabinet, P.R.O. 30/29/22 A; for Devonshire House meeting, Hartington, Harcourt, Chamberlain, and Dilke, 1 Jan., on Chamberlain's initiative, to agree and then 'bring Mr. Gladstone to book', see Hartington to Granville, 28 Dec., P.R.O. 30/29/22 A, Gwynn and Tuckwell, op. cit. ii. 202-3; Hartington to Gladstone, 1 Jan., asking him to come to London for consultation; and reply, 2 Jan., that he would be available in London, about 4 p.m. 11 Jan., Morley, iii. 273.

² Starred passages printed, Morley, iii. 269.

³ For Gladstone's conversation at Eaton with Balfour on co-operation in settling the Irish problem, see Morley, iii. 259, 284; Gladstone to Balfour, 20 Dec., confirming this overture; and reply, 22 Dec., against treating the Irish question on non-party lines under 'our existing parliamentary system'; and Gladstone's rejoinder, 23 Dec., refusing to say anything about his own views; and Balfour's rejoinder, 28 Dec., acknowledging; Add. MS. 44493, fos. 252, 263, 265, 270.

⁴ No. 1752 is printed, Morley, iii. 269-70, but neither the original nor a copy has been found.

1753. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*¹ [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 287]

Walmer Castle. Dec 28/85.

Many thanks for your important letter & enclosure. I sent them by the early post to Spencer—& to no one else—I was struck with what you say about not challenging Hartington.

It is impulsive and not thought out, but at present the current of feeling is very strong—not only Chamberlain & Hartington, but Harcourt & other colleagues. Among outsiders people such as Northbourne and F. Leveson—Walter James (the son) saying he does not believe the working men in the north would stand concession.

My own opinion is that the safeguard for the minority must be efficient, & that the bribe necessary to satisfy Great Britain whether logical or not, would be to get rid of the Irish Members, the dry rot in the H. of Commons. At our last meeting, you did not seem to be positively adverse.

The plan of procedure when Parliament meets is most important, & I doubt any correspondence on the subject, leading to a result. It must be by personal communication. So I hope you will be able to free a day for coming to London.

1754. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44178, fo. 291]

Walmer Castle. Dec 31/85.

From a letter I have just rec[eive]d from Hartington,² he thinks the 11th will be early enough, but he seems to be meditating some previous communication to you.

Kimberley has written to me the enclosed.³

1755. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 1]

Walmer Castle. Jan 1/86.

In the first place let me ask whether a marriage announced at Hawarden is true.⁴ It has excited us much.

In the second I wish to thank you for your letter.

It seems to me so reasonable that besides sending it to Spencer, I have

¹ No. 1753 printed, Fitzmaurice, ii. 473-4.

² 30 Dec., acknowledging Granville's refusal to come to the Devonshire House meeting which would give its views to Gladstone so that the 11th would be soon enough for wider consultations, P.R.O. 30/29/22 A.

³ To Granville, 28 Dec., urging the avoidance, when parliament met, of premature moves and declarations of Irish policy, P.R.O. 30/29/22 A.

⁴ i.e. the engagement of Mary Gladstone to the Rev. Harry Drew, 25 Dec.; the marriage took place, 2 Feb.

written confidentially to Hartington to tell him, what you say about consultation, the date of it, and the mode of proceeding on the address.

It may save you from being troubled by further communications till the 12th.

Many happy new years. I did not trouble you on your birthday. It might be said of me, as Metternich said of Ld Castlereagh 'Ma foi, c'est bien distingué'.

1756. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 3]

Secret.

Walmer Castle. Jan 2/86.

I return with many thanks your letters to Harcourt.¹

He has sent me a copy of a letter written by him to Spencer. Asking his support of the course which he has taken with respect to Chamberlain and of which he has kept you informed.

He says that the four colleagues would act under your auspices and superintendance, that he & Morley believe in the bona fides of Joe, and that the latter consented to discuss 'a legislative Parliament in Dublin'.²

I send you my answer to him.³

I do not see the bridge over which even the Prince of Opportunists can pass.

But while we are certainly not the people to cross it, it seems to me that it would be a mistake to barricade it against his passage.

1757. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Jan 3. 86.

I cannot thank you enough for your kind and wise activity.

And what a comfort it is to read a letter like Kimberley's. What a mass of good sense compressed into a very small compass without a wasted word.

I conclude you will be in London on the 11th: and I hope to talk over the whole situation with you on that evening.

I have told Hartington that I am due at Lucy's home No 21 C[arlton] H[ouse] T[errace] about four on the 11th.

Pray write to Kimberley as freely as you choose.⁴

¹ Not traced; Harcourt's reply, 4 Jan., complaining that Gladstone had misinterpreted his phrase 'present discontents' as applying to personal or party considerations, suggests that they did not advance the main question, Add. MS. 44200, fo. 1.

² Harcourt to Granville, 1 Jan., not traced.

³ 2 Jan. 1886, on the need to combine Gladstone, Chamberlain, and the Irish party on the basis of an Irish legislative parliament, doubting even then Hartington's support, dated by Fitzmaurice, 1887, and printed, ii. 490-1, P.R.O. 30/29/28 A, fo. 1263.

⁴ Not traced.

I am uneasy about payment of rent in Ireland. Unfortunately no one but the Govt can get to the bottom of the *facts*. It is the greatest, so far as I see, of all the difficulties in the case.

K[imberley]'s letter suggests a reflection: how different is the Cabinet Minister of the older type from him of the newer, as to relations, obligations, attitude. I do not envy the modern men when they have to settle it all among themselves.

John Morley seems to have shown wisdom. I am told Chamberlain has dissolved the alliance.

My wife has written to you about our marriage. *He* is nearly penniless: but a man of high stamp in manners and character, altogether satisfactory to us. She is quite prepared for a change of externals, and I believe please God they will be very happy.

1758. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 5]

Walmer Castle. Jan 7/85 [*sc.* 1886].

I incline also to a smaller number, at all events for the first meeting.

I shall be in London in the middle of the day.¹

1759. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

21, Carlton House Terrace. Jan 18. 86.

The inclosed letter—which I thought it best not to address to Hartington²—is the fruit of your suggestion to me—deal with it at your discretion.

Enclosure³

Copy. Private. 21, Carlton House Terrace. Jan 18. 86.

Hartington writes to me a letter indicating the possibility that on Thursday, while I announce with reasons a policy of silence and reserve, he may feel it his duty to declare his determination to 'Maintain the Legislative Union', that is to proclaim a policy (so I understand the phrase) of absolute resistance without examination to the demand made by Ireland through five sixths of her members.

¹ See Gladstone's postcard, 5 Jan., proposing to cut down the numbers to consult and asking whether Granville would be in London, 11 Jan., P.R.O. 30/29/29 A; the consultations on 11 Jan. were fruitless, see S. Gwynn and G. M. Tuckwell, *The Life of Sir Charles W. Dilke* (1917) ii. 204.

² See Hartington to Gladstone, 15 Jan., as described in paragraph one of the enclosure. Add. MS. 44148, fo. 201; no. 1759 was written in the interval between the meeting of parliament for formalities on 12 Jan. and the Queen's speech, Thurs. 21 Jan.

³ Printed, Morley, iii. 282-3. Hartington abstained from any pronouncement during the debate on the address and only spoke when pressed by Hicks Beach to dissociate himself from the agricultural policy of Collings's amendment.

This is to play the Tory game with a vengeance. They are now, most rashly not to say more, working the Irish question to split the Liberal party.

It seems to me that if a gratuitous declaration of this kind is made it must produce an explosion: and that in a week's time Hartington will have to consider whether he will lead the Liberal party himself or leave it to chaos. He will make my position impossible.

When in conformity with the wishes expressed to me I changed my plans and became a candidate at the General Election, my motives were two

The first: a hope that I might be able to contribute towards some pacific settlement of the Irish question

The second: a desire to prevent the splitting of the party, of which there appeared to be an immediate danger.

The second object has thus far been attained.

But it may at any moment be lost: and the most disastrous mode of losing it, perhaps, would be that now brought into view.

It would be certainly opposed to my convictions and determinations to attempt to lead anything like a *Home Rule Opposition*; and make this subject, the strife of nations, the dividing line between parties.

This being so I do not see how I could, as leader, survive a gratuitous declaration of opposition to me such as Hartington appears to meditate. If he still meditates it, ought not the party to be previously informed?

Pray consider whether you can bring this subject before him, less invidiously than I.

I have explained to you and I believe to him, and I believe you approve, my general idea, that we ought not to join issue with the Government on what is called Home Rule (which indeed the Social state of Ireland may effectually thrust aside for the time): and that still less ought we to join issue among ourselves, if we have a choice, unless and until we are called upon to consider whether or not to take the Government.

I for one will have nothing to do with ruining the party if I can avoid it.

1760. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 6]

18, Carlton House Terrace. Jan 26/86.

Excellent—¹

Either send it to Salisbury, or what would probably be better, have it published this afternoon.

¹ According to the docket, Gladstone's draft tel. replying to a tel. from Athens inviting him to become the champion of Greek claims against Bulgaria, see *The Times*, 26 Jan., p. 9f.

1761. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

21, Carlton House Terrace. Jan 30. 86.

Ponsonby came last night at a quarter after twelve.¹

I am going to work: & first, to see about chief persons available.

Do you know any thing of Derby?²

Consider the inclosed further and come over when convenient.

1762. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 7]

Derby House, St. James's Square. [30 January 1886].

Derby is out, but will be back at one—so probably will call on you a little later.

1763. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*³ [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 8]

18, Carlton House Terrace. Jan 31/86.

On more than one occasion during your last administration, I placed my office at your disposal, in order to facilitate other arrangements—I felt much the encouragement of your answers, and still more the undeserved praise which I heard you had bestowed on me behind my back.

When I told you the other day, to use your discretion where to place me in the manner most advantageous to your Gov, I was in hopes of relieving you from some difficulties.

I was much touched by your reply as to my past career at the F[oreign] O[ffice].

But the language of the Press, has placed me in a different position. The difficulty of leading the House of Lords for a liberal is greater than it ever was. Lord Salisbury will speak with greater authority than he has hitherto done—Lords Iddesleigh, Halsbury and Ashbourne add to his debating forces.

Anything that weakens the authority of the leader would be injurious—This would be the case, if I accepted the position of being a failure, and placed by public opinion in an office of no work, as my fitting place.

The fact that you and Hartington judiciously admitted that there had

¹ i.e. with a verbal request from the Queen to form a government, Salisbury having resigned, 28 Jan., after the defeat on Collings's amendment, 26 Jan.; for the new government including Chamberlain but excluding Hartington, see Gladstone to the Queen, 31 Jan., Guedalla, ii. 387–8, and mins. and correspondence in Add. MS. 44771, fo. 29.

² Derby did not join; Northbrook refused as much on Egyptian as Irish grounds, see B. Mallet, *Thomas George Earl of Northbrook* (1908) 227–32; for Goschen's and Bright's refusals, see Morley, iii. 294; the new government completed by 3 Feb.

³ No. 1763 printed, Fitzmaurice, ii. 481–2.

been faults in the conduct of Foreign affairs, would unavoidably add to the impression that I was especially to blame, and had been accordingly displaced.

My saying this looks as if I insisted upon the F[oreign] O[ffice]. But the contrary is the case.

Even if you thought yourself justified in insisting upon my taking it, I strongly advise you not to do so. Your first object should be to make your Gov as acceptable as possible—which does not appear to be compatible with my taking the F[oreign] O[ffice]—

Pray remember with regard to my holding any office, there are more first rate Peers available, than offices for them to occupy.

I am certain that I could be of great use to you, in following (with greater activity) the lines of Lords Lansdowne & Cranworth when out of office, in public and private support of your Gov.

I believe I might be especially useful in keeping together a party of warm independent supporters.

I have taken 3 days carefully to consider the decision to which I have come—& hope you will not ask me to discuss it with you. The later it is known, except to you & me the better.

[P.S.] I should take the earliest opportunity of making my entire agreement with you known.

1764. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

21, Carlton House Terrace. Jan 31. 86. 11½ Pm.

Your letter, while overflowing with kindness, is the heaviest blow I have yet received during these trying days.

I would simply bow my neck to it, were I not convinced that the decision in its full breadth is a fearful error from your own point of view: and that the main ground of it in certain trumpety newspaper articles, ought not to prevent you from taking some high office (plenty are at your choice) rather less laborious than the Foreign Office which, so far as I know, has never been assumed at the point of life which you have touched (how fearfully this recoils upon me)—That I believe to be the most laborious of all offices in administrative calls. Certainly even if otherwise qualified I could not take it: this I admit not to be conclusive.

If those who agree with me will not join me, it is a terrible impoverishment of resources already too slender. I know how generous your aid from without would be, but it would be without effect: and the *public voice would not ratify your judgment* in the course taken.

I cannot convey this as a final answer to the Queen tomorrow—I will not ask you to discuss it, but I beseech you to reconsider it.

You heard what I said the other day. Now, I accept your view, placed before me of your own motion, so far as the F.O. is concerned. I am convinced the Queen would be most ready to *press you, on the basis of this your spontaneous resignation, to serve her in some other not less high capacity.*

1765. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*¹ [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 16]

18, Carlton House Terrace. Jan 31/86.

There is nothing new in the kindness of your letter.

I believe you underrate the use I might be to you out of the Cabinet. I am sure you overrate that of which I could be in the Cabinet.

I have told you what I think of taking at this moment an office without work.

With regard to others I am quite aware of my deficiencies encreased by age. But I have been out of touch with any of them for years, & I know of none for which I have more aptitude than the F[oreign] O[ffice].

You do not mention that which you would suggest, & would wish me to take.

My letter was written after much consideration, and after consultation with my brother—I cannot, under the pressure of your wish, refuse to talk it over with him tomorrow.

It worries me to think I am adding, to your difficulties instead of diminishing them.

1766. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

21, Carlton House Terrace. Feb 1. 86.

I thank you for opening the door.

The offices open are: every office except those devoted by their character to the House of Commons. Presidency of Council has probably too little to do: India is great, the Colonies you know & you have there the best memories of success.

Much reference will in any case be made to you & much authority attach to you in Foreign Affairs.

But what I am looking to is in your invaluable aid in the different manipulations of all kinds that are before me.

I rely on your favourable consideration of this prayer.²

¹ No. 1765 printed, Fitzmaurice, ii. 482.

² See Granville to Gladstone, tel. 1 Feb., 'I retain my opinion but agree to your wish', Add. MS. 44179, fo. 20.

1767. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 21]
18, Carlton House Terrace. [1 February 1886].

This letter¹ is open to 2 answers, but I suppose it is hardly worth while. It is curious that he admits the advantage of a Parliament for Irish affairs at the proper time.

1768. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 24]
18, Carlton House Terrace. 2 Feb. 86.²

Harcourt, Spencer & D. Grosvenor agree with me in choosing Rosebery.³

He is in town, probably at your marriage.

1769. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
Mentmore, Leighton Buzzard. Feb. 6. 86.

We have just come here for a little rest.

One word to thank you for the immense assistance you have given me this week.⁴

I hope you will not knock up.

I write also for the purpose of telling you what I have just heard from Lady Rosebery viz. that Lord Clifford of Chudleigh—hitherto I apprehend a Tory family—is a stout Liberal, indeed Radical. She is seeking confirmatory evidence but thinks what she has is pretty good. I thought you would like to know it without delay.

I could not bear to conceive myself in a Cabinet without you.

A long letter from Argyll⁵—no good. He & Lorne stand off from one another in politics.

¹ i.e. the Duke of Westminster to Granville, 31 Jan., refusing office as master of the horse and, without mentioning home rule, announcing his difficulty in continuing to support Gladstone, Add. MS. 44179, fo. 22.

² The date is added in Gladstone's hand.

³ As secretary of state for foreign affairs.

⁴ For Granville's assistance in filling the household offices between 8 and 21 Feb., see letters to him accepting office from Kenmare (lord chamberlain), Elgin (treasurer), Suffield (master of the buckhounds), Monson (capt. Yeomen of the Guard), Houghton, Lawrence, Methuen, Ribblesdale, Thurlow (lords-in-waiting); and letters refusing office from Alcester, Arran, Auckland, Breadalbane (but see no. 1807), Chesham, Fife, Lingen, Powerscourt, and Vernon; and correspondence with Sydney, P.R.O. 30/29/213; see also Add. MS. 44771, fos. 29-62 *passim*.

⁵ Of 5 Feb., not in Add. MS. 44106.

1770. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 25]

Colonial Office. Feb 8/86.

Thanks for your kind little note.

Lady Rosebery is quite right—Clifford has been quite with us, and is on the Whip's list.

The Queen was personally civil, & only alluded to the difficulties of our task.

She is troublesome about her Lords. One talks too much, the other is too silent.

Sudeley has accepted Gentlemen at Arms. So has Houghton the Lordship, so has Methuen. She approves of offers to Vernon & Powerscourt.

Chesham refuses Buckhounds. Wenlock has not yet answered. She makes difficulties about Ribblesdale.

Thurlow claims promotion (Treasurer) which you are willing to give. She objects because he is so pleasant a Lord—to Elgin because he is not talkative.

She wishes to keep Sandhurst whom Campbell Bannerman requires as undersecretary. I have told her that that is his and your selection.

I hope to have a complete list for you tomorrow. I consider that I have nothing to do with Household in the Commons.

Could you write a line to Carlingford.¹ Nothing more difficult. He is at Mentone.

1771. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Private.

Mentmore, Leighton Buzzard. Feb 9. 86.

I wrote to Carlingford yesterday.²

Certainly Sandhurst³ is booked for the War Office.

Household in the House of Commons will I hope be Marjoribanks and Spencer (accepted) and W. Compton⁴ under offer.

Can we get Wolverton to be of use in maintaining rather more communication with the Metropolitan Press than we have had on former occasions?

¹ Cf. Granville to Carlingford, 8 Feb., saying that Gladstone would have made an offer of a high office had he expected acceptance, but neither he nor Spencer could assure Gladstone of this, P.R.O. 30/29/213.

² 7 Feb., explaining that he had not offered him office since he did not know his opinion on Irish home rule and he was beyond speedy and safe communication, Add. MS. 44123, fo. 251.

³ Appointed parliamentary under-secretary for war.

⁴ Appointed comptroller of the household and groom-in-waiting; Compton declined the vice-chamberlainship and Kilcourse was appointed, Add. MS. 44494, fos. 167, 199, 218.

1772. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 29]
Feb. 10. 86.

I see no objection to this letter¹ being published—and it is a very good one.

It will be a question for you to consider whether you will take the next step of communicating with Parnell, before any meeting of the Cabinet.²

1773. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/213]
Imme[diat]e]. 10, Downing Street. Feb 11. 86.

I write to you to suggest that the question of the subsidy³ is one which is specially in *the first instance* for the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

I do not see why it should be urgent? I should have thought quite the reverse.

I will avoid poisoning Harcourt's mind but to me the proposal seems open to much objection.

The Company is weak—propped by the Govt.

A new subsidy is a step in the direction opposed to that we have been long pursuing.

It might open the door to a new course of subsidies.

To appoint a Committee would as I understand you accept the principle.

1774. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 30]
Colonial Office. [12 February 1886].

St Albans will call on you at 3.30.

In stating to him that you & the Queen have agreed to ask the Duchess to be Mistress of the Robes and that she has probably heard from H.My. I would not suggest any necessity for explanation until he raises a difficulty.⁴

It would be worth your while to read the extract marked with a pencil in Lowell's letter,⁵ which I enclose.

Please tell Primrose to tell me, what I should say to John Hamilton.⁶

¹ i.e. Gladstone to Lord de Vesci, 12 Feb., inviting opinions from all classes in Ireland on land legislation, and covering letter proposing publication; see reply, 13 Feb., agreeing but asking for simultaneous publication of his answer; and exchange of tels., 15 Feb., agreeing on consecutive publication; and memoranda from landlords, land agents, and farmers which resulted; Add. MS. 44494, fos. 72, 233–96 *passim*; Add. MS. 44495 *passim*.

² John Morley, not Gladstone, negotiated, see Morley, iii. 304–6; for first meeting of the new cabinet, 15 Feb., see Add. MS. 44647, fo. 3.

³ i.e. to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company's proposal for running a line of steamers, see note of contents in Add. MS. 44548, fo. 51.

⁴ The Duchess of Roxburghe had declined, see to Gladstone, 8 Feb., and mins. on it by Gladstone and Granville, 11 Feb., Add. MS. 44494, fo. 193; see also from Sydney, 11 Feb., forwarding the Queen's proposal of the Duchess of St. Albans, P.R.O. 30/29/213.

⁵ Not traced.

⁶ Not traced.

1775. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/213]

10, Downing Street. Feb. 12. 86.

I am sorry to say the St. [i.e. St. Albans] declines. *He* was not unfriendly; wishes to do his best for us; but regrets her wholly alien & averse to a Court appointment. Then we went upon Ireland: I took the ground of my address, said all would be free to accept or reject our results, but said we had a moral claim on persons interested in Ireland & desirous of an amendment there. This he rather admitted. I told him that as to Ireland I would urge him to consider the matter. But then he always fell back upon the other subject & said it would be of no use to open the subject for consideration with the Duchess.

I cannot quite understand why Duchess of Leinster is out of the question.

1776. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44179, fo. 32]

Colonial Office. Feb 14/86.

I had a talk with Halifax. I mentioned no office—but found him disinclined to take any though friendly to you & the Gov.

Will you write to the Duchess of Leinster, or do you like me to do so.

1777. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. Feb. 14. 86.

I return Ponsonby's letter,¹ and the Duchess of Leinster is so old a friend, & has always been so singularly kind to me, that I have at once written to her.²

I inclose to you a note from Selborne on the Crawford case:³ and I am grieved to say that I can perceive no answer to his argument.

I have known one other case of miscarriage not less incongruous *in that Court*, without the presence of those secondary motives which are in this instance conceivable.

It is not quite easy to conceive why the husband should acquiesce in being mulcted of the costs.

¹ Not traced.

² 14 Feb., offering the mistress-ship of the robes, Add. MS. 44494, fo. 251; see no. 1780.

³ To Gladstone, 14 Feb., that Mrs. Crawford's petition should have been dismissed, Add. MS. 44298, fo. 205; for *Crawford v. Crawford*, see S. Gwynn and G. M. Tuckwell, *The Life of Sir Charles W. Dilke* (1917) ii. 165–80; J. L. Garvin, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain* (1933) ii. 41–52; *The Times*, 13 Feb., p. 12a–d for hearing of 12 Feb. and decree nisi granted to Mrs. Crawford.

1778. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 33]
Colonial Office. Feb 15/86.

I had not read the evidence when I saw you.

Dilke seems to me to have a right to say

'I had to choose between deciding for myself, or putting myself entirely into the hands of my legal friends.

If I did the latter, I could not do so by halves.

The evidence of an excited woman could not be proof against me without corroboration.

I could not foresee that any validity would be given to it, by its being ruled as sufficient to establish the fact against himself [*sic*].'

It is difficult to understand, why James should have volunteered the suggestion that Dilke was not a moral man.

I am glad to see that Selborne thinks the decision against him was wrong.

It appears to me to be odd, that the repeating by an interested party of a tête à [*sic*] tête conversation, without corroboration, should be sufficient ground for a divorce which probably both parties desired.

As to the husband it is possible that . . . may have said to him if your object is vengeance do not be satisfied with the line I suggest. But remember that if you force a strong witness into the box, the end may be, his acquittal and your being saddled with your wife.

1779. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*¹ [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
Secret. 10, Downing Street. Feb. 15. 86.

Please ask (*as for yourself*)

1. Whether the general rule of our chief Colonies is to have *dual* Legislative Chambers.

2. Whether the second is in some cases nominated, in some elective—what are the examples of each—and which is found preferable.

3. If elective—is it by a different constituency? for a longer term?

4. What are the cases if any of one Chamber only and is the system found to work well?

1780. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 37]
10, Downing Street. Feb. 16. 86.

I do not feel sure that this *no*² must be taken as final? Would the Queen do anything? It is not a very strong refusal.³

¹ See Granville's min. of instruction to secure the information asked for in no. 1779, Add. MS. 44179, fo. 42; and mem. by R. H. Meade, 15 Feb., on colonial legislatures, Add. MS. 44632, fo. 36.

² See the Duchess of Leinster to Gladstone, 15 Feb., declining, on grounds of health, the mistress-ship of the robes, Add. MS. 44494, fo. 258.

³ No. 1781 follows here on the same sheet which Granville returned.

1781. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 37]
[16 February 1886.]

I am afraid the Queen likes to take the initiative when sure of an acceptance, but not when there is a good chance of a refusal.

Could you not try a further argument, on the only objection she raises.¹ Putting some stress on the public assistance it would give you.

1782. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*² [P.R.O. 30/29/213]
10, Downing Street. Mch 5. 86.

I have proposed one or two substitutions in your Zulu Draft:³ the sense is that of further mitigation and leaving matters open, rather than any substantial change. I am glad to see Bulwer has made some concession. I hope he is to have a good successor.

1783. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 43]
Colonial Office. [5 March 1886].

Thanks for improvements in the Zulu draft.

I believe Bulwer does not like my draft.

Sir Arthur Havelock⁴ his successor is said to be a good man.

They want to have Lorne at the Cape—& he seems to be biting at it. I think he would do as successor to Sir Hercules [Robinson].

1784. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*⁵ [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 46]
18, Carlton House Terrace. March 11/86.

Wolverton asked me to tell you the labourers R.R. [i.e. representatives]

¹ See Gladstone to the Duchess of Leinster, 16 Feb., that her health would not suffer, since the Duchesses of Bedford and Roxburghe would act at court functions, Add. MS. 44494, fo. 268; the refusal was maintained and the office not filled, the Duchess of Bedford acting; cf. also Add. MS. 44179, fos. 39, 40.

² Exchanges between Gladstone and Granville, 16 Feb., against the retention of Dongola and on the difficulty of finding sufficient lords-in-waiting and suggesting Lord Kensington, further letter from Granville on mistress-ship of the robes, 22 Feb., Add. MS. 44179, fo. 40, not printed.

³ See draft No. 5, 13 Mar., on the land claims of Boer settlers in Zululand with mins. 4 Mar., replying to dispatch No. 6, 1 Feb., printed, *Parl. papers* (1887) lxi. 438, 446; see also mins. 4-6 Mar. on dispatch, confidential, 25 Jan. C.O. 179/163.

⁴ Appointed governor of Natal, 12 Sept. 1885, but did not take up his duties until February 1886.

⁵ Gladstone to Granville, 9 Mar., asking whether he should recommend Arthur Gordon (who had spoken in agreement with his Irish policy) for a peerage; and affirmative reply, Add. MS. 44179, fo. 44, not printed.

are most anxious about a registration bill, and that it would be most popular if one could be introduced. Shall I speak to Harcourt about it.¹

Beauchamp wishes to know when he will be relieved from the Paymastership.²

You said you would take the Queen's pleasure.

H. Ponsonby says that the first letter to you was caused by a misreading of a telegram, which she thought gave a majority to Labouchere, and by an erroneous summary of your speech. She was much relieved when she read the full report.³

1785. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/213]

10, Downing Street. Mch 15. 86.

Waddington spoke to me about the Newfoundland affair⁴ and the seeming hesitation or reluctance of the Colony. He thinks the speedy closing of it very important for good international feeling.

He hinted that some compliment or honour to some little great man in the Colony might oil the wheels. I should be glad to contribute in any fair manner to this solution.

He lamented the absence of the Gov[erno]r.

1786. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 48]

Private.

Colonial Office. March 17/86.

I am sorry to hear that Bright was talking in a very hostile sense to our principles yesterday evening. But more logical than some of our friends, he is ready for coercion.

1787. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. Mch 20. 86.

Though I believe it will bore you immensely, I must petition of you to read a paper herewith sent in the rough, which I have prepared for

¹ For Registration of Electors bill, prepared by Stansfeld at the end of the last administration and not introduced, see Add. MS. 44633, fo. 65; and Stansfeld to Gladstone, 29 July 1885, Add. MS. 44498, fo. 292.

² Replaced by Thurlow, 3 Apr., see Thurlow to Gladstone, 27 Mar., Add. MS. 44496, fo. 83.

³ For Gladstone's report, 5 Mar., of the Commons' debate on Labouchere's resolution for the abolition of the Lords; the Queen's reply, 6 Mar.; Gladstone's full report, 6 Mar.; the Queen's second letter, 7 Mar.; and Gladstone's full statement on the Lords and the radicals, 8 Mar., see Guedalla, ii. 394-9, *Letters*, 3rd series, i. 72-77.

⁴ Arising from Canada's contesting the American right to fish in North American waters and conflicting interpretations of the treaty of 1818.

transmission to the Queen:¹ encouraged by the precedent of the Memorandum² I sent to her on the Franchise in 1884.

I have had a long conversation with Bright, not unhopeful.

1788. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 49]

Colonial Office. March 20/86.

Thanks for the great intellectual pleasure you have given me.

If the Queen reads it from beginning to end, which I think she will do, it must have some effect upon her. I should like to shorten the memo, but I do not see what can be well left out.

On the contrary I should like a passage accentuating still more the retention of all the powers of naval & military defence a subject which would have an effect on her.

The memo is certainly not indiscreet as to the details of your plan.

1789. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 51]

Colonial Office. March 20/86.

I am delighted to hear about Bright.

I asked Ld Morley to tell me what he knew of possible resignations.³

He knew nothing, but added 'You know, I am not quite certain about myself[']'.

But he admitted fully the strength of my argument as to what possible alternatives there were—and he said that he should certainly consult me, before taking any step.

His manner was more favorable than otherwise.

I can reopen the question, when you want to know, whether he will stay or not.

Would Whitbread notwithstanding health, consent to take office during a great crisis, with a clear but secret understanding that he was to retire, when it is over.⁴

¹ For draft mem., seen by Granville, Bright, and Spencer, see Add. MS. 44772, fo. 157; see also Gladstone to the Queen, 23 Mar., sending the mem., Guedalla, ii. 399 and *Letters*, 3rd series, i. 84; and mem., partly printed, *Letters*, loc. cit., 85–89.

² See nos. 1381, 1383, 1385, 1388, 1392.

³ For second cabinet of the administration, 13 Mar., at which Gladstone outlined an Irish land bill and the home rule bill, see Add. MS. 44647, fo. 35, and Morley, iii, 301–2; for correspondence on Chamberlain's and Trevelyan's resignations 15–27 Mar., see Add. MS. 44126, fos. 152–64; Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 94–99; and discussion in the cabinet, 26 Mar., Add. MS. 44647, fo. 56; for Lord Morley's own resignation, 8 Apr., see nos. 1803, 1804.

⁴ Sentence scored down the side with the heavy stroke and black ink normally used by Gladstone; Whitbread refused the succession to Chamberlain at the Local Govt. Board, but see no. 1798.

1790. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. [20 March 1886].

In sending you this note¹ from Ponsonby about Ribblesdale, I want to present to you what I think a sound doctrine.

Apart from any special circumstances, such as known opinions & pledges, or perhaps connection with Ireland, I am inclined to hold the sound doctrine to be this: that Peers not in the Cabinet, if adverse to our intentions about Ireland or doubtful upon them, should take no step on our declaration or proceedings in the House of Commons but should—at the very least consistently may—wait until they see what becomes of the proposals & what shape they assume & until they are called upon to act with the Government in the House of Lords as Peers.

I have always [held] this as to non-Cabinet men in H. of Commons.

1791. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

[20 March 1886.]

I am afraid this principle will not apply to Ribblesdale, who says that he never accepted at all.

Though I do not understand what he can have written to Sir Charles [Tennant], which deluded him into assuring Herbert Gladstone that it was all right, if he could represent a Dept.²

Or why when he got my telegram, he intimated no dissent, but said he would start in a week.

He has given up his intention of making a public statement, & I think the best course will be to tell him that some one else in our time, will be appointed in his place.

1792. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*³ [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Mch 20/86.

Cannot Tennant be challenged to make good his warranty?

Could not Sandhurst, as a friend, work upon him? If not—I agree with you.⁴

¹ Of 19 Mar., reporting Ribblesdale's wish not to serve as lord-in-waiting, not traced.

² See to Granville from Tennant, 11 Feb., from Herbert Gladstone, 23 Feb., from Ponsonby, 28 Feb., from Ribblesdale, 27 Mar., for the offer of lordship-in-waiting, the assurances and Ribblesdale's assertion that he had not accepted, P.R.O. 30/29/213; and no. 1795.

³ Granville to Primrose, 20 Mar., asking him to bring four names, submitted for colonial knighthoods, to Gladstone's attention, Add. MS. 44179, fo. 54, not printed; no. 1792 is written below no. 1791 on the same sheet which Gladstone returned.

⁴ Nothing was done.

1793. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 58]
Colonial Office. March 21/86.

Would it not be convenient, after Spencer has communicated with [Sir Robert] Hamilton, that we should have a little oral discussion on some of these points.¹

1794. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 59]
Colonial Office. March 21/86.

The 'want of finality' argument used by Spencer has considerable weight.²

Otherwise the subsequent minutes do not much weaken my first opinion.

The tactical advantages are put by Spencer and Morley even at a higher value, than I had put on them.

I do not agree with Harcourt's unfavorable view of these advantages.

A reduction to 60 millions will not reconcile everyone to the principle, but with many the amount of the sum would make a great difference.

Would all who might agree say to 20, millions do so as to 200, millions.

A large number of Landlords will object to the scheme, even if they come under it, after it has passed into a law.

But of those who are really anxious to sell, the greater number will believe that by early applications they will secure their object.

1795. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]
10, Downing Street. Mch 22. 86.

1. I am taken aback and somewhat disgusted with Ribblesdale's letter dated *March 20*.³ before I saw and conversed with him.

2. As the Queen is coming to London I hold over at any rate till tomorrow.⁴

3. Hampden is in tone most satisfactory but has fears on the ground of health. I am grieved to say he does not look well. He will let me know. I told him it would be good for us that he should accept now, even if in six months he were to resign by reason of health.⁵

¹ Raised by Chamberlain on the scheme for Irish land purchase in the cabinet, 13 Mar., and circulated in a mem. for cabinet comment, Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 190-2, Add. MS. 44632, fo. 47, Add. MS. 44647, fo. 35; see also no. 1839; for discussions in informal committee, Granville, Spencer, John Morley, and Gladstone, 14, 18 Mar., and with Harcourt, 20, 22, 23 Mar., see Add. MS. 44647, fos. 38-51.

² Spencer's and subsequent mins. on Chamberlain's mem., not traced.

³ Not traced; see p. 435, n. 2.

⁴ i.e. he held back the mem. on the two bills for Ireland, see nos. 1787, 1788.

⁵ Gladstone to Hampden, 22 Mar., offered the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster *vice* E. Heneage, whose resignation was accepted; see also p. 438, n. 2.

1796. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. Mch 22. 86.

1. I think of sending my Memorandum to the Queen today.
2. I have arrived at the conclusion that the cutting down of the figure in the Land Bill will be a good Parliamentary measure quite apart from any difficulties with reluctant colleagues.¹
3. I laid before Ribblesdale (and Lady R.) my doctrine, and I understood [it] to be a question of resigning not declining. He can I should think be made to understand that there may be others in the same situation with himself; that he will have plenty of opportunity to consider & consult, & that premature action would embarrass them & tend to force their hands. It seems he thought we went too much against the Landlords in 1881: but now we are principally assailed because too much *for* the Landlords.
4. What shall I say to the silly question of Howard Vincent?² (return). [P.S.] Before seeing you this evening at 6, I shall have seen Trevelyan.
5. A. Gordon. Shall we in due time receive his defence?³

1797. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44179, fo. 62]

18, Carlton House Terrace. [22 March 1886].

1. All serene.
2. I have confidence in your judgment.
3. Ribblesdale promised me not to write to the papers and to make no public announcement. There is an announcement in the Times today,⁴ which however may not be his.
There is also a long letter from him.⁵
I wrote *yesterday* evening to ask him what was the result of his conversation with you.
I have not yet had an answer.
4. I have drafted an answer to Vincent⁶ and have sent it to Herbert, for his criticism.
5. I will speak to you about Gordon. I prepared an enquiry to him—

¹ See p. 436, n. 1, and no. 1794.

² For the Commons, whether the opportunity of the colonial exhibition would be taken to assemble a conference for the consideration of imperial federation.

³ The case of *Bryce v. Rusden*, tried 4–12 Mar., was a libel action in which the judge commented severely (*The Times*, 13 Mar., p. 5f) on the part played by Arthur Gordon, who passed hearsay information to Rusden on which Rusden based his derogatory remarks about Bryce, as minister for natives, in his *History of New Zealand*.

⁴ Of the resignation of his lordship-in-waiting coupled with departmental work at the Home Office, owing to distrust of the government's policy, *The Times*, 22 Mar., p. 9f.

⁵ See Ribblesdale to Granville, 22 Mar., with note by Spencer 'a very unsatisfactory letter from a self-confident man', P.R.O. 30/29/213.

⁶ A conciliatory but negative reply basing the refusal on the government's not having a plan to submit to such a conference, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccciii, 22 Mar., 1500–1.

but Herschell (a friend of his, who said he had been quite [word omitted at the beginning of the new leaf] by what appeared in the brief, which he had received) & Kimberley agreed with me that for various reasons, I had better not send the enquiry but wait for his probable defence.

There can be no complete answer to his having sent in a private letter to a writer, accusations against one of his own ministers, for publication.

But he may show that it was the Bishop who misled him.

I will come to you this evening.

1798. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Immed[iate]. 10, Downing Street. Mch 25. 86.

I have asked Rosebery to speak to you about the Scotch Office.¹

Heneage I rather think will hold himself bound (as in truth he is) to await the full disclosure of the plans.²

Whitbread is in spirit all I could wish. He quite understands that labour would not be expected of him. But he says he thinks he can do much for us as a back bench man, & could do nothing were he to change to the front.³

I did not give in but *I* can do no more with him I fear.

It is a great thing 1. to avoid complications & manifold change 2. to act rapidly.

I own I should not be sorry to take Dalhousie for the Scotch Office. Rosebery says rightly there is no case of necessity whatever for putting it into the Cabinet which is very Scotch.

And viewing all the uncertainty & complexity about Bright, I think (failing Whitbread) we should consider further before finally rejecting Stansfeld for Local Govt.⁴ He knows the Dept.

Marjoribanks might replace Heneage when he goes. Or Sir H. Vivian if willing.

I am fast in bed but Clark thinks I may be fit for Cabinet tomorrow.

1799. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 67]

Colonial Office. March 25/86.

I enclose a letter from Dalhousie⁵ written in answer to one I sent him

¹ Resigned by Trevelyan; see note by Rosebery for Gladstone, 'Lord Granville and I in our conversation of yesterday came to different conclusions', with mins. by Gladstone, Harcourt, Spencer, on the Scotch Office, Add. MS. 44772, fo. 33.

² See Heneage to Gladstone, 23 Mar., agreeing to wait for the announcement of the land bill before effectively resigning the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster; and, 9 Apr., finally resigning, Add. MS. 44496, fos. 25, 196; replaced by Sir U. Kay-Shuttleworth.

³ See p. 434, n. 4.

⁴ Stansfeld replaced Chamberlain after some hesitation on both sides.

⁵ Of 20 Mar., thanking for Granville's intimation of Gladstone's readiness to give him office and saying he was willing to serve, P.R.O. 30/29/213; cf. Dalhousie to Gladstone, 24 Mar., promising 'hearty support' from an independent position, Add. MS. 44496, fo. 34.

a month ago, informing him that you had been most anxious to offer him office, but were prevented by circumstances of time & space.

I will try and see Rosebery this evening.

Harcourt & Morley were strong before you joined us, as to Stansfield [*sic*] giving no strength.

I am glad that Clark thinks you will be all right tomorrow.¹

1800. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Imme[di]ate]. 10, Downing Street. Mch 26. 86.

If D[alhousesie] refuses what do you say to E[lgin]?² I believe it would be advantageous in comparison with the cumbrous and complex arrangements necessary in case of keeping to the H. of Commons.

1801. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 69]

C[olonial] O[ffice]. March 26/86.

I will call on you tomorrow morning. I venture to hope you will not settle anything accepting Stansfeld, till I see you.³

1802. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. Mch 27. 86.

I sent down, too late to catch you & S[pencer]. I wanted to ask whether any note from me to Elgin can be of use?⁴

[P.S.] I only learned last night that D[alhousesie] is the bosom friend of J. Morley.

1803. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/213]

Urgent. 10, Downing Street. Ap. 9. 86.

What do you advise on this?⁵ Clearly he ought to wait—& if *he* goes

¹ For the cabinet, 26 Mar., in which the discussion of the two Irish bills was completed and Chamberlain's and Trevelyan's resignations precipitated, see p. 434, n. 3.

² Cf. Gladstone to Rosebery, 24 Mar., consulting on whether to offer the Scottish office to Dalhousie *vice* Trevelyan, Add. MS. 44548, fo. 63.

³ Cf. Stansfeld to Gladstone, 24 Mar., hesitating about accepting the Local Govt. Board for fear of differences arising over Irish policy, but saying he would not oppose Gladstone, Add. MS. 44496, fo. 44.

⁴ Elgin acted, before Trevelyan resigned, as spokesman for Scotland in the Lords; on Lord Dalhousie's appointment, Granville offered him instead representation of the Treasury, which he only accepted after Gladstone had written, 27 Mar., Add. MS. 44548, fo. 65.

⁵ i.e. Lord Morley to Gladstone, 9 Apr., resigning the Board of Works when leave to introduce the home rule bill into the Commons was asked, 8 Apr., despite Gladstone's doctrine (no. 1790) that official peers should wait before resigning until it came to the Lords, Add. MS. 44496, fo. 200.

now we shall have all the fat in the fire in the House of Lords. You will find me here at 4 $\frac{3}{4}$.

His case is not even like Heneage's, who has made public declarations.

If you think I had better be *first* to see him (but I think perhaps I ought rather to be last) I would do it tomorrow morning.

1804. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*¹ [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 71]

Colonial Office. April 9/86.

I am sorry to say I have utterly failed with Morley.

I used every argument, and at last said, that while in accepting office, he had not sacrificed his liberty of action, for which he indeed had stipulated, yet that his taking one of the places meant the Cabinet [*sic*] did impose upon him the obligation of retiring in the manner most agreeable to you, more especially as it committed him to nothing, and as it was impossible to say what might happen, or if the bill came to the Lords, in what shape it might come. He did not argue but was as firm as a rock.

I insisted upon his saying nothing till he heard from you, & though I do not think there is much chance of success, I hope you will ask him to call on you.

1805. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44548, fo. 69]

[Copy] Imme[di]ate. [10 April 1886.]

Sydney tells Spencer that there are 3 or 4 who reserve themselves for 'the vote' on the Irish Bill. This is at any rate (whatever it may mean) more rational. If Cork's case is still open, had not he better do the like?

1806. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. Ap 10. 86.

I have written, & have also named 2.30.² You will I dare say be in the offing. Is Elgin the right man to succeed?

1807. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 74]

[10 April 1886.]

Elgin, I heard, was so angry about Dalhousie, that he meant to follow

¹ Granville to Gladstone, 9 Apr., saying that Vivian had said he would vote against the home rule bill, but urging that the offer of the secretaryship of the Local Govt. Board *vice* Jesse Collings might possibly make a change, Add. MS. 44179, fo. 70, not printed.

² i.e. for conversation with Lord Morley, see Morley to Gladstone, 10 Apr., accepting the invitation; and second letter, adhering to his resignation, despite the conversation, Add. MS. 44496, fos. 212, 214.

the lead, if any official in the Lords gave the example. But[,] if in time[,] the offer may keep him.

How about a Member of the House of Commons.

Cork has written to tell me that he has written to you.¹

Breadalbane, Sefton or Tweeddale might do. I believe any of them would accept.

I shall be at the Col. Office—at 3—I have an engagement before.

1808. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/213]

Secret & immediate.

10, Downing Street. Ap 10. 86.

1. Morley persists. Pray communicate with Elgin.² There is no eminently desirable member of H of C on whom we can rely conveniently.

2. *If* you consider Cork's letter as final, pray choose between the three you name. In that case I ought to write to him.

3. I write to Borlase to succeed Jesse Collings.³

1809. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44179, fo. 76]

Colonial Office. April 12/86.

You know how strong I am on the point⁴ you have told Spencer to mention to Kimberley & me.

If we had retained the Irish Members there would have been a howl, and I believe no one excepting Chamberlain for obvious reasons, is anxious to retain them.

I doubt whether if a concession were made, we should not hear that it was pointed out as an inconsistency but that their retention aggravated the horrible state of things we were proposing.

Anything like a change of front appears at this moment to be dangerous but you are the best judge on this point.

I have never objected to a small representation either of the Irish Parliament or of the 2 orders, or of the 4 provinces, if the number is small

¹ See Cork to Gladstone, [10 Apr.] resigning the mastership of the horse, Add. MS. 44496, fo. 208; he was not replaced and continued nominally in office until Aug.

² Granville to Elgin, offering the Board of Works *vice* Lord Morley, not traced, but see Elgin to Granville, 12 Apr., accepting, P.R.O. 30/29/213.

³ See Gladstone to Borlase, 10 Apr., offering the secretaryship of the Local Govt. Board, Add. MS. 44548, fo. 68; and reply, 11 Apr., accepting, Add. MS. 44496, fo. 200.

⁴ i.e. the exclusion of Irish members from Westminster on which Gladstone kept an open mind, Granville, Spencer, and Kimberley insisted and Parnell agreed; not discussed in the cabinet until 4 May, after the introduction of the Government of Ireland bill, Add. MS. 44647, fo. 93.

enough to prevent their obstructing business, or upsetting Govts. Anything like 20, appears to me to be fatal.

But if you think an intimation before the debate on the 2d reading is necessary, Kimberley & I would not object if it is sufficiently guarded, and if you have our reservations in mind.

1810. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 81]

Colonial Office. April 12/86.

I have asked him¹ to call on me at 11.

Sydney hears that there is a chance of Thurlow doing the same.

Elgin will hold the Household place or not, just as may be most convenient to you.²

Is it possible that a hint has been given of a wish.

1811. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 82]

Colonial Office. April 12/86.

I have seen Cork.

He says it was with great pain, that he came to the conclusion that he could not support your bill. He thought it fair to give you the earliest information of this decision, & he has done the same to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

Although rather afraid of misconstruction arising from his resignation not being announced at once, he would wish to act in the manner which would be most agreeable to you, whom he has served so long, and for whom he has so great a respect. But you should understand that the delay in the announcement does not suppose any support or countenance from him to the bill of which he is forced to disapprove.

1812. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. Ap 13. 86.

I hope you will induce Methuen³ to get into Cork's boat, at least.

Many thanks for your letter & Kimberley's mem. of last night.

¹ i.e. Lord Cork; see p. 441, n. 1, and no. 1820; see also Gladstone to Cork, 12 Apr., thanking him for the considerate way in which he had acted, Add. MS. 44548, fo. 70.

² Elgin continued to hold the office of treasurer of the household with the Board of Works.

³ See Methuen to Gladstone, 12 Apr., resigning his lordship-in-waiting because he could not support the home rule bill, P.R.O. 30/29/29 A; he was not replaced and continued nominally in office until Aug., see Gladstone to Methuen, 12 Apr., Add. MS. 44548, fo. 70; see no. 1820.

1813. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 84]

Colonial Office. April 13/86.

I have seen Methuen. He is most unhappy about any question of separation from one whom he has long served, and for whom he has so much respect.

It was out of a feeling of delicacy that he sent in his resignation, in consequence of his not approving our bill. But he would be glad if you would consider the letter which he has sent not as a letter of resignation, but as a warning of what he may possibly have to do.

1814. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 86]

Colonial Office. April 13/86.

Suffield asked me to hand you his resignation.

After some conversation he agreed to change it into an intimation.

1815. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 87]

[? 14 April 1886.]

Even such decided home rulers as you & I, find it is pleasanter dealing with Scotsmen than Irishmen.

I send you Elgin's letter.¹

I had written one to you to which Cork had agreed, but at the last moment he jibbed, and insisted upon taking it with him. I am afraid to his wife.

The letter confirms the resignation but leaves it to you to decide the time for the announcement.

1816. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44548, fo. 71]

[Copy]

10, Downing Street. Ap: 16. 86.

I have a fear lest Sir G. Dasent should be applying for May's place conceiving of it as a place of dignity and semi-repose.² Can you re-assure me on this?

I think his application is one fit to receive most serious consideration, though the question is difficult & may have to be decided another way.

[P.S.] He speaks in his note of the devotion 'of all his energies'. But you, having seen him, will be better able to judge.

¹ See p. 441, n. 2.

² See Dasent to Gladstone, 13 Apr., asking for the succession to Sir Erskine May (who retired) as clerk to the Commons, and promising to devote all his energies to the work, Add. MS. 44496, fo. 243; see no. 1818.

1817. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 89]

Colonial Office. April 16/86.

Suffield now denies that he even consented to postpone his resignation—& asks me to place it in your hands. I have told him, that I presume he will not announce it, till he hears from you.¹

1818. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 90]

Colonial Office. April 18/86.

Bright was wrong when he once said, that it was impossible to announce agreeably a disagreeable thing.

Dasent was delighted with your letter.²

Chamberlain told him yesterday that he was going immediately to Birmingham, that Schnadhorst required looking after.³

I hear, though without details, that the malcontent Peers' meeting with Derby & Hartington was incredibly flat.⁴

If you have anything to say to me, please direct to the Col. Office.

1819. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Ap 20. 86.

1. I inclose letters⁵ for your perusal.

2. Chamberlain is endeavouring to extort terms from me. You will I am sure trust me in the matter: notwithstanding the figments of the P[all] M[all] Gazette.

[P.S.] Dasent has behaved extremely well: & whenever a kind word can be said you are sure to say it.

¹ See Suffield to Granville, 15 Apr., resigning the mastership of the buckhounds; reply, 16 Apr., as here reported; and Suffield to Granville, 16 Apr., regretting inadvertent announcement, P.R.O. 30/29/213; not replaced and continued nominally in office until Aug.; for Kenmare's resignation of the lord chamberlainship of the household and his similar continuation in office, see to Granville and to Gladstone, 5 May, P.R.O. 30/29/213 and Add. MS. 44497, fo. 127.

² 17 Apr., regretting that, while not disparaging Dasent's many qualities, he could not offer him the clerkship of the Commons, Add. MS. 44548, fo. 71; see also R. D. Palgrave to Gladstone, 20 Apr., accepting the succession to May, Add. MS. 44496, fo. 277.

³ On Chamberlain's defeat, 21 Apr., of Schnadhorst's attempt to control the Birmingham liberal association over home rule, see Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 212-13, J. L. Garvin, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain* (1933) ii. 210-17.

⁴ Commons' debate on leave to introduce the home rule bill, 8, 9, 12, 13 Apr.; introduction of the land bill, 16 Apr.; beginning of debate on the second reading of the home rule bill, 10 May, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* ccciv. 1036, 1181, 1316, 1439; cccv. 574.

⁵ Not traced.

1820. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden. Ap 30. 86.

As the vacation closes action must be thought of in various forms.

1. What are your movements and when can you attend a Cabinet?¹ On Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday, and at what hour. I am good for Tuesday in my room when the House has met, and for all days and hours thereafter. Before you read this Primrose will have tried to get from you the quickest possible reply to the question.

2. (a) shall there be a meeting of the party. (b) shall those who have *publicly declared* themselves against us be invited to it (c) what shall be said to the party when assembled?

3. I shall probably have laid the ground for *some* answer to this question even before you can advise upon it. As Goschen has thought fit to hold a meeting in Edinburgh² itself, where the force of the Secession is to be displayed, I have come to the conclusion that some counterblast from me is necessary.³ We must I feel certain at present give emphasis to the true Parliamentary character of the approaching vote as a vote on the second reading. I am not at present aware of any important change in the Bill which we can announce as decided on: but we must I think have plenty of elbow room. From the first, except as to the principles (five) laid down in my opening speech I have kept my mind in a perfectly elastic state, and am disposed to accept almost any means by which, subject to those principles, the end in view is likely to be gained.

4. I frankly admit that I scarcely see how a Cabinet could have been formed, if the inclusion of the Irish members had been insisted on. And now I do not well see how the scheme and policy can be saved from shipwreck if the exclusion is insisted on, as an absolute preliminary condition. Not that I think for a moment the Cabinet will so insist.

5. With regard to the Household Offices.⁴ The time will soon have come when Cork and any other lords of adverse leanings should consider their course. If they are not content to wait until the Bill comes before them as legislators, *then* I do not see what good there can be in further postponement say after the division on the second Reading. I hope that when we get to town you will take this matter in hand and prosecute it

¹ For cabinet, Tues. 4 May, only the eighth meeting of the administration, its discussion of Irish representation at Westminster, decision against a party meeting, and hearing of a report on the Greek question, see Add. MS. 44647, fo. 93.

² On 29 Apr. *The Times*, in discussing Scottish opinion on home rule, announced that Hartington and Goschen would address a meeting at Edinburgh on 30 Apr., and published the first of its proposed resolutions against home rule, p. 5e; for report, see 1 May, pp. 7d-8d.

³ For draft of letter to Electors of Midlothian, 1 May, see Add. MS. 44772, fo. 79.

⁴ See nos. 1810-15, 1817.

quickly with such aid as you can get. It had best I suppose be dealt with as a whole.

6. I am becoming seriously perplexed about my Birthday dinner. Hardly any Peers of the higher ranks will be available, and not many of the lower. Will the seceding colleagues come if they are asked? (Argyll, to whom I applied privately on the score of old friendship has already *refused* me.) I am for asking them; but I expect refusal. Lastly it has become customary for the Prince of Wales to dine with me on that day, and he brings his eldest son now that the young Prince is of age. But his position would be very awkward, if he comes and witnesses a great nakedness of the land. What do you say to all this: if you cannot help me, who can?¹

1821. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*

[Add. MS. 44179,
fos. 98, 113, 118]

18, Carlton House Terrace. May 1/86.

No. 1. I came back tonight from Alderney too late for the Royal Academy—A very pleasant trip—I meant to eschew politics, but the result was that we talked nothing else—which bears upon some of your questions.

1. I have asked Primrose to summon the Cabinet for Tuesday at whatever hour suits you best.

2. Wolverton and I discussed a party meeting for which I was inclined for it [*sic*]. He was more doubtful. If it were held, would it do, to summon supporters & even those who are doubtful—and for Arnold Morley to tell Hartington & Chamberlain on your behalf that although not summoned² they would be very welcome, if they thought that any advantage might be derived from it. Hartington would not come, and possibly Chamberlain might do so. It should however be well considered.³

Any speech would do good from you. But I do not know that you could go further than what you have said, as to being open to suggestion.

3. I am glad to hear of a counter blast. Wolverton & I thought that something was necessary for Scotland.

4. I object as strongly as ever to 103 or 40 Irish M.P.'s & the arguments are strong against even a smaller number. The Attorney General appeared to destroy that put forward as to taxation & representation.

¹ Paragraph 6 is printed, Morley, iii. 322, with the comments that 'most of the seceding colleagues accepted', that the Prince of Wales was unable to be present, but that his son was there instead; the dinner took place on 29 May, and was the one usually held to celebrate the Queen's birthday; cf. p. 448, n. 1, and no. 1832.

² The letter from this point is bound as if a continuation of no. 1826.

³ For the party meeting, 27 May, see Morley, iii. 332 and Chamberlain, *Political Memoir*, 221-2.

But so that the power of obstruction, and changing the fate of Govts. is not made possible, I am ready for a compromise.

5. I will discuss the Household question with some of the Peers. I am inclined to leave the matter as it is, until one of them makes a decided move again.

I think you must give a birthday dinner. You could get 9 or ten reputable non official Peers, such as Tweeddale, Breadalbane Aberdare Hampden Halifax etc. etc. and possibly some Dukes if a hint was given about the P of Wales being present in a neutral position. In any case I should ask them.

P.S. I return the letters you sent me, they were judiciously not forwarded abroad.

I see Chamberlain is fully aware of the advantage you will get if you can only squeeze into Committee.

Wolverton has kept an account of probable votes in the Commons. It is unpleasantly near.

Argyll has become with age, what Bright calls an old fossil.

1822. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*¹ [P.R.O. 30/29/213]

10, Downing Street. May 5. 86.

Please to read the enclosed.² If your view of it is as favourable as [Arnold] Morley's, I will ask you to send it on in Circulation by way of preparation for Friday's Cabinet.

1823. *Minute by Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 101]

[6 May 1886.]

It is a question whether any concession which we can properly make on this point, would do us more harm than good.

It seems to be unadvisable to introduce anything new in it's character & likely to puzzle people not very anxious to understand.

If a change is to be made, I have no objection to the proposed page 5, giving the Irish Members a right to attend, on any question of altering taxation for Ireland.

I doubt whether any practical inconvenience would arise.

[P.S.] I am glad that Mr Gladstone has circulated this exhaustive memo.

¹ Note from Granville, 2 May, agreeing to a cabinet on Tuesday, 5 May, Add. MS. 44179, fo. 100, not printed.

² i.e. mem., 5 May, on possible modification of the exclusion of Irish members from Westminster, for use with Chamberlain; the cabinet, 8 May, decided to stand by exclusion, see Add. MSS. 44772, fo. 95, 44647, fo. 94, J. L. Garvin, op. cit., 224-9.

1824. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*¹ [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 108]
Colonial Office. May 17/86.

I have perfect confidence in H V[ivian]'s² honesty. I am not so sure of all the qualities which Hamilton attributes to him.

I see he like others is getting poked by his constituents.

But the overtures disclose a vista, however small.

Salisbury's language about dissolution is very important.

It is possible that he uses it intentionally—to show that if any hitch occurs, it is not at his suggestion—or if any intimation has been made, he may not know of it. But both these are strained suppositions.

1825. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 110]
18, Carlton House Terrace. May 17/86.

I hear on good authority (Sydney) that there will be no difficulty raised, if you ask for a dissolution after defeat.³

1826. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 111]
No 2. C. H. T. May 18/86.

I congratulate you on Salisbury's speech and plan.⁴ The latter plain and simple—coercion for 20 years, neither more nor less, to be administered with the same firmness, as shown by the late Gov, last July.

With State aided emigration, against which Chamberlain has pledged himself.

But Chamberlain & Hartington are also united in their views so says Chamberlain.

(Hartington says in private that the agreement only consists in throwing out the bill.)

Could not a month be profitably spent, in pressing the 2 liberal leaders to say whether or not they agree with Salisbury.

They ought to be at least as frank as he.

¹ Granville to Gladstone, 12 May, reporting Derby's readiness to dine with Gladstone on the occasion of the birthday dinner, and promising to write to Northbrook and St. Albans; 15 May, proposing a peerage for Farrer; 16 May, sending a letter from Mundella with the same proposal, Add. MS. 44179, fos. 103, 104, 105, not printed.

² See to Gladstone, 15 or 16 May, attempting a fresh compromise on the exclusion of Irish members, not traced.

³ See note circulated to the cabinet by Gladstone: 'there is no truth in any rumours now in circulation that the Queen has expressed her intention to refuse a Dissolution', Add. MS. 44647, fo. 97; cf. Gladstone's mem. of conversation with Ponsonby, 17 May, Add. MS. 44772, fo. 111.

⁴ For Salisbury's speech, 15 May, to the National Union of Conservative Associations, best known for its recommendation of twenty years of resolute government in Ireland, but also recommending state-aided emigration, see *The Times*, 17 May, p. 6a-c.

1827. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/213]

10, Downing Street. My 20 [1886].

Do you see any objection, under the altered circ[umstance]s of Dilke's case, to his speaking in the Debate. He is understood to be *decidedly* with us.¹

1828. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/213]

10, Downing Street. May 21. 86.

Please to consider carefully my proposed reply to Pease,² & advise on it.

I am very doubtful whether under any circ[umstance]s the Cabinet would have agreed to a Resolution as a way out of the difficulty. And not a little doubtful whether the Irish could afford to accept it heartily.

1829. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 122]

Colonial Office. May 21/86.

I can see no flaw in your letter.

The offer to us is to bury our own bill, with liberty to frame another without any encouragement for us to believe that it will succeed better.

It is not unnatural that they should prefer our being rendered impotent rather than that they should have a dissolution which frightens them out of their wits.

1830. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 123]

18, Carlton House Terrace. May 23/86.

I am inclined to your taking whatever course you think it right & expedient to adopt with regard to the debate, reserving to yourself to complain of Hartington's imputation of motives,³ when you are again attacked as I suppose is certain to be the case.

¹ On Dilke's political fall, see nos. 1777, 1778; on his resumption of attendance at the Commons, 3 Mar., see S. Gwynn and G. M. Tuckwell, *Life of Sir Charles W. Dilke* (1917) ii. 211; on his divergence from Chamberlain in favour of Gladstone and letters exchanged, *ibid.* 216-22; he did not speak on the home rule bill, though he voted for the second reading.

² See Pease to Gladstone, 14 May, urging that the two Irish bills be withdrawn so that measures for Ireland 'which would have the support of the entire liberal party' might become law in 1887; and reply, 15 May, arguing that it was impossible to frame a measure to unite the party and that the nation and 'the great British race throughout the world' were enthusiastic now, Add. MS. 44497, fos. 213, 246, 258.

³ See note by Gladstone to Childers, Harcourt, and Granville on the difficulty of shortening debate after the passage in Hartington's speech (Sat. 22 May, reported in the Sunday papers) saying the debate was to be prolonged to allow the pressure of local liberal associations to tell on liberal M.P.s; and further note: 'I am not convinced, but willing to comply . . .', Add. MS. 44647, fos. 100, 101; he adhered to his course of interrupting the debate with Supply and Hartington disowned the interpretation put upon what he had said, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cccv. 1663-6, 1837-42.

I doubt whether opening a correspondence with Hartington will be of much use. He will state and probably can prove that the constituencies are advised to exercise and are exercising pressure on his friends, and he will probably withdraw the imputations—Basing the withdrawal of what was the universal opinion of his friends, solely upon your disclaimer of the motive.

1831. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 126]

3. 18, Carlton House Terrace. May 23/86.

The arguments against a practical closure of the debate on so important a question, appear to me to be stronger than those in favor of the accusation made by Hartington & the Tories. But I am no judge of the feeling of the House—I incline to Harcourt's draft of answer, perhaps interposing, that 'the wish to speak on so important a subject seems natural & reasonable, and one which it would not be legitimate for the Gov to oppose—But that on the other hand, HMs Gov have no desire to prolong unnecessarily the discussion'—finishing with Harcourt's end.¹

1832. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 129]

10, Downing Street. May 29. 86.

Are you sure that Tweeddale is with us? If he is, could he properly be got to speak to Sir R. Peel, whose feelings are all on our side, & who told A. Morley last night that *unless* he could get an opportunity of speaking he feared he must vote against us.²

T. dines with me today,³ but *this* is not a sufficient proof. If Hartington were to get up and move a vote of want of confidence after dinner, he might almost carry it.

Our matters have looked up a great deal for next week.⁴

¹ Gladstone answered Richard's question about Hartington's assertions by expressing reluctance artificially to close the debate and advising members to claim the liberty to speak in proportion to the importance of the subject, *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cccv, 24 May, 1836-42.

² He neither spoke nor voted on the home rule bill.

³ At the dinner to celebrate the Queen's birthday; cf. nos. 1820, 1821, and p. 448, n. 1.

⁴ Gladstone's allusion to improvement repeats an earlier note of 'upward progress' since Salisbury's speech of 15 May, Add. MS. 44647, fo. 106; Granville returned the letter having written on it his reply: 'I am not quite sure, but enough to encourage you to allude to the subject with Tweeddale. I do not know whether T. has any influence with his brother in law [Sir R. Peel]. I suspect not much without a hint of a place in the Cabinet, or an Embassy. It is soothing to see how angry the Whigs & Tories are. I cannot get quite well.'

1833. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. Jun 8. 86.

We must consider today the question of Dissolution.¹

I am so sorry you have been suffering so much.

There is no chance I suppose of your attending² even in your own house. Shall some one come to you or in what way will you send your opinion if disposed to give one.

I am afraid that if we do not dissolve all I could do would be to serve in the ranks.

P.S. Ripon your near neighbour would be easily in your call.

1834. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*³ [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 131]

18, Carlton House Terrace. June 8 1886.

I cannot go over to you & I could not have received the Cabinet here. I put my proxy entirely into your hands although I can only conceive one alternative.

My answer could not be more pat if I had not dictated it before reading your letter just arrived.

[P.S.] Perhaps Spencer will call here after the Cabinet is over.

1835. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret

10, Downing Street. June 11. 86.

The Prince of Wales asks

1. A Peerage for Sir J. Rose

2. *K.C.B.* for Sir P. Owen

3. and 5 C.B.s

4. As we have not a single vacancy, he desires that they be made extra members.

As to 1.

We have had 4 Peerages already. You suggest Farrer, an excellent case. And Wolverton strongly suggests Bedingfield.

¹ The division on the second reading of the home rule bill was taken a little after 1 a.m., 8 June, and gave a majority of 30 against; see Gladstone to the Queen, 7-8 June, 2 a.m., Guedalla, ii. 410-11, *Letters*, 3rd series, i. 141-3.

² For cabinet decision, *nem. con.*, 8 June, to ask for a dissolution rather than to resign, Schnadhorst writing at the meeting a brief mem. of reasons which led him to prefer dissolution, see Add. MS. 44647, fos. 113, 117; see also Gladstone to the Queen, tel. and letter, 8 June, and reply, tel. 8 June, sanctioning, Guedalla, ii. 412.

³ Nos. 1834, 1836, and 1839 written by Lady Granville.

I feel great doubts whether in our 5th month I can ask more peerages. On 2 & 3 I feel a great aversion to altering the rules of the Order but I should like your advice.

The Prince of Wales I believe acts with tact & forbearance but has no claims as being friendly.

Extras are only created to be absorbed: & this would be a blow to our Civil Service as it would block the way for some time.

I am glad to hear a good account this morning.

1836. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 133]

18, Carlton House Terrace. June 14, 1886.

I feel great difficulty in advising about the Peerages without consulting with others. Kimberley has made a good suggestion about a peerage for Grant Duff supposing his politics to be right at the present moment.

I personally [*sic*] like Sir John Rose & always remember that the preliminary work of the Alabama Treaty was admirably done by him, for this he was made a Baronet—he has since gone through different stages of the St Michael & St George of which he is Grand Cross.

I know nothing of what his work has been in connection with the Col. & Indian Ex[hibitio]n. Wolverton would be good to consult about him. Algy West is a great friend.

The question of C.B.'s seems to depend entirely on the claims of the Civil Service. If desirable they might be made extras—the order in council appointing them providing that they should not block up the promotion—i.e. that for this exceptional occasion the extra number should be appointed.

1837. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Holmbury. Jun 15. 86.

My opinion is that I cannot with propriety after a few months of Government make application to the Queen for new Peerages, unless it were in some special case on grounds altogether exceptional—

I have had at least four—one per month

And fully four more in prospect—

With regard to the C.B.'s the K.C.B. (for Owen) I think the best way may be either to appoint them extras without successors or to fill up alternate vacancies until they are absorbed. The former method probably if there be no obstacle of form.¹

¹ The honours conferred at the end of the ministry were as follows: peerages: three promotions, seven new ones offered and six accepted; two privy councillorships; nine baronetcies, and two knighthoods.

I am much concerned at the length & severity of your attack but I trust that you have now turned the corner.

And *how* I hope that your brother will bring back from London today a favourable answer.

Should the Colonial Exhibition be noticed in the Queen's Speech?¹

1838. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. Jun 17. 86.

If any letter comes from Sir K. Mackenzie Primrose will make it known to you.²

I put into the draft speech a notice of the promise of abundant harvest. This should I think be considered next week according to the latest appearances.

Wishing you rapid progress . . .

[P.S.] A note from the Prince, which please to look at.

If you think a Pc ship now decidedly preferable we could I think easily learn through E. Hamilton or from Knollys how this would be liked.³

I said reply here.

1839. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 140]

18, Carlton House Terrace. 29 June 86.

Your telegram⁴ arrived last night, but after I was asleep, and they did not like to give it to me until this morning. Rosebery has just been here, and we are quite agreed that you had better not take further action with regard to the Chamberlain memor[andu]m at present. It is undesirable that you should get into personal altercation with Chamberlain more than is necessary. Your revelation as to the memor[andu]m has been a very

¹ For paragraph in the Queen's speech closing the session, 25 June, on her pleasure in promoting the colonial exhibition, see *Hans. Parl. Deb.* cccvii, 276-8.

² From Mackenzie, not traced; but see to Mackenzie, 19 June, assuring him that to stand as a liberal in the general election would commit him to the policy of self-government for Ireland, but not to the means to achieve it nor to the land bill, Add. MS. 44498, fo. 35.

³ See min. by Granville on summary from Primrose, 21 June, of correspondence with the Prince of Wales: 'If Sir John Rose's politics are quite right I would wait— If not give him the P.C.', Add. MS. 44498, fo. 38; Rose was made P.C., 3 Aug.

⁴ Of 28 June, asking whether to take any further action on Chamberlain's mem., 15 Feb., on land purchase (see p. 436, n. 1) which Herbert Gladstone was accused of revealing; and replies, 10.45 a.m. that he would consult Rosebery, and 1.30 p.m. 29 June, advising as here reported, P.R.O. 30/29/213; see also mem. by Primrose, 29 June, showing that fifteen copies were printed and distributed to the cabinet with Chamberlain's consent, Add. MS. 44498, fo. 82.

severe blow to him. His answer absolutely nil, excepting as to the detail regarding the quarter from which the request first came. Your position is much stronger with the pistol still loaded in your hand, and which you can discharge at any time. But you are the best judge in the matter. Please only take this as advice, and not as decisive in the matter. What a power of 'crescendo' you possess. I never read anything so splendid as your speech of yesterday.¹

1840. *Memorandum by Mr. Gladstone for Lord Granville and Lord Rosebery*²

[Add. MS. 44772, fo. 167]

June 30. 86.

I cannot but feel much concerned about the speaking.

I do not mean—as to Peers only but Salisbury, the only man really worth considering, finds no difficulty.

Of course I cannot presume to judge for Commoners who are colleagues—but have all of them contests so severe that no *one* can speak in any other constituency?³

Herbert who has a contest in Leeds has been all over the country.

I am flooded with appeals—And I have explained to A. Morley the various grounds on which I am incapacitated from doing more.

1841. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*⁴ [Add. MS. 44772, fo. 168]

[1 July 1886.]

I have been unhappy at my enforced idleness up to the time of writs being issued. Ripon has been very active—So has Spencer—The Chancellor, the only silent one.

When the writs were issued, considering the great disproportion of Unionist Peers and ourselves, I urged that violent remonstrances should [not be made] against the Peers breaking the Constitutional rule.

The Daily News has done this feebly—& I have not read of any such remonstrances in the country districts.

¹ For Gladstone's speech at Liverpool, 28 June, winding up a Scottish campaign, 17–18 June, see *The Times*, 29 June, p. 11a–e, a passionate warning of what would happen if home rule was not granted, cf. Morley, iii. 343.

² A min. by Rosebery in reply, 1 July, arguing that the abstention of peers from speaking after the issue of election writs and the failure of candidates to speak in constituencies other than their own could not be helped, follows as fo. 171.

³ For Gladstone's earlier acceptance of the convention against doing precisely this, see no. 3; cf. vol. i, p. 102, n. 1.

⁴ No. 1841 pencilled below no. 1840 on the same sheet.

1842. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Jul 3. 86.

Many thanks. You have done all you could. I do not understand the distinction between before the writ and after the writ.¹

I think the *poll* returns thus far are relatively bad: & that we *may* have a Parliament in which C[onservatives]+D[issentient] L[iberals] somewhat outnumber L[iberals]+N[ationalists]. This may lead to very curious and far from agreeable results, on which I am much ruminating.

My wife is coming back here tonight.

My work is hard. But I get here an invaluable time at the beginning & the end of the day, & I really do not see what more I could do in London. About a week hence we must be thinking of a Cabinet. Ever yours (& with much delight at seeing your handwriting which I trust is a note of real improvement).

1843. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Jul 6. 86.

I would wish to have heard of much more decided progress on your part: perhaps the ill behaviour of the elections² helps to keep you back.

I think of remaining here until the time approaches for the Cabinet to meet. There has been very heavy work but I have an immense advantage here in the early mornings & late evenings.

I have had an answer from the Queen which I will send you with my reply to it.³

Considering that we had a hostile majority to retrieve, I apprehend we must now give up all idea of getting a majority for our Irish Bill.

As for the Land Bill, a most careful & carefully devised measure, that has been shot dead by the conduct of Hartington and the Seceders. They will not find it easy, however, to get any more acts like that of last year.

You are probably as I am revolving inwardly a nice and difficult question, namely that between resignation say some day next week and meeting Parliament on Aug. 5. My leaning on the present partial view of the case is towards resigning: but I think it is not possible yet to arrive at

¹ For Granville's mem., 1 July, circulated to the liberal peers to persuade them to break the rule against peers speaking after the issue of election writs, and mins. by Kimberley and Herschell that this, being a violation of constitutional practice, would do harm, see Add. MS. 44179, fo. 142.

² The general election began on 1 July and the early returns, including the election of 7 unionists for Birmingham constituencies by 3 July, were unfavourable.

³ See from the Queen, 20 June, protesting against Gladstone's addressing meetings outside his own constituency; and reply, 22 June, referring to his earlier avoidance of this practice and justifying his present resort to it, Guedalla, ii. 413-14, *Letters*, 3rd series, i. 149-50, Morley, iii. 344-5.

any clear or trustworthy judgment on the subject as a whole till we learn by a close examination of what materials the body of Seceders is made up. The leaders are I suppose out and out antagonists (Hartington has displayed much more activity against us than he ever showed on our behalf as friend and colleague) but I take it that most of the followers, or many of them, may still be our followers also except upon this question.

The men of Edinburgh¹ have gladdened my soul by giving us a clean return except for Buchanan's quarter which is inhabited by the classes. But Goschen's defeat is in other views a great event. He supplies in the main soul[,] brains and movement to the body. Can Hartington get him a seat? Can he form a Govt. without him? Ought we to wish a Hartington or a Salisbury Govt?

It will be I think a very nice business and should be most carefully sifted. When you are able I should like to know how it strikes you.

1844. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone*² [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 146]

18, Carlton House Terrace. July 7/86.

Now that the turn has taken place, I am sanguine of being soon able to get about.

But the elections have not been a tonic.³

I am glad to see you as little Xtian about Goschen, as I am.

Lady G. permitted herself a little dance, in which however under present circumstances, I did not join.

I have, as you suppose, thought a good deal about the time of resignation. I incline to its being immediate,⁴ but agree that it ought to be very carefully considered.

I can conceive some good reasons for meeting Parliament.

I am not sure that it is not fairer to the Queen.

I think she ought, & hope she will send for Salisbury (who by the way, poor man has exsema all over his body).

It is true that Hartington made the motion, but he is at the head of the smallest section of the four in the House of Commons, & one that will probably be diminished by the Constituencies.

If Salisbury forms a Tory Gov, some of Hartington's men will slide to us, if Hartington attempts it, I am not sure he will not get some of our's.

¹ Where the conservatives had lost all the seats except Buchanan's, see Holms Ivory to Gladstone, 6 July, Add. MS. 44498, fo. 147, Morley, iii. 344; Goschen defeated as a liberal unionist in East Edinburgh; Gladstone returned unopposed for Midlothian, 2 July.

² No. 1844 printed, Fitzmaurice, ii. 487-8.

³ The final result of the poll yielded a unionist majority of 118.

⁴ For cabinet, 20 July, and decision to resign without meeting parliament, see Add. MS. 44647, fo. 119; and Gladstone to the Queen, tel. and letter, 20 July, Guccalla, ii. 419-20, *Letters*, 3rd series, i. 162-3; and p. 451, n. 2.

I do not think the odds are very great against a coalition Gov.
 Dr. Radcliffe thinks Randolph Churchill is very ill.
 Let me know date of Cabinet in time to tell Spencer.
 The future, in a national point of view, seems to me to be fearfully dark.

1845. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret. Hawarden Castle. July 9. 86.

The conduct of Russia about Batoum fills me with disgust. She is committing a gross and scandalous breach of faith. But I for one cannot in any way be a party to our taking up a forward position about a matter, which Continental influences will as usual strive to force upon us as more our affair than theirs, but which in my opinion is not our affair at all, except in the point that faith is broken with us as a part of Europe.

I am afraid that her military party, even worse and much worse than ours, will force on a quarrel with us in another quarter, but this is a separate matter altogether.

1846. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 152]

Colonial Office. July 9/86.

Rosebery sent me his draft which I thought good. I suggested a few alterations chiefly omissions.¹

I do not share Kimberley's hopes that the D[issentient] L[iberals] will back us up—because though they might do so in the future on other questions they cannot throw over Hartington so much as to take our side against the Tories, at all events in the first instance.

If Hartington joins the Tories, which I trust he will not do, some of his followers would cut up rough.

There is force in your argument for immediate resignation.

On the other hand is there not an advantage in framing the Queen's speech, instead of letting Salisbury do so, and does not our throwing up the sponge, strengthen his position in taking a Gov which is forced upon him, & Hartington's in supporting the only possible Administration.

I only throw out these queries for consideration.

[P.S.] I am miserable about George & his father.²

¹ For Rosebery's strong protest against the Russian denunciation of the provision of the Berlin treaty that Batoum should have the status of a free port, see Rosebery to Morier, No. 157, 13 July. F.O. 65/1255, printed Temperley and Penson, *Foundations*, 437; much disliked by Morier as barking without biting, see Morier to Rosebery, private, tels. 12, 25 July, letters, 17, 25 July, Private Morier Papers.

² George Leveson Gower defeated in Staffordshire, see his letter to Gladstone, 12 July, Add. MS. 44498, fo. 187.

1847. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Jul 9. 86.

1. I think we stand nearly or exactly at the same point. This is always a comfort to me.

2. I send you a good letter from Kimberley;¹ and copy of one I have written to Morley.²

3. Salisbury though so foul mouthed is really much to be felt for.

4. A correspondent sends me Bright's declaration in 1866 for 'a Parliament on College Green'!!³

5. Could Kimberley, when he framed the sentence about Hartington's moderation, have read his injunction or advice to vote for the Tories. There is this difference however between Hartington and C[hamberlain], that the first behaves like & is a thorough gentleman. Of the other it is better not to speak.

6. I had no anger against Goschen, but I think he ought not to have received my full communications⁴ at Dalmeny in silence.

7. What do you think of *this* argument for immediate resignation.

All parties have agreed that in Ireland the question of social order requires immediate treatment.

A Parliament is now (we will assume) elected which, we are morally certain, will not give to us what we deem essential to social order.

If we have no hope of obtaining what is essential for this most urgent purpose, have we a right to retain (say) for a day the seat of power, which is no power at all for the vital necessity of the day?

8. The matter has many aspects, but I think this is *one*: and you justly bring into view the possibility that the Seceders (who are by no means deficient in hatred to the Tories!) may, alarmed at the Tory strength, prefer our remaining in Government utterly crippled to letting in Salisbury, and so contrive to vote against the Tories on our Address. I dread that position of impotence.

9. Spencer may after all have time.⁵

1848. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Hawarden Castle. Jul 11. 86.

I share all your sorrow about George to whom I wrote yesterday.⁶

¹ Kimberley to Gladstone is not in Add. MS. 44228.

² See Gladstone to John Morley, 9 July, on the question of resignation not copied but noted in Add. MS. 44548, fo. 112.

³ Not traced, but see G. M. Trevelyan, *The Life of John Bright* (1925) 348.

⁴ Not traced, but presumably during the autumn of 1885 when both were fighting Edinburgh seats and Goschen had not declared himself as he did on the first reading of the home rule bill; cf. A. D. Elliot, *The Life of . . . Goschen* (1911) ii. 46-92.

⁵ Allusion not identified.

⁶ Commiserating with him over his election defeat, Add. MS. 44548, fo. 114.

Another [thing is] your view of the point about the Speech.

If we make it, must it not be feeble about Ireland? The Queen in Aug 1841 had a strong attack on the Corn Laws in the speech, though in a minority of 85. But she did that for a Minister whom she loved not for one whom, after his 54 years work, she 'would fain believe' to be honest.

What would follow? An Am[endment] to the Address distinctly & at once committing the new House against Ireland.

Whereas if S[alisbury] comes in (& the leader of the largest party never can talk of being forced to take the Govt) he is not under pledge to meet on Aug. 5.

May he not say it was better for a new Govt to take a little time to consider his Irish policy?

And when he does meet Parlt are you sure he would try to commit the House?

S[alisbury] is one of those men, like the old Derby, whose courage overboils in opposition and only simmers in office.

1849. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*

[P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

Secret.

Hawarden Castle. Jul 12. 86.

I send the inclosed for your perusal.¹ It shows the point my ideas have reached. I also send a letter of Wolverton's which states the case modestly but well.²

The idea of dealing with Chamberlain or his fluctuating schemes is surely out of the question. Hartington would [be] safer & he is impossible I apprehend.

As the Polls except one close on Saturday, might we not *fix* Monday for the Cabinet.

We must hear what Harcourt has to say: but my thoughts have moved onwards since I had last a letter from him.

I have been a great deal too much in the papers, and in too many cases and constituencies by far—but I was dragged by an iron necessity. As to my telegrams, I feel that they are like the Assignats of the Revolution. A good many were sent from London & phrased there.

In proof of dying game, I propose a Cabinet dinner on Saturday. 'Let's make a night on't'. Not knowing the rate of your progress, I am clinging to the hope it may be such as to let you come.

7 Pm. The argument against resigning forthwith is well stated in the Daily Chronicle of today.³

¹ Mem. on resignation or meeting parliament.

² To Gladstone, 10 July, Add. MS. 44349, fo. 210.

³ P. 4d arguing that the ruling consideration was the carrying on of the Queen's government; since the conservatives did not have a decided majority, Gladstone should wait until defeated in the Commons before resigning; cf. p. 451, n. 2 and no. 1844.

1850. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 156]
Colonial Office. July 13/86.

Many thanks for your letters & enclosures, very interesting.

I have not much to add, excepting what is not important that the 2 last precedents¹ hardly hold good, as then there were two great parties now there are four.

Kimberley is rather inclined to immediate resignation—Rosebery more so—Mundella strongly for meeting Parl—So I see, is the provincial press.

Please allow me to postpone my answer, to your hospitable card.

Monday would suit me for a Cabinet.

I am sorry to hear Sam Morley is very dangerously ill.

1851. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 159]
18, Carlton House Terrace. July 17/86.

I must ask to be excused dining—with the option of coming in for desert—but I am afraid this will not come off.

I should have much liked to hear counsel on the course you are to take. Some of your arguments are very strong. I have mentioned to you some, (not very strong) which occurred to me in another sense.

I think the opinion of the party (including Parnell, should be weighed).

1852. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville*² [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 162]
10, Downing Street. [19 July 1886].

Shall we have the Cabinet of tomorrow (2 Pm.) at your house?³

Not a word of truth in the statement of D. News—our general conversations were on the state of Ireland & the £5000 Suakim proposition only (I think).⁴

¹ i.e. the resignations of Gladstone in 1874 and Beaconsfield in 1880 without meeting parliament.

² Pencil note of Granville to Gladstone, 18 July, approving both the offer of a viscounty to Wolverton and his refusal of it, Add. MS. 44179, fo. 161, not printed; for the offer, see Add. MS. 44548, fo. 117, and the refusal, 44349, fo. 214.

³ Granville returned the letter, having written on it his reply: that he could manage the ground floor, that Ripon and Spencer had reported on the dinner, and said they thought nearly all were *individually* for resignation; for cabinet, see p. 456, n. 4.

⁴ *Daily News*, 19 July, p. 5b, reporting Gladstone's cabinet dinner, from which Granville's illness kept him, described resignation as the chief topic of conversation and decision.

1853. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 163]

18, Carlton House Terrace. July 22/86.

I reproach myself for not having asked you to consider more fully Thring for a Peerage.¹

We are horribly weak in legal force in the Lords.

Salisbury made four law lords during his last tenure of office.

Thring would be invaluable in picking & helping others to pick holes in Legislation particularly on great Irish questions.

1854. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. Jul 22. 86.

I cannot add to my list on which I fully expect the Queen to grumble as She has done before. (I do not think our citation of her bounty to Salisbury quite unanswerable.) But if you are disposed to let Farrer stand over I am quite willing to insert Thring.

Some people are uncertain about Farrer's attitude on the Irish question.

Sir C. Forster applies for a Peerage: which is a little embarrassing.

1855. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 165]

Colonial Office. July 23/86.

I should have been sorry to displace Farrer but I have just heard that he has become strongly 'anti' Gladstonian.

This surprises me as he spoke some short time ago in favor of home rule.

Mundella after I mentioned him to you, asked me to apply to you for a Peerage for him.

This seems of course to turn the scale in favour of Thring.

I believe the Queen will like it, as he has been of use to her, and to the Royal Family, as well as to successive Govts.

1856. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 167]

Coombe. July 23/86.

I was deeply touched by what Lady G. told me of your conversation with her. The offer pleases me as much as if I had wished for the honour.² This is not the case, & in declining with many thanks, I am not afraid of your thinking me ungrateful to you.

¹ Raised to the peerage as first baron Thring; see p. 452, n. 1.

² Possibly the offer of a marquissate.

1857. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. Jul 25. 86.

I hope Coombe answered well.

I send you

1. a letter from the Chancellor

2. copy of my reply—and shall be glad of your opinion.¹

I incline to think *we* ought only to act *if & when* it is clear there are to be no more processes at law in this horrible case.

I spoke to Sydney today who I think took the same view.

Salisbury returns tomorrow.

1858. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 169]

18, Carlton House Terrace. July 25/86.

I agree that we ought to decide upon our course one way or the other, so as to be independent of pressure from the Queen.

It is desirable that James or the Attorney General should without consulting you, suggest immediate resignation.

I agree that it ought to be clear as to the action of the Gov that there is no question of more processes at law.

Coombe did me good, & has added to my powers of locomotion.

[P.S.] Edmond Fitzmaurice saw Lady Salisbury today. She said that Hartington was to give his answer² soon.

1859. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [P.R.O. 30/29/29 A]

10, Downing Street. July 26. 86.

I reluctantly send a list to the Queen,³ as to which I think that *either* she will pass it in her general joy at late occurrences, or she will grumble & pull me up, in which event I shall not have a very strong case.

1860. *Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 172]

Immediate.

10, Downing Street. Jul 28. 86.

I think it would be well if we could get together those of us who are in

¹ See Herschell to Gladstone, 24 July, against asking Dilke to resign from the privy council (see nos. 1777, 1778, p. 449, n. 1); and reply, two letters, 24 July, for asking him to resign rather than to leave it to the incoming government or until the Queen asked for advice, Add. MS. 44548, fo. 119; see also to the Queen, 28 July, against action, Guedalla, ii. 421–2; and note of cabinet decision, 28 July, against action, Add. MS. 44647, fo. 152.

² i.e. to Salisbury's invitation to head the new government; see Hartington to Salisbury, 24 July, B. Holland, *The Life of the Duke of Devonshire* (1911) ii. 166.

³ For Gladstone's recommendations for honours, see p. 452, n. 1.

town at two today—shall it be at your house (which would be less noticed) or here?¹

[P.S.] I have in view 1. Dilke. 2. the proposal to let Ireland stand over till Feby.

1861. *Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone* [Add. MS. 44179, fo. 173]

18, Carlton House Terrace. July 29/86.

I do not remember for a long time, anything which has given me greater pleasure or touched me more than your note, the book, and the inscription in it, which you have sent me today.

I have never during the 34 years you mention, been more proud of being associated with you, or more sure of our being right, than now.

Leveson, who arrives tomorrow, will fully appreciate the gift.

¹ Granville returned the letter having written on it his reply: 'Yes. I shall expect you and those you summon at 2.'

INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE INDEX

Ass.	Assembly	Lib.	Liberal
Att.-Gen.	Attorney-General	Lieut.	Lieutenant
Bd.	Board	Min.	Minister
Chanc.	Chancellor	Parl.	Parliamentary
Col.	Colonial and Colonel	Priv.	Private
Cons.	Conservative	Rep.	Representative
C.O.	Colonial Office	Rev.	Revenue
For.	Foreign	Sec.	Secretary
F.O.	Foreign Office	Sol. Gen.	Solicitor General
Gen.	General	Und.-sec.	Under-secretary
Gov.	Governor	W.O.	War Office
I.O.	India Office		

- Abdurrahman Khan (c. 1844-1901), nephew and rival of Shere Ali (q.v.), Ameer of Afghanistan 1880-1901, 163 n., 378, 381.
- Abeddin, Pasha, Turkish min. for for. affairs 9 June-12 Sept. 1880, 153, 164.
- Abel, Dr. Carl, egyptologist, correspondent in Berlin of *The Times* 1865-79 and of the *Standard* 1879-?, ii. 240-1.
- Aberdare, Henry Austin (1815-95), first Baron 1873, as H. A. Bruce was home sec. 1868-73, lord president 1873-4, ii. 250, 415, 447.
- Aberdeen, George (1784-1860), fourth Earl of, for. sec. 1828-30, 1841-6, prime min. 1852-5, 91, 92, 109, 131, 418, 459; ii. 2, 105, 110, 211, 291, 407.
- Aberdeen, John Campbell (1847-1934), seventh Earl of, lord-lieut. of Ireland 1886, 1905-15, gov.-gen. of Canada 1893-8, lord-lieut. county Aberdeen 1880, 82, 148; ii. 294.
- Aberdeen, university of, election to rectorship, 82.
- Abergavenny, William (1826-1915), fifth Earl of 1868, first Marquis of 1876, cons. party manager, 119.
- Abyssinia, 292; ii. 145, 248.
- Acland, Sir Thomas Dyke (1809-98), cons. M.P. 1837-47, lib. M.P. 1865-86, ii. 53, 54, 413.
- Acton, John Emerich Edward Dalberg (1834-1902), first Baron 1869, lib. M.P. 1859-65, a lord-in-waiting 1892-5, regius professor of mod. history at Cambridge 1895, Lord Granville's stepson, 17, 51, 67, 102, 333, 335; ii. 236, 242, 244.
- Adam, Charles Elphinstone (1859-1923), first Bart. 1882, son of W. P. Adam, priv. sec. to parl. sec. to Treasury 1892-4, to lord privy seal 1894-5, 361 n.
- Adam, William Patrick (1823-81), lib. M.P. 1859-81, a lord of the Treasury 1865-6, 1868-73, chief commissioner Bd. of Works 1873-4, 1898, lib. whip 1874-80, gov. of Madras 1880-1, 12, 24, 31-33, 48, 65, 78, 82, 89, 90-93, 95, 99, 102, 103, 108, 111, 120, 168, 214, 219; peerage for, 213, 215, 217-18.
- Adams, (after 1886 Sir) Francis Ottiwell (1825-89), sec. of legation in Japan 1868-72, sec. of embassy in Berlin 1872-4, Paris 1874-9, min. in Paris 1879-81, Berne 1881-8, 157, 159 n.
- Adye, Sir John Miller (1819-1900), maj.-gen. 1875, chief of staff to Gen. Wolseley in Egypt 1882, gov. Gibraltar 1882-6, gen. 1884, 188, 197 n., 402, 409.
- Affirmation bill, ii. 23, 26, 28, 30 n.
- Afghanistan, 75-82, 84, 85, 87-90, 112, 180, 295; Afghan committee, 86-89; Afghan frontier with Russia, ii. 224, 337 n., 338, 339, 344-7, 352, 353, 355-9, 369-72, 375-84, 385.
- Agnew, William (1825-1910), Bart. 1895, art dealer, lib. M.P. 1880-6, 50.
- Agricultural Holdings bill, ii. 17, 77.
- Ailesbury, Ernest Augustus Charles (1811-86), third Marquis of 1878, ii. 85, 129.
- Ailesbury, George William Frederick (1804-78), second Marquis of, master of the horse 1859-66, 1868-74, 13, 14, 21, 26, 30, 53, 68 n.
- Albania, 18, 140, 141, 146, 181, 182, 183, 187, 188, 190, 194, 199, 207, 213, 216, 226, 230.
- Albany, Duke of, *see* Leopold.

- Albany, Duchess of, *see* Helen.
- Albert (1819-61), Prince consort, 86.
- Alcester, *see* Seymour, Sir Frederick Beauchamp Paget.
- Alderley, Edward John (1802-69), second Baron Stanley of, 26.
- Alexander II (1818-81), Emperor of Russia 1855-81, 21, 25, 81, 246 n., 247 n., 259.
- Alexander III (1845-94), Emperor of Russia 1881-94, 247 n., 252, 254, 255, 256, 259, 352; ii. 31.
- Alexander of Battenberg (1857-93), Prince of Bulgaria 1879-86, 278, 279, 284, 285, 304; ii. 83, 85, 89, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 102, 103, 108, 111, 149, 282.
- Alford, Lady Marian, 101; ii. 294.
- Alison, Sir Archibald (1826-1907), served in Crimean and Ashantee wars, maj.-gen. 1877, head of the Army Intelligence dept. 1878-82, commanded in Egypt 1882, 1882-3, the Aldershot division 1883-5, adjutant-gen. 1885-8, gen. 1889, 454; ii. 6.
- Alnwick Castle, Northumberland (Duke of Northumberland), 10.
- Althorp Park, Northants. (Lord Spencer), 93.
- Amé, — —, director gen. of French customs until 1880, commissioner to negotiate commercial treaty with England 1880, with Italy 1881, 282, 283, 284.
- America, United States of: and closure of the Straits, 19; and customs duties, 283; embassy of, 254; and Fenians, 277-8, 282, 367; ii. 46 n., 139, 140; and Fortune Bay dispute, 150, 242, 323; and mediation or arbitration, ii. 255 n., 258; and Panama canal (Clayton-Bulwer treaty May 1850), 322-4, 332, 386, 430, 434; and San Juan arbitration; ii. 338; and Trent incident, ii. 152; Gladstone on, 84, 85; Granville on, 84.
- Ampthill, *see* Russell, Lord Odo.
- Angra Pequena, ii. 242, 246, 249, 251, 252, 275, 276 n., 290, 296.
- Arabi, Ahmed Arabi el Hussein (1839-1911), Pasha, colonel in Egyptian army, min. of war 1882, organizer of national movement, defeated at Tel el-Kebir and exiled to Ceylon until 1904, 290 n., 320, 348, 369, 373 n., 375, 376, 378, 380, 383, 384, 389, 397, 400, 402, 403, 404, 405 n., 409, 410, 412, 416 n., 419, 427-32, 440, 441 n., 445 n., 446, 449, 451-5, 457, 465, 478; ii. 43, 97, 101, 394, 398; his letter to Gladstone, 404.
- Arbitration, 136, 288; ii. 338, 355, 365, 366, 369, 371, 377, 378, 380, 385 n.
- Arbuthnot, (after 1881 Sir) Charles George (1824-99), served in Crimean war and India, maj.-gen. 1881, served in England 1880-3, gen. 1890, ii. 87.
- Arco, Louis, comte d', ii. 242.
- Ardagh, (after 1894 Sir) John Charles (1840-1907), reported to the W.O. on defences especially those of Constantinople, served in Balkan peninsula, Egypt and Boer war, maj.-gen. 1896, 188; ii. 162.
- Argyll, George Douglas (1823-1900), eighth Duke of, lord privy seal 1852-5, 1859-66, 1880-1, sec. for India 1868-74; and Turkish questions, 1, 7, 14, 20, 32, 38, 42, 67, 112, 160; and Afghanistan, 112; and Sudan, ii. 177, 369-70; and Scottish Church, 78, 79, 105; and Queen's title of Empress, 112, 113; and K.G., 457; ii. 93, 96; and Ireland, including his resignation and criticism of Gladstone over, 135, 215, 243, 250 n., 251, 252, 258 n., 261, 262, 269, 270, 319, 320; ii. 60-61; and parl. reform 1884, ii. 284; break with the lib. party, 1886, ii. 427, 446; minor references, 80, 202, 260; ii. 33, 447.
- Argyll, Duchess of, wife of above, 1.
- Armenia, 134, 138, 139, 192, 204, 227, 278, 284, 359, 360-1, 449; ii. 39, 90, 101, 102-3, 108, 109, 141.
- Army, reforms in, 49, 245; spokesmen for, in House of Lords, 244, 245.
- Arthur (1850-1942), Prince, Duke of Connaught 1874, third son of Queen Victoria, 436, 438, 440, 443, 446.
- Ashbourne, *see* Gibson, Edward.
- Ashley, Anthony Evelyn Melbourne (1836-1907), lib. M.P. 1874-85, und.-sec. Bd. of Trade 1880-2, colonies 1882-5, 26, 61, 368, 374.
- Assab Bay, *see* Italy, Red Sea claims.
- Assim, Effendi, later Pasha, Turkish min. for for. affairs Sept. 1880-5, 178, 324 n., 402 n.
- Aunay, C. M. S. Le Peletier, comte d', sec. of embassy in Berlin 1876-80, in London 1880-3, min., agent and consul-gen. in Cairo 1886-8, min. in Copenhagen 1888-94, ii. 62, 64 n., 78, 80, 82, 91.
- Austin, Alfred (1835-1913), poet laureate 1896, leader writer to the *Standard* 1866-96, 9.
- Austria: Balkan policy of, 122, 150, 175-6, 448, 479; ii. 81, 92-96, 113, 118, 141, 398, 411; and Bosnia and Herzegovina, 202, 318, 319, 343, 350; and Montenegrin question 1880, 160, 161, 169, 175, 181, 187, 188-92, 194-7, 204-8,

- 210-12, 215, 217, 223, 226-7; and Greek question 1881, 250-1; and relations with Russia, 145, 198 n., 199, 305, 318, 324; ii. 93, 113; and Egypt, i. 395, 402, 415, 428; ii. 146, 189, 229, 234, 245-6, 248, 251, 254, 258, 268, 269, 356; and Germany, ii. 245; Austro-Hungarian constitution, ii. 391.
- Ayoob Khan (b. 1855), son of Shere Ali (q.v.) and claimant to the Afghan throne, won Maiwand *July* 1880, defeated *Sept.* 1880, 1881, 295 n., 304-5, 331, 332.
- Baker, Augustus (d. 1891), vice-consul at Nisch, Servia, 1879-83, consul at Suakin 1883-5, Vera Cruz 1885-91, ii. 84.
- Baker, Sir Samuel White (1821-93), brother of Valentine Baker, traveller, 437; ii. 149 n., 188, 320.
- Baker, Valentine (1827-87), Pasha, gen., brother of Sir Samuel Baker, after dismissal from the army 1875, served the sultan and the khedive, commander of the Egyptian *gendarmerie* 1882-7, gov.-gen. of the Sudan *Jan.-Dec.* 1884, 130, 442, 456, 462; ii. 81, 82, 111, 155 n.
- Balfour, Arthur James (1848-1930), first Earl of 1922, priv. sec. to his uncle Lord Salisbury 1878-80, president Local Govt. Bd. 1885-6, sec. for Scotland 1887, chief sec. Ireland 1887-91, first lord of the Treasury 1891-92, 1895-1902, sometime in charge, F.O. 1898-1900, prime min. 1902-6, first lord of the Admiralty 1915-16, for. sec. 1916-19, lord president of the Council 1919-22, 1925-9, ii. 27, 28, 193 n., 386 n., 410, 419.
- Balfour, John Blair (1837-1905), first Baron Kinross 1902, lib. M.P. *Dec.* 1880-99, sol.-gen. for Scotland 1880-1, lord advocate 1881-5, 1886, 1892-5, 476; ii. 32.
- Baring, Edward Charles (1828-97), elder brother of Evelyn Baring, on commission of lieutenantancy for London, first Baron Revelstoke *June* 1885, 98, 372.
- Baring, Sir Evelyn (1841-1917), first Viscount Cromer 1892, Baron 1899, Earl of 1901, agent and consul-gen. Cairo 1883-1907, ii. 39 n., 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 115, 116-17, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 144, 145, 147, 159, 178-9, 180, 184, 185, 195, 197, 199, 201, 203, 204, 207, 242, 254, 258, 279, 295, 305, 327-8, 375-6, 377, 379, 383; and Gen. Gordon, ii. 116, 149-51, 154, 158, 161, 163, 164, 165, 260, 261 n., 272, 273, 276, 347-8; and Sudan policy, ii. 125-6, 127, 130, 131, 133, 135-7, 146-7, 160, 166, 168-71, 173, 268, 281, 340, 343, 344, 348, 353, 376, 377; and Red Sea ports, ii. 298, 333; Gladstone on, ii. 327, 348-9.
- Baring, Walter (1844-1915), younger brother of Evelyn Baring, entered diplomatic service 1865, second sec. Constantinople 1873-9, sec. of legation Teheran 1879-82, Lisbon 1882-5, Athens 1885-6, chargé d'affaires Cettinje 1886-93, &c., 14 n., 49; ii. 43.
- Barnes, the Rev. — —, friend of Gen. Gordon, ii. 178.
- Barrère, Camille (1851-1940), entered French diplomatic service 1879, min. plenipotentiary 1882, representative at conferences on Danube navigation 1882-3, Egyptian finance 1884, and on international commission for Suez Canal 1885, ambassador in Berne 1894, in Rome 1897-1924, 157 n.; ii. 31, 34, 36, 79, 279 n.
- Barrington, George William (1824-86), seventh Viscount (Scottish peerage) 1867, first Baron Shute 1880, cons. M.P. 1866-80, 8, 119.
- Barrington, Percy (1825-1901), brother of above, eighth Viscount 1886, 8.
- Barthélemy St. Hilaire, Jules (1805-95), philosopher, member of French senate 1875, min. for for. affairs 1880-1, 180 n., 240, 263, 292, 297, 317.
- Bartlett, (after 1892 Sir) Ellis Ashmead (1849-1902), visited Bulgaria 1876, cons. M.P. 1880-1902, founder of *England* 1880, a lord of the Admiralty 1885, 1886-92, 17 n., 134 n., 172, 415, 454; ii. 75, 110, 208 n., 289 n., 410.
- Bartlett, William Lehman Ashmead- (b. 1851) (after 1881 Burdett Coutts), 170 n.
- Bass, (after 1882 Sir) Michael Arthur (1837-1909), first Baron Burton 1886, lib. M.P. 1865-86, 61, 361 n.
- Bassano, N. J. H. Maret (1803-98), duc de, chamberlain of the palace to Napoleon III 1852-70, 101.
- Bath, order of the, 168, 171, 238, 256, 257, 258, 264, 276, 279, 445, 446, 447; ii. 73-74.
- Bath, John Alexander (1831-96), fourth Marquis of, cons. peer, 21, 24, 25, 26, 36, 42, 63, 64, 68, 87, 89, 91, 92, 93, 98, 215, 252, 456; ii. 104.
- Bath, Lady, wife of above, 25, 215, 252.
- Bath and Wells, Lord Arthur Hervey (1808-94), bishop of 1869, fourth son of first Marquis of Bristol, 29 n., 74; ii. 209 n., 210, 274.

- Baxter, William Edward (1825-90), lib. M.P. 1855-85, sec. to the Admiralty 1868-71, joint sec. to the Treasury 1871-3, royal commissioner for Anglo-French commercial negotiations 1881, 300, 302, 306; ii. 397.
- Beach, Sir Michael Edward Hicks (1837-1916), first Viscount St. Aldwyn 1905, cons. M.P. 1864-1905, chief sec. Ireland 1874-8, 1886-7, president Bd. of Trade 1888-95, chanc. of the exchequer 1885, 1895-1902, 366; ii. 84, 285.
- Beaconsfield, Benjamin (1804-81), first Earl of, cons. M.P. 1837-75, chanc. of the exchequer 1866-8, prime min. 1868, 1874-80: and the Queen, 2, 178; ii. 99, 125, 239; and the Prince of Wales, ii. 370 n.; and office of lord treasurer, 6; Gladstone on, 1, 39, 42, 64, 66, 67, 74 n., 77, 86, 95, 216, 262, 265, 266 n., 270, 273; ii. 246; Granville on, 26, 27; ii. 399; and Lord Dufferin, 93, 94; and Eastern question including Cyprus, 10, 11, 12, 28, 38, 48, 49, 51, 59, 62, 65, 72, 73, 263; and Afghanistan, 86, 87, 88, 89; and Egypt, 68; ii. 26, 246; and land laws, 108; episcopal appointments, 466; dissolution and general election 1880, 75, 114, 119; expects dissolution Oct. 1880, 199; and *Morning Post*, 29; last illness and death, 112, 254, 255, 258, 260, 261, 262, 265, 266 n., 267, 268, 270, 273, 275; speeches: *Aylesbury* 1876, 10, 11 n.; *Guildhall* 1876, 19, 21, 23, 24, 39; *presenting Berlin treaty* 1878, 71, 72; *Guildhall* 1878, 87, 88, 1879, Aug., 100 n., Nov. 103.
- Beatrice (1857-1944), Princess, fifth dau. and youngest child of Queen Victoria, ii. 316, 402 n.
- Beauchamp, Frederick (1830-91), sixth Earl, cons. M.P. 1857-66, lord steward of the household 1874-80, paymaster-gen. *June* 1885-*Apr.* 1886, *Aug.* 1886-*July* 1887, ii. 433.
- Bechuanaland, ii. 274, 293.
- Bedford, Francis Charles Hastings (1819-91), ninth Duke of, lib. M.P. 1847-72, 86, 283 n., 287, 307, 308, 309, 310, 372, 469, 471, 472, 474, 476, 479; ii. 245, 279, 297; proposed for Berlin embassy, ii. 242, 244; withdraws support from lib. party, ii. 297 n.
- Bedford, Duchess of, wife of above, 283 n., 284 n., 307, 308, 309, 310, 372, 469 n., 471, 472, 474 n., 476, 479 n.; ii. 432 n.
- Bedingfield, Sir Henry George Paston- (1830-1902), seventh Bart., a lib., Sheriff of Norfolk 1882, ii. 451.
- Belgium, communication of Benedetti treaty on, 1870, 46.
- Bell, Isaac Lowthian (1816-1904), first Bart. 1885, metallurgical chemist and industrialist, lib. M.P. 1875-80, ii. 388.
- Belper, Henry (1840-1914), second Baron 1880, 329 n., 333.
- Bence Jones, William F. (d. 1883), Irish landowner, 237.
- Benson, E. W., *see* Canterbury, archbishop of.
- Berber, ii. 156 n., 158, 165, 166, 171, 217; *see also* Suakin.
- Beresford, Lord Charles William (1846-1919), first Baron Beresford 1916, cons. M.P. 1874-80, 1885-9, 1897-1900, 1902-3, served under Admiral Seymour 1882, Gen. Wolseley 1884-5, a lord of the Admiralty 1886-8, rear-admiral 1897, admiral 1905, 432, 434.
- Beresford, William (1797-83), P.C., cons. M.P. 1841-65, sec. at war 1852, sometime cons. whip and party manager, 119.
- Berlin: treaty of 1878, 71 n., 84, 85, 96, 97, 129, 135 n., 137 n., 146, 156, 159-61, 171, 172, 173, 177, 178, 180-2, 186-92, 199, 201, 204, 216, 226-7, 230, 309, 352; ii. 90, 102, 111, 114; conference of, on Greece 1880, 137 n., 139 n., 156, 199, 233; conference of, on West Africa 1884-5, ii. 278, 293, 310 n.
- Bertie, (after 1902 Sir) Francis Leveson (1844-1919), served in F.O. 1863-1903, ambassador in Rome 1903-5, in Paris 1905-18, 177, 179.
- Besant, Mrs. Annie (1847-1933), friend of Charles Bradlaugh, theosophist, 23 n., 24.
- Bessarabia, 64.
- Bessborough, John George Brabazon (1809-80), fifth Earl of, lord steward of the household and chief lib. whip 1866, 1868-74, 110, 111.
- Bessborough, Lady, wife of above, 110, 111.
- Bessborough, Frederick George Brabazon (1815-95), sixth Earl of, 206.
- Betteshanger, Kent (Sir William James, later Lord Northbourne), 77.
- Biddulph, Sir Robert (1835-1918), served in the Crimean war, India, and Cyprus, &c., maj.-gen. 1883, gen. 1892, 206.
- Biddulph, Sir Thomas Myddleton (1809-78), master of the household and keeper of the privy purse, 79 n.
- Biggar, Joseph Gillis (1828-90), Irish

- home rule M.P. 1874-90, a Fenian 1875-7, began parl. obstruction 1875, 364; ii. 10, 11, 13.
- Birkbeck, Edward (1838-1908), Bart. *March* 1886, cons. M.P. 1879-92, for North Norfolk 1879-85, 93.
- Bismarck-Schönhausen, Fürst Otto Edward Leopold von (1815-98), Prussian minister, president and min. for for. affairs 1862-71, and chancellor of the German Empire 1871-90: proposed to be consulted by Granville, 189, 249, 257, 376-7; ii. 350; Granville on, ii. 263, 341, 396; Gladstone and, 196-7, 211, 236, 298, 331, 377; ii. 94, 237, 251, 252, 260, 264, 291, 309, 329, 331-2, 395, 396; and execution of the Berlin treaty, 139, 196, 205, 208, 209, 211, 212, 217, 230; and Central Asian question between Britain and Russia, ii. 369, 377; and Danube conference, ii. 31; and Bulgarian question 1885, ii. 411; and relations between the powers, including France, 65, 257, 318; ii. 81, 96, 219, 240, 258, 309, 355, 383; proposed visit to Egypt, ii. 301-2, 304; his wish that Britain take Egypt, ii. 87, 379; and Egypt, 298, 395, 407-8, 417, 447; ii. 177, 216, 217, 219, 237, 240, 241-2, 244, 246, 258 n., 276, 291, 293, 304, 305-6, 346, 360, 376-7, 379, 383, 398; and colonies, ii. 230, 242, 246, 249, 251, 276, 280, 290, 291, 293-4, 297, 299, 300, 305-6, 328, 329-30, 331-2, 333, 374; and Berlin West Africa conference, ii. 278; and China, ii. 255; speeches of, *Reichstag*, *Jan.* 1885, 320 n., *Mar.* 1885, 341-2.
- Bismarck, Fürst Herbert von (1849-1904), eldest son of the chancellor, served in German F.O. 1873-82, 1885-90, in London embassy 1882-4, St. Petersburg, later The Hague, 1884, 346, 361, 395, 417; ii. 230, 231, 233, 238, 242, 245, 246, 293, 341-3, 345 n.
- Blachford, Frederick (1811-89), first Baron, as F. Rogers was und.-sec. C.O. 1860-71, 123, 236.
- Black Sea clauses of treaty of Paris, 91, 92, 103.
- Blaine, James Gillespie (1830-93), Republican member of American House of Representatives 1863-76, Senate 1876-80, sec. of state 1881, 1888-92, missed Republican nomination for presidency 1876, 1880, stood unsuccessfully 1884, 282, 322, 323.
- Blake, John Aloysius (1828-87), lib., later home ruler M.P. 1857-69, 1880-7, ii. 54.
- Blake, Sir Valentine (1836-1912), Bart., of Menlough, Co. Galway, 236.
- Blantyre, Charles (1818-1900), twelfth Baron 1830, 28, 259.
- Blennerhassett, Sir Rowland (1839-1909), Irish lib. M.P. 1865-85, lib. Roman Catholic and authority on Ireland, ii. 8, 9.
- Blignières, E.-G. de Barbier, comte de, French member of commission of inquiry into Egyptian finances 1878, min. of public works in Egypt 1878-9, controller-gen. in Egypt 1879-Mar. 1882, representative at Egyptian financial conference 1884, 409, 410 n., 439, 464; ii. 199-200, 241.
- Blowitz, Henri Stefan Oppen de (1825-1903), correspondent of *The Times* in Paris 1871-1902, 339.
- Blum, — —, Pasha, an Austrian, und.-sec. in Egyptian ministry of finance from 1877, ii. 329.
- Blunt, (after 1902 Sir) John Elijah (1832-1916), consul-gen. at Salonica 1879-99, at Boston 1899-1902, 264 n., 265, 272.
- Blunt, Wilfrid Scawen (1840-1922), traveller, poet, 154, 348, 404, 427; ii. 59, 97, 101, 104, 107, 183, 184, 343-4, 398-9, 400.
- Blunt, Lady Anne, wife of above, i. 327.
- Bolingbroke, Henry (1678-1751), first Viscount, sec. at war 1704-8, sec. of state 1710, ii. 253.
- Bolton Abbey, Yorks. (Duke of Devonshire), 74.
- Booth, William (1829-1912), founder of the Salvation Army, ii. 91, 92.
- Borelli, Octave, Bey, French *directeur des contentieux* in Egyptian ministry of finance from 1879, prosecuting counsel at the trial of Arabi, 455.
- Borlase, William Copeland (1848-99), lib. M.P. 1880-7, parl. sec. Local Govt. Bd. *Apr.* 1886 *vice* Jesse Collings, ii. 441.
- Borneo, North, chartered company of, 321 n., 326, 329, 330, 333-4, 335-6, 341 n., 350.
- Borthwick, (after 1880 Sir) Algernon (1830-1908), first Bart. 1887, first Baron Glenesk 1895, editor and owner of the *Morning Post*, 29, 65.
- Bosnia and Herzegovina, 11, 14 n., 17, 202, 315, 318, 319, 343, 350.
- Bosphore Egyptien*, suppression of, ii. 352, 359 n., 361 n.
- Bourke, Robert (1827-1902), first Baron Connemara 1887, cons. M.P. 1868-86, und.-sec. for for. affairs 1874-80, 1885-6, gov. Madras 1886-90, ii. 203, 206, 416.

- Bourrée, Frédéric-Albert (1838-1914), entered French diplomatic service 1860, min. in Pekin 1880-3, in Brussels 1886-92, ii. 86.
- Bowen, Sir George Ferguson (1821-99), gov. New Zealand 1867-72, Victoria 1872-9, Mauritius 1879-82, Hong Kong 1882-7, ii. 389-90.
- Bowood, Wilts. (Lord Lansdowne), 91, 93.
- Brackenbury, (after 1881 Colonel) Charles Booth (1831-90), war correspondent of *The Times* in Germany and Turkey 1866, 1870-1, 1877, 92.
- Bradlaugh, Charles (1833-91), freethinker and republican, M.P. 1880-91, not sitting until 1885, 141, 344-5, 351 n., 441; ii. 19, 23, 30, 33.
- Braila, Sir Pietro Armeni, president legislative ass. Ionian Islands under British rule, Greek min. in London 1882-5, 362.
- Bramwell, George William Wilshire (1808-92), first Baron 1881, Baron of the Exchequer 1856-76, a lord justice of appeal 1876-81, 312, 314.
- Brand, Henry Bouverie William (1814-92), first Viscount Hampden 1884, lib. M.P. 1852-84, Speaker 1872-84, 114, 128, 338, 344, 366, 371, 437, 441, 456 n.; ii. 23, 28 n., 29, 112, 256, 257, 259, 436, 447; and G.C.B., i. 256, 257, 258, 264, 277.
- Brand, Henry Robert (1841-1906), second Viscount Hampden 1892, lib., later unionist, M.P. 1868-74, 1885-6, surveyor-gen. of the ordnance 1883-5, 368.
- Brassey, Thomas (1836-1918), first Baron 1886, first Earl 1911, lib. M.P. 1865-86, a lord of the Admiralty, 1880-4, sec. to Admiralty 1884-5, 302 n.; ii. 278, 397.
- Breadalbane, Gavin (1851-1922), seventh Earl of, first Marquis of 1885, a lord-in-waiting 1873-4, treasurer of the household 1880-5, lord steward of the household 1892-5, ii. 427 n., 441, 447.
- Brechin Castle, Angus (Lord Dalhousie), ii. 260, 261, 262.
- Brédif, — —, *chef de la division de la comptabilité*, French F.O. 1881-2, controller-gen. in Egypt Mar. 1882-3, 359, 478 n.
- Brett, Reginald Baliol (1852-1930), second Viscount Esher 1899, priv. sec. to Hartington 1878-85, lib. M.P. 1880-5, sec. Office of Works 1895-1902, &c., 417; ii. 357 n.
- Brierly, (after 1885 Sir) Oswald Walters (1817-94), marine painter, ii. 416.
- Briggs, William (1836-1922), Canadian methodist clergyman and publisher, in charge of publishing house, which as the Ryerson Press became one of the largest in Canada, 1879-1919, ii. 232.
- Bright, John (1811-89), radical M.P. 1843-89, president Bd. of Trade 1868-70, chanc. of the duchy of Lancaster 1873-4, 1880-2, 20, 34, 35, 43, 53, 59, 70, 95, 110, 129, 160, 161, 162, 225, 229, 235, 236, 237, 243, 284, 323, 324, 338, 340, 388 n., 391, 469; ii. 19, 129, 169, 253, 342, 363, 412, 413; resignation 1882, 392, 393, 395; ii. 396; and civil list pension, i. 438; and trial of Arabi, 441, 445, 446; jubilee as M.P. for Birmingham, ii. 55 n., 56, 433, 434, 438, 444, 447, 458.
- Broadley, Alexander Meyrick (b. 1847), *avocat défenseur* at the French bar 1883, advocate of consular court, Tunis 1872, senior counsel for Arabi Pasha 1882, 455; ii. 63.
- Brocket Hall, Herts. (Lord Cowper), 296.
- Broglic, Jacques-Victor-Albert, duc de (1821-1901), French ambassador in London 1871-2, leader of the monarchical opposition to Thiers 1872-3, min. for for. affairs 1873-4, senator 1875-85, president of the council and min. for justice May-Nov. 1877, 83.
- Brooke, Sir James (1803-68), first Rajah of Sarawak, 1841-68, British consul in Borneo and gov. of Labuan, 334.
- Brunswick, William (1806-84), Duke of 1830-84, died unmarried, title claimed unsuccessfully by Ernest Augustus, King of Hanover (q.v.), ii. 280.
- Buccleuch, William Henry Walter (1831-1914), sixth Duke of, styled Earl of Dalkeith until 1884, cons. M.P. for Midlothian 1853-68, 1874-80, 119.
- Buckle, George Earle (1854-1935), editor of *The Times*, 1884-1912, ii. 203, 290.
- Budget, 1885, 360, 361, 368, 371, 372, 381 n., 384.
- Bulgaria: atrocities in, 1, 3, 4, 5 n., 11, 14 n., 17 n., 30, 31, 32, 34 n., 39 n.; constitutional struggle in, 278, 279, 280-1, 285, 304; ii. 82-83, 85, 89-90, 94, 95, 99, 100, 102-5, 108, 111, 113, 138, 141, 282; church question in, ii. 148, 168, 169; fortresses in, 65, 177, 180, 349; Russia and, 177, 419; ii. 72, 82-83, 94, 95, 100, 149; union with Eastern Rumelia, 128-9, 145, 146, 153, 171 n.; ii. 398, 399, 410, 411, 415, 423.
- Bulwer, Sir Henry Ernest Gascoyne (1836-1914), Resident Ionian Islands 1860-4, gov. of Labuan and consul-

- gen. Borneo 1871-5, lieut.-gov., 1875-82, gov. Natal 1882-6, high commissioner for Cyprus 1886-92, 445; ii. 172, 432.
- Burdett Coutts (1814-1906), first Baroness 1871, principal partner in the house of Coutts & Co., bankers, 170 n., 415.
- Burials bill, 157, 158, 161, 162, 166-7.
- Burke, Thomas Henry (1829-82), und.-sec. to lord-lieut. of Ireland 1869-82, 366.
- Burnett, possibly Alan, solicitor and cons. party manager, 25.
- Butt, Isaac (1813-79), founder of the Irish home rule party, M.P. 1852-65, 1871-9, 59.
- Byron, George Gordon (1788-1824), sixth Baron, the poet, 117.
- Cabinet: single meetings; 1880: 3 May, 125 n.; 17 July, 147 n.; 4 Aug., 155; 14 Aug., 157; 18 Aug., 160-1; 21 Aug., 161, 162-3, 164 n.; 28 Aug., 165; 4 Sept., 166, 167; 6 Sept., 167-8, 172-3; 30 Sept., 186, 189 n., 190 n.; 10 Nov., 218; 12, 15 Nov., 219 n.; 17 Nov., 221 n.; 25 Nov., 333, 335-6, 13 Dec., 227 n., 228 n.; 16 Dec., 230, 231; 30 Dec., 237; 1881: 22 Feb., 242-3; 25 Feb., 243; 26 Mar., 256 n.; 8 Apr., 253 n., 254; 29 Apr., 267, 269-70, 271; 28 May, 277; 2 June, 277, 282; 23 July, 285, 286; 12 Oct., 298 n., 299, 302 n., 303; 10 Nov., 307, 308; 1882: 6 Jan., 326; 27 Jan. 330, 337; 1 Feb., 338, 339; 3 Feb., 339; 4 Mar., 347; 20, 22 Apr., 360, 362 n.; 1 May, 364, 365; 31 May, 376 n., 377; 10 June, 378; 21 June, 380, 381 n.; 5 July, 384, 385; 13 July, 393 n.; 20 July, 775 n.; 24 July, 402, 404, 405; 31 July, 408; 12 Aug., 409; 13 Sept., 418-19; 20 Oct., 444, 445, 448 n., 449 n., 451 n.; 3 Nov., 451 n.; 4 Dec., 461; 1883: 3, 6 Feb., ii. 19; 9 Feb., 22-23; 13 Feb., 23-24; 17 Feb., 27-28; 24 Feb., 31-32; 5 Mar., 35, 36; 3 Apr., 40; 26 May, 53 n.; 23 June, 57; 13 July, 62; 25 July, 69-70; 8, 22 Aug., 73, 87 n., 101, 102; 25 Oct., 101 n., 102 n., 107, 110, 113 n.; 22 Nov., 114, 115, 117, 119; 1884: 3, 4 Jan., 117 n., 137, 138, 143 n., 144, 145 n.; 24 Jan., 151, 152; 8 Feb., 154 n., 155, 156, 157; 11 Feb., 156, 157; 12 Feb., 158 n.; 18, 21 Feb., 159 n., 160; 11 Mar., 163; 16 Mar., 164; 22 Mar., 168, 169-70; 25 Mar., 173; 27 Mar., 174; 2 Apr., 177; 21, 22 Apr., 181 n.; 28 Apr., 183; 1 May, 184; 5 May, 183 n., 185; 14 May, 186, 187; 17 May, 192; 24 May, 190-1; 27 May, 190 n., 192, 193, 194-5; 7 June, 199, 200; 9 June, 198, 200, 202 n., 203 n.; 10 June, 205 n.; 14 June, 205; 21 June, 207; 24 June, 207-8; 16 July, 220 n.; 18 July, 216; 25 July, 218, 221 n.; 2 Aug., 222 n.; 9 Aug., 224 n.; 6, 8 Oct., 273-4, 277; 22 Oct., 279, 285 n.; 19 Nov., 287; 22 Nov., 288, 290-1; 28 Nov., 290 n.; 1885: 2, 3 Jan., 303 n., 305, 309, 310-11; 7 Jan., 312-13, 315; 20, 21 Jan., 321, 322, 323, 326 n.; 9, 11 Feb., 335 n., 336; 3 Apr., 355 n.; 11, 13 Apr., 356, 358, 363 n.; 20, 21 Apr., 360; 28 Apr., 364; 6 May, 368 n.; 9 May, 369 n.; 16 May, 372 n.; 5 June, 373 n., 379 n., 8 June, 383 n.; 1886: 15 Feb., 429 n.; 13 Mar., 434 n.; 26 Mar., 439 n.; 4 May, 441 n., 445 n.; 8 May, 447 n.; 8 June, 451; 20 July 456 n., 460; series of meetings to plan legislation, Nov.-Dec. 1880, 212, 230 n., 237 n.; not held 1881, 307, 308, 319, 320; Jan.-Feb. 1882, 322 n., 337 n.; Oct. 1882, 444 n.; Nov. 1883, ii. 112 n.; Jan. 1884, 140, 141; language in reporting to the Queen, 247, 362 n.; leakages, 218, 231, 253, 315 n., 332 n.; ii. 4, 22, 41, 283 n., 285 n., 372, 373; quasi-cabinet, 180, 344 n., 383; open cabinet, ii. 153; conclave, 385 n., 400, 402, 452; ii. 126, 144, 151, 161; cabinet committees, 230 n., 308, 308 n., 332 n., 444 n., 445; ii. 23, 32, 141, 288 n., 292, 436 n.; cabinet voting, 269 n.; ii. 326 n., 336 n.; cabinet solidarity, 236; ii. 60-61, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124-5, 172, 330-1, 332, 334 n. Gladstone disinclined to summon or to submit questions to, 319, 386-7, 395, 400, 403, 404, 416; ii. 40, 48, 49, 56, 117-18, 355. mins. of decisions in Beaconsfield's cabinet, 72-73. cabinet reports to the Queen to go to the Prince of Wales, ii. 370.
- Cadorna, Carlo (1809-91), cavaliere di, Italian ambassador in London 1869-75, 445.
- Cairns, Hugh McCalmont (1819-85), first Earl 1878, cons. M.P. 1852-66, lord justice of appeal 1866-8, lord chancellor 1868, 1874-80, leader of cons. party in the Lords 1868-9, 1870-4, 72, 79 n., 106, 120; ii. 70, 211 n., 224, 239, 255, 284, 285, 287.

- Calice, Heinrich (1831-1912), Freiherr von, after 1906 Graf von, Austrian ambassador at Constantinople 1880-1906, 198 n., 199, 395; ii. 113, 148-9.
- Cambridge, George William Frederick Charles (1819-1904), fieldmarshal 1862, commander-in-chief of the army 1856-95, 244, 314, 316; ii. 6, 31, 220, 280, 336.
- Cameroons, the, difficulty with Germany about, ii. 293.
- Campbell, Lord Colin (1853-95), fifth son of the Duke of Argyll, M.P. for Co. Argyll 1878-85, 75.
- Campbell, Sir George (1824-92), Anglo-Indian civil servant 1842-74, lib. M.P. 1875-92, 27.
- Campbell, John (1779-1861), first Baron Campbell 1841, lord chancellor and Speaker H.L. 1859-61, 265.
- Campbell, Lord Walter (1848-1926), third son of the Duke of Argyll, referred to in mistake for Lord Colin, 75.
- Campbell Bannerman, Henry (1836-1908), lib. M.P. 1868-1908, financial sec. W.O. 1871-4, 1880-2, sec. to the Admiralty 1882-4, chief sec. Ireland 1884-5, &c., prime min. 1905-8, 368; ii. 279, 428.
- Camperdown, Robert Adam Philips Haldane (1841-1918), third Earl of, lib., after 1886 unionist, peer, a lord-in-waiting 1868-70, a lord of the Admiralty 1870-4, 229.
- Candahar, *see* Afghanistan.
- Canning, George (1770-1827), for. sec. 1807-9, 1822-7, prime min. 1827, ii. 152.
- Cantacuzene, Prince G., counsellor of Russian embassy in London 1884-5, ii. 362.
- Canterbury, Tait, Archibald Campbell (1811-82), archbishop of 1868-82, 162, 461, 463 n.
- Benson, Edward White (1829-96), archbishop of 1882-96, 469, 471, 477; ii. 7, 50, 209, 210, 335, 336.
- Cardwell, Edward (1813-86), first Viscount 1874, Peelite and lib. M.P. 1842-74, chief sec. Ireland 1859-61, chanc. of the duchy of Lancaster 1861-4, col. sec. 1864-6, sec. for war 1868-74, 30, 47, 148.
- Carey, James, member of Dublin town council, member of the *Invincibles* turned Queen's evidence at the trial of the Phoenix Park murderers, ii. 27, 28.
- Carlingford, Chichester Samuel (1823-98), first Baron 1874, lib. M.P. 1847-74, chief sec. Ireland 1865-6, 1868-71, president Bd. of Trade 1871-4, lord privy seal 1881-5, lord president 1883-5, 122, 123, 225, 237 n., 239, 360, 452; ii. 29, 38, 54, 112 n., 126, 195, 227, 229, 230, 239, 241, 242, 243-4, 247-8, 249, 250, 251, 252-4, 256, 257, 260, 262, 326, 428.
- Carmichael, Sir James Morse (1844-1902), third Bart. 1883, clerk in the Admiralty 1862-80, attached to Egyptian commission of liquidation 1880, priv. sec. to Childers 1882-5, to Gladstone 1886, lib. M.P. 1892-5, ii. 198 n., 303.
- Carnarvon, Henry Howard Molyneux (1831-90), ninth Earl of, col. sec. 1866-7, 1874-8, lord-lieut. of Ireland 1885-6, 12, 45 n., 60, 65, 66, 67, 73, 89, 273, 274, 404 n.; ii. 84, 187, 281, 408.
- Carrington, Charles Robert (1843-1928), third Baron 1868, 2, 4, 5, 124, 281.
- Carrington, Rupert Clement George (1852-1929), fourth Baron 1928, brother of above, lib. M.P. 1880-5, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10.
- Cartwright, (after 1910 Sir) William Chauncy (1853-1933), served in F.O. 1875-8, 1889-1913, Constantinople and E. Rumelia 1878-80, 1885, 1887, acting agent and consul-gen. in Cairo *June-Aug.* 1882, *March-May* 1883, 390 n., 396 n., 397 n., 398, 404 n.
- Casa La Iglesia, marquis de, Spanish min. in London 1875-86, 316; ii. 146, 258.
- Castle Howard, Yorks. (Lord Carlisle), 10, 13, 75, 76.
- Cavendish, Lord Frederick Charles (1836-82), second son of the seventh Duke of Devonshire, priv. sec. to Gladstone and a lord of the Treasury 1873-4, financial sec. 1880-2, chief sec. Ireland 1882, 14, 95, 166, 169, 215, 216, 217, 267 n., 310, 366-8 n.; ii. 119.
- Cavendish, Lady Lucy, wife of above, 366, 368, 434; ii. 232, 421.
- Cavendish, Lord George Henry (1810-80), younger brother of seventh Duke of Devonshire, lib. M.P. 1834-80, 185, 186.
- Central Asia, 81, 82, 125-7, 163-4, 308; ii. 23, 224, 327, 337 n., 338, 339, 344-7, 352, 353, 355-9, 369-72, 375-84, 385.
- Cetewayo (d. 1884), Zulu king 1873-9, restored 1883, 445; ii. 30, 172.
- Challemel-Lacour, Paul-Armand (1827-96), French deputy 1872-6, senator 1876-9, 1885, ambassador in Berne 1879-80, in London 1880-2, min. for for. affairs 1882-Nov. 1883, 192, 200, 204, 241, 253, 297, 312, 313; ii. 33, 34, 35, 36, 84, 86, 87, 100, 104, 107.

- Chamberlain, Joseph (1836-1914), screw manufacturer, retired 1874, mayor of Birmingham 1873-6, lib., later unionist, M.P. 1876-1906, president Bd. of Trade 1880-5, president Local Govt. Bd. *Jan.-Mar. 1886*, col. sec. 1895-1903; and Dilke, 121 n., 468 n., 469, 470 n., 471; and Hartington, 98; ii. 61, 122, 129; *see also* Gladstone and; and commercial questions, 300; ii. 27, 35; and foreign questions: *Turkey*, i. 160; *Bulgaria*, ii. 399; *Egypt*, i. 338, 399, 405-6; ii. 170, 173, 174, 194, 201, 207, 241, 244, 311, 315, 340; *Sudan*, ii. 144; *Zululand*, ii. 173; *colonial question with Germany*, ii. 334; and Ireland, 236, 243, 365; ii. 12 n., 19, 23, 366-8, 381 n., 389, 420, 421, 441, 453-4; and lib. party organization, 38, 39, 41, 43, 114; ii. 444; and parliamentary reform, ii. 119 n., 121, 122, 125, 129, 131, 144; and royal grants, 353, 354; the Queen and, ii. 121-2, 218, 225 n., 281 n., 330 n., 402-3, 408-9; his 'unauthorised programme', 393, 394 n., 398 n., 399 n., 401, 402 n., 404, 408 n., 410, 412, 413; and cabinet solidarity, ii. 60, 119, 122, 372, 373 n.; and Churchill, ii. 281, 285; Gladstone and 1885, ii. 393, 394, 397, 398, 400, 407-9, 412; 1886, 434, 446, 447, 458-9; Granville on, ii. 399, 406, 409, 410-11, 413; speeches: *Birmingham 1877*, 43, 1880, 216, 1883, ii. 55 n., 56, 60, 61, 119; *Cobden Club at Greenwich 1883*, ii. 60, 61; *Wolverhampton 1883*, ii. 119-20, 121, 122, 125; *Bristol and Devonshire Club 1884*, 218; *Denbigh, Oct. 1884*, 281; *Birmingham and Ipswich Jan. 1885*, 330-1, 332, 333-4; *Warrington Sept. 1885*, 393, 399; *Lambeth Sept. 1885*, 401, 402-3; *Trowbridge, &c., Oct. 1885*, 412; *Birmingham Dec. 1885*, 417; minor references, ii. 112, 132.
- Chaplin, Henry (1840-1923), first Viscount 1916, cons. M.P. 1868-1916, ii. 30, 31.
- Chatsworth, Derbyshire (Duke of Devonshire), 19, 21, 23; ii. 132, 135.
- Chenery, Thomas (1826-84), editor of *The Times 1877-84*, 55, 66, 209, 211; ii. 4.
- Cheney, Edward (1803-84), of Badger Hall, Shifnal, Berks., and family friend of Granville, 412.
- Cherif (1819-88), Pasha, an Ottoman, entered service of Egyptian khedive 1844, min. for for. affairs 1857-65, regent 1865, 1867, 1868, chief min. 1868-78, 1879, 1881-Feb. 1882, Aug. 1882-Jan. 1884, 295 n., 320, 327, 328, 329, 332, 333, 412, 432; ii. 81, 126, 130 n., 131, 136, 137, 144, 145, 147, 149.
- Chermside, (after 1897 Sir) Herbert Charles (1850-1929), military attaché Constantinople 1876-9, 1888-95, military consul, Anatolia 1879-82, served in Egypt and the Sudan 1883-4, 1886-8, gov.-gen. Red Sea coast Oct. 1884-6, maj.-gen. 1898, &c., ii. 340.
- Chesham, Charles Compton William (1850-1907), third Baron, lib., later unionist, peer, master of the buckhounds 1900-1, 4, 80 n.; ii. 427 n., 428.
- Chesterfield, Henry Edwyn Chandos (1821-87), ninth Earl of 1883, ii. 273.
- Chichester, Richard Durnford (1802-95), bishop of 1870-95, ii. 209 n., 210.
- Childers, Hugh Culling Eardley (1827-96), lib. M.P. 1859-92, first lord of the Admiralty 1868-71, chanc. of the duchy of Lancaster 1872-3, sec. for war 1880-2, chanc. of the exchequer 1882-5, home sec. 1886; W.O. and military affairs, 97, 140, 157, 167, 244, 245, 251 n., 289, 314, 385, 391, 396, 399, 402, 404, 406, 411, 415, 416, 419, 420, 425, 428, 429, 433, 446, 452; and Australia, ii. 271; and cabinet unity 1883, ii. 120, 129, 133; and Central Asia, ii. 347; and colonial questions with Germany, ii. 305, 334; and commercial treaties, ii. 35; and Ireland, i. 230, 235 n.; ii. 19, 307, 400; and Egyptian finance, ii. 5, 153, 167, 169, 170, 176, 191, 192, 199, 201, 206, 207, 216, 221, 265, 268, 283, 288, 290, 291, 293, 296, 299, 302, 303, 308, 309, 320, 321, 325, 327, 334, 336, 373; and Sudan, ii. 144, 189, 221, 222, 223; and Suez Canal, ii. 57, 64, 65 n., 73, 74, 93, 98, 114, 116, 120, 126; and occupation of Port Hamilton, ii. 390; as chanc. of the exchequer, 310, 314, 372, 458, 459; ii. 22, 151-2, 169, 170, 254, 358, 360, 361; recommends ministry of education, ii. 248, 262 n.; Gladstone on, 460; ii. 128; health of, i. 377, 458 n.; refuses G.C.B., 445, 446, 447; his wish to be Speaker, ii. 85, 112 n.
- China: French hostilities with, ii. 83-88, 92-95, 107, 124, 172 n., 219, 255, 258, 260, 263, 298-302; British min. in

- China (*cont.*)
 Peking, ii. 44, 349-50; occupation of Port Hamilton, ii. 363.
- Christian (1831-1917), Prince, of Schleswig-Holstein, 52.
- Christian, Helena (1846-1923), Princess, third dau. of Queen Victoria, wife of above, 52.
- Christian IX (1818-1906), King of Denmark 1863-1906, 20, 23; ii. 365, 366, 369, 371, 377, 380.
- Church of England, patronage in, 35, 135, 138, 422, 463, 465-6, 467, 469, 471, 477; ii. 7, 9, 114-15; M.P.s for Oxford and Cambridge the representatives of the clergy, in parliament, i. 162 n.
- Churchill, Lord Randolph Henry Spencer (1849-95), cons. M.P. 1874-94, sec. for India 1885-6, chanc. of the exchequer, 1886: on secret service money, 131 n.; Tunis and Tripoli, 285; 'Kilmainham treaty', 455 n.; charges against the khedive, ii. 54-59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 71, 132-3, 134, 177; on Egyptian finance, ii. 241; and Afghanistan, ii. 370; parl. reform 1884, ii. 226, 232; and Chamberlain, ii. 281, 285; attacked in the *Standard*, ii. 390; illness, ii. 457.
- Civil Service Commission, 128, 168 n.
- Clarendon, Edward Hyde (1846-1914), ninth Earl of, lib. M.P. 1869-70, a lord-in-waiting 1895-1900, lord chamberlain 1900-5, 124, 276.
- Clarendon, George William Frederick (1800-70), eighth Earl of, for. sec. 1853-8, 1865-6, 1868-June 1870, 81, 126, 265 n., 301, 314; ii. 412.
- Clark, Andrew (1826-93) Bart. 1883, physician, 23, 243, 244; ii. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 16, 18, 21, 22, 53 n., 164, 166, 167, 168, 305, 314, 317, 328, 400, 438, 439.
- Clarke, Sir Andrew (1824-1902), served with the Royal Engineers 1844-86, col. 1872, director of engineering works to the Admiralty 1864-73, member of Indian Council 1875-80, inspector-gen. of fortifications under W.O. 1882-6, 425, 446; ii. 116 n.
- Clayton-Bulwer treaty, *see* America.
- Clémenceau, Georges (1841-1929), French radical deputy 1871, 1876-93, senator 1902-29, president of the council 1906-9, 1917-19, 409; ii. 24-25, 37.
- Cleveland, Duchess of, 472.
- Clifford, Lewis Henry Hugh (1851-1916), ninth Baron, of Chudleigh 1880, lib., later lib. unionist, peer, ii. 427-8.
- Cobden treaty 1860, 124, 284.
- Cogan, William Henry Ford (b. 1823), Irish lib. M.P. 1852-80 and privy councillor, 129.
- Coleridge, John Duke (1820-94), first Baron 1874, sol.-gen. 1868-71, att.-gen. 1871-3, chief justice of the common pleas 1873, lord chief justice 1880-94, 301.
- Colley, (after 1879 Sir) George Pomeroy (1835-81), col., priv. sec. to Lord Lytton 1879-80, gov. Natal and high commissioner S.E. Africa, 1880-1, maj.-gen. commanding in Transvaal 1881, 92.
- Collier, Robert Porrett (1817-86), first Baron Monkswell 1885, lib. M.P. 1852-72, sol.-gen. 1863-6, att.-gen. 1868-71, judicial member of the Privy Council 1871-86, ii. 224.
- Collings, Jesse (1831-1920), radical M.P. 1880-1918, parl. sec. Local Govt. Bd. 1886, und.-sec. for home affairs 1895-1902, ii. 440 n., 441.
- Colquhoun, Sir Patrick Macchombaich (1815-91), judge, later chief justice, in supreme court, Ionian Islands 1858-64, 33.
- Colvin, Sir Auckland (1838-1908), served the Indian govt. 1858-78, British commissioner of the Egyptian debt, later controller of Egyptian finance 1878-82, financial adviser to the khedive 1882-3, chargé in Cairo 1881, 325, 348, 359, 398, 404, 423, 425, 426, 428, 462, 477, 478 n.; ii. 5, 43.
- Commerce and Agriculture, ministry of, 348-9; ii. 27.
- Compensation for Agricultural Improvements bill, ii. 23, 32.
- Compton, Lord William (1851-1913), second son of fourth Marquis of Northampton, fifth Marquis 1897, priv. sec. to Lord Cowper as lord-lieut. of Ireland 1880-2, lib. M.P. 1885-6, 1889-97, ii. 428.
- Congo, negotiations with Portugal over 1883-4, ii. 42-43, 121-2, 310 n.
- Connaught, Duke of, *see* Arthur.
- Conolly, James (d. 1885), col. 1862, military attaché at Vienna 1869-71, Paris 1871-80, lieut.-gen. 1880, 83.
- Constantine, Nicolaewitch (1827-92), Russian Grand Duke and admiral, second son of Tsar Nicholas I, 170.
- Contagious Diseases (Animals) bill, ii. 169.
- Contemporary Review*, 20, 419; ii. 217.
- Contempt of Court bill, ii. 23.
- Cookson, (after 1888 Sir) Charles Alfred (1831-1906), barrister, judge consular court at Alexandria 1874-97, acting

- agent and consul-gen. in Cairo in 1875, 1876, 1877, 1880, *May-Sept.* 1881, 355.
- Coombe Hurst, Kingston, Surrey (H. F. C. Vyner), ii. 386.
- Coombe Warren, Kingston, Surrey (Sir A. Clark), ii. 165-8, 170, 172-4, 176, 461, 462.
- Cooper, Charles Alfred (1829-1916), editor of the *Scotsman* 1876-1906, 477, 478.
- Coppice, Henley-on-Thames, Oxon. (Sir Robert Phillimore), 428, 429, 430.
- Corbett, Edwin (1819-87), entered diplomatic service 1847, min. in Athens 1878-81, Rio de Janeiro 1881-4, Stockholm 1884-7, 240; ii. 227.
- Cork, Richard Edmund St. Lawrence (1829-1904), ninth Earl of, master of the buckhounds 1866, 1868-74, 1880-5, master of the horse 1886, 1894-5, 122, 343; ii. 210, 440, 441, 442, 443, 445.
- Corrupt Practices bill, 339-40.
- Corry, Montague William Lowry (1838-1903), first Baron Rowton 1880, priv. sec. to Beaconsfield 1866-81, 48, 49, 254; ii. 239.
- Cotes, Charles Cecil (1846-98), lib. M.P. for Shrewsbury 1874-85, a lord of the Treasury 1880-5, 15, 16.
- Cottesloe, Thomas Francis (1798-1890), first Baron 1874, as T. F. Fremantle was chairman of the Bd. of Customs, ii. 210; for second Baron, *see* Fremantle.
- Courcel, Alphonse Chodron (1835-1919), baron de, director of political affairs in French ministry for for. affairs 1880-2, ambassador in Berlin 1882-6, in London 1894-8, ii. 354-5, 377.
- Courtney, Leonard Henry (1832-1918), Baron 1906, lib. M.P. 1876-1900, home und.-sec. 28 *Dec.* 1800-Aug. 1881, col. und.-sec. 1881-2, sec. to the Treasury 1882-4, 33, 237, 368, 411, 430.
- Cowan, John (1814-1900), first Bart. 1894, chairman of the Midlothian lib. association 1879-95, 203.
- Cowen, Joseph (1831-1900), friend of Mazzini, radical M.P. 1873-85, organizer of Newcastle caucus, 172.
- Cowley, Henry Richard Charles (1804-84), first Earl, ambassador in Paris 1852-67, 301.
- Cowper, Francis Thomas de Grey (1834-1905), seventh Earl, capt. of the corps of gentlemen-at-arms 1871-4, lord-lieut. of Ireland 1880-2, 122, 233, 278, 279, 311, 314, 315, 325, 356, 357, 358; ii. 26, 231, 232, 244.
- Cranbrook, *see* Hardy.
- Cranworth, Robert Monsey (1790-1868), first Baron 1850, lord chanc. 1852-8, 1865-6, ii. 224, 250, 425.
- Crawford, Mrs. Emily (1832-1915), correspondent of the *Daily News* in Paris 1885-1907, 24, 25.
- Crete, 120, 230, 248-9, 258.
- Crichel, Dorset (Lord Alington), 26, 27.
- Crimean war, 9 n., 91, 92, 182, 191, 196.
- Criminal Code Consolidation bill, ii. 17, 21.
- Croke, Thomas William (1824-1902), Roman Catholic archbishop of Cashel 1875-1902, ii. 116.
- Cross, John Kynaston (b. 1832), radical M.P. 1874-85, und.-sec. for India 1883-5, 302 n., 472 n.; ii. 136, 137, 138, 147.
- Cross, Sir Richard Assheton (1823-1914), first Viscount 1886, cons. M.P. 1857-86, home sec. 1874-80, 1885-6, 39, 45 n., 72 n., 75, 82 n., 110, 274 n., 378 n., 399, 406, 457; ii. 26, 32, 370, 400, 410.
- Crowe, Sir Joseph Archer (1825-96), consul-gen. at Düsseldorf 1872-80, commercial attaché Berlin and Vienna 1880-2, Paris 1882-96, 217, 313.
- Crown, prerogative of treaty making, ii. 42.
- Cuffnells, Hants. (rented by Sir W. Harcourt), 463, 465.
- Cullen, Paul (1803-78), cardinal, Roman Catholic archbishop of Armagh 1849-52, Dublin 1852-78, 58.
- Currie, Sir Donald (1825-1909), ship-owner, lib. M.P. 1880-6, lib. unionist 1886-1900, ii. 82.
- Currie, Philip Henry Wodehouse (1834-1906), Baron 1899, served in F.O. 1854-94, priv. sec. to Granville 1870-4, 1880-5, permanent und.-sec. 1889-94, ambassador in Constantinople 1894-8, Rome 1898-1903, 171, 189 n.; ii. 311, 355 n.
- Cyprus: Anglo-Turkish convention on, 4 *June* 1878, 69 n., 71 n., 72, 77, 85, 129, 130, 132-4, 154 n., 181; ii. 39, 103, 108, 109; proposed offer to Greece, 230, 232, 233; second Malta, 263, 265; the Queen and, 280; other references, 76, 120, 169, 170, 173, 312, 216.
- Daily Chronicle*, 459.
- Daily News*, 36, 53, 62 n., 77, 80, 86, 110, 174, 213; ii. 10, 23, 24-25, 41 n., 58, 91, 159, 380, 399, 454, 460.

- Daily Telegraph*, 52, 53, 58 n., 60, 64, 479; ii. 194.
- Dalhousie, John William (1847-87), styled Lord Ramsay, thirteenth Earl of 1880, lib. M.P. for Liverpool, *Mar.-July 1880*, a lord-in-waiting 1880-5, sec. for Scotland *Mar.-Aug. 1886*, 110, 111, 149, 150, 156 n., 281, 296; ii. 83, 247, 249, 251, 252, 258 n., 294, 438, 439, 440.
- Dalkeith House, Edinburgh (Duke of Buccleuch), 115.
- Dalkeith, *see* Buccleuch.
- Dalmeny Park, Edinburgh (Lord Rosebery), ii. 234, 237, 239.
- Dante Alighieri, 16, 412.
- Danube Navigation, conference on 1883, ii. 23, 29, 31, 32, 34, 36.
- Danubian Principalities, *see* Rumania.
- Dasent, Sir George Webbe (1817-96), assistant editor of *The Times* 1845-70, civil service commissioner 1870-92, 128; ii. 443, 444.
- Davidson, Randall Thomas (1848-1930), md. archbishop Tait's daughter *Nov. 1878*, chaplain to archbishop of Canterbury 1877, dean of Windsor *June 1883*, bishop of Rochester *Apr. 1891*, Winchester 1895, archbishop of Canterbury 1903-28, first Baron 1928, 463.
- Davitt, Michael (1846-1906), Irish revolutionary, a Fenian 1865-82, with Brennan and Egan, member of executive council of the Land League 1879-82, ii. 13.
- Débats*, 91.
- Delagoa Bay, ii. 310.
- Delane, John Thadeus (1817-79), editor of *The Times* 1841-77, 4, 15, 45.
- De La Warr, Richard Windsor (1817-96), seventh Earl 1873, cons. peer, 256.
- Delessert, Edward, ? son of the Paris banker, 470, 471, 473.
- Derby, Edward Henry (1826-93), fifteenth Earl of, col. sec. 1858, 1882-5, sec. for India 1858-9, for. sec. 1866-8, 1874-8: personal questions: *resignation 1878*, 69, 72, 73, 265; *purchase of Suez Canal shares 1875*, ii. 69 n.; *and K.G.*, 165 n., 168, 248, 257 n., 268, 456, 457; ii. 98; *and cabinet office*, 310, 314, 315, 370-2, 377, 458, 459, 460-1, 468, 470; ii. 5, 19, 28, 29; *possible mission to Egypt*, 421, 427; foreign questions, 7-10, 14, 15, 26, 27, 32, 42, 45 n., 46, 48, 49, 53, 58, 60, 77, 83, 214, 380; ii. 97, 105, 263; recommends Malet for Berlin embassy, ii. 245; speech on Madagascan difficulty with France, ii. 37; and home politics and appointments, 101, 294; ii. 112; and Liverpool and Lancashire politics, 110, 111, 119; ii. 270, 273; and col. questions, ii. 26, 30, 46, 47, 50, 51, 57, 84, 173, 233, 242, 271-2, 293, 294, 304, 319-20, 334; his col. policy criticized by the Queen, 320, 321; and Beaconsfield and the Queen, ii. 99; and parl. reform, ii. 142; and Irish questions, 223-4, 298, 319; ii. 23, 389, 390, 400, 414, 416-17, 419; refuses to join the lib. govt. 1886, ii. 424, 444.
- Derby, Lady, wife of above, 27, 101, 294, 308, 314, 315, 370, 371, 372 n., 377 n., 461, 471, 472.
- Dervish (1813-96), Pasha, represented Turkey at the congress of Paris 1856, pacified the Lebanon 1866, defended Batum 1878, reduced Albanians 1880, sent to Egypt 1882, 216, 226.
- De Tabley, George Fleming (1827-87), second Baron, a lord-in-waiting 1853-8, 1859-66, treasurer of the household 1868-72, 96.
- De Vesci, John Robert William (1844-1903), fourth Viscount 1875, lib. peer, first Baron (U.K.) 1884, ii. 429 n.
- Devonshire, William (1808-91), seventh Duke of, 185, 186, 311; ii. 119, 131, 328.
- Dhuleep-Singh, Maharajah of Lahore (1838-93), lived in Norfolk after being deposed and pensioned on the annexation of the Punjab, 290, 292-3.
- Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth (1843-1911), second Bart., lib. M.P. 1868-86, 1892-1911, for. und.-sec. 1880-2, president Local Govt. Bd. 1882-5: references relating to his career, 100, 117, 121 n., 169, 172, 174, 175, 311, 368; ii. 112, 430-1, 449, 462 n., 463; difficulty with the Queen, 353-4, 367, 467, 468; ii. 1, 3 n., 4; and cabinet office, 459, 461, 467, 469, 470 n., 471, 472, 477; ii. 5, 19; and Chamberlain, 98, 121 n., 468, 469, 471; ii. 60, 367, 381 n., 393, 398, 415, 422; and col. questions; *North Borneo charter*, 321, 329, 330, 332, 333, 336; *Zanzibar*, ii. 294; *Zululana*, ii. 173; *with Germany*, ii. 334; and commercial negotiations, 168, 283, 285, 291, 297, 300, 302, 304, 306, 330, 331, 339, 343; ii. 35; and foreign questions, 97, 136 n., 139, 192, 203, 249, 267, 269, 272, 273.

- 285, 286, 313, 328, 362, 378, 382, 399, 409, 414, 415, 417, 425, 452; ii. 23, 32, 42, 126, 153, 189-90, 201, 204, 207, 263, 292, 340, 362, 374;
 and Gen. Gordon, ii. 151;
 and Irish local govt., ii. 19;
 and London govt., ii. 53;
 opposition to Childers's budget 1885, 360-1;
 and parl. reform 1884, ii. 271, 285, 286;
 and political situation *Dec.* 1885, ii. 415, 416.
- Dillon, John (1851-1927), Irish home rule M.P. 1880-1918, arrested and released with Parnell under the 'Kilmainham treaty', 269, 271, 364 n., 365 n., 371; ii. 31 n.
- Disraeli, *see* Beaconsfield.
- Dixie, Lady Florence (1857-1905), dau. of Marquis of Queensberry, wife of Sir Alexander Dixie, authoress and traveller, correspondent of the *Morning Post* in the Zulu war 1879, ii. 38-39.
- Dodson, John George (1825-97), first Baron Monk Bretton 1884, authority on parl. procedure, lib. M.P. 1857-84, deputy Speaker 1865-72, financial sec. to the Treasury 1873-4, president Local Govt. Bd. 1880-2, chanc. of the duchy of Lancaster 1882-4, 22, 23, 87, 88, 441, 456 n., 457, 469, 471, 474, 477; ii. 23, 78, 112 n., 207, 234, 236, 239, 242, 244, 252, 253, 278, 279, 280.
- Döllinger, Johann Josef Ignaz von (1799-1890), German theologian, professor of ecclesiastical history at Munich 1826-71, rector 1871, leader of the Old Catholics 1873, 101.
- Dollis Hill, nr. Willesden, Middlesex (Lord Aberdeen), 388, 389.
- Dover Harbour improvement, 215.
- Dowell, Vice-Admiral Sir William Montagu (1825-1912), commander of the China squadron, 1883-8, retired as admiral 1890, ii. 390.
- Doyle, Richard (1824-83), artist and caricaturist, contributor to *Punch*, 29.
- Duclerc, Charles - Théodore - Eugène (1812-88), French deputy 1871, later senator, min. for for. affairs *Aug.* 1882-*Jan.* 1883, 464, 468, 470, 473; ii. 6, 8.
- Dudley, William Ward (1817-85), first Earl of, lib. peer who ceased to follow Gladstone 1869, 143.
- Dufferin, Frederick Temple (1826-1902), first Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, chanc. of the duchy of Lancaster 1868-72, gov.-gen. of Canada 1872-8, ambassador in St. Petersburg 1879-81, in Constantinople 1881-4, in Rome 1888-91, in Paris 1891-6, viceroy of India 1884-8: as ambassador, 93, 94, 95, 125, 205, 215, 246, 255, 256, 259, 265, 278, 279, 284, 292, 296, 302, 309, 324, 325, 344, 351, 359, 360, 361, 380, 382, 383, 384, 397, 398, 399, 407, 410, 411, 417; ii. 90, 100, 101, 102-3, 104, 108, 113, 141, 143, 146, 148-9, 169, 240, 289; his successor at Constantinople, ii. 227; on Ireland, 225; special mission to Egypt *Nov.* 1882-*Feb.* 1883, 421, 427, 428, 434, 436, 438, 439, 452, 454, 455, 462 n., 465, 477, 478; ii. 3, 6, 8, 22, 37, 39, 40, 43, 44, 63, 72, 81; as viceroy of India, ii. 51 n., 226, 230, 264, 269, 376, 378-9; avoids voting on franchise bill, ii. 272, 275 n.
- Duffy, Charles Gavan (b. 1816), owner and editor of the *Nation*, independent Irish M.P. 1852-5, ii. 408.
- Duncannon, John William (1781-1847), fourth Earl of Bessborough, styled Viscount Duncannon 1834-44, home sec. 1834-5, first commissioner of Woods and Forests 1835-40, ii. 254.
- Dunckley, Henry (1823-96), editor of the *Manchester Examiner and Times* 1855-89, 86.
- Dunn, Andrew, iron merchant of Southwark, temperance and lib. candidate put forward by Southwark lib. association, by-election *Feb.* 1880, 114.
- Dunn, John, English factotum of Cetewayo, Zulu king, himself a Zulu king 1879-82, ii. 26, 30.
- Dunraven, Windham Thomas (1841-1926), fourth Earl of 1871, styled Viscount Adare 1850-71, col. und.-sec. 1885-6, 1886-7, 124, 145.
- Dunrobin Castle (Duke of Sutherland), 15; ii. 202.
- Dunster Castle, Somerset (G. F. Luttrell), 29 n.
- Durdans, the, Surrey (Lord Rosebery), 258, 272, 273, 278 n., 353, 363, 374, 375, 376, 377; ii. 60, 179, 180, 352.
- Durham, dean of, *see* Lake, William Charles.
- Durham, John George (1855-1928), third Earl of, lib., later unionist, peer, ii. 25 n.
- Eastern Rumelia, 85, 96, 134, 137, 139, 171 n., 177, 258, 279; *see also* Bulgaria.
- Eaton Hall, Cheshire (Duke of Westminster), 56; ii. 395.
- Echo*, 103.
- Edib, Effendi, Turkish commissioner sent to report on the Bulgarian atrocities 1876, 1.

- Edinburgh, Alfred Ernest Albert (1844-1900), Duke of, second son of Queen Victoria, 259, 352 n.; ii. 31 n.
- Edinburgh, Marie Alexandrovna, Duchess of, 245.
- Edinburgh Review*, 14, 86 n.; ii. 105, 108.
- Education, ministry of, recommended, ii. 58 n., 248, 262.
- Edwards, (after 1891 Sir) James Bevan (1834-1922), col. Royal Engineers 1877, commanded R.E. in Suakin expedition 1885, maj.-gen. 1887, lieut.-gen. 1891, cons. M.P. 1895-9, ii. 116 n.
- Egan, Patrick (1841-1919), an organizer of the Home Rule League 1869, treasurer and member with Brennan and Davitt of executive council of the Land League 1879-82, in Paris with the funds of the League *Jan.* 1881 to *Dec.* 1882, resigned and went to America 1883, American min. in Santiago 1885-91, 378.
- Egerton, Algernon Fulke (1825-91), cons. M.P. 1859-80, 1882-5, sec. to the Admiralty 1874-80, not he, but Lord George Hamilton made vice-president of the Council 1878, 48, 78.
- Egerton, (after 1897 Sir) Edwin Henry (1841-1916), entered diplomatic service 1859, sec. of legation at Athens 1881-4, acting agent and consul-gen. Cairo *Apr.-Sept.* 1884, *July* 1885-*Jan.* 1886, sec. of embassy at Paris 1886-92, min. in Athens 1892-1903, ambassador in Madrid 1903-5, Rome 1905-8, ii. 148 n., 187, 202, 217-18, 250.
- Egypt: Britain and 1876-8, 18, 21, 66, 67, 68, 83; ii. 26, 246; disorders in, *Sept.-Dec.* 1881, 290-2, 295, 296, 298, 300, 301, 320; *Apr.-May* 1882, 354, 355, 363, 368-70, 373-6;
- Anglo-French joint note *Jan.* 1882, 298, 324-8;
 - Anglo-French occupation proposed, 375;
 - chamber of notables, 320-1, 330-3, 336, 337, 339, 342-3, 348, 359 n., 374, 379, 412, 431, 442, 465;
 - council of state, ii. 90;
 - European intervention, 83, 331, 334, 335, 340, 381;
 - Alexandria; *dispatch of fleet to and bombardment of*, 369-70, 376 n., 388-9, 397; *fire at*, 394, 402;
 - conference on, at Constantinople 1882, 376-7, 378-84, 386-7, 394-6, 399, 400, 402, 404, 405, 408, 410 n., 414-15, 417 n., 420 n., 421, 423, 424, 426, 428;
 - military convention for Turkish intervention 1882, 410, 412-16, 418, 420 n., 422 n.; trial and punishment of Arabi, 405, 412, 416 n., 427-32, 441 n., 445 n., 446, 451-5, 457, 465, 478; keel-hauling for rebels, 412, 413, 417;
 - Dufferin mission, 421, 427, 428, 434, 436, 438, 452 n., 454, 455, 462 n., 465, 477, 478; ii. 3, 8, 22, 40; reform of Egyptian army, 425, 431, 442, 455-6, 462; ii. 81, 161, 162, 170, 184, 185, 276; reconstruction generally, 401, 412, 415, 419, 420-8, 431, 435, 436, 442, 445, 448, 451 n., 465, 467; ii. 153-4, 166-70; Europeans employed in, 435, 470, 473, 479; ii. 97;
 - dual control, abolition of, 422, 431, 434, 436, 438, 439, 440-1, 442, 445, 448, 449, 454 n., 462-3, 464, 466-7, 468, 470, 473, 474, 477-8, 478-80; ii. 6, 8, 11;
 - European control, ii. 186, 188, 194-6, 201 n., 306, 321, 323-4, 336; financial questions, 1883-4, negotiations with France, and conference *June-Aug.* 1884, 413, 426 n., 428, 438, 439, 442, 462-3, 464; ii. 4, 6-7, 8, 153, 166, 167, 169, 175-7, 180, 184-8, 190, 191, 193-203, 204, 205-6, 206 n., 207, 215-16, 218, 219, 220, 234-8, 240, 242, 244, 251, 273, 283; 1884-5, 262, 263-6, 270, 274, 276, 277, 280, 283-4, 287-97, 299, 300, 302, 303, 305, 306, 308, 310-16, 320-8, 329-36, 347, 360; Northbrook mission, ii. 180 n., 223, 229 n., 237-8, 240, 241, 250, 251, 254, 258, 260, 265-8, 270, 279-81, 284, 291, 293, 299, 300, 302, 340 n.; neutralization of, 425; ii. 188, 193 n., 207, 208, 238, 291-2, 296, 303, 352, 366, 371, 376-8, 381, 382; defence and guarantee, 449, 465; ii. 130, 314; secret engagement of Salisbury to Waddington, i. 406-7, 411, 413, 418, 427, 473; ii. 178; proposal to establish independence of, i. 447-8; reduction of British troops in, and evacuation, ii. 6, 37, 81, 87, 97-99, 101-7, 175; refusal of reinforcements, ii. 130, 133-5; Bismarck's wish for British annexation, ii. 87, 341 n., 379; Clifford Lloyd incident, ii. 178-9, 180 n., 188; extent of British responsibility, i. 421, 423; ii. 145, 147, 157, 167, 180, 193, 199, 251, 292, 299, 317, 325, 379, 383; term for British occupation, ii. 188-90, 193, 195, 196, 198, 201 n., 202 n., 203 n., 311 n., 313, 314, 315, 316, 317; Egyptian policy reviewed in Gladstone's election manifesto, ii. 396-7;

- national sentiment in, i. 327;
 press law, ii. 254, 258; see also
Bosphore Égyptienne;
 railways, i. 425, 446;
 recruiting in India or Turkey, i. 435;
 ii. 115, 116;
 Red Sea, and Italian claims to, i. 288-
 9, 292, 318; see also Italy;
 Sanitary Bd. ii. 229;
 slavery, ii. 90, 136, 141, 159, 160;
 Blue book despatches on: 4 Nov.
 1881, 328; 30 Jan. 1882, 338; 11 July
 1882, 398 n., 399;
 debates on, 1882, 393, 399, 401 n.,
 405-6, 407, 414, 451; 1883, ii. 27, 28,
 74; 1884, 157, 188, 192, 193, 201-2,
 223; 1885, 337.
- Elcho, Francis (1818-1914), styled Lord
 Elcho 1853-83, eighth Earl of Wemyss
 1883, cons. M.P. 1841-83, 269, 409.
- Elections, general 1874, 26, 32, 99, 112;
 1880, 90, 99, 100, 103, 112, 115-20;
 1885, lib. programme for, ii. 392-3, 394,
 395, 397, 398; lib. prospects, 390, 399;
 1886, 455, 456, 459;
 by-elections: Aberdeenshire, E. 1878,
 89; Argyll 1878, 75 n., 79; Aylesbury
 1880, 114; Barnstaple 1879, 104;
 Bucks. 1876, 2 n., 3-8, 10, 11 n., 12;
 Cheshire, W. 1881, 260, 273; Frome
 1876, 22-25; Glasgow and Aberdeen
 Universities 1876, 10, 11 n., 12; Liver-
 pool 1880, 110-13; London, city of
 1879, 97, 98; Norfolk, N. 1879, 92, 93;
 Sheffield 1879, 104, 105, 108; Shrop-
 shire S. 1876, 15-17; Southwark Feb.
 1880, 113, 114; Truro 1878, 77, 79,
 80; Tyrone 1881, 289.
- Elgin, Victor Alexander (1849-1917),
 ninth Earl of 1863, treasurer of the
 household Feb.-July 1886, chief com-
 missioner Bd. of Works Apr.-Aug.
 1886, viceroy of India 1894-9, col. sec.
 1905-8, 281; ii. 427 n., 428, 439, 440-1,
 442, 443.
- Ellicot, Charles John (1819-1905), bishop
 of Gloucester and Bristol 1863-97 and
 of Gloucester 1897-1905, 466.
- Elliot, Sir George Augustus (1813-1901),
 admiral 1870, ii. 26.
- Elliot, Sir Henry George (1817-1907),
 ambassador in Constantinople 1867-77,
 in Vienna 1877-84, 4, 6, 11, 33, 34, 48,
 123, 127, 137, 147, 171, 175-7, 180, 196,
 206, 211, 259, 350; ii. 74, 89, 118, 236,
 237.
- Employers' Liability bill, 165, 166.
- Enfield, George Henry Charles (1830-98),
 styled Viscount Enfield, third Earl of
 Strafford 1886, lib. M.P. 1852-74, sec.
- Poor Law Bd. 1865-6, for. und.-sec.
 1870-4, a lord-in-waiting 1880, und.-
 sec. for India, 1880-3, 33, 117, 124 n.,
 149, 151, 168, 470, 471, 472, 474; ii. 79,
 226, 397.
- England, 415, 417.
- Errington, George (1839-1920), first Bart.
 1885, Irish lib. M.P. 1874-85, un-
 official agent at the Vatican 1881-5, 54,
 55, 231, 298, 299, 301, 306, 317, 337,
 340, 341 n., 351, 362, 366; ii. 54, 76,
 115, 116, 388.
- Escott, Thomas Hay Sweet (b. 1844),
 journalist, editor *Fortnightly Review*
 1879-86, ii. 203 n., 273.
- Eugénie, Empress of the French (1826-
 1920), ii. 155.
- Evans, Arthur J., correspondent of the
Manchester Guardian 1881, 125, 420.
- Evarts, William Maxwell (1818-1901),
 American sec. of state 1877-81, 242.
- Exchequer Court, office of chief baron,
 185.
- Fair trade, 291, 293, 343.
- Falbe, C. F., Danish min. in Vienna to
 1879, in London 1880-91, 204.
- Farquharson, James Ross (1834-88), of
 Invercauld, Aberdeenshire, known for
 his wealth, in 1880 sought to win Bod-
 min (electorate under 1,000), but not
 on political views, from F. Leveson-
 Gower, a fellow lib., 115.
- Farrer, Thomas Henry (1819-99), first
 Baron 1893, served Bd. of Trade 1848-
 86, permanent und.-sec. 1865-86, 468;
 ii. 451, 461.
- Fawcett, Henry (1833-84), radical M.P.
 1865-84, postmaster gen. 1880-4,
 34 n., 80, 82, 353, 354, 453; ii. 71, 72.
- Fehmi, Hassan, Pasha, Turkish min. of
 Justice 1885, special mission to London,
 ii. 320, 329 n., 332, 350-1, 366, 374,
 375.
- Fergus[s]on, Sir James (1832-1907), sixth
 Bart., cons. M.P. 1854-7, 1859-68,
 1885-1905, parl. und.-sec. for India
 1866-7, for home affairs 1867-8, for
 affairs 1886-91, defeated Frome by-
 election 1876, col. gov. 1868-85, 25.
- Ferry, Jules-François-Camille (1832-93),
 republican deputy for Paris 1869-70,
 prefect of the Seine 1870-1, min. of
 education 1879, prime min. 1880-1,
 prime min. and, from Nov., min. for
 for. affairs 1883-5, 180, 219, 407 n.;
 ii. 33, 35, 107, 139, 194, 200, 205, 216,
 219, 240, 288, 291, 298-300, 302, 308,
 309, 311, 313, 316, 320, 334, 352, 353,
 354.

- Feversham, William Ernest (1829-1915), third Baron, first Earl of 1868, cons. peer, 49.
- Fife, Alexander William George (1849-1912), sixth Earl, after 1889 first Duke of, styled Viscount MacDuff 1857-79, lib. M.P. 1874-9, capt. of the corps of gentlemen-at-arms 1880-1, md. Princess Louise, eldest dau. of the Prince of Wales 1889, 89, 229, 233, 235, 296; ii. 427 n.
- Fingall, Arthur James Francis (1859-1929), eleventh Earl of 1881, lib., later unionist, peer, 329 n., 333.
- Firth, Joseph Firth Bottomley (1842-89), lib. M.P. 1880-5, 1888-9, 335.
- Fitzgerald, (after 1885 Sir) Gerald (1833-1912), accountant-gen. India 1872-6, director-gen. of public accounts in Egypt 1877-85, accountant-gen. of the navy and assistant financial sec. 1885-96, 435.
- Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond George Petty (1846-1935), first Baron 1906, lib. M.P. 1868-85, commissioner for Eastern Rumelia 1880-1, for. und.-sec. 1883-5, 1905-8, 124, 368, 477; ii. 1-3, 32, 42, 57, 79, 153, 178, 197, 198, 227, 229, 283, 352, 370, 372 n., 462; resignation 1885, ii. 328, 373, 374.
- Fitzwilliam, William Thomas Spencer (1815-1902), fourth Earl, lib., later unionist, peer, 20, 29.
- Floquet, Charles-Thomas (1828-96), French radical deputy 1871-93, senator 1894-6, prefect of the Seine 1882, prime min. and min. of interior 1888-9, ii. 25.
- Florian, comte X. de, second, later first, sec. of French embassy in London 1883-92, ii. 86.
- Forbes, Archibald (1838-1900), correspondent of the *Daily News* during the Franco-Prussian war, Russo-Turkish war, &c. 1870-80, 58, 59 n.
- Ford Castle, Northumberland (fifth Marquis of Waterford, whose wife restored it), 9.
- Ford, (after 1885 Sir) Francis Clare (1828-99), entered diplomatic service 1851, min., later ambassador, in Madrid 1884-92, Constantinople 1892-3, Rome 1893-8, ii. 227, 256.
- Forster, Sir Charles (1815-91), first Bart. 1874, lib. M.P. 1852-91, ii. 461.
- Forster, William Edward (1818-86), lib. M.P. 1861-86, col. und.-sec. 1865-6, vice-president of the Council, hd. Education dept. 1868-74, chief sec. Ireland 1880-2: and Bradford constituency, 51, 52, 74-77; and foreign questions: 11, 12, 13, 15, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 128 n., 129, 154; ii. 42; and *Suez Canal*, ii. 70; and *Gen. Gordon*, ii. 178; *wish to maintain British influence in Egypt*, ii. 193 n.; and home questions, 102; and Irish questions: *compensation for disturbance bill*, 155; *coercion, land reform and agrarian agitation*, 217, 219-21, 223-5, 227, 228, 234, 237, 238, 243, 277, 279, 293, 294, 296, 298, 299, 311, 313, 319, 320, 321, 352, 356, 357, 358, 360, 361, 364; and *lord-lieut.*, 230-1, 233, 279, 311, 314, 315, 325, 356, 357, 358, 359; *secret service in Ireland*, 131; *inquiry into 1881 act*, 342, 345 n.; and '*Kilmainham treaty*', 364, 365, 371; speeches, 67, 139; at *Bradford on parl. reform 1883*, ii. 129, 132.
- Fortescue, see Carlingford.
- Fortnightly Review*, 226 n., ii. 92, 195, 391.
- Fowler, John (1817-98), first Bart. 1890, civil engineer, ii. 386.
- Fowler, Robert Nicholas (1828-91), first Bart. 1885, cons. M.P. 1868-74, 1880-91, lord mayor of London 1883-4, ii. 93, 95, 96.
- France: and Balkan policy, ii. 84, 92, 94; commercial negotiations with, 84, 124, 132-3, 136-7, 168, 274, 282-4, 291 n., 292, 297, 300, 302, 303, 304, 417; ii. 35; see also *China*; domestic politics, ii. 95, 353; and *Egypt*, 35, 290-2, 296, 297-300, 320, 324-8, 329, 330, 331-3, 334, 335, 336, 337, 339, 340, 354, 355, 359, 363, 368-9, 373-7, 379, 380, 383, 384, 386-8, 389, 392-4, 396, 397, 400, 401-4, 406-8, 411, 417, 418, 434, 439, 440-1, 445, 448-9, 462, 464-5, 468, 470, 471, 473, 477-8, 479-80, 481, 482; ii. 35, 180-6, 188, 208, 216-21, 238, 277, 288-93, 290-304, 306, 308, 310-16, 320-31, 334-6, 361, 371-6, 381 n.; and *Madagascar*, ii. 8 n., 62, 63-64, 75-76, 78, 80-83, 89, 91, 92, 94, 95, 104-7, 110, 111, 238; and *Montenegrin and Greek questions*, 140, 152, 154, 157-61, 169, 180, 181, 192, 195, 196, 198, 200-6, 210, 223, 227, 232, 235, 238, 240, 249; and *Morocco*, 299, 301, 316; and *Newfoundland*, 312, 313; and *Tripoli*, 284 n., 285, 286; and *Tunis*, 203 n., 241, 253, 262-5, 267, 268, 273, 274-5, 285; and *Turkish finance*, 221.
- Francis Joseph (1830-1916), Emperor of Austria 1848-1916, 59, 121 n., 122, 420.
- Franco-Prussian war, 45-47, 103, 308; ii. 91.

- Fraser, Hugh (1832-94), entered diplomatic service 1855, sec. of legation and sometime chargé d'affaires in Pekin 1874-9, sec. of embassy in Vienna 1879-82, Rome 1882-5, min. in Tokio 1888-94, 305.
- Freeman, Edward Bothamley (1838-1921), entered the consular service 1856, served at Bosna Serai (Sarajevo) 1860-76, vice-consul Mostar 1876-9, consul, after 1891 consul-gen., at Sarajevo 1879-1905, 315.
- Freiheit* newspaper, prosecution of, 256, 257; ii. 140.
- Fremantle, Thomas Francis (1830-1918), second Baron Cottesloe, cons. M.P. for Bucks. 1876-85, 2 n., 8, 10, 12.
- Frere, Sir Henry Bartle Edward (1815-84), gov. of Bombay 1862-7, commissioner to negotiate a slave trade treaty with Zanzibar 1872, high commissioner for S. Africa 1877-80, recalled 1880, 95 n., 202.
- Freycinet, Charles de Saulces de (1828-1923), prime min. 1879, *Jan.-July* 1882, 1886, 1890, min. for for. affairs, *Jan.-Apr.* 1882, 1885, 84, 158, 180 n., 337 n., 339, 354, 374, 375, 377, 384, 407-8; ii. 353, 354, 373-4, 379, 382.
- Frogmal, Kent (Lord Sydney), 5.
- Fullerton, Alexander George (1808-1907), brother-in-law of Lord Granville, 75, 219, 412; ii. 289.
- Fullerton, Lady Georgiana Charlotte (1812-85), sister of Lord Granville, novelist, 16 n., 171 n., 173, 179, 180, 225.
- Gallenga, Antonio Carlo Napoleone (1810-95), Italian exile naturalized an Englishman 1846, correspondent of *The Times* in Constantinople 1875-7, 17 n.
- Gambetta, Léon (1838-82), French deputy 1869-81, member of gov't. of National Defence 1870-1, prime min. 1880-1, 65, 84, 203, 204, 205, 232, 317, 325, 326, 328, 329, 332, 333, 334, 335, 337, 339, 363.
- Garfield, James Abram (1831-81), American republican president 1881, shot 2 July, died 19 Sept., 288 n., 294 n.
- Garfield, Mrs., wife of above, 288, 294, 295.
- Garter, order of the, 165, 168, 257, 261, 264, 267, 268, 294, 295, 436, 438, 456, 457, 460, 461, 462, 469 n., 471, 472; ii. 74, 85, 93, 96, 98, 100, 104, 226, 252, 258.
- Germany: and Austria, ii. 81, 245; and Balkan policy, ii. 260; col. questions with, ii. 230, 231, 233, 242, 243, 245, 246, 249, 250 n., 251, 271, 276, 278, 280, 291, 293-4, 296-7, 300, 303, 305-7, 309-10, 328-35, 342-3; and Egypt, i. 402; ii. 177, 241-2, 244, 248, 254, 258, 291, 292, 304-7, 323, 343, 345-6; and France, ii. 278; and France and China, ii. 258, 260; internal politics, i. 313 n.; and Montenegrin and Greek questions, i. 140, 181, 194 n., 195, 202, 211, 212, 223, 235, 248, 249, 250, 257; and Turkey, 217 n., 308 n.; ii. 72.
- Gibbs, Henry Hucks (1819-1907), first Baron Aldenham 1896, merchant and banker, benefactor of the Church, especially the bishopric of St. Albans, 135, 138.
- Gibraltar, appointment of Dr. Canilla, 362.
- Gibson, Edward (1837-1913), first Baron Ashbourne 1885, cons. M.P. 1875-85, att.-gen. for Ireland 1877-80, lord chanc. for Ireland 1885-6, 1886-92, 1895-1905, 268, 269, 346, 434, 455; ii. 340, 347 n., 424.
- Giers, Nikolai Karlovich (1820-95), Russian assistant min. for for. affairs *Dec.* 1875-82, min. for for. affairs 1882-95, ii. 352-4, 355 n., 357, 378, 382.
- Gladstone, Agnes (1842-1931), after 1873 Mrs. Wickham, eldest dau. of the prime min., ii. 9.
- Gladstone, Annie, niece of the prime min., ii. 327-8.
- Gladstone, Catherine (1812-1900), wife of the prime min., 5, 6, 16, 17, 19, 30, 52, 54, 101, 109, 111, 269, 366; ii. 8, 18, 77, 119, 127, 171, 180, 269, 272, 422, 455.
- Gladstone, Helen (1814-80), sister of the prime min., 101, 108, 109, 110 n.
- Gladstone, Henry Neville (1852-1935), first Baron 1932, third son of the prime min., served with Gladstone, Wyllie & Co. 1871-5, Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co. 1876-1930, 14, 15, 309.
- Gladstone, Herbert John (1854-1930), first Viscount 1910, fourth son of the prime min., lib. M.P. 1880-1910, a lord of the Treasury 1881-5, home sec. 1905-10, gov.-gen. of S. Africa 1910-14, 50, 115-19, 248, 260, 267, 269, 302, 351, 368; ii. 153, 247, 249, 435, 453 n., 454.
- Gladstone, Mary (1847-1927), after 1886 Mrs. Drew, third dau. of the prime min., 368; ii. 420 n., 422.
- Gladstone, Stephen Edward (1844-1920), second son of the prime min., rector of Hawarden 1872-1904, 79, 82; ii. 8, 13, 15, 18, 328 n.

Gladstone, Thomas (1804-89), eldest son of Sir John Gladstone and brother of the prime min., 109; ii. 327.

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-98); and the cabinet: *to plan legislation for 1881*, 173, 212, 234; *1882*, 307-8; *1883*, ii. 461 n.; *1884*, 112 n., 140; *cabinet changes*, 310-11, 313-14, 359-60, 362, 364, 367-8, 370-2, 458-60, 471; ii. 239, 247-51, 253-4, 260, 264-5, 268, 273, 438-41; *cabinet unity or dissension*, 236, 243-4, 261 n.; ii. 9-11, 12, 14-16, 18-19, 60-61, 114 n., 121-4, 125, 128-30, 133-4, 135, 142, 154 n., 157, 172, 182, 189, 194-5, 196, 197, 221-3, 302, 303, 308, 325, 326-7, 330-1, 333-4, 358, 360-2, 371, 373, 381, 421-2, 424; *relative importance of cabinet offices*, 348-9, 385; ii. 96-97, 99-100; *cabinet does not exist out of office*, ii. 419; *protest against Fawcett's claim to independence*, 70-71; and *Rosebery*, 116, 120, 173, 258-9, 260, 261, 267-70, 272, 311, 471, 473-7, 480, 481; ii. 39, 71-72, 100, 213, 247, 251, 265, 269, 282, 336, 342, 351-2, 438, 453, see also Cabinet, Hartington, Chamberlain;

and the electorate: *by-elections*, 2, 3, 5, 6-8, 10, 14, 15, 17, 24, 77, 79, 89, 93, 97-98, 105, 108, 110, 111, 113, 114, 260, 273-4; *election policy 1879-80*, 99-100, 111, 115, 1885, 390, 392-4, 401, 1886, 454-5; *lib. associations' excursions to Hawarden*, 50-52; ii. 203 n.; *lib. organization*, 40, 41, 43-44, 53 n., 74-75, 100 n., 103, 113; *liberalism*, 40, 42, 287; ii. 227-8, 330; *socialism*, ii. 393, 408 n.; *break-up of lib. party*, ii. 326-7, 367-8, 398, 401, 422-3, 445; *demonstrations in Lancs. and Yorks.*, 10-11, 12, 22, 24, in *West country*, 29-30, in *Scotland*, ii. 257, 266, 268-9; *representation of Greenwich abandoned*, 28, 85; *adopted by Midlothian*, 28 n., 91, 93; *Midlothian campaigns*, 1879, 104 n., 105, 1880, 115, 116, 1883 abandoned, ii. 5, 7, 1884, 228, 231, 232, 233, 236, 240 n., 243, 245, 246, 1885, 413, 1886, 459; *election addresses*, 95; ii. 392-7, 400; *other speeches: Greenwich 1876*, 5, *Birmingham 1877*, 38-39, 43-44, *Nottingham 1877*, 53, *Dublin 1877*, 58, *Workingmen's peace association 1878*, 70, *Southwark 1878*, 71-72, 74 n., *Rhyl 1878*, 79, 85, *Greenwich 1878*, 85, 90, *Chester 1879*, 100, *Leeds 1881*, 291, 302-3, 304, *city of London 1881*, 306, *Liverpool lib. association 1881*, 306-7, *at party meeting 1884*, ii. 212;

and parliament: *tactics and legislative*

programmes, 30-31, 32-33, 35, 37, 38, 71, 87-88, 98, 165, 220, 248, 308, 356-7, 358; ii. 14, 110 n., 161, 167, 174, 188, 204, 206, 207, 208, 274-5, 284, 288-9, 331, 356, 372, 419, 449-50; *programme for new govt. 1885*, ii. 402, 405, 407; *plea to postpone Irish legislation*, ii. 449; and *Bradlaugh*, 344-5; ii. 26; and *House of Lords*, 179, 209-10; ii. 227-8, 231, 243, 246, 251, 257, 262, 268-9, 274-5, 433 n.; *resignation without meeting*, 128; ii. 455-6, 458, 459, 460; *refusal to pledge support to Salisbury 1885*, 385, 387; *Queen's speech 1880*, 165-6, 167, 1883, ii. 13-23, 1883 *prorogation*, 77, 1884 *prorogation*, 224, 1885 *opening*, 269, 274, 277, 1886 *closing*, 453, *opening*, 459; *parliamentary reform, general views*, ii. 113 n., 114 n., 118, 119 n., 123, 129, 133, 142, 143, 190, 210-11, 227-8, 231, 246, 251, 256-7, 262, 268-9, 283-7;

and the Queen: *may exact a pledge*, 180, 280; *may dismiss*, 180; ii. 130; *W. E. G. considers opposition to point of resignation*, i. 244, 267, 268, 276, 433; *justified in asking information on cabinet plans*, ii. 125; *on prime min.'s relation with colleagues*, ii. 225; *on House of Lords*, 246, 251; *complaint of W. E. G.'s agitating Scotland*, 267, 268; *of his speaking outside his constituency*, 455; *W. E. G. explains Irish plans to*, 373, 433-4, 437; *on defeat of lib. govt. 1885*, 384-5; *urges W. E. G. to dissociate himself from Chamberlain*, 402-3, 408-9; *and request for dissolution*, 269, 451; *her coldness and mistrust*, i. 315; ii. 459; *kindness during illness*, ii. 8, 12; *in 1884*, 225; *suggests peerage*, ii. 12, 16, 386; *farewell letter 1885*, 386; see also *Victoria*;

colonial policy: ii. 291, 293-5, 304, 310, 318-19, 329-30, 331-2, 342-3, 390; economy: ii. 151-2;

foreign policy: *general views*, 1, 15, 18, 20, 28, 67, 85, 103, 105, 135-6, 144, 181-2, 204, 263-4, 291, 300, 318, 326-7, 332-3, 337, 351-2, 377, 380, 383, 385-6, 394, 396, 400-1, 412, 413-14, 421, 423-5, 440-1; ii. 87, 92, 97, 100, 103, 113-14, 118, 141, 145, 147, 148, 160, 165-7, 168, 186, 193, 200, 233-4, 237-8, 244, 248, 260, 265-6, 279-80, 282, 283, 291, 293, 294-6, 314, 320, 329-30, 338, 342-3, 345, 346-7, 353, 379, 397, 398, 457; *memoranda on*, 137, 189-91, 381, 420 n.; ii. 65-68, 175, 181-2, 185-6, 188, 323-5, 357-8, 360, 366-7;

free or fair trade, 124, 282-3, 291; ii. 35, 368;

- Ireland: *general views*, 58, 92, 99, 155, 220, 223, 226, 238, 291, 293, 341 n., 360, 378; ii. 10-11, 366-8, 369, 372, 385, 389-90, 391-3, 394, 400, 408, 411, 417, 422-3; *negotiations autumn 1885*, ii. 401-2, 404, 408, 409, 411, 413, 414; '*Hawarden kite*', 415, 416; *negotiations with Parnell*, 429 n., *with Chamberlain*, ii. 401-6, 409, 434 n., 436 n., 444, 447 n., 453-4, 459; *home rule bill*, 434 n., 445, 449-50, 451 n., 455; *land purchase bill*, 436, 437, 455;
 local govt. and London govt., ii. 14-15, 20, 21, 24, 34, 39-42, 47-48, 49-50, 51-52, 403;
 and the Pope, i. 317-18;
 and the press, i. 214; ii. 311 n.;
 personal questions: *retirement and resignation*, i. 311, 313, 315, 450, 451, 458, 465 n.; ii. 122-3, 128-30, 133, 137, 142 n., 166, 228, 257, 269, 308, 326-7, 353, 367-8, 385-6, 401, 405-6, 407-8; *and Austria*, 121, 123; *and Beaconsfield*, 1, 262, 265, 266 n., 270, 273; ii. 246; *and Sir H. Elliot*, 175-7, 180; ii. 237; *portraits of*, i. 104 n., ii. 223; *statue of*, ii. 120 n., *visits to Ireland*, 54-58, *Isle of Man*, 79, 81-82, *Germany*, 101, *Denmark*, ii. 86-90, *Norway*, ii. 391-2; *illness and absence from cabinets 1880*, 155 n., 161, 162, 167, 1881, 241, 243, 1883, ii. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9-34, 1884, 162-74, 305, 308, 311, 314, 1885, 317;
 writings: *Bulgarian Horrors*, 3, 5; *Hellenic Factor* . . ., 20; *Lessons in Massacre*, 31, 33; *County Franchise*, 60; *Hawarden lecture*, 60; *England's Mission*, 76-77, 84; *Kin beyond Sea*, 84, 85, 86; *Gleanings*, 86, 89; *on Lord Aberdeen*, ii. 105.
- Gladstone, William Henry (1840-91), eldest son of the prime min., lib. M.P. 1865-85, a lord of the Treasury 1869-74, 50, 118, 260.
- Glamis Castle, Angus (Lord Strathmore), ii. 263.
- Globe, 66.
- Godley, John Arthur (1847-1932), first Baron Kilbracken 1909, priv. sec. to Gladstone, 1872-4, 1880-2, and to Granville 1874-80, commissioner of inland rev. 1882-3, und.-sec. I.O. 1883-1909, 44, 102, 108, 144, 155, 162, 228, 231 n., 233, 265, 266, 305, 306, 366; ii. 65 n., 395.
- Goldsmid, Sir Frederick John (1818-1908), served in China, India, Crimean war, maj.-gen. 1875, responsible for telegraph between Europe and India, British commissioner of दौरा (crown lands, Egypt 1880-3, organized intelligence for Wolseley's campaign 1882, 410.
- Gorchakov, Prince Aleksandr Mikhailovich (1798-1883), Russian for. min. 1856-82, vice chanc. 1862, chanc. 1867 31, 42, 46, 67, 81, 103; ii. 370 n.
- Gordon, Sir Alexander Hamilton (1817-90), gen., M.P. 1875-85, 22, 89.
- Gordon, Arthur (1829-1912), first Baron Stanmore, second son of fourth Earl of Aberdeen, gov. of Trinidad 1866-70, of Mauritius 1871-4, of Fiji 1875-80, of New Zealand 1880-2, of Ceylon 1883-90, ii. 83, 437.
- Gordon, Charles George (1833-85), 'Chinese Gordon', entered Royal Engineers 1852, served in Crimea and China 1855-6, 1860-5, Sudan 1874-8, sec. to Ripon in India 1880, served in Mauritius 1881-2, S. Africa 1882, Palestine 1883, Sudan 1884-5, ii. 116, 117, 149-51, 154-61, 163-7, 173 n., 178, 181-2, 183 n., 186, 187, 188, 189; *July to Oct. 1884*, 217, 221-2, 230, 232, 233, 243, 259-70, 275, 281, 396; telegraphic instructions to, 23 Apr., 17 May, ii. 181 n., 189 n.; rumoured escape, *June 1884*, ii. 201; relief expedition, 238 n., 258 n., 259, 261, 267, 276, 335 n., 337; Gordon's Journals, 347-8.
- Gordon, (after 1877 Sir) Henry William (1818-87), commissary-gen. to the army 1875-87, brother of Charles Gordon, ii. 178, 217, 218, 261, 265, 270, 272, 275, 276.
- Gorst, (after 1885 Sir) John Eldon (1835-1916), cons. M.P. 1866-8, 1875-1906, organizer of the cons. party 1868-74, member of the 'fourth party' 1880-4, &c., 350; ii. 30, 31.
- Goschen, George Joachim (1831-1907), first Viscount 1900, lib., later lib. unionist, M.P. 1863-1900, president Poor Law Bd. 1868-71, first lord of the Admiralty 1871-4, 1895-1900, mission to Egypt 1875, to Constantinople 1880-1, chanc. of the exchequer 1887-92: as ambassador in Constantinople, 123, 124, 129 n., 130, 132 n., 133, 134, 135 n., 137 n., 138 n., 139, 140, 141 n., 145-7, 153, 154, 157, 159 n., 161 n., 163 n., 164, 169, 171-4, 177, 178, 182 n., 184, 193, 197, 198, 199, 204, 206, 207, 209, 212, 216, 219, 223, 226, 233, 235, 248, 249, 253, 265, 279; ii. 256; and Bulgarian constitution, 278; ii. 103, 104; on Egypt, i. 426, 439; and Suez Canal, ii. 69-70; complaints of *The Times*, i. 209-11; and parl. reform, ii. 239,

- Goschen, George Joachim (*cont.*)
 244; and local government, ii. 400; references relating to career, i. 286, 372, 421, 427, 438; ii. 58, 242, 245; and G.C.B., i. 171, 224, 276, 279; declines the Speakership, ii. 119; and the Queen, 433; speeches 1885, ii. 412; lib. split 1885-6, ii. 418, 445; defeat in general election 1886, ii. 456, 458.
- Gourley, (after 1895 Sir) Edward Temperley (1828-1902), lib. M.P. 1868-1900, 393 n.; ii. 338.
- Grafton, Augustus Charles Lennox (1821-1918), seventh Duke of 1882, lib., later unionist, peer, 294, 460, 461, 462, 469, 472.
- Graham, (after 1882 Sir) Gerald (1831-99), served in the Crimea, China, and Canada, in Egypt 1882-5, maj.-gen. 1881, commanded expedition to E. Sudan, lieut.-gen. 1884; Suakin expedition 1883, ii. 154 n., 170 n., 171-2, 173, 174 n., 1885, 335, 336 n.
- Grant Duff, Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone (1829-1906), lib. M.P. 1857-81, und.-sec. for India 1868-74, for colonies 1880-1, gov. of Madras 1881-6, 14; ii. 452.
- Granville, Castalia, Lady, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 50, 76, 105, 108, 110, 122, 211, 252, 254, 264; ii. 9, 41, 120, 127, 129, 272, 294, 389, 451 n., 456.
- Granville, Granville (1773-1846), first Earl, ambassador at Paris 1824-41, 301.
- Granville, Granville George (1815-91), second Earl: and the cabinet: *cabinet changes*, 314, 368, 372, 459, 469-70, 472; ii. 239, 247-9, 252-3, 257-8, 268; *cabinet dissension, over Irish coercion*, 220-1, 298-9, *over Irish local govt.*, ii. 9-11, 12, 14-16, 18-19; *London govt.*, 34, 47; *on franchise reform*, 124-5, 127-9, 131-2, 137, 143, 144-5; *Sudan*, 154 n., 155, 170, 171, 173, 174, 182-3, 221-3, 233, 258-9, 262, 312, 336, 358; *Egypt, term of occupation*, 189, 190, 194-5, 198-9, 379; *finance*, 265-6, 268, 269, 299, 302, 303, 308 n., 326 n., 326-7; *Chamberlain's 'unauthorised programme'*, 332; *budget*, 360-2, 368, 371, 381; *Ireland*, 366-8, 373 n., 381; *dissension in the ex-cabinet*, 401-12, 417-19; *negotiates with: Argyll*, i. 135, 250-2, 261; *Bright*, 243, 446; ii. 129; *Chamberlain*, i. 41, 216, 243; ii. 56, 61, 119-20, 122, 129, 131-2, 170, 173, 174, 281, 332, 366-8, 395, 399, 400, 402, 403, 406, 408, 409, 410, 412, 413, 415, 447, 448; *Dilke*, i. 321, 329, 341, 352-3, 355, 414, 467 n., 468; *Harcourt*, i. 185, 454-5; ii. 52-53, 129, 131-2, 137, 139-40, 170, 171, 173, 421; *Hartington*, i. 163, 185, 232-4, 434-5, 445; ii. 12, 15-16, 18, 49, 50, 119-20, 122, 124, 127-8, 129, 131-2, 134, 137, 139-40, 142, 183, 194, 197, 198, 221-2, 259, 268, 308, 326-7, 381, 391, 392, 395, 402, 403, 406, 408, 409, 410, 411, 414, 416, 417-18, 420, 421, 448, 449-50, 456, 457; *Lansdowne*, i. 142-3, 144; ii. 43, 44, 46; *Northbrook*, ii. 117, 222-3, 299, 302, 308 n., 326; *Rosebery*, i. 258-9, 261, 268, 272, 425-6, 480; ii. 249, 253-4, 335, 351-2, 375, 377, 427, 438; *Spencer*, i. 355-6, 358-9; ii. 249, 257, 358, 367, 381, 388-9, 414, 418, 420-1; and the electorate: *by-elections*, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12-13, 15-16, 24, 25, 75, 79, 98, 104, 110, 111, 114, 289, 293; *lib. electoral policy and prospects*, 21, 24, 32, 63, 65, 67, 87, 102; ii. 259, 394; *gen. election 1880*, 115-17, 119, 1885, ii. 259, 394, 1886, 454-5; *lib. party*, 35; ii. 226, 232; and parliament: *against an autumn session*, 12; *against motion on eastern question*, 31-34, 36; *debate on*, 38; *lib. confusion*, 69-70; *procedural reform*, 338, 457; *tactics in debate*, ii. 169; *defeat possible on Egypt*, ii. 201, 229-30; *tactics 1886*, 420; House of Lords: *deficiency of army spokesmen in*, 276; *negotiations over franchise bill*, ii. 211-12, 213 n., 226-7, 232, 239, 259, 278-9, 283-7, 290; *efforts to keep libs. together*, 30, 342; ii. 273, 274, 276, 277, 279, 283, 434-8; *out of step with the Commons*, ii. 273; *bishops in*, ii. 114-15, 209-10; and Beaconsfield, 19, 26, 27, 29, 39, 104, 199, 255, 265, 273 n.; ii. 399; and Salisbury, 19, 29, 83, 96, 351; ii. 232, 385, 387, 398, 412, 448, 456; and the Queen: *complaints of his reports*, 147, 261; *writes on Berlin embassy*, ii. 245; *Granville as go-between with the Queen and Gladstone*, 276, 436, 443, 466; ii. 89-90, 125, 127, 226-7, 236, 239, 267, 373, 384-5; *see also Victoria*; as col. sec. 1886: 426; and foreign policy: *general views*, 19, 46-47, 81, 84, 439; ii. 94, 108, 157, 191, 236, 242, 249, 258, 259, 262, 270, 271, 278, 292, 294, 296-7, 304, 306-7, 330, 333, 336, 341, 363, 376-7, 379, 380, 382, 396, 457; *decision to send Gordon to the Sudan*, ii. 149-50, 151; *and the press*, i. 213; *his failure*, ii. 424-5; *and ambassadors: Dufferin*, i. 93-94, 259, 265, 411; *Elliot*, i. 4, 259; *Layard*, i. 34,

- 41, 60, 259, 266, 268; ii. 36; *Lumley*, 260; ii. 245; *Malet*, ii. 245; *Morier*, 259-60; ii. 227; *Paget*, 259, 266, 268; ii. 73; *Russell*, 82-83; ii. 236; *Thornton*, 260; ii. 73, 227, 245;
 ready to resign, ii. 250, 252, 367;
 declines foreign office 1886, 424-6;
 and honours and minor appointments, 122-3, 124, 128, 148-51, 156-7, 168-9, 171, 219, 224, 229, 239, 244-5, 257, 264, 268, 276, 279, 281, 287, 289, 295, 296, 301, 307, 308, 309, 432, 447, 457, 469, 471, 472, 476, 479; ii. 1-3, 53-54, 58-59, 88, 95, 104, 224, 226, 230, 232, 239, 244, 247-8, 256, 278-9, 349-50, 358, 374, 388, 427 n., 428-30, 431, 432, 437, 438-44, 450, 451, 452, 461;
 practice in appointing under-secretaries, ii. 3;
 and Ireland, 59, 91, 293, 361, 366-8, 388-9, 390; ii. 420, 441-2, 446-7, 447;
 and local govt., ii. 400-1;
 tariff treaties, 284; ii. 35;
 speeches: *Bradford* 1877, i. 49, 51, 52, 92; *Hanley* 1880, i. 223-4; *at jubilee of municipal corporations* 1885, ii. 400, 410.
- Granville, third Earl, *see* Leveson-Gower.
- Great Glemham, Suffolk (G. Gathorne-Hardy), 18, 20.
- Greaves, (after 1881 Sir) George Richard (1831-1922), maj.-gen. 1882, chief of staff to Gen. Graham in Egypt 1885; served in India 1886-93; licut.-gen. 1890, ii. 335, 336 n.
- Greece, 18-23, 76, 84, 86, 97, 135 n., 136-8, 141, 143, 144, 145 n., 146, 152-4, 156, 157, 160-2, 164, 167, 183-4, 196, 198, 199, 200, 201 n., 202, 203, 204, 209, 210, 219 n., 226 n., 227, 230, 232, 233, 235, 236, 238, 239, 240, 248, 249, 250-1, 253, 257-8, 300, 301; ii. 113, 148, 409-10, 411 n., 423.
- Green, (after 1887 Sir) William Kirby Mackenzie (1836-91), entered the consular service 1853, consul-gen. at Cetinje 1879-86, at Tangier 1886-91, 159, 161, 208, 224.
- Grenville, William Wyndham (1759-1834), first Baron 1790, M.P. 1782-90, prime min. 1806-7, 42.
- Greville, Charles Cavendish Fulke (1794-1865), diarist, clerk to the Privy Council 1821-65, 'lodger' to Lord Granville, ii. 412.
- Greville, Fulke Southwell (1821-83), first Baron 1869, lib. M.P. 1852-69, lord-lieut. of Westmeath 1871-83, 319.
- Grévy, François-Paul-Jules (1813-91), French republican deputy 1870-9, president of the third republic 1879-87, ii. 33, 54, 86, 107.
- Grey, Charles (1764-1845), second Earl, prime min. 1831-4, ii. 402.
- Grey, Sir George (1799-1882), lib. M.P. 1832-74, home sec. 1846-52, 1855-8, 1861-6, 92, 349.
- Grey, Henry (1802-94), third Earl, whig M.P. 1826-45, sec. for war and colonies 1846-52, after 1880 a cons., 32, 39, 86-88, 238; ii. 84.
- Grosvenor, Lord Richard de Aquila (1837-1912), brother of first Duke of Westminster, lib. M.P. 1861-86, joint sec. to the Treasury and lib. whip 1880-5, 1886, 214, 229, 233, 243, 266, 267, 337, 351, 366, 443, 444; ii. 2, 27, 29, 40, 54, 58, 78, 112, 128, 129, 132, 133, 134, 139, 142, 153, 155, 157, 161, 194, 201, 213, 228, 252, 265, 374, 386, 393, 395, 402, 403, 406, 409, 410, 418, 427.
- Grote, George (1794-1871), the historian, declined a peerage 1869, ii. 87, 88.
- Ground Game bill, 166.
- Gueshoff, Ivan Evstratiew (1849-1924), member of Bulgarian chamber of deputies, visited London 1885, prime min. 1911-13, ii. 411.
- Haddo House, Aberdeenshire (Lord Aberdeen), ii. 252, 255, 256.
- Hagley Hall, Worcestershire (Lord Lyttelton), 43.
- Halifax, Charles (1800-85), first Viscount 1866, lib. M.P. 1826-66, lord privy seal 1870-4, 14, 31, 80, 92, 170, 218, 219; ii. 58.
- Halifax, Charles Lindley (1839-1934), second Viscount 1885, lib. peer, ii. 430, 447.
- Halsbury, Hardinge Stanley Giffard (1823-1921), first Baron 1885, first Earl 1898, cons. M.P. 1877-85, sol.-gen. 1875-80, lord chanc. 1885-6, 1886-92, 1895-1905, ii. 424.
- Hamilton, (after 1874 Sir) Edward Walter (1847-1908), served in the Treasury 1870-1908, priv. sec. to Lowe 1872-3, to Gladstone 1873-4, 1880-5, financial sec. to the Treasury 1902-8, 167, 179, 257 n., 267 n., 281, 287, 300 n., 315 n., 366, 367, 428 n., 429; ii. 9, 18, 23, 34, 36, 38, 41 n., 56, 88, 101, 104, 137, 153 n., 172, 177, 180, 184, 195, 244, 275, 279, 288, 290, 317 n., 321, 322, 344, 360, 370 n., 374, 385, 387 n., 453.
- Hamilton, Lord George Francis (1845-1927), third son of first Duke of Abercorn, brother-in-law of Lord Dalkeith, Gladstone's opponent in Midlothian

- Hamilton, Lord George Francis (*cont.*)
 1880, cons. M.P. 1868-1906, und.-sec. for India 1874-8, vice-president of the Council 1878-80, first lord of the Admiralty 1885-6, 1886-92, sec. for India 1895-1903, 116, 117 n.; ii. 177 n., 399.
- Hamilton, Col. John Glencairn Carter (1829-86), lib. M.P. (Scotland) 1857-9, 1868-74, 1880-6, ii. 429.
- Hamilton, Sir Robert George Crookshank (1836-95), und.-sec. to the lord-lieut. of Ireland 1882-6, gov. of Tasmania 1886-93, chairman of the Bd. of Customs 1894-5, ii. 366, 436, 448.
- Hamley, (after 1880 Sir) Edward Bruce (1824-93), served in the Crimea, maj.-gen. 1877, concerned in demarcation of Bulgarian, Armenian, and Greek frontiers 1879-81, served in Egypt 1882, gen. 1890, 402.
- Hammond, Edmund (1802-90), first Baron 1874, permanent und.-sec. F.O. 1854-73, 406; ii. 350.
- Hammond, William Oxenden (1817-1903), of St. Alban's Court, nr. Wingham, Kent, 290, 293.
- Hampden, *see* Brand.
- Hankey, Thomson (1805-93), lib. M.P. 1853-68, 1874-80, gov. Bank of England 1851-3, 6.
- Hanover, Ernest Augustus (1845-1923), Duke of Cumberland, only son of King George of Hanover (1819-78) and claimant to the crown of Hanover 1878-1923, ii. 280.
- Harcourt, (d. 1883), marquis d', French ambassador in Vienna 1873-5, in London 1875-9, 42, 62, 65.
- Harcourt, Sir William G. G. Venables Vernon (1827-1904), lib., later independent, M.P. 1868-1904, sol.-gen. 1873-4, home sec. 1880-5, chanc. of the exchequer 1886, 1892-5: references relating to career, movements, &c., 29, 34, 62, 67, 100, 117, 123, 301, 316, 367, 469, 471, 479; ii. 18, 360; and cabinet changes: 1884, ii. 247-8, 251; *his wish to be chanc. of the exchequer*, 460 n.; ii. 53; *as chanc. of the exchequer*, ii. 429, 433, 436, 459; and foreign policy: 66 n., 160; ii. 248, 255; *Egypt*, 390; ii. 23, 170, 171, 173, 174, 201, 315, 340, 343, 396; *Egyptian finance*, ii. 288; *neutralization of Egypt*, ii. 202; *relief of Gordon*, ii. 221, 233; *H. Bismarck's letter*, ii. 247; *Central Asia*, ii. 347; *China*, ii. 87; Hartington and *Dec.* 1885, ii. 414, 416, 419; and home office questions, 166, 232, 235, 256, 282, 341, 348, 349; ii. 27, 111, 139; and Ireland, 342, 454-5; ii. 12, 17, 19, 29, 389, 421; and debate on home rule bill, ii. 450; and legal appointments, 185; and English land bill, ii. 32; and London govt., ii. 14, 15, 22, 24, 25, 34, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 47-53; and parl. procedure, 456; and parl. reform 1884, ii. 127-8, 129, 131-2, 133, 134, 135, 137, 139-40, 214; resignation, favours early, ii. 258, 259, 265, 268; and Rosebery, 258, 260, 261, 480, 481; ii. 71, 247, 427; on Stansfeld, ii. 439.
- Harcourt, Lady, wife of above, ii. 120, 129.
- Hardy, Gathorne Gathorne- (1814-1906), first Viscount Cranbrook 1878, cons. M.P. 1856-78, home sec. 1867-8, sec. for war 1874-8, for India 1878-80, 72 n., 77, 83, 112, 183, 399.
- Harleston House, Northants. (owned by Lord Spencer but let in 1877 to the Dowager Lady Southampton), 30.
- Hart, Sir Robert (1835-1911), served in Chinese consular and customs services 1854-1908, inspector-gen. of customs 1863-1911, ii. 255, 258, 260, 263, 350.
- Hartington, Spencer Compton (1833-1908), styled Marquis of, eighth Duke of Devonshire 1891, lib., after 1885 unionist, M.P. 1857-91, sec. for war 1866, 1882-5, postmaster-gen. 1868-71, chief sec. Ireland 1871-4, sec. for India 1880-2, lord president 1895-1903: visit to Constantinople, 8, 9, 15; as leader of the opposition 1876-80, 8, 9, 12, 14, 17, 18, 24, 29-39, 47, 49, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 89, 90, 96, 108, 109, 111, 121; and land laws, 100; and foreign policy: *Afghanistan and Central Asia*, 88, 89, 90 n., 162, 164, 308, 332; *Egypt, occupation of Suez Canal*, 385, 396; *restoration of order, withdrawal, the control*, 398, 402, 434, 446, 452, 473; ii. 6, 98, 101, 102, 104-5, 153, 155, 162, 169, 189, 194-5, 196, 197, 198, 206, 207, 314, 315; *Egyptian finance* 1884-5, ii. 288, 292, 295, 331; and *Gordon*, ii. 149-51, 154, 268, 269, 337; and *Sudan policy*, ii. 126, 134-5, 156, 157, 169, 173, 182, 183, 188, 260 n., 262; *second Suakin expedition or advance*, 312, 340, 348; *urges relief expedition or advance*, 220-3, 233, 238 n., 244, 258 n., 259; and *preparations for war*

- 1885, ii. 352, 354-5, 358; and *Northbrook's mission to Egypt*, ii. 180 n., 287 n., 302, 308 n., 326; and *Italian Red Sea claims*, ii. 288, 292; and *Madagascar*, ii. 80, 106, 110; and *Spanish negotiations*, i. 343;
 and home questions, persons, appointments, i. 148, 161, 185, 276, 289, 459, 467, 470, 471, 472, 474, 477; ii. 28, 47, 48, 53, 72, 112, 386; army estimates 1883, ii. 152; Indian question, i. 392;
 and Ireland, 1880-1, 219, 227, 229, 232, 233, 234, 235 n., 237, 238, 242, 243, 298, 319, 320; *lord-lieutenancy*, 358, 359, 361; 1882, 443; *local govt.*, ii. 9-10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 366, 381, 391-4; '*Kilmainham treaty*', ii. 32;
 London govt., ii. 48, 49, 50;
 and parl. procedure, i. 241, 434-5, 437, 443-4, 445, 456;
 and parl. reform, ii. 110-11, 113, 114, 118-19, 120, 121, 122-5, 127-8, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133-4, 135, 137, 138, 139-40, 142-3, 169, 214, 256, 286;
 and parl. and electoral situation 1885, ii. 389, 403, 406-7, 410 n., 410-11, 413, 414, 416;
 and break-up of the liberal party, ii. 326-7, 417-18, 419, 420, 421-3, 444, 446, 456, 457, 458-9;
 possible resignation, ii. 358 n., see also above parliamentary reform and Northbrook mission;
 and debate on the home rule bill, ii. 449-50;
 and service under Salisbury, ii. 462;
 references relating to movements, career, &c., 46, 61, 66 n., 74, 82, 87, 99, 120, 169, 172, 229, 305, 310, 311, 314, 326, 372, 374, 459, 461; ii. 27, 131-2, 135, 137, 277, 279;
 Chamberlain and, 43, 98 and n.; ii. 61, 122, 129, 330, 332, 395, 404, 405-6, 414, 448;
 Gladstone and, 302 n., 303, 311, 385, 449; ii. 7, 9, 17, 110, 392-3, 394, 395, 397, 398, 402, 403, 405, 408, 409, 455, 456, 458-9;
 and Gladstone's stay in Cannes, ii. 29, 33, 36;
 on Granville's foreign policy, ii. 424-5;
 speeches: *Scotland* 1877, 55, 57; *Radnorshire and Newcastle* 1879, 100; *Lancashire* 1879, 100; *Bacup Jan.* 1883, ii. 9-10, 14, 18, 20; *Manchester Dec.* 1883, 118 n.; *Rawtenstall, Lancs.*, Oct. 1884, 278; *Waterfoot, Lancs.*, Aug. 1885, 391-2; *Bury, Lancs.*, Oct. 1885, 408, 409, 410 n., 412.
- Hassan, Prince (1854-88), third son of Khedive Ismail, commander-in-chief of Egyptian army 1876-8, 1879, with Wolseley in Sudan 1885-8, ii. 317, 348.
- Hastings, George Manners (1857-1904), fifth Baron, cons. with considerable electoral influence in N. Norfolk, 93.
- Hatherton, Edward Richard (1815-88), second Baron, lib. peer, 143.
- Hatzfeldt, Paul (1831-1901), Graf von, served in German F.O., min. in Madrid 1874-8, ambassador in Constantinople 1878-81, in London 1885-1901, sec. of state in F.O. 1881-5, ii. 249, 415.
- Havelock, (after 1884 Sir) Arthur Elibank (1844-1908), gov. West African Settlements 1881-4, Trinidad 1884-5, Natal 1885-9, &c., ii. 432.
- Hay, Sir John Hay Drummond- (1816-93), agent and consul-gen., after 1860 min., at Tangiers 1845-86, 299, 301; ii. 177.
- Haymerle, Heinrich (1828-81), Freiherr von, Austrian ambassador in Rome 1877-9, min. for for. affairs 1879-81 123, 175, 206, 212, 226.
- Hayter, Sir Arthur Divett (1835-1906), second Bart., lib. M.P. 1865-8, 1873-85, 1893-5, a lord of the Treasury 1880-2, financial sec. W.O. 1882-5, 109.
- Hayward, Abraham (1801-84), man of letters and diner-out, ii. 45.
- Healy, Timothy Michael (1855-1931), Irish home rule M.P. 1880-1918, first gov.-gen. Irish Free State 1922-8, ii. 13, 44.
- Helen (d. 1922), Princess of Waldeck and Pyrmont, Duchess of Albany and wife of Prince Leopold 1882, 346; ii. 181, 183.
- Heligoland, proposed bishopric of, ii. 50-51; proposed cession to Germany, ii. 230, 306, 307, 309.
- Heneage, Edward (1840-1922), first Baron 1896, lib. M.P. 1865-8, 1880-95, chanc. of the duchy of Lancaster 1886, ii. 199, 436 n., 438, 440.
- Hengelmüller de Hengervar, Ladislaus, chevalier, counsellor of Austrian embassy and sometime chargé d'affaires in London 1879-88, 151, 192, 194, 196, 208, 210, 211, 212, 215; ii. 245-6, 248, 251.
- Henry Maurice (1858-96), Prince, of Battenberg, younger brother of Alexander of Bulgaria, md. Princess Beatrice, fifth dau. of Queen Victoria 1885, ii. 316, 402 n.
- Herat, 112, 126, 414.

- Herbert, Auberon E. W. M. (1838-1906), writer, lib. M.P. 1870-4, 238.
- Herbert, John Rogers (1810-90), portrait painter, ii. 59.
- Herbert, Sidney (1810-61), first Baron Herbert of Lea, cons. M.P. 1832-60, sec. for war 1845-6, 1852-5, 28.
- Herbert, Lady (1822-1911), widow of above, 231.
- Herries, (after 1880 Sir) Charles John (1815-83), deputy chairman and chairman of the Bd. of Inland revenue 1856-81, 310 n.
- Herries, John Charles (1778-1855), chanc. of the exchequer 1827-8, 227.
- Herschell, (after 1880 Sir) Farrer (1837-99), first Baron 1886, lib. M.P. 1874-85, sol.-gen. 1880-5, lord chanc. 1886, 1892-5, 114; ii. 4, 65, 79, 80, 92, 360, 373, 438, 454, 455 n., 462; *see also* Law Officers.
- Hertslet, (after 1878 Sir) Edward (1824-1902), librarian F.O. 1857-94, ii. 43.
- Hervey, Henry Arthur William (1832-1908), entered F.O. 1854; précis writer to Clarendon 1865-6, 1868-70, to Granville 1870-4, 1880-5, chief clerk 1890-6, 265.
- Hewett, Sir William Nathan Wright (1834-88), vice-admiral, commodore W. coast of Africa 1873-6, commander-in-chief, E. India station 1882-5, a lord of the Admiralty 1885, 262.
- Hicks, William (1830-83), Pasha, gen. in Egyptian army, served in the British army in India and Abyssinia, col. 1880, ii. 116 n., 117 n.
- Hill, Frank Harrison (1830-1910), lib., assistant, later editor of the *Daily News* 1865-86, 45 n., 77 n., 110; ii. 194, 399.
- Hill, Sir Rowland (1795-1879), schoolmaster, inventor of penny postage, and sec. to the postmaster-gen., 1846-64, 101.
- Hoar Cross, Leeds (J. Kitson), 302, 303.
- Holker Hall, Lancs. (Duke of Devonshire), 185; ii. 259, 327, 328, 330, 331, 333, 395.
- Holland, Lady, 10.
- Holmbury House (Lord E. Frederick Leveson-Gower), 6, 40, 41, 42, 161, 162, 163, 279, 352, 373; ii. 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 52, 176, 178, 179 n., 354-5.
- Holms, John (1830-91), lib. M.P. 1868-85, a lord of the Treasury 1880-2, parl. und.-sec. Bd. of Trade, 1882-5, 368.
- Holt, Robert Durning (1832-1908), ship-owner, organizer of the Liverpool lib. party, ii. 270.
- Home Office, 348-9, 481; ii. 14-15, 24, 39, 42, 44, 47-48, 49, 53.
- Hothfield Place, Kent (Sir James Tufton, first Baron Hothfield 1881), 60.
- Houghton, Richard Monckton Milnes (1809-85), first Baron, man of letters, cons., later lib., M.P. 1837-63, 294, 447; ii. 151 n.
- Houghton, Robert Offley Ashburton (1858-1945), second Baron 1885, first Earl of Crewe 1895, first Marquis of Crewe 1911, a lord-in-waiting 1886, lord-lieut. of Ireland 1892-5, &c., ii. 427 n., 428.
- Household Offices, 124, 148-52, 156-7, 229 n., 239 n., 280, 281; ii. 427 n., 428, 429, 434, 435, 436, 437, 442-3, 444, 445, 447; *see also* Mistress of the Robes.
- Howard, Charles Wentworth George (1814-79), lib. M.P. 1840-79, 34, 68.
- Howard, George James (1843-1911), son of above, lib. M.P. 1879-80, 1881-5, ninth Earl of Carlisle, 1889, 102.
- Hudson, Sir James (1810-85), min. at Rio de Janeiro 1850-1, at Turin 1851-63, noted for his liberalism and sympathy with Italian liberals, 5, 9; ii. 236, 237.
- Hunt, George Ward (1825-77), cons. M.P. 1857-77, sec. to the Treasury 1866-8, chanc. of the exchequer Feb.-Dec. 1868, first lord of the Admiralty 1874-7, 48 n.
- Hunter, William Alexander (1844-98), of Aberdeen, professor of Roman Law, later Jurisprudence in London University 1869-82, lib. M.P. 1885-96, 12.
- Huntly, Charles (1847-1951), eleventh Marquis of 1868, a lord-in-waiting 1870-3, capt. of the corps of gentlemen-at-arms, Jan.-June 1881, 148, 149, 154 n., 229 n., 239, 280 n., 281.
- Hutton, Richard Holt (1826-97), joint editor with Walter Bagehot *National Review* 1855-64, assistant editor *The Economist* 1858-60, joint editor and part proprietor *The Spectator* 1861-97, ii. 294.
- Iddesleigh, *see* Northcote.
- Ignatiev, Nikolai Pavlovich (1832-1908), Count, Russian min., after 1867 ambassador, at Constantinople 1864-78, min. of the interior 1881-2, 17 n., 67.
- Ilchester, Henry Edward (1847-1905), fifth Earl of, capt. of the corps of gentlemen-at-arms, 1874-80, 124.
- Illingworth, Alfred (1826-1907), worsted spinner of Bradford, lib. M.P. 1868-74, 1880-95, 302 n.
- India, 53, 55, 56, 59, 71, 79, 83, 166, 398-9, 403; ii. 22, 23, 71 n., 91, 226, 250.
- Invercauld, Aberdeenshire (J. R. Farquharson), ii. 77, 237, 245, 246, 247, 250.

- Ionian Islands, surrender to Turkey 1862, 18.
- Irby, Miss A. P., 28, 351.
- Ireland; disestablishment of the Irish Church, 56; Gladstone's visit to, 54-59; coercion and agitation, 212, 215, 217, 218, 219-22, 228, 230, 231-2, 232-4, 238, 243-4, 275-6, 277, 294, 295, 296, 298, 299, 303, 311, 313, 316, 322, 323, 324 n., 327 n., 352, 354, 355-6, 357-60, 361, 363, 378, 386, 390 n., 413, 417, 431; ii. 10, 366-7, 369 n., 373 n., 383 n., 384, 388-9; prosecutions of 1883, ii. 11, 22, 27, 28, 30; commission of inquiry into the agricultural depression (Richmond), 100 n., 223, 224-5, 228, 229; commission of inquiry into Irish land tenures (Bessborough), 206; land act 1870, 239; compensation for disturbance bill, 135 n., 139 n., 149, 153 n., 155, 215 n., 236; land act 1881, 235 n., 237, 242-3, 251, 252, 253, 258, 261 n., 268, 269, 276, 284, 286, 287, 319-20, 461; Gladstone's views, 223, 224, 225-6, 227, 228, 229, 236, 238, 240, 305, 358, 360; ii. 17; Lords' committee on land act, i. 342-3, 345-6; arrears bill and 'Kilmainham treaty', 364-6, 371 n., 373 n., 386 n., 398, 400, 408, 454-5; ii. 29 n., 31, 32-33, 35 n., 36; further land legislation sought 1882, i. 443-4; land purchase bills, ii. 366-7, 369 n., 373 n., 402, 411, 422, 423, 429, 436, 437, 453-5; local government and home rule, 58, 92, 291, 293, 341 n., 358, 360, 361, 460, 461; ii. 9-11, 12, 14-16, 17-20, 22, 366-8, 369 n., 372, 373 n., 381 n., 385, 390-3, 394 n., 400, 401, 402, 404-5, 407-9, 410 n., 411, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 420, 421, 427, 434, 441-2, 445, 447, 449, 450, 455, 456, 458; Irish M.P.s, i. 58, 59, 115, 228, 361; ii. 13; Irish University question, i. 54 n., 59, 99; voters registration (Ireland) bill, 166; ii. 402; relations between lord-lieut. and chief sec., ii. 96-97, 98, 257; Salisbury's plan for 1886, ii. 448.
- Irving (after 1895 Sir) Henry (1838-1905), actor, ii. 53, 54, 58; at Knowsley, ii. 96.
- Irwerne Minster House, Dorset (Lord Wolverton), 411.
- Italy: brigandage in, 264, 270; commercial treaty with, 339; and Egypt, 318, 376, 386, 387, 394, 402, 428; ii. 146, 289, 291, 292, 306, 314, 371 n., 374, 375; and Montenegrin and Greek questions, 158-61, 163, 181, 191, 196 n., 202, 204, 206, 208-9, 226; and Red Sea claims, 288, 289, 292, 318; ii. 270, 271, 275, 279-80, 298, 333, 338, 383; and Smyrna quays question, i. 140; and Suez Canal, ii. 105, 108; and Tunis, i. 262, 263, 268; and Turkey, ii. 141.
- Jacobini, Luigi (1832-87), cardinal, sec. of state to Leo XIII 1880-7, 298, 299, 317, 362; ii. 2 n., 235.
- James, Henry (1828-1911), first Baron 1895, lib., later unionist, M.P. 1868-95, sol.-gen. 1873, att.-gen. 1873-4, 1880-5, 1886, chanc. of the duchy of Lancaster 1895-1902, 3, 62, 67, 185, 300, 454; ii. 4, 19, 65, 71, 79, 80, 92, 107, 110, 279, 360, 373, 431, 446, 462; *see also* Law Officers.
- James, Sir Walter Charles (1816-93), Bart., cons. M.P. 1837, 1841-7, first Baron Northbourne 1884 and a lib., 117; ii. 58, 59, 420.
- James, Walter Henry (1846-1923), second Baron Northbourne 1893, lib. M.P. 1874-93, 77, 104; ii. 420.
- Japan, ii. 363.
- Jenner, Sir William (1815-98), physician to the Queen, 330.
- Jervaulx, Yorks. (Lord Ailesbury), 13, 14, 51, 53.
- Jervoise, Sir Harry Samuel Cumming Clarke (1832-1911), entered F.O. 1854, unofficial agent at the Vatican 1870-4, acting, then established senior clerk F.O. 1878-94, 232, 341.
- Jessel, Sir George (1824-83), lib. M.P. 1868-73, sol.-gen. 1871-3, master of the rolls 1873-83, 301.
- Johnstone, Charles (1843-1929), commander R.N. 1877, capt. H.M. sloop *Dryad* on East India station 1882-3, promoted capt. *Nov.* 1883, retired rear-admiral 1899, vice-admiral 1903, ii. 76, 80, 83, 110 n.
- Jomini, Aleksandr Henrikovich (1814-88), senior counsellor in Russian ministry for for. affairs, and sometime deputy for. min. 1856-88, 193, 200.
- Kallay, Benjamin von (1839-1903), served in Austrian F.O. 1879-82, acting for. min. *Sept.* 1880, finance min. and gov. of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1882, 180.
- Kalnoky, Gustav (1832-98), Graf, Austrian ambassador, St. Petersburg 1880-1, min. for for. affairs 1881-95, 417; ii. 108, 112, 118, 234, 242, 245-6, 248, 249, 250, 251, 254, 257-8, 264, 268, 269.
- Karolyi, Aloys (1825-89) Graf, Austrian ambassador in Berlin 1871-8, in London 1879-88, 121 n., 143, 144, 147, 173, 250, 448; ii. 146, 189, 217.

- Kassala, on Egypto-Abyssinian frontier, ii. 250, 371, 376, 377.
- Kaufmann, Gen. Konstantin Petrovich, gov.-gen. of Turkestan 1867-83, 163, 164.
- Keele Hall, Staffs. (W. Sneyd), 115.
- Kenmare, Valentine Augustus (1825-1905), fourth Earl of 1871, a lord-in-waiting 1872-4, lord chamberlain of the household 1880-5, *Feb.-June* 1886, 122, 151; ii. 427 n.
- Kennedy, (after 1893 Sir) Charles Malcolm (1831-1908), entered F.O. 1852, first assistant 1869-72, head 1872-94 of commercial dept. F.O., royal commissioner for negotiation of the commercial treaty with France 1881, 132 n.
- Kennedy, (after 1901 Sir) John Gordon (1836-1912), entered diplomatic service 1857, sec. of embassy at St. Petersburg 1881-5, *chargé d'affaires Aug.-Oct.* 1883, Rome 1885-8, min. at Santiago 1888-97, Bucharest 1897-1905, ii. 98-99.
- Key, Admiral Sir Astley Cooper (1821-88), first sea lord of the Admiralty 1879-88, 188, 197 n., 206, 388, 389, 425.
- Kilruddery Castle, Co. Wicklow (Lord Meath), 54.
- Kimberley, John (1826-1902), third Baron and first Earl of, lord privy seal 1868-70, 1880-2, col. sec. 1870-4, 1880-2, *chanc.* of the duchy of Lancaster 1882, sec. for India 1882-5, 1886, 1892-4, lord president 1892-4, for. sec. 1894-5, 154, 160, 166, 169, 202, 270, 312, 313, 314, 323, 324, 336, 338, 365, 376, 403, 444 n., 445, 452, 453, 457; ii. 2, 28, 43 n., 46, 50, 53, 91, 116, 146, 156, 173, 177, 208, 272, 275, 277, 282, 286, 292, 293, 294, 295, 303, 315, 328, 339, 340, 345 n., 355, 358, 359, 362, 364-5, 369, 377, 378, 381, 420, 421-2, 438, 441, 442, 452, 457, 458, 460.
- Kimbolton Castle, Hunts. (Lord Hartington), 9, 31, 374; ii. 142, 171, 394.
- Kinglake, Alexander William (1809-91), author of *Invasion of the Crimea* 1863-87, vol. v. 1875, 91.
- Kitson, James (1835-1911), first Baron Airedale 1907, ironmaster, sec. of Leeds lib. association, 1880-3, president national lib. federation 1883-90, lib. M.P. 1892-1907, ii. 153.
- Knollys, Sir William Thomas (1797-1883), comptroller of the household to the Prince of Wales 1862-77, Blackrod and groom of the stole to the Prince of Wales 1877-83, ii. 155, 370 n., 453.
- Knowles, Sir James Thomas (1831-1908), editor of the *Contemporary Review* 1870-7, founder and editor of the *Nineteenth Century* 1877, 119, 170.
- Knowsley, Lancs. (Lord Derby), ii. 92, 94, 96, 97, 98, 100.
- Korea, and Port Hamilton, ii. 363.
- Labouchere, Henry Du Pré (1831-1912), nephew of the first Baron Taunton, lib. M.P. 1867-8, 1880-1905, proprietor and editor of *Truth* 1876-1905, 236 n., 285; ii. 59, 433.
- Labourers' M.P.s. ii. 432-3.
- Lacaita, Sir James Philip (1813-95), Italian lib., naturalized an Englishman 1855, member of Italian parliament 1861-5, senator 1876-95, 5, 10, 164, 412.
- Lake, William Charles (1817-97), dean of Durham 1869-94, 463.
- Lambert, John (1815-92), used by successive administrations to collect statistical information, by Gladstone to report to the cabinet on Irish church and land 1869-70, permanent sec. Local Govt. Bd. 1871-82, member parl. boundaries commission 1884-5, ii. 270 n., 273.
- Landed Estates, law on transfer and entails, 169, 170; ii. 405.
- Lansdowne, Henry Charles Keith (1845-1927), fifth Marquis of, a lord of the Treasury 1868-72, und.-sec. for war 1872-4, for India 1880, gov.-gen. of Canada 1883-8, viceroy of India 1888-93, sec. for war 1895-1900, for. sec. 1900-5, min. without portfolio 1915-16, 95 n., 122, 142 n., 143, 144 n., 149 n., 163, 164, 456; ii. 43, 44, 46; attempt to persuade him to vote on franchise bill, ii. 274, 275.
- Lascelles, (after 1886 Sir) Frank Cavendish (1841-1920), entered diplomatic service 1861, agent and consul-gen. at Sofia 1879-87, min. in Bucharest 1887-91, Teheran 1891-4, ambassador in Berlin 1895-1908, 278, 279, 280 n., 281 n., 284, 285, 304; ii. 83, 85, 89 n., 90, 98, 99, 100, 102 n., 103, 108, 111, 138, 282.
- Latimers, Bucks. (Lord Chesham), 4, 80.
- Laveleye, Émile (1822-92), baron de, Belgian lib. and political economist, ii. 411.
- Law, Hugh (1818-83), drafted Irish church and land acts 1869, 1870, att.-gen. for Ireland 1873-4, 1880-1, lib. M.P. 1874-81, lord *chanc.* for Ireland 1881-3, 7, 8, 296, 305, 306, 356.

- Lawley, Beilby, *see* Wenlock.
- Law Officers: on Suter case, 273; Bradlaugh, 344; North Borneo charter, 350; proclamation against Arabi, 409; punishment of Arabi, 454; dual control in Egypt, 474-5, 480; ii. 4, 6; accusations against Khedive, ii. 65, 71; Madagascar, ii. 79, 91, 92; *Bosphore Egyptien*, ii. 360; future of Egypt, ii. 373; *see also* Herschell and James.
- Lawrence, John Hamilton (1846-1913), second Baron 1879; lib., later unionist, peer, a lord-in-waiting 1895-1901, ii. 40 n., 273 n., 427 n.
- Lawrence, John Laird Mair (1811-79), first Baron 1869, after service in the Punjab, gov.-gen. of India 1863-8, 76, 77, 80, 83, 88, 89.
- Lawson, E., *see* Levy-Lawson.
- Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (1829-1906), radical M.P. 1859-65, 1868-85, 1886-1906, 69, 70, 172, 316, 374 n., 393; ii. 26, 27, 286.
- Layard, (after 1878 Sir) Austen Henry (1817-94), lib. M.P. 1852-7, 1859-69, for. under-sec. 1851, 1853, 1861-6, chief commissioner Bd. of Works 1868-9, min. in Madrid 1869-77, ambassador in Constantinople 1877-80, 34, 40, 41, 48, 53, 58, 60, 112, 127, 174; ii. 236, 237; character as ambassador and proposed appointment to Rome and its failure, &c., 259, 266, 267, 268; ii. 36-37, 38, 74.
- Lebanon, 139, 196, 197; ii. 45 n.
- Lee (after 1902 Sir) Henry Austin (1847-1918), entered F.O. 1870, priv. sec. to Dilke 1880-2 and Fitzmaurice 1883-5, sec. of embassy and commercial attaché in Paris, Brussels, Bern, 1896-1918, 300.
- Lefevre, George John Shaw- (1831-1928), first Baron Eversley 1906, lib. M.P. 1865-95, parl. sec. Bd. of Trade 1868-70, home und.-sec. 1871, sec. to the Admiralty 1871-4, chief commissioner Bd. of Works 1880-3, 1892-4, postmaster-gen. 1883-5, president Local Govt. Bd. 1894-5, 219 n., 222 n., 472; ii. 23, 99, 253, 278, 367.
- Leighton, Frederick (1830-96), first Baron 1896, painter, 352; ii. 59.
- Leinster, Charles William (1819-87), fifth Duke of, styled Marquis of Kildare until 1874, lib. peer, commissioner for national education, Ireland 1841-87, and K.G., 456, 457; ii. 93, 96.
- Leinster, Duchess of, wife of above, 472; ii. 430, 431 n., 432 n.
- Leo XIII, Pope 1878-1903, 230, 231, 232, 233, 298, 317, 431; ii. 116, 235.
- Leopold (1835-84), Prince, Duke of Albany 1881, fourth son of Queen Victoria, 25, 133, 178, 184, 245, 256, 311 n., 352 n., 367; ii. 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 176 n., 181.
- Leopold II (1835-1909), King of the Belgians 1865-1909, ii. 149-50.
- Leroy-Beaulieu, Pierre Paul (1843-1916), French economist, ii. 92.
- Lessar, — (1851-1905), Russian engineer and surveyor in Turkestan and Transcaspia 1878-85, expert adviser on Afghan frontier to Russian ambassador in London 1885, member of delimitation commission 1885-6, counsellor of embassy in London 1895-1901, min. at Peking 1901-5, ii. 369, 376, 378.
- Lesseps, Charles de (1839-1923), vice-president of the Suez Canal Company, son of the next, 440, 443; ii. 61, 64, 67 n., 68, 73, 74, 108, 109 n., 114, 120, 125-6.
- Lesseps, Ferdinand (1805-94), vicomte de, G.C.S.I., 65, 386, 430, 443; ii. 61.
- Leveson-Gower, Lord Edward Frederick (1819-1907), younger brother of Earl Granville, lib. M.P. for Bodmin 1852-85, 26, 30, 33, 34, 62, 68, 86, 88, 97, 110, 115, 161, 162, 203, 210, 213, 215, 223; ii. 5, 128, 155, 176, 180, 319, 355, 399, 414, 415, 420, 426, 457.
- Leveson-Gower, (after 1921 Sir) George Granville (1858-1951), nephew of Earl Granville, priv. sec. to Gladstone 1880-5, a lord of the Treasury 1886, lib. M.P. 1885-6, 1890-5, comptroller of the household 1890-5, 27, 210, 213, 215, 223, 224; ii. 328, 392, 414, 457, 458.
- Leveson-Gower, Granville George (1872-1939), third Earl Granville, eldest son of Lord Granville, styled Lord Leveson until 1891, 57, 247, 312; ii. 9, 395, 398, 399, 401, 463.
- Leveson-Gower, Susan Katherine (1876-8), 1 n., 71 n.
- Leveson-Gower, William Spencer (1880-1953), fourth Earl Granville, second son of Lord Granville, 145 n.
- Levy-Lawson (before 1875 Levy), Edward (1833-1916), first Baron Burnham 1903, son of J. M. Levy, proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph* which he edited and later inherited, lib., later unionist, 52.
- Lewis, Sir George Cornewall (1806-63), Peelite statesman, chanc. of the exchequer, 1855-8, home sec. 1859-61, &c., 8.
- Lewis, Richard (1821-1905), archdeacon of St. David's 1875-83, bishop of Llandaff 1883-1905, ii. 7 n.

- Lichfield, Thomas George (1825-92), second Earl of, nominally lib., later unionist, peer, 143.
- Lincoln, Christopher Wordsworth (1807-85), bishop of 1868-85, ii. 209 n., 210.
- Lindsay, Robert James Loyd- (1832-1901), first Baron Wantage 1885, cons. M.P. 1865-85, 7 n., 8.
- Lingen, Ralph Robert Wheeler (1819-1905), first Baron 1885, sec. to the education committee 1850-70, sec. to the Treasury 1870-85, 128; ii. 386, 427 n.
- Lister, (after 1885 Sir) Thomas Villiers (1833-1902), priv. sec. to Clarendon 1853-8, 1865-6, 1868-70, assistant und.-sec. F.O. 1873-94, ii. 148, 278.
- Listowel, William (1833-1924), third Earl of, a lord-in-waiting *May to Aug.* 1880, 124, 148 n., 151, 156.
- Liverpool, Robert Banks (1770-1827), second Earl of, prime min. 1812-27, 248.
- Lloyd, Charles Dalton Clifford (1844-91), resident magistrate in Ireland 1874-81, 1885, inspector-gen. of reforms to khedive in Egypt 1883, und.-sec. Egyptian ministry of interior 1883-4, lieut.-gov. Mauritius 1885-7, consul Kurdistan 1889, ii. 178 n., 179, 180 n., 188.
- Lloyd, Julius (1830-92), writer and parish priest of pronounced lib. views, examining chaplain to the bishop of Manchester 1881, canon of Manchester 1891, ii. 114 n., 115.
- Lobanov-Rostovsky, Alexis Borisovich (1824-96), Prince, Russian ambassador in Constantinople 1878-9, London 1879-82, Vienna 1882-5, min. for for. affairs 1895-6, 126, 160, 168, 169, 170, 193, 204, 205, 255, 256, 259, 260, 261, 264, 271, 325.
- Local Government, 357; ii. 14, 19, 20, 21, 23, 400-1, 403, 405, 410, 415, 416 n.
- Loch, (after 1880 Sir) Henry Brougham (1827-1900), first Baron 1895, priv. sec. to Lord Elgin in China 1860, to Sir George Grey 1860-3, gov. Isle of Man 1863-82, commissioner of Woods and Forests 1882-4, gov. Victoria 1884-9, of the Cape and high commissioner for S. Africa 1889-95, 125, ii. 318-19.
- Locock, Sidney (1834-85), entered diplomatic service 1853, min. at Belgrade 1881-5, ii. 93, 112 n.
- Loftus, Lord Augustus William Frederick Spencer (1817-1904), ambassador in Berlin 1866-71, in St. Petersburg 1871-9, gov. of New S. Wales 1879-85, 44, 81, 93 n., 94; ii. 74.
- Londesborough, William Henry Forrester (1834-1900), second Baron, first Earl of 1887, lib., after 1885 cons., peer, 218, 219.
- London Government bill, 357; ii. 14-15, 22, 24, 34, 40-42, 44, 47-53.
- Londonderry, George Henry Robert Charles William (1821-84), fifth Marquis of, 248.
- Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth (1807-82), American poet, 17.
- Longfield, Mountifort (1802-84), judge of the landed estates court Ireland 1858-67, regius professor of law Dublin University 1834-84, 226.
- Longleat, Somerset (Lord Bath), 19, 21, 25, 28, 29 n., 139.
- Lord Advocate, *see* Balfour, John.
- Lord Mayor's Guildhall Banquet, 210, 211, 213-20, 303-6; ii. 76, 93 n., 95, 96, 112.
- Lords-Lieutenant of the counties, 143, 148, 149, 154, 218, 219, 312; ii. 129, 226.
- Lorne, John Douglas Sutherland (1845-1914), styled Marquis of, ninth Duke of Argyll 1900, lib. M.P. 1868-78, lib. unionist 1895-1900, gov.-gen. of Canada 1878-83, md. Princess Louise, 281; ii. 46, 50, 51, 52, 244, 427, 432.
- Louis Alexander of Battenberg (1854-1921), Prince, elder brother of Alexander of Bulgaria, naturalized an Englishman 1868, md. Princess Victoria dau. of Grand-duke of Hesse and Princess Alice 1884, admiral 1912, first Marquis of Milford Haven 1917, ii. 138.
- Louis Philippe (1773-1850), King of the French 1830-48, 262.
- Lowe, Robert (1811-92), first Viscount Sherbrooke 1880, lib. M.P. 1852-74, chanc. of the exchequer 1868-73, home sec. 1873-4, 8, 9, 11, 21, 34, 56 n., 127, 128, 215, 444, 447.
- Lowell, James Russell (1819-91), American man of letters, author of *Biglow Papers*, min. in Madrid 1877-80, in London 1880-5, 150, 242, 278, 282; ii. 429.
- Lubbock, Sir John (1834-1913), first Baron Avebury 1900, banker and naturalist, lib. M.P. 1870-1900, 98 n., 117.
- Lumley, Sir John Savile (1818-96), first Baron Savile 1888, min. in Berne 1867-8, in Brussels 1868-83, ambassador in Rome 1883-8, 259, 260; ii. 245.

- Lumsden, (after 1879 Sir) Peter Stark (1829-1918), maj.-gen. 1871, lieut.-gen. 1887, commissioner for N-W. frontier 1884, ii. 327, 328, 338, 339, 356, 359, 371, 372.
- Luttrell, Henry (1765?-1851), M.P. Irish parliament 1798, conversationalist and diner-out, 55.
- Lymington, Newton (1856-1917), styled Viscount Lymington, sixth Earl of Portsmouth 1891, lib. M.P. 1880-91, und.-sec. for war 1905-8, 104, 268.
- Lyons, Richard Bickerton Pemell (1817-87), second Baron, Viscount 1881, Earl 1887, min. in Florence 1858, in Washington 1858-64, ambassador in Constantinople 1865-7, in Paris 1867-87, 44, 83, 196, 200, 213, 232, 235, 241, 249, 253, 262-4, 274, 275, 294, 297, 299, 304, 332, 334, 335, 348, 350, 373, 384, 387, 396, 403, 407, 408, 410, 411, 464, 470, 479, 482; ii. 74, 94, 95, 100, 139, 141, 194, 198, 216, 236, 237, 238, 240-2, 258, 263, 271, 291, 298, 299, 301, 308, 309, 311, 312, 314, 352, 354, 373-4, 375, 376, 379; viscountcy, i. 301, 302; Gladstone's visit to, ii. 33, 34, 35; refusal to vote on franchise bill, ii. 273, 274-5, 276, 283.
- Lytelton, Alfred (1857-1913), lawyer, lib. M.P. 1895-1913, col. sec. 1903-6, eighth son of Lord Lytton and Mary, sister of Mrs. Gladstone, 52; ii. 92.
- Lytelton, Charles George (1842-1922), fifth Baron 1876, eldest son of Lord Lytton and Mary, sister of Mrs. Gladstone, 118, 124, 148; ii. 183, 210.
- Lytelton, Edward (1855-1942), master and headmaster of Eton, seventh son of Lord Lytton, ii. 218.
- Lytelton, (after 1902 Sir) Neville Gerald (1845-1931), served in Canada, India, Egypt, Gibraltar, Ireland, Sudan, Boer war, maj.-gen. 1898, gen. 1906, chief of the gen. staff 1904-8, third son of Lord Lytton, ii. 335.
- Lytton, Edward George Earle Bulwer-Lytton (1803-73), first Baron 1866, novelist, cons. M.P. 1852-66, ii. 253.
- Lytton, Edward Robert (1831-91), first Earl of 1880, sec. of embassy at Vienna 1868-72, at Paris 1872-4, min. at Lisbon 1874-6, viceroy of India 1876-80, ambassador in Paris 1887-91, 10, 77, 80, 83, 86, 100, 261.
- M'Carthy, Justin (1830-1912), journalist and historian, 91, 92.
- Macartney, (after 1885 Sir) Samuel Halliday (1833-1906), served in army medical service in China 1860-3, official in Chinese service 1863-1906, English sec. to Chinese legation in London 1877-1906, ii. 84 n., 86.
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington (1800-59), historian, ii. 87, 88.
- McCoan, James Carlile (1829-1904), lib. M.P. 1880-5, ii. 281, 344.
- MacColl, Malcolm (1831-1907), canon at Ripon 1884-1907, pamphleteer, 93, 215, 319.
- MacDonell, (after 1892 Sir) Hugh Guion (1832-1904), sec. of embassy at Rome and sometime chargé 1878-82, chargé d'affaires at Munich 1882-5, &c., 158, 202; ii. 7, 9.
- MacDuff, *see* Fife.
- Mackenzie, Georgiana Muir, 28.
- Mackenzie, Sir Kenneth Smith (1832-1900), sixth Bart. of Gairloch, lord-lieut. of Ross-shire 1881-99, 312; ii. 453.
- Macmahon, M.-E.-P. M. (1808-93), comte de, French marshal, president of the third republic 1873-9, 59, 65, 83.
- Macmillan's Magazine*, 237.
- Madagascar, difficulty with France over, 468 n.; ii. 8 n., 37, 62, 63-64, 75-76, 78, 80-83, 89, 91, 92, 94, 95, 104-7, 110, 111.
- Mahdi, the, Mahommed Ahmed ibn Seyyid Abdullah, known as, 1881-5, ii. 131, 151, 152, 154, 165, 186, 197, 198, 344, 354.
- Malcom Khan, Nazem, Prince, Persian min. in London 1873-89, 27.
- Malet, (after 1881 Sir) Edward Baldwin (1837-1908), sec. of embassy at Paris 1867-71, &c., consul-gen. in Egypt 1879-83, ambassador in Berlin 1884-95, 288, 292, 298, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 332, 334, 335, 336, 339, 369, 370, 375, 379, 412, 413, 414, 423, 426, 427, 428, 434, 435, 436, 438, 439, 441, 442, 453, 454, 455, 462; ii. 39 n., 43, 54-56, 63, 71 n., 81; appointment to and service at Berlin, ii. 236 n., 237, 241, 242, 244, 245, 252, 258, 290 n., 291, 296, 301, 303, 304, 323 n., 328, 329, 332, 334, 369.
- Mallet, Charles, French banker, president of the Ottoman Bank in Paris, 167, 183, 209, 240, 249.
- Mallet, Sir Louis (1823-90), served under the Bd. of Trade 1847-72, concerned with tariffs and commercial treaties, member of Indian Council 1872-4, und.-sec. I.O. 1874-83, 425.

- Malmesbury, James Howard (1807-89), third Earl of, for. sec. 1852, 1858-9, lord privy seal 1866-8, 1874-6, 418; ii. 256, 257, 259.
- Malta, 69 n., 188, 191, 193, 194, 262, 263, 265.
- Manchester Examiner*, 29.
- Mancini, Pasquale Stanislao (1817-88), Italian min. of education 1862, min. of justice 1876-8, min. for for. affairs 1881-5, ii. 108.
- Manners, Lord John (1818-1906), seventh Duke of Rutland 1888, cons. M.P. 1841-7, 1850-88, chief commissioner Bd. of Works 1852, 1858-9, 1866-8, postmaster-gen. 1874-80, 1885-6, chanc. of the duchy of Lancaster 1886-92, 272; ii. 169.
- Manning, Henry Edward (1808-92), cardinal, archbishop of Westminster 1865-92, ii. 116, 367.
- Marjoribanks, Sir Dudley Coutts (1820-94), first Baron Tweedmouth 1881, lib. M.P. 1853-68, 1874-81, 82 n., 287 n.
- Marjoribanks, Edward (1849-1909), second Baron Tweedmouth 1894, lib. M.P. 1880-94, comptroller of the household 1886, second, after 1892 chief, lib. whip, 335; ii. 428, 438.
- Mar Lodge, Aberdeenshire (Earl of Fife), ii. 77, 246, 252, 253, 254, 256.
- Massowa, ii. 270, 271, 275, 279-80, 298, 333, 338; *see also* Italy, Red Sea claims.
- Mathews, Henry (1780-1828), son of Col. John Mathews, M.P. 1804-6, of Belmont, Co. Hereford, puisne judge in Ceylon, father of Henry Mathews, lib. M.P. 1868-74, 57.
- Maxwell, Sir Peter Benson (1817-93), chief justice of the Straits Settlements 1867-71, reorganized judicial tribunals in Egypt 1883-4, ii. 178 n., 179.
- May, Thomas Erskine (1815-86), first Baron Farnborough 1886, clerk assistant 1856-71, clerk 1871-86 of the House of Commons, 6, 366; ii. 443.
- Meade, (after 1894 Sir) Robert Henry (1835-98), served in F.O. 1859-63, 1866-8, priv. sec. to Lord Granville 1864-6, 1868-71, assistant und.-sec. C.O. 1871-92, und.-sec. C.O. 1892-6, ii. 311, 431 n.
- Meath, William Brabazon (1803-87), eleventh Earl of, lib. peer, 229.
- Meath, Lady, wife of above, 54.
- Mediation, 135.
- Melbourne, William (1779-1848), second Viscount, prime min. 1834, 1835-41, 21; ii. 11, 274 n.
- Menabrea, Luigi Federico (1809-96), marquis de Val Dora, Italian gen., ambassador in London 1876-82, 207, 208, 219, 235, 262, 263, 268, 288, 318, 394, 404, 405.
- Mentmore, Beds. (Lord Rothschild), 125, 170, 171, 172.
- Methuen, Frederick Henry Paul (1818-91), second Baron, a lord-in-waiting 1859-66, 1868-74, 1880-5, Feb.-Aug. 1886, 124 n.; ii. 427 n., 428, 442, 443.
- Metternich-Winneburg, Prince Clemens Wenzel Lothar von (1773-1859), Austrian chanc. and min. for for. affairs 1809-48, ii. 92, 421.
- Mexico, ii. 224.
- Miall, Edward (1809-81), nonconformist, lib. M.P. 1852-7, 1869-74, 51, 52.
- Michell, Thomas (1835-99), consul at St. Petersburg 1866-78, consul-gen. at Philippopolis 1879-80, at Oslo (Christiania) 1880-97, 129; ii. 181.
- Midhat (1822-84), Pasha, Turkish vizier 1860-71, grand vizier 1871, 1876-7, visited London 1877, gov. of Syria 1878, of Smyrna 1879, 30, 60, 61, 64, 286.
- Milan Obrenovich (1854-1901), Prince, after 1882 King, of Serbia 1868-89, ii. 84 n., 93, 112, 113, 118.
- Millais, Sir John Everett (1829-96), first Bart. 1885, painter, ii. 58, 223.
- Milner, Sir Frederick George (1849-1931), seventh Bart., lib.-cons. M.P. 1883-5, 1890-1906, ii. 371.
- Milton, William Wentworth (1839-77), styled Viscount Milton, 437.
- Minto, William Hugh (1814-91), third Earl of, lib., later unionist, peer, ii. 43, 44.
- Mistress of the Robes, 307, 308, 309, 469, 471, 472, 474, 476, 479; ii. 429-30, 431-2.
- Mohrenheim, Arthur Pavlovitch (1824-1906), Baron, entered Russian diplomatic service 1845, ambassador in London 1882-4, in Paris 1884-97, ii. 34, 36, 156.
- Monck, Charles Stanley (1819-94), fourth Viscount, lib. M.P. 1852-7, gov.-gen. of Canada 1867-8, commissioner of Irish church temporalities 1869-81, 123, 225, 359.
- Money, (after 1898 Sir) Alonzo (d. 1900), member of Bengal Civil Service 1843-78, member of Bengal Bd. of Revenue 1869-78, British commissioner of the Egyptian *caisse de la dette publique* from 1880 and after reorganization 1883-1900, 423.

- Mongrédien, Augustus (1807-88), political economist, ii. 93, 97, 98, 105, 108, 109.
- Monson, William John (1829-98), seventh Baron, treasurer of the household 1874, capt. of the Yeomen of the Guard 1880-5, 1886, master of the horse 1892-4, 442; ii. 290, 427 n.
- Montebello, comte de, first sec., sometime chargé d'affaires, of French embassy in London 1879-80, 154.
- Montenegro, 17, 68, 123, 141-4, 147, 150, 152, 153, 158-63, 166, 170-3, 175, 178, 179, 181, 182-3, 184, 186-94, 196-9, 200, 201 n., 202, 204-12, 216-17, 223, 224, 226, 253, 258.
- Montgelas —, Graf von, sec. in Austrian embassy in London 1871-80, 211.
- Montgomery, Alfred (1814-96), a commissioner of inland revenue, 1845-92, 310.
- Moorhouse, James (1826-1915), bishop of Melbourne 1876-86, of Manchester 1886-1903, ii. 115.
- Morgan, (after 1892 Sir) George Osborne (1826-97), lib. M.P. 1868-95, judge-advocate-gen. 1880-5, und.-sec. for colonies 1886, ii. 155.
- Morier, (after 1882 Sir) Robert Burnett David (1826-93), sec. of British legation at Frankfurt 1866-70, chargé d'affaires at Stuttgart 1870-2, Munich 1872-6, min. at Lisbon 1876-81, Madrid 1881-5, ambassador in St. Petersburg 1885-93, 130, 259, 260, 288, 316, 330 n., 331; ii. 227, 256.
- Morley, Albert Edmund (1843-1905), third Earl of, a lord-in-waiting 1868-74, sec. to Local Govt. Bd. 1873-4, und.-sec. for war 1880-5, chief commissioner Bd. of Works 1886, deputy Speaker H.L. 1889-1905, 244, 432, 446, 447, 475; ii. 434, 439 n., 440, 441.
- Morley, Arnold (1849-1916), son of Samuel Morley, lib. M.P. 1880-95, financial sec. to the Treasury 1886, &c., ii. 446, 447, 450, 453.
- Morley, John (1838-1923), first Viscount Morley of Blackburn 1908, editor of the *Fortnightly Review* 1867-82, of the *Pall Mall Gazette* 1880-3, radical M.P. 1883-95, 1896-1908, chief sec. Ireland 1886, 1892-5, sec. for India 1906-10, lord privy seal 1910-14, 214, 305, 306; ii. 421, 422, 436, 439, 458.
- Morley, Samuel (1809-86), manufacturer, lib. M.P. 1865-6, 1868-85, 102, 103, 104; ii. 460.
- Morning Post*, 29, 60, 62, 64.
- Morocco, 299, 301, 316.
- Mount Temple, William Francis (1811-88), first Baron 1880, lib. M.P. as W. F. Cowper-Temple, 1834-80, 333.
- Mundella, Anthony John (1825-97), radical M.P. 1868-97, vice-president of the Council 1880-5, president Bd. of Trade 1886, 1892-3, 62, 63, 104, 108, 109; ii. 413, 460, 461.
- Münster, Georg Herbert (1820-1902), Graf zu, Fürst M. von Derneburg 1899, German ambassador in London 1873-Mar. 1885, in Paris 1885-1900, 68, 188, 189 n., 191 n., 193, 194, 234, 257, 395, 447; ii. 31, 202, 217, 219, 229, 230, 249, 292, 293-4, 304, 305-7, 309, 323, 332, 333, 347, 365, 411; 5 May 1884 dispatch, ii. 328 n., 329-30, 334.
- Murray, Sir Charles Augustus (1806-95), entered diplomatic service 1844, min. at Dresden 1859-66, Copenhagen 1866, Lisbon 1866-74, ii. 237.
- Murray, John (1808-92) publisher, 33; ii. 45.
- Musurus, Constantine (1807-91), Pasha, Turkish min., after 1856 ambassador, in London 1851-85, 1, 49 n., 127, 128, 131 n., 205, 361, 378, 393, 454; ii. 92, 124, 127, 146 n., 162, 166, 170, 186, 235, 293, 350, 351, 352, 374, 375.
- Musurus, Paul, Bey, son of Musurus Pasha, sec. in Turkish embassy in London 1876-85, chargé d'affaires Dec. 1881, 130, 131 n., 234, 236, 239.
- Napoleon III, (1808-73), Emperor of the French 1851-70, 124, 262, 436; ii. 155.
- National Convention, St. James's Hall meeting 1876, 24-27, 39.
- Naval Demonstration, 1880, 142, 144, 146, 147, 150, 151 n., 160, 162, 166, 169, 172, 173, 175, 178 n., 181-8, 193, 201, 210, 214 n., 215, 227.
- Negroponte, M. J., Greek merchant, 52 n., 53 n., 58 n.
- Netheravon, Wilts. (Sir M. Hicks Beach), 313, 314.
- Netherlands, Kingdom of the, question of buying Dutch New Guinea from, ii. 318-20.
- Neue Freie Presse*, 305.
- Neville-Grenville, Lady A., 29.
- Newcastle, Henry Pelham Alexander (1834-79), sixth Duke of, lib. M.P. 1857-9, 57 n., 107.
- Newfoundland, 150, 312, 313; ii. 433.
- New Guinea, ii. 242, 244, 246, 271-2, 274, 280 n., 299, 300, 303, 304, 305, 310, 318-20, 329-31, 333, 335, 343.
- Newman, John Henry (1801-90), cardinal 1878, 321, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327; ii. 337.

- Nicholas (1841-1921), Prince, after 1910 King of Montenegro, 159 n., 186, 189-91, 222.
- Nigra, Costantino (1828-1907), conte, priv. sec. to Cavour 1851, ambassador in Paris 1860-76, St. Petersburg 1876-83, London 1883-5, Vienna 1885-1904, ii. 146, 229, 289, 292, 298, 316 n., 321, 322, 325, 333, 375.
- Nihilism, 246, 254, 255, 256, 257, 262, 264, 271, 351.
- Nineteenth Century*, 56 n., 58 n., 77 n., 86 n., 244 n.; ii. 247.
- Nisero, case of S.S., ii. 248, 255.
- Noailles, Emmanuel-Henri-Victorien (1830-1909), marquis de, French min., after 1876 ambassador, in Rome 1874-82, in Constantinople 1882-6 (*Jan.*), ii. 199.
- Nocton Hall, Lincs. (Lord Ripon), 6.
- Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 212.
- Norfolk, Henry, (1815-60), fourteenth Duke of, 471.
- Norman, Sir Henry Wylie (1826-1904), fieldmarshal 1902, served in Indian army, member of Indian Council 1878-83, gov. of Jamaica 1883-8, Queensland 1888-95, 425.
- Normanton, James Charles Welbore Ellis (1818-96), third Earl of, 26.
- North American Review*, 84 n., 105.
- Northbourne, *see* James, Sir W. C.
- Northbrook, Thomas George (1826-1904), second Baron 1866, first Earl of 1876, lib. M.P. 1857-66, und.-sec. for India 1859-64, for war 1868-72, viceroy of India 1872-6, first lord of the Admiralty 1880-5, 68, 76, 77, 80, 87, 140, 160, 162 n., 188, 194, 209, 244, 367, 369, 380, 383 n., 385 n., 390, 391, 392, 396, 397, 399, 402, 425, 436, 438, 440, 447, 453, 459; ii. 152, 247, 309; and col. questions with Germany, ii. 241, 242, 243, 271, 334; and foreign policy: *Madagascar*, ii. 80, 106; *Central Asia*, ii. 339, 358; *Port Hamilton*, ii. 363, 364, 378, 390; *Egypt*, 431, 436, 452, 473; ii. 43, 147, 340, 348; *special mission to Egypt*, 180 n., 223, 234, 235, 236, 237-8, 240, 241-2, 244, 250, 251, 254, 258, 260, 261, 265-7, 269, 270, 272, 273, 276, 277, 279, 280, 281, 284, 287 n., 288, 291; *Egyptian finance, his proposed resignation*, ii. 290, 291, 292, 293, 295, 296, 299, 300, 302, 303, 308 n., 322-3, 324, 326, 327-8; renewed proposal of resignation, ii. 358 n.; and Ireland, ii. 23, 29; the Queen and, ii. 225; and Chamberlain, ii. 61; and Hartington, ii. 124, 129, 308 n., 326, 416; refuses G.C.B., i. 445, 446, 448.
- Northcote, Sir Stafford (1818-87), first Earl of Iddesleigh 1885, priv. sec. to Gladstone 1842-5, cons. M.P. 1855-85, president Bd. of Trade 1866-7, sec. for India 1867-8, chanc. of the exchequer 1874-80, leader of the Opposition H.C. 1880-5, first lord of the Treasury 1885-6, for. sec. 1886-7: parl. and financial matters 1876-80, 31, 34, 37, 45, 56, 60, 63, 75, 97, 145, 1880-5, 266, 344-5, 350, 352, 373, 449; ii. 347; and Derby's resignation 1878, 72, 73; and civil list pension, 267, 268; and Egypt, 393, 399, 414; ii. 169, 193, 223, 289; ill-health 1883, ii. 29, 30; and Gladstone over the 'Kilmainham treaty', ii. 31, 35, 36; and Madagascar, ii. 75; Suez Canal, ii. 63, 64, 69, 70; parl. reform, ii. 284-7, 289; in the House of Lords, ii. 424; speeches, 9, 10, 12, 55, 108.
- Northumberland, Algernon George (1810-99), sixth Duke of, a lord of the Admiralty 1858, vice-president Bd. of Trade 1859, lord privy seal 1878-80, 72, 79 n.
- Norton, Charles Bowyer (1814-1905), first Baron 1878, as Sir Charles Adderley cons. M.P. 1841-78, col. und.-sec. 1866-8, president Bd. of Trade 1874-8, ii. 247.
- Norway, ii. 181, 391-2.
- Novikov, Evgeny Petrovich (1823-1903), min. and ambassador in Vienna 1870-80, Constantinople 1880-2, 134.
- Novikov, Olga, wife of above, 205, 206, 351; ii. 92, 270, 273, 411.
- Nubar (1825-99), Pasha, Egyptian min. for for. affairs 1866-78, prime min. 1878-9, 1884-8, 1894-5, 76, 83 n., 332; ii. 138, 144, 149, 179, 207-8, 236, 254, 295, 296, 301, 305, 359, 375 n.
- Observer*, 402; ii. 41, 79 n., 156, 240.
- O'Connell, Daniel (1775-1847), Irish M.P. 1828-47, 54 n., 226.
- O'Connor, (after 1895 Sir) Nicholas Roderick (1843-1908), entered the diplomatic service 1866, sec. of legation Pekin 1883-7, consul-gen. Sofia 1887-92, envoy Pekin 1892-5, ambassador in St. Petersburg 1895-8, Constantinople 1898-1908, ii. 383.
- O'Hagan, Thomas (1812-85), first Baron 1870, sol.-gen. 1860-1, att.-gen. 1861-5 for Ireland, justice of the common pleas, Ireland 1865-8, lord chanc. for

- Ireland 1868-74, 1880-1, 233, 305, 306.
- O'Kelly, James Joseph (1845-1917), Irish home rule M.P. 1880-92, 1895-1917, a Fenian, with Parnell and Dillon arrested and released under the 'Kilmainham treaty', 364 n., 365 n., 371; ii. 31 n.
- O'Shea, Capt. William Henry (1840-1905), Irish M.P. 1880-6, 179 n., 180 n., 364.
- O'Shea, Mrs., 373 n., 443, 444.
- Osman Digna (or Abu Bakr) (1845-1926), dervish serving the Mahdi, defeated by Kitchener at Tamai 1891, but still terrorized the eastern Sudan, captured 1900, interned until 1924, ii. 168, 170 n., 171, 172, 354, 355.
- Ottoman Bank, 53.
- Otway, Sir Arthur John (1822-1912), lib. M.P. 1852-7, 1865-74, 1878-85, for. und.-sec. 1868-71, deputy Speaker 1883-5, 129.
- Overstone, Samuel James Loyd (1796-1883), first Baron, whig M.P. 1819-26, banker, 7, 8.
- Owen, Sir Philip Cunliffe- (1828-94), Commissioner for several international Exhibitions, Royal Commissioner for Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886, K.C.M.G. 1878, K.C.B. 1886, ii. 180, 451, 452.
- Paget, Sir Augustus Berkeley (1823-96), min. at Copenhagen 1859-66, Lisbon 1866-7, Florence (Rome) 1867-76, ambassador in Rome 1876-83, Vienna 1884-93, 20, 231, 233, 257, 258, 259, 266, 267, 268, 317, 362; ii. 73, 74, 234, 241-2, 248, 250, 251, 254, 257, 268.
- Paget, Admiral Sir Clarence Edward (1811-95), sec. to the Admiralty 1859-66, commander-in-chief Mediterranean 1866-70, 262.
- Paget, Sir James (1814-99), first Bart. 1871, surgeon, 243, 244; ii. 58.
- Pahlen, Nicholas, Count, a figure of London society, living outside Russia owing to his lib. opinions, ii. 56.
- Pakenham, Thomas Conolly (1825-83), consul, Tamatave, Madagascar 1862-83, ii. 62 n., 76, 105 n., 110 n.
- Palgrave, William Gifford (1826-88), son of Sir Francis, Jesuit missionary in Syria and Arabia until 1865, British representative in Abyssinia 1865, Trebizond 1867, Turkish Georgia 1870, Upper Euphrates 1872, West Indies 1873, Bulgaria 1878, Bangkok 1879, Uruguay 1884, 431, 436-7.
- Pall Mall Gazette*, 42, 64, 66, 103, 194, 204, 238, 252, 319, 352, 358; ii. 24, 105, 171, 176, 248, 249, 444.
- Palmer, Henry Spencer (1838-93), entered the army 1856, served in the ordnance survey, parl. boundary commissioner 1867, built waterworks in Japan 1885-7, maj.-gen. 1887, ii. 386.
- Palmer, Sir Roger William (1832-1910), Bart., of Castle Lackin, Co. Mayo, lieut.-gen. 1881, Irish cons. M.P. 1857-65, 319.
- Palmerston, Henry John Temple (1784-1865), third Viscount, for. sec. 1830-4, 1835-41, 1846-51, prime min. 1855-8, 1859-65, 1, 18, 21, 22, 91, 92, 135, 254, 268, 283, 449; ii. 110, 152, 224, 255, 368 n., 407-8, 408 n., 410 n.
- Panama canal, *see* America.
- Panizzi, Sir Anthony (1797-1879), Italian liberal exile, librarian of the British Museum 1831-66, 4, 7.
- Panshanger, Herts. (Lord Cowper), 56; ii. 26.
- Paris, treaty of 1856, 85, 91, 92, 103, 134, 263, 278; ii. 145, 296, 344.
- Parke House, Melton Mowbray, Leics., 33.
- Parkes, Sir Harry Smith (1828-85), entered Chinese govt. service 1841, commissioner to control govt. of Canton 1858-60, consul at Shanghai 1860-5, min. at Tokio 1865-83, min. at Peking 1883-5, ii. 44, 349.
- Parliament: *Commons*: boroughs disfranchised, 113; obstruction, 47 n., 165, 256, 284 n., 306 n.; procedural reform, 241, 308, 322, 338, 343, 351, 356, 412 n., 413, 428-9 n., 430, 435, 437, 441, 444, 445, 449, 453 n., 456-7; ii. 402; choice of new Speaker, ii. 111-12, 119;
Lords: conflict with Commons, 177, 179; ii. 214, 215, 218 n., 226, 228, 243, 246, 257, 269, 273, 325 n., 404, 433; bishops in, ii. 114-15, 228;
parl. reform, cabinet divided on, ii. 14, 60-61, 113, 118-25, 127-8, 129-35, 137, 139-40, 142-5; representation of the people bill 1884, ii. 161, 169, 174, 190, 204, 208, 211, 213, 214, 220; re-distribution of seats 1883-4, ii. 169, 210-13, 221; negotiations on franchise and re-distribution together *Aug.-Nov.* 1884, ii. 209-10, 225-6, 227-9, 231, 232, 238-9, 246, 247, 249, 251, 255, 256, 257, 259, 265, 266, 268, 269, 271, 274 n., 274-5, 278, 279, 281 n., 283-9, 290, 291, 307; re-distribution bill 1885, ii. 308; resignation of ministers without

- Parliament (*cont.*)
 meeting parliament, i. 128; parliament used not to concern itself with the army, i. 248; motion for women's suffrage, ii. 205; meetings of the lib. parl. party, 346; ii. 212, 214 n., 290, 445, 446; *see also* Egypt, Gladstone, Granville.
- Parliamentary papers, 44, 45, 48, 87, 96, 183, 274-5, 285-6, 341; ii. 28, 164, 186, 203 n., 204, 296, 331, 340, 345, 371 n., 372.
- Parnell, Charles Stewart (1846-91), Irish M.P. 1875-91, chairman of the Irish parl. party 1880-91, 45 n., 225, 228, 291, 293, 296, 364, 365, 371, 378, 443 n., 444, 449, 454 n.; ii. 31 n., 367, 388 n., 390, 391-2, 404, 408, 411, 417, 429, 441 n., 460.
- Pascal, Blaise (1623-62), 22; ii. 239, 403.
- Passevalle or in Italian Passavalli, Luigi Puecher (d. 1897), archbishop *in partibus* 1867-97, 317.
- Pauncefote, (after 1874 Sir) Julian (1828-1902), first Baron 1899, assistant und.-sec. C.O. 1874-6, F.O. 1876-82, und.-sec. F.O. 1882-9, min., after 1893 ambassador, in Washington 1889-1902, 288, 333, 334, 336, 416, 425, 440, 446, 449 n., 452, 474, 480, 482; ii. 78, 79, 80, 178, 179, 229, 230, 297, 334, 336, 343, 346, 353, 379.
- Pease, Joseph Whitwell (1828-1903), Quaker, banker, lib. M.P. 1865-85, first Bart. 1882, president of the Peace Society, 361 n.; ii. 449.
- Peel, Arthur Wellesley (1829-1912), first Viscount 1895, fifth son of the prime min., lib. M.P. 1865-95, joint sec. to Treasury and lib. whip 1873-4, Speaker 1884-95, ii. 119.
- Peel, (after 1890 Sir) Charles Lennox (1823-99), clerk to the Privy Council 1875-98, ii. 416.
- Peel, Sir Robert (1788-1850), prime min. 1835, 1841-6, 21, 56, 86, 447; ii. 2, 249, 260 n., 274 n.
- Peel, Sir Robert (1822-95), third Bart., a lord of the Admiralty 1855-7, chief sec. Ireland 1861-5, lib. M.P. 1850-80, cons. 1884-6, ii. 450.
- Peerages, proposed 1880, 218; 1881, 245, 287; 1882, 433; 1883, ii. 53, 54, 87-88; 1884, 224, 239, 252, 253, 278 n., 279; 1885, 358; 1886, 451-2, 452 n., 461; *see also* Adam, Russell, Leopold, Wolseley.
- Pender, (after 1888 Sir) John (1816-96), lib. M.P. 1865-6, 1872-85, 1892-6, pioneer of submarine telegraphy, 374, 390 n., 391.
- Pendjeh, *see* Afghanistan.
- Pension, civil list, 267, 268, 274 n.; ii. 61.
- Penzance, James Plaisted (1816-99), first Baron, judge of the court of probate and divorce 1863-72, ii. 224.
- Persia, 112, 126.
- Petre, Sir George Glynn (1822-1905), entered diplomatic service 1846, min. to the Argentine 1881-4, to Paraguay 1882-4, at Lisbon 1884-93, ii. 311.
- Phillimore, Sir Robert Joseph (1810-85), Admiralty judge and dean of arches 1867-85, judge-advocate-gen. 1871-3, Bart. 28 Dec. 1881, 143, 312, 314, 429.
- Pierre, Pierre Joseph Gustave (1827-Aug. 1883), French admiral, in command of Madagascan expedition, ii. 75 n., 76, 79, 80, 82, 83, 106.
- Pitt, William, the Younger (1759-1806), ii. 397.
- Pius IX, Pope 1846-78, 7; ii. 51.
- Playfair, Lyon (1818-98), first Baron 1892, lib. M.P. 1868-92, postmaster-gen. 1873-4, ii. 415.
- Plessen, Baron L. von, counsellor of German embassy in London 1885-8, ii. 242 n., 271, 280, 391.
- Plunkett, (after 1886 Sir) Francis Richard (1835-1907), entered the diplomatic service 1855, sec. of embassy in St. Petersburg 1877-81, in Constantinople 1881, in Paris 1881-3, min. in Tokio 1883-8, in Stockholm 1888-93, in Brussels 1893-1900, ambassador in Vienna 1900-5, ii. 76 n., 81 n., 84, 95, 349, 362.
- Ponsonby, (after 1879 Sir) Henry Frederick (1825-95), maj.-gen. 1868, priv. sec. to Queen Victoria 1870-95, 150, 151, 175, 184, 206, 237, 239, 248, 251, 255, 264, 267, 268, 280, 307, 308, 319, 347, 353, 355, 367, 396, 440, 472, 476; ii. 4, 6, 52, 61, 72, 120, 139, 195, 225, 234, 239, 255, 256, 259, 262, 267, 269, 275, 317, 424, 430, 433, 435, 442.
- Pope, *see* Leo XIII and Pius IX.
- Port Hamilton, ii. 362-4, 378, 383, 389, 390.
- Portman, Edward Berkeley (1799-1888), first Viscount 1873, 26.
- Portsmouth, Isaac Newton (1825-91), fifth Earl of, lib. peer, 104.
- Portugal, 129, 418; ii. 42-43, 121-2, 152, 310.
- Potter, Thomas Bayley (1817-98), lib. M.P. 1865-95, 3; ii. 155.
- Powerscourt Castle, Co. Wicklow (Lord Powerscourt), 56.

- Powerscourt, Mervyn (1836-1904), seventh Viscount, lib., later unionist, rep. peer, Ireland 1865-1904, 225; ii. 427 n., 428.
- Primrose, (after 1899 Sir) Henry William (1843-1923), cousin of Lord Rosebery; priv. sec. to Ripon as gov.-gen. of India 1880-4; to Gladstone 1886; sec. Office of Works 1886-95, chairman of the Bd. of Customs 1895-9, &c., ii. 429, 435 n., 445, 446, 453.
- Pritchard case with France 1843-5, ii. 83, 91, 110.
- Privy Council, meetings, 14, 79; ii. 34, 77, 122, 124, 161, 224, 246, 372; Dilke's resignation from considered, ii. 462.
- Privy seal, office of lord, 250 n., 252, 258, 272; ii. 27, 34, 38, 54 n., 253-4, 265, 335.
- Punch*, 17, 53 n.
- Pusey, Edward Bouverie (1800-82), regius professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford and canon of Christ Church 1829-82, 423, 426, 427.
- Quarterly Review*, 86 n., 91, 92; ii. 45, 105, 108.
- Queensberry, John Sholto (1844-1900), eighth Marquis of, rep. peer for Scotland 1872-80, 260.
- Queensberry, Lady, wife of above, ii. 29, 31.
- Raby Castle, Co. Durham (Duke of Cleveland), 9, 10.
- Raheitea, island of Tahiti group, 312, 313.
- Raikes, Henry Cecil (1838-91), cons. M.P. 1868-91, postmaster-gen. 1886-91, 102; ii. 30.
- Ramsay, *see* Dalhousie.
- Rathbone, William (1819-1902), Liverpool merchant and philanthropist, lib. M.P. 1868-95, 118.
- Rawlinson, Sir Henry Creswicke (1810-95), first Bart. 1891, assyriologist, after serving in the Indian Army and at Candahar and Bagdad, cons. M.P. 1858, 1865-8, member of Indian Council 1858-9, 1868-95, 83, 112; ii. 397.
- Reade, Thomas Fellowes (d. 1885), priv. sec. to consul-gen. at Tunis 1847-50, vice-consul at Tangiers, &c., consul-gen. at Tunis 1879-85, 262 n.
- Reay, Donald James (1839-1921), eleventh Baron, first Baron (U.K.) 1881, of Dutch descent, naturalized 1877, gov. Bombay 1885-90, und.-sec. India 1894-5, 274, 287 n.; ii. 25.
- Redesdale, John Thomas (1805-86), second Baron, first Earl of 1877, chairman of committees and deputy Speaker House of Lords 1851-86, 166, 412, 413, 428, 430, 432, 440.
- Red Sea ports; ii. 126 n., 146, 159 n., 163, 184, 186, 204, 298, 375; *see also* Italy and Suakin.
- Reeve, Henry (1813-95), clerk of appeals to the Privy Council 1837-53, registrar of the Privy Council 1853-87, leader writer to *The Times* 1840-55, editor *Edinburgh Review* 1855-95, 14; ii. 105.
- Reform Club, 33, 93, 94, 469.
- Rendel, Stuart (1834-1913), engineer and armament manufacturer, first Baron 1894, ii. 255.
- Rhodopè, commission of inquiry into atrocities, 76.
- Riaz (*c.* 1835-1911), Pasha, vice-president of commission of inquiry into Egyptian finances, Egyptian min. of interior 1878-9, prime min. *June* 1879-*Sept.* 1881, 1888-91, 1892-4, min. of interior *July-Dec.* 1882, 432.
- Ribblesdale, Thomas (1854-1925), fourth Baron, a lord-in-waiting 1880-5, 1886, master of the buckhounds, 1892-5, lib. whip, 1896-1907, 124 n., 148, 156, 157; ii. 427 n., 428, 435, 436, 437.
- Ribot, Alexandre-Félix-Joseph (1842-1923), French republican deputy 1878-85, 1887-1909, min. for for. affairs 1890-2, prime min. 1892, 1893, 1895, 1917, senator 1909-23, ii. 24.
- Rice, (after 1914 Sir) Ernest (1840-1927), capt. 1878, rear-admiral 1893, vice-admiral 1899, admiral 1904, naval attaché for Europe 1880-2, 397.
- Richard, Henry (1812-88), Welsh M.P. 1868-88, sec. of the Peace Society 1848-85, 413; ii. 344, 450 n.
- Richmond, Charles Henry (1818-1903), sixth Duke of, sometime leader of cons. party in the Lords, 1870-6, president Bd. of Trade 1867-8, 1885, lord president 1874-80, chairman of the commission on agricultural depression 1880-2, 6, 48, 79 n., 223 n., 225, 229; ii. 239, 246, 251, 255, 256, 259, 267 n., 284-7.
- Ridgeway, (after 1886 Sir) Joseph West (1844-1930), entered the Indian army 1860, appointed to Anglo-Russian joint commission for Afghan frontier 1884, chief commissioner 1885-6, negotiated on the frontier at St. Petersburg 1887, und.-sec. for Ireland 1887-92, mission to Morocco 1892, gov. Isle of Man 1893-5, &c., ii. 381.

- Ripon, George Frederick Samuel Robinson (1827-1909), first Marquis of 1871, lord president 1868-73, viceroy of India 1880-4, first lord of the Admiralty 1886, lord privy seal 1905-8, 6 n., 88, 269; ii. 28, 51, 91, 226, 227, 229, 269, 451, 454.
- Riza, Pasha, Turkish commander and commissioner in Albania 1880, 173, 181, 182, 186.
- Robinson, Frederick John (1782-1859), first Viscount 1827, first Earl of Ripon 1833, chanc. of the exchequer 1823-7, prime min. 1827-8, &c., 87, 384.
- Robinson, Sir Hercules George Robert (1824-97), first Baron Rosmead 1896, gov. of Hongkong 1859-65, Ceylon 1865-72, New South Wales 1872-9, New Zealand 1879-80, Cape Colony and high commissioner for S. Africa 1880-9, 1895-7, ii. 432.
- Roebuck, John (1801-79), radical M.P. 1832-7, 1841-7, 1849-79, 54, 104 n.
- Rome, diplomatic relations with, 232, 341; ii. 2; *see also* Errington.
- Rose, Sir John (1820-88), first Bart. 1870, Canadian statesman, member of Morton, Rose & Co., bankers, London, 440; ii. 451, 452.
- Rose, Sir William (1819-85), deputy clerk, after 1875 clerk, of the Parliaments 1848-85, ii. 416.
- Rosebery, Archibald Philip (1847-1929), fifth Earl of, home und.-sec. 1881-3, lord privy seal and chief commissioner Bd. of Works 1885, for. sec. 1886, 1892-4, prime min. 1894-5, 2, 82, 102, 105, 116, 117, 120, 148, 151 n., 173, 258, 259, 260, 261, 267, 268, 269, 272, 274, 290, 311, 350, 374, 392, 471, 473, 475, 476, 477, 479, 480, 481; ii. 2, 5, 39, 40, 60, 71, 72, 100, 179 n., 213, 239, 244, 247, 249, 251, 252, 253, 262 n., 265, 269, 282, 335, 341 n., 342-3, 351-2, 374, 375, 377, 386, 400, 413, 414, 416, 419, 427, 438, 439, 453, 457, 460.
- Rosebery, Hannah, Countess of, wife of above, niece of Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, 272; ii. 427, 428.
- Rothschild, Alfred Charles (1842-1918), director of the Bank of England 1868-90, younger brother of Nathan Meyer, 194.
- Rothschild, Ferdinand James de (1839-98), lib., later lib.-unionist, M.P. for Aylesbury *July-Dec.* 1885, for mid-Bucks. 1885-98, 114 n.
- Rothschild, Gustave, 440.
- Rothschild, Lionel Nathan de (1808-79), Baron of the Austrian Empire, lib. M.P. 1858-68, 1869-74, 10, 75.
- Rothschild, Baroness de, wife of Lionel, 8, 10.
- Rothschild, Nathan Meyer de (1840-1915), first Baron *July* 1885, lib. M.P. 1865-85, son of Lionel, 64, 65, 114, 262, 266, 348, 417; ii. 69, 136, 236, 241, 288, 290, 297, 299, 300, 302, 303, 305.
- Roundell, Charles Savile (1827-1906), lib. M.P. 1880-5, 1892-5, priv. sec. to Earl Spencer 1882-5, ii. 214-15.
- Rowell, Francis William (d. 1885), clerk in the Admiralty 1855-70, director of naval contracts 1870-9, British commissioner of Egyptian state domains 1879-85, 410, 426.
- Rowton, *see* Corry.
- Roxburghe, James Henry Robert (1839-92), seventh Duke of, M.P. 1870-4, 296, 333.
- Roxburghe, Anne, Duchess of, wife of above, Mistress of the Robes, 11 Jan. 1883-5, *vice* Duchess of Bedford, 308, 469, 472, 474; ii. 429 n., 432 n.
- Ruateia, *see* Raheitea.
- Rumania, 85, 191.
- Rundall, Francis Hornblow (1823-1908), entered Indian army 1841, maj.-gen. 1869, inspector-gen. of Indian irrigation 1872-4, examined Egyptian irrigation 1876-7, lieut.-gen. 1878, gen. 1885, 463.
- Russell, Lord Arthur Edward John (1825-92), younger brother of the ninth Duke of Bedford and elder brother of Lord Odo Russell, lib. M.P. 1857-85, 159 n.
- Russell, George William Erskine (1853-1909), younger son of Lord Charles Russell, M.P. for Aylesbury 1880-5, Beds. 1892-5, parl. sec. Local Govt. Bd. 1883-5, und.-sec. for India 1892-4, home affairs 1894-5, 114; ii. 297, 374, 410.
- Russell, Lord John (1792-1878), first Earl Russell 1861, whig M.P. 1813-61, home sec. 1835-9, col. sec. 1839-41, prime min. 1846-52, for. sec. 1852-3, 1859-65, 4, 18, 20, 22, 350, 360, 459; ii. 368.
- Russell, Lord Odo William Leopold (1829-84), nephew of first Earl Russell, first Baron Amptill 1881, special envoy to Rome 1858-70, special envoy to Versailles 1870-1, assistant und.-sec. F.O. 1871, ambassador in Berlin 1871-84, 196, 205, 208, 209, 211, 212, 213, 217, 234, 235, 246 n., 262, 348, 395; ii. 74, 89, 210, 230, 236-7, 241, 249, 279 n.; peerage for, 82, 167, 215, 218 n., 222, 224.
- Russia: Anglo-Russian relations, *over*

- Afghanistan*, 77, 78, 125-7, 163-4, 308; ii. 23, 224, 327, 337 n., 338, 339, 344-7, 352, 353, 355-9, 362-5, 369-72, 375-84, 385; *generally*, i. 121, 132, 144, 256; Austro-Russian relations, 145, 198 n., 199, 305, 318, 324; ii. 93, 113; Balkan policy, of, 12, 17; ii. 92-96; and Batum, ii. 457; and Bulgaria, 171, 419; ii. 72, 82-83, 94, 95, 100; and Egypt, i. 402, 405, 415; ii. 270, 273, 306; and Montenegrin and Greek questions, i. 137, 140, 144, 159, 169-70, 178, 181, 193, 194, 198, 200, 202, 206, 223, 258.
- Russo-Turkish war 1877-8, 35, 36, 40, 42, 45, 49-53, 59, 62-65, 69 n., 380.
- Rustem (1810-95), Pasha, born an Italian Chimelli de Marinz, entered Turkish service 1836, min. at Turin, later Florence, 1856-70, ambassador in St. Petersburg 1870-3, gov.-gen. of the Lebanon 1873-85, ambassador in London 1885-95, 67; ii. 45.
- Ryan, Sir Edward (1793-1875), Indian judge, member of judicial committee of the Privy Council 1843-65, civil service commissioner, after 1862 first commissioner, 1855-75, 128.
- Saburov, Petr Aleksandrovich (1835-1918), min. in Athens 1870-9, ambassador in Berlin 1880-4, 137 n.
- Said (1829-1914), Pasha, Turkish min. of the interior, of marine 1877-9, grand vizier 1879-85, 1895, 1901-3, 1908, president of the council of state 1909-14, 174.
- St. Albans, William Amelius Aubrey de Vere (1840-98), tenth Duke of, capt. Yeomen of the Guard 1868-74, 281, 294, 295; ii. 429, 430.
- St. Albans, Duchess of, wife of above, ii. 429, 430.
- St. George's Hill, Surrey (Sir A. Clark), 364.
- St. Germans, William Gordon Cornwallis (1829-81), fourth Earl, a lib. 1870-81, 333.
- St. John, (after 1901 Sir) Frederic Robert (1831-1923), entered diplomatic service 1855, sec. of embassy at Constantinople 1879-81, min. in Central and S. America 1881-8, at Belgrade 1888-92, at Berne 1893-1901, 178 n., 206.
- St. Katherine's, Regent's Park, London (Sir James Hudson), 9.
- Sale, Matthew Townsend (1841-1913), entered the army 1861, capt. 1873, major 1881, lieut.-col. 1888, commissioner for the demarcation of the Montenegrin frontier 1879-81, 179, 186, 200, 207, 224.
- Salisbury, George Moberley (1803-85), bishop of 1869-85, 466; ii. 210.
- Salisbury, Robert (1830-1903), third Marquis of, sec. for India 1866-7, 1874-7, for. sec. 1878-80, 1885-6, 1887-92, 1895-1900, prime min. 1886-92, 1895-1902: and Constantinople Conference, eastern question and Beaconsfield, 12, 18, 19, 25, 26, 27, 28 n., 29, 35, 36, 39, 51, 60, 65, 72, 73, 94, 95, 124; ii. 399; and Indian policy, 77, 83, 105; ii. 370; and Greece, 84; ii. 423; and Austria, i. 122; and treaty of Berlin, 72, 96; and Tunis, 263, 274-5; and Fortune Bay, 323; and Egypt, ii. 26, 177, 193 n., 399, 416; and Madagascar, ii. 75; and Central Asia, ii. 347; and the sultan, ii. 412; his secret treaties, i. 406 n., 407, 411, 413, 414, 418, 427; ii. 178 n., 184 n.; and Irish question, ii. 346, 365, 448; and Gladstone, 351; ii. 212; and local govt., ii. 410; and parl. reform, ii. 226, 228, 229-30, 232, 239, 255, 256, 259, 274, 278, 279, 284-7; and parl. papers, i. 96; and peerages, ii. 461; as prime min., ii. 31, 424, 456, 457; and formation of govt. of 1885, 384-5, 458-9; article in *Quarterly Review*, ii. 105; speeches of; *Hatfield* 1879, i. 99, 100; *Taunton* 1880, 214; *on Egypt*, 390, 439; *Glasgow Oct.* 1884, ii. 278; *Brighton* 1885, 412; *during the general election* 1885, ii. 454, 458; *see also* Gladstone (parliament) and Granville.
- Salisbury, Lady, wife of above, 27; ii. 29, 462.
- Samoa, difficulty with Germany about, ii. 293, 333.
- Samuelson, Henry Bernhard (1845-1937), second Bart. 1905, lib. M.P. 1868-74, 1876-85, 25.
- Sanderson, Thomas Henry (1841-1923), Baron 1905, entered F.O. 1859, priv. sec. to Layard 1866, to Derby 1866-8, 1874-8, to Granville 1880-5, assistant und.-sec. 1889-94, permanent und.-sec. 1894-1906, 169, 200 n., 211, 297, 300 n., 305 n., 362; ii. 28, 86.
- Sandhurst, William (1855-1921), second Baron, first Viscount 1917, a lord-in-waiting 1880-5, und.-sec. for war 1886, 1892-5, gov. of Bombay 1895-1900 lord chamberlain 1912-21, 124, 148, 156 n.; ii. 428, 435.
- Sandon, Dudley Francis Stuart (1831-1900), styled Viscount Sandon, third Earl of Harrowby 1882, lib., after 1866

- Sandon, Dudley Francis Stuart (*cont.*)
 cons., M.P. 1856-82, vice-president of
 Council 1874-8, president Bd. of Trade
 1878-80, lord privy seal 1885-6, 48.
- Sandringham House, Norfolk (Prince of
 Wales), 17, 18; ii. 40.
- Satow, (after 1895 Sir) Ernest Mason
 (1843-1929), served in consular service
 in Japan 1862-84, min. successively
 at Bangkok, Montevideo, and Tangier
 1884-95, at Tokio 1895-1900, at
 Pekin 1900-6, ii. 349.
- Savernake House, Wilts. (Lord Ailesbury),
 29.
- Say, Jean Baptiste Léon (1826-96),
 French economist, deputy 1871-80,
 1889-96, min. of finance 1872-3,
 1875-9, 1882, ambassador in London
 1880, 132, 136, 275; ii. 36.
- Schnadhorst, Francis, sec. Birmingham
 lib. association from 1873, 63, 64 n.;
 ii. 444, 451 n.
- Schuyler, Eugene (1840-90), American
 consul at Moscow 1867-9, at Revel
 1869, sec. of legation St. Petersburg,
 sec. of legation and consul-gen. Con-
 stantinople *c.* 1875-8, Rome 1878-80,
 min. and consul-gen. to Greece,
 Rumania, and Servia 1880-4, 3, 4.
- Scotland, church question, 57, 78, 79,
 105; land question, 79; question of
 separate department for, 471, 476, 477-
 8, 481; ii. 43, 44, 71, 72 n., 247, 265,
 438; crofters commission, ii. 19, 21, 23,
 32; and Ireland, i. 59; and eastern
 question, i. 65.
- Scott, (after 1896 Sir) Charles Stewart
 (1838-1924), entered diplomatic service
 1858, sec. of embassy at Berlin and
 sometime chargé d'affaires 1883-8,
 min. in Berne 1888-93, Copenhagen
 1893-8, ambassador in St. Petersburg
 1898-1904, 341, 345-6.
- Seaton, John (1778-1863), first Baron
 1839, entered the army 1794, led the
 movement which decided the victory at
 Waterloo, commander of the forces in
 Canada 1836-9, gov.-gen. of Canada
 1839, Peelite peer, Lord High Com-
 missioner in the Ionian Islands 1843-9,
 gen. 1854, fieldmarshal 1860, ii. 18.
- Secret Service money, 131-2.
- Sefton, William Philip (1835-97), fourth
 Earl of, ii. 232, 252, 441.
- Selborne, Roundell (1812-95), first Baron
 1872, Earl of 1882, lib. M.P. 1847-57,
 1861-72, sol.-gen. 1861-3, att.-gen.
 1863-6, lord chanc. 1872-4, 1880-5,
 106, 107, 135, 154, 160, 170, 185, 243,
 251, 255, 256, 265, 269, 312, 314, 323,
 326, 365, 406, 409, 431, 432, 434, 443,
 452, 453, 454, 455, 470, 473, 474, 478,
 480; ii. 16, 18, 23, 26, 27, 55, 64, 65,
 78, 80, 82, 106, 107, 112, 139, 173, 174,
 215, 279, 282, 292, 301, 313, 325, 360,
 361, 388-9, 430, 431; illness in 1881,
 299, 300 n., 307, 308; possible resig-
 nation 1885, 358 n.
- Sendall, (after 1889 Sir) Walter Joseph
 (1832-1904), poor law inspector 1876-
 8, assistant sec. Local Govt. Bd. 1878-
 82, lieut.-gov. Natal 1882-5, gov.
 Windward Islands 1885-9, &c., 316.
- Server, Pasha, Turkish for. min. 1877-8,
 174.
- Servia, 8, 11, 14 n., 68, 217, 318; ii. 84,
 90, 93, 112, 113, 118, 409, 410, 411.
- Seymour, Sir Frederick Beauchamp Paget
 (1821-95), first Baron Alcester 1882,
 vice-admiral 1876, commander-in-
 chief Mediterranean 1880-3, a lord of
 the Admiralty 1883-5, 201, 207, 209,
 223, 224, 228, 238, 369 n., 385 n., 386,
 387, 388, 389, 396, 397, 402, 409; ii.
 427 n.
- Seymour, Horace Alfred Damer (1843-
 1902), priv. sec. to Gladstone 1882-6,
 commissioner of customs 1885-90,
 deputy chairman of the Bd. of Customs
 1890-4, deputy master of the mint
 1894-1902, 446; ii. 200, 253, 270.
- Shaftesbury, Anthony (1801-85), seventh
 Earl of, M.P. 1826-51, 68; ii. 88.
- Shakespeare, William, *Othello*, 24;
Anthony and Cleopatra, ii. 245, 248.
- Shaw, the Rev. G. A., missionary in
 Madagascar, ii. 62 n., 75, 78, 79, 80, 82,
 83, 91, 92, 95, 104, 106, 107, 110 n., 111.
- Sherborne, James Henry Legge (1804-
 83), third Baron, 418.
- Sherbrooke, *see* Lowe.
- Shere Ali (1825-79), Ameer of Afghan-
 istan 1863-79, 75 n., 78, 79, 80, 81, 82,
 88, 113.
- Sheridan, P. J., Irish Land League
 organizer, ii. 30.
- Shuttleworth, Ughtred James (1844-
 1939), first Baron, 1902, lib. M.P.
 1869-80, 1885-1902, und.-sec. for
 India *Feb.-Apr.* 1886, chanc. of the
 duchy of Lancaster *Apr.-Aug.* 1886,
 sec. to the Admiralty 1892-5, 117.
- Shuvalov, Count Petr Andreievich (1827-
 89), Russian emissary in London 1873,
 ambassador in London 1874-9, 42, 66.
- Sinadino, — —, a member of a Greek
 banking firm in Alexandria sent by the
 khedive of Egypt to London, 384 n., 427.
- Smith, William Henry (1825-91), cons.
 M.P. 1868-91, sec. to the Treasury

- 1874-7, first lord of the Admiralty 1877-80, sec. for War 1885, 1886, chief sec. Ireland *Dec. 1885-Jan. 1886*, first lord of the Treasury 1886-91, 48 n., 50.
- Skobelev, Gen. Mikhail Dmitrievich (1843-82), Russian commander in Central Asia 1876 and in Russo-Turkish war 1877-8, 343, 356.
- Slavery, slave trade, 350; ii. 90, 136, 138 n., 141, 159 n., 160, 163, 164, 186.
- Smyrna, 139, 140, 152, 162, 169, 193-8, 204, 205, 206, 207, 209, 215, 227, 410 n., 438-9, 440.
- Sobolev, — —, Russian gen., min.-president in Bulgaria *July 1882-Sept. 1883*, ii. 82 n.
- Somerley, Hants (Lord Normanton), 26.
- Somers, Charles (1819-83), third Earl, trustee of the National Portrait Gallery 1860-83, and of the British Museum 1874-83, ii. 104.
- Somerset, Edward Adolphus (1804-85), sixteenth Duke of, first lord of the Admiralty 1859-66, 340.
- Southwell, new bishopric of, ii. 115.
- Spain, 301, 316-17, 330, 331, 343; ii. 93-94, 368.
- Spectator*, 3, 31, 105.
- Spencer, Charles Robert (1857-1922), sixth Earl 1910, half-brother to fifth Earl, lib. M.P. 1880-95, 1900-5, groom-in-waiting *Feb. to July 1886*, &c., ii. 336, 428.
- Spencer, John Poyntz (1835-1910), fifth Earl, lord-lieut. of Ireland 1868-74, 1882-5, lord president 1880-3, first lord of the Admiralty 1892; letter about Italy, 69; and Ireland, 219, 271, 355-60, 367, 398, 413, 417, 431, 443, 444; ii. 2, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 24, 27, 115-16, 366-7, 381, 383, 385, 388-9, 434 n., 436, 437 n., 439, 440, 441, 458; and admission of Trevelyan to the cabinet, ii. 96, 97, 98, 99; and Rosebery, i. 268, 269, 277; and Egypt, 338, 363; and the Sudan, ii. 183; and Gladstone's retirement, i. 450, 451; and cabinet changes 1884, ii. 249, 250-1, 253, 257, 264-5, 279; and political situation 1885-6, ii. 413-14, 416, 418, 420-1; and general election 1886, 454; minor references, 321, 356, 438; ii. 19, 110, 121, 123, 427, 451, 457.
- Spratt, Thomas Abel Brimage (1811-88), vice-admiral, employed on Mediterranean surveys, retired 1870, 262.
- Staal, Georges (1822-1907), Baron de, counsellor of Russian embassy in Constantinople 1864-84, ambassador in London 1884-1902, ii. 217, 258, 273, 355 n., 357, 358, 369, 370, 375, 376-7, 378, 381, 384, 385.
- Stainer, (after 1888 Sir) John (1840-1901), composer, organist at St. Paul's Cathedral 1872-88, professor of music in the University of Oxford 1889-99, ii. 143.
- Standard*, 66, 122, 194 n., 195, 218, 224, 253, 275, 315 n., 332, 421; ii. 2, 76, 91, 152, 188, 240, 285, 376, 390, 415.
- Stanhope, Arthur Philip (1838-1905), sixth Earl 1875, cons. M.P. 1870-5, a lord of the Treasury 1874-6, 45.
- Stanhope, Edward (1840-93), cons. M.P. 1874-93, parl. sec. Bd. of Trade 1875-8, und.-sec. for India 1878-80, vice-president of the Council 1885, president Bd. of Trade 1885-6, sec. for Colonies 1886-7, for War 1887-92, ii. 347 n., 352.
- Stanhope, Philip James (1847-1923), cons. M.P. 1886-1900, 1904-6, first Baron Weardale 1906, 92.
- Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn (1815-81), dean of Westminster 1864-81, 285 n.
- Stanley, Frederick Arthur (1841-1908), sixteenth Earl of Derby 1893, brother of fifteenth Earl (q.v.), Baron Stanley of Preston 1886, cons. M.P. 1868-86, financial sec. W.O. 1874-7, Treasury 1877-8, sec. for war 1878-80, &c., 457.
- Stansfeld, James (1820-98), radical M.P. 1859-95, a lord of the Treasury 1868-9, financial sec. to the Treasury 1869-71, president Poor Law Bd. 1871, Local Govt. Bd. 1871-4, 1886, 4, 123, 224, 225, 229, 472; ii. 433 n., 438, 439.
- Statesman, The*, 105.
- Stead, William Thomas (1849-1912), assistant editor, after 1883 editor, of the *Pall Mall Gazette* 1880-90, founded the *Review of Reviews* 1890, ii. 176, 177, 178.
- Steele, (after 1871 Sir) Thomas Montagu (1821-90), lieut.-gen. 1874, gen. 1877, commander-in-chief in Ireland 1880-5, 359.
- Stephen, (after 1894 Sir) Alexander Condie (1850-1908), entered the diplomatic service 1876, served at St. Petersburg 1877-9, at Constantinople 1879-80, Philippopolis 1880-1, Teheran 1881-6; assistant to Sir Peter Lumsden on Anglo-Russian Afghan commission 1885-6, &c., ii. 363, 381.
- Stephenson, Sir Frederick Arthur Charles (1821-1911), served in Crimean war and China, maj.-gen. 1868, gen. and commander of Egyptian army 1883-7, ii. 117, 182, 183 n., 263, 266.

- Stewart, Sir Herbert (1843-85), sec. to Gen. Wolseley 1880, chief staff officer to Gen. Colley at Majuba 1881, served in Egypt 1882-4, at home 1884, and in Wolseley's relief expedition 1884-5, maj.-gen. 1885, ii. 329.
- Stewart, Lady, wife of above, ii. 329.
- Stewart, John Donald Hamill (1845-84), entered the army 1865, lieut.-col. 1881, vice-consul Anatolia *Apr.* 1879-*Oct.* 1882, mission of inquiry in Sudan 1882-3, attached to Gen. Gordon's mission *Jan.* 1884, 454 n.; ii. 126, 127, 177, 260 n., 348.
- Stillman, William James (1828-1901), American consul in Rome 1862-5, in Crete 1865-8, correspondent of *The Times* in Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Albania 1875-81, in Rome 1881-98, 17 n., 120.
- Stockmar, Christian Friedrich (1787-1863), Baron von, 86.
- Stokes, Sir John (1825-1902), col., member of European commission for the Danube 1856-72, of international commission on Suez Canal dues 1873, a British director of Suez Canal Company 1876-1902, 369, 433; ii. 114.
- Strafford, George Stevens (1806-86), seventh Earl of, whig peer with electoral influence in Middlesex, father of Lord Enfield, 117; ii. 79, 226.
- Straits of Bosphorus and Dardanelles, 18, 19, 20, 64, 66, 188, 195, 434.
- Stratford de Redcliffe (1786-1880), first Viscount, ambassador in Constantinople 1842-52, 1856-8, 4 n., 17, 19.
- Stratheden and Campbell, Hallyburton George (1829-1918), third Baron, ii. 204.
- Strathfieldsaye, Berks. (Duke of Wellington), 426.
- Strathmore, Claude (1824-1904), eighteenth Earl of, rep. peer for Scotland 1870-87, ii. 275.
- Stratton, Hants (Lord Northbrook), ii. 171.
- Stuart, (after 1886 Sir) William (1825-96), entered diplomatic service 1845, min. at Athens 1872-7, at The Hague 1877-88, 259; ii. 227.
- Studley Royal, Yorks. (Lord Ripon), 75.
- Stumm, Ferdinand (1843-1925), Freiherr von, counsellor of German embassy in London 1882-3; min. in Darmstadt 1883-5, Copenhagen 1885-7, min. and ambassador in Madrid 1887-92, 395, 408.
- Sturt, Napier Charles (1832-86), col., 'independent' M.P. 1856-74, brother of Lord Alington of Crichel, 2, 3.
- Suakin expedition 1884, ii. 145, 150, 154-5, 156, 157-8, 170-3, 184, 217; 1885, 312, 316, 317, 321 n., 335, 336 n., 354, 366, 460.
- Sudan: disclaimer of responsibility for Col. Stewart's mission, 454-5; Gordon mission and evacuation, ii. 116, 117, 118, 125-6, 127, 136-8, 144, 145-51, 152, 154, 157-8, 161, 163-8, 173, 174, 178, 181-3, 186-9, 197, 198, 201, 204, 217-18, 221-3, 230-2; relief expedition, ii. 233, 242-4, 246, 259-70, 272, 274-6, 320, 321, 322, 335 n.; setting up of ruler of, ii. 159, 160, 162-5, 281, 317; proposal to mediate, ii. 131; Wolseley's position and operations in 1885, 337, 339-40, 343, 348-9, 354, 356, 358, 360; Sudan policy reviewed in Gladstone's election address, 396.
- Sudeley, Charles Douglas Richard (1840-1922), fourth Baron, lib. M.P. 1863-77, a lord-in-waiting 1880-5, capt. of the corps of gentlemen-at-arms *Feb.-Aug.* 1886, later a unionist, 124 n., 203 n.; ii. 428.
- Suez Canal, 20, 44, 67, 277, 324; 1882, 380-1, 385-9, 392, 394, 397, 400, 401 n., 402, 403, 405 n., 407, 409, 410; Suez Canal Committee 1882-6, 422, 425-6, 428, 440; ii. 208; international control of, i. 421, 433-4, 467, 474; Britain's shares, 431, 433, 440; ii. 69 n., 93, 97, 98, 105, 109, 280, 283; increased British influence over and Agreement 1883, 443, 463; ii. 49, 57, 61-62, 63, 64, 65-71, 73, 74; Agreement, 108-10, 114, 116 n., 120, 126-7, 144; negotiation 1885, 316, 324, 353, 370 n.; Italian proposals on, ii. 105, 108; fresh cession to the Company or to rival company, ii. 102, 114, 126.
- Suffield, Charles (1830-1914), fifth Baron, a lord-in-waiting 1868-72, 1901-10, master of the buckhounds *Feb.-Aug.* 1886, later a unionist, ii. 427 n., 443, 444.
- Sullivan, Sir Edward (1822-85), Bart. 1881, lib. M.P. 1865-70, sol.-gen. 1865-6, att.-gen. 1868-70 for Ireland, master of the rolls, Ireland 1870-81, lord chanc. for Ireland 1881-4, 305, 306, 312, 314, 356, 359.
- Suter, Henry, case of, against Turkey, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269-73.
- Sutherland, Cromartie (1851-1913), fourth Duke of, 143.
- Sutherland, George Granville William (1828-92), third Duke of, 143, 446.
- Sutherland, Duchess of, wife of above, 471.
- Sydney, John Robert (1805-90), third

- Viscount, first Earl 1874, a lord in waiting 1841-6, capt. of the Yeomen of the Guard 1852-8, lord chamberlain of the household 1859-66, 1868-74, lord steward 1880-5, 1886, 6, 469; ii. 31, 77, 129, 397, 427 n., 440, 442, 448, 462.
- Sydney, Lady, wife of above, 5.
- Synge, George Charles, served in India during the mutiny, left the army lieut.-col. 1868, captured by brigands in Greece, 269, 270, 271.
- Tait, A. C., *see* Canterbury, archbishop of.
- Tavistock, George William Francis Sackville (1852-93), styled Marquis of, tenth Duke of Bedford 1891, lib. M.P. 1875-85, 64.
- Taylor, Col. Thomas Edward (1812-83), P.C., cons. M.P. 1841-83, a lord of the Treasury 1858-9, parl. sec. to Treasury 1866-8, chanc. of the duchy of Lancaster 1868-9, 1874-80, cons. whip 1859-68, 1873-4, party manager, 115, 119.
- Tennant, Sir Charles (1823-1906), first Bart. 1885, lib. M.P. 1879-86, ii. 435.
- Tennyson, Alfred (1809-92), first Baron 1884, poet laureate 1850, 16, 17; ii. 83, 87-88, 210 n.
- Tenterden, Charles Stuart Aubrey (1834-82), third Baron, entered F.O. 1854, assistant und.-sec. 1871-3, und.-sec. 1873-82, 129 n., 131 n., 188, 189 n., 213, 214, 282, 284, 329, 331, 348, 425, 430, 432.
- Tewfik (1852-92), Pasha, Khedive of Egypt 1879-92, 354, 375; ii. 81, 180, 375, 377, 379; Gladstone's letter to, ii. 55-57; *see also* Churchill and Egypt.
- Thiers, Louis Adolphe (1797-1877), French deputy 1830-48, 1849-51, 1863-70, president of the third republic 1871-3, 4, 25, 53.
- Thompson, Sir Ralph Wood (1830-1902), chief clerk W.O. 1871-7, assistant und.-sec. 1877-8, und.-sec. 1878-95, 425; ii. 157, 263.
- Thomson, Sir Ronald Ferguson (1830-88), member of diplomatic service, serving at Teheran 1848-87, as min. and consul gen. 1879-87, 304, 331, 332, 349; ? ii. 157.
- Thornton, Sir Edward (1817-1906), min. in Washington 1867-81, ambassador in St. Petersburg 1881-5, Constantinople 1885-7, 242, 259, 260, 261, 282, 405; ii. 73, 74, 90, 227, 236, 241, 244, 245, 256, 356, 359, 382; character as ambassador, ii. 74.
- Thring, Henry (1818-1907), first Baron 1886, as counsel to Home Office 1860-9, and parl. counsel to the Treasury 1869-86, drafted most govt. legislation, 243; ii. 415, 460.
- Thurlow, Thomas John Hovell (1838-1916), fifth Baron, a lord-in-waiting 1880-5, 1886, paymaster-gen. *Apr.-Aug.* 1886, 151 n.; ii. 289, 427 n., 428, 433 n., 442.
- Times, The*, 9, 15, 17, 21, 30, 54, 55, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 78, 79, 80, 89, 122, 209 n., 211 n., 213, 224, 291, 328 n., 339 n., 352, 399, 434, 465, 479; ii. 4, 10, 22, 24, 25, 74, 79, 149, 171, 231, 259, 289, 320, 415, 418, 437.
- Tissot, Charles-Joseph (1828-84), sec. in French embassy in London 1869-71, ambassador in Constantinople 1880-2, London 1882-3, 192, 207, 296, 362, 363, 369, 374, 377, 417, 418, 434 n., 462, 464, 480; ii. 34, 36, 64 n.
- Torrington, George (1812-84), seventh Viscount, a lord-in-waiting 1837-41, 1859, 1880-5, gov. of Ceylon 1847-50, 124 n.
- Transvaal, 237, 253, 260, 270, 274, 286, 295, 303, 305; ii. 45 n., 57, 84, 118.
- Treasury, and ransoming of Brit. subjects, 463, 471, 473, 475; and foreign office establishment, 449.
- Trentham, Nottinghamshire (Duke of Sutherland), ii. 195, 197, 198, 199, 200.
- Trevelyan, Sir George Otto (1838-1928), second Bart., lib. M.P. 1865-6, 1887-97, a lord of the Admiralty 1868-70, parl. sec. to Admiralty 1880-2; chief sec. Ireland 1882-4, chanc. of the duchy of Lancaster 1884-5; sec. for Scotland 1886, 37 n., 49 n., 222, 353 n., 354, 367, 443; ii. 15, 44, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 220, 252, 253, 254, 257, 278, 334, 367, 434 n., 437.
- Tripoli, 284, 285, 286.
- Truro, Edward White Benson, bishop of 1876-82, 463 n., 469, 471, 477; *see also* Canterbury and Wilkinson.
- Tsankov, Dragan (b. 1828), Bulgarian lib. leader and anti-Russian patriot, served in the Turkish civil service 1863-76, prime min. 1880-1, 1883-4, min. of the interior *Sept.* 1886-?, 278, 279; ii. 104.
- Tseng Chilse (1839-90), Marquis, Chinese representative in London and Paris, and sometimes St. Petersburg, 1878-86, one of most powerful ministers at Peking 1886-90, ii. 84, 86, 88 n., 300.
- Tunis, 203 n., 241, 253, 256, 262-4, 267, 268, 273, 274-5, 285, 374.

- Turkey: Anglo-Turkish relations, 127, 176, 177, 202, 214, 235, 271, 309, 352; army, 204, 308-9; domestic institutions and reforms, 124, 130-1, 134, 204, 235, 278, 284, 340, 359; ii. 72; and brigands, i. 264 n., 269, 270-1, 272, 273; and Bulgaria, i. 128-9, 177, 180; and Balkan nationalism, ii. 84, 92; and Egypt, 290, 291, 292, 296-7, 320, 326, 328, 331, 333, 334, 339, 340, 354, 363, 369, 375-9, 381-4, 387 n., 393-6, 398, 399, 401-2, 408, 410 n., 412 n., 414-16, 418; ii. 124, 146, 186, 235, 292, 296, 346, 350-2, 353, 371; Anglo-Turkish agreement on Egypt, ii. 162, 166, 170, 293, 320, 329, 331, 366, 371 n., 374; financial questions with, i. 152, 169, 170, 173, 174, 180, 204, 205, 211, 212, 216 n., 221, 235, 327, 344; Montenegrin and Greek questions, i. 135, 137, 139-44, 145-6, 152-4, 156, 157, 158-63, 165, 171-4, 178 n., 181-4, 186-202, 205-9, 249, 253, 257-8, 301; mules and muleteers for British troops, prohibition of export of, i. 411, 438-9, 440; and Tripoli, i. 284-6.
- Tweeddale, William Montagu (1826-1911), tenth Marquis of, first Baron (U.K.) 1881, lib. M.P. 1865-8, 1878, ii. 151 n., 441, 447, 450.
- Tyler, Sir Henry Whatley (1827-1908), cons. M.P. 1880-92, ii. 337.
- Uxküll-Gyllenbandt, Baron, Russian ambassador in Rome 1876-91, ii. 159.
- Verney, Frederick William (1846-1913), barrister, 102, 104.
- Vernon, George William Henry (1854-98), seventh Lord Vernon, Baron of Kinderton 1883, capt. of the corps of gentlemen-at-arms 1892-4, ii. 151 n., 427 n., 428.
- Victoria (1840-61) Crown Princess of Prussia, eldest dau. of Queen Victoria, md. Crown Prince of Prussia 1858, 139, 453; ii. 236, 242, 245.
- Victoria, Queen: cabinet: *appeals to and from Gladstone or the Queen against each other*, i. 179, 184, 405, 418; ii. 101, 102, 183, 202; *complains of reports*, 221 n., 246 n., 247; and Beaconsfield, 2, 59-60, 62, 86, 178, 255, 266, 267, 268, 275; ii. 125, 239; and Chamberlain, ii. 121-2, 218, 225 n., 281 n., 330 n., 402-3, 408-9; and Derby, 165 n., 314, 468 n., 469, 470; ii. 37 n., 319-20, 321; and Dilke, 352-4, 355, 362, 367, 467, 468, 471, 477; ii. 1, 4; and Gladstone, 121 n., 133, 135, 180, 216, 219, 221, 222, 244-5, 246-7, 275-6, 280, 285, 294, 303, 315, 319, 329, 330, 336-7, 341 n., 355, 361-2, 396, 405, 419, 435, 438, 443, 448, 465-7; ii. 3, 5, 7, 8, 12, 16, 72, 89-90, 106, 111, 121, 125, 155, 181, 192, 201, 202, 214, 218, 225, 228, 229, 231, 240, 246, 251, 256-7, 267, 269, 317, 373, 433, 434, 437, 455, 459. and Granville, 133, 147, 154 n., 158-9, 178, 183-5, 202, 215, 261, 346-7, 405, 410 n., 419, 436, 438; ii. 52, 57, 94, 101, 111, 122, 127, 144, 185, 195, 202, 203, 225, 245, 252, 313, 321-2, 339, 428; and Trevelyan, 222, 361; ii. 100; letter to the sultan 1880, i. 146-7, 188; and Albany, provision for Duchess of, ii. 181, 183 n., 226; and Angra Pequena, ii. 252, 275; and Bulgaria: ii. 72, 81 n., 82 n., 85, 94-95, 138; and Central Asia, ii. 339; and Dutch New Guinea, ii. 319; and ecclesiastical affairs, 422, 430; ii. 7, 8, 9; and Egypt: *Turkish intervention*, i. 396, 405, 415, 418, 419; *Arabi's trial*, 429, 436, 446 n., 447, 448-65; *reduction of army, authority or term of occupation*, 435, 436, 438; ii. 6, 98, 99, 101, 103, 106, 107, 127, 135, 192-3, 195, 201, 202, 313, 316, 317; *Sudan operations*, ii. 155, 238-9, 321-2, 358; and German criticism of Princess Louise's engagement, ii. 316; and Ireland, i. 151, 206, 222, 238, 316, 363, 373; libel of, in French newspaper, ii. 138-9, 140-1; and Madagascan difficulty with France, ii. 111 n.; and parl. reform, ii. 57, 125, 225, 226-7, 233, 239, 251, 255, 256, 278, 285; and *House of Lords*, ii. 214, 246, 267; and *prime min's. position*, ii. 225; Prince of Wales, Queen would object to his receiving cabinet reports, ii. 370; on defeat of govt. 1885, ii. 384; honours and appointments: 148, 151, 156-7, 165 n., 167-8, 244-5, 248, 256, 267, 268, 276, 293, 307, 308, 310 n., 316, 334-5, 360-1, 436, 469, 471, 472, 474, 476, 477, 479; ii. 1-3, 73, 93, 428, 429, 431, 432, 451-2; *proposes Lorne as viceroy of India and Prince Leopold for Canada*, ii. 50-52.
- Vincent, (after 1896 Sir) Charles Edward Howard (1849-1908), cons. M.P. 1885-1908, ii. 437.

- Vincent, Sir Edgar (1857-1941), sixteenth Bart., first Viscount d'Abernon 1914, financial adviser to the Egyptian khedive, 1883-9, gov. of the Imperial Ottoman Bank 1889-97, &c., ii. 90, 169, 234, 236, 297 n., 299, 300, 302.
- Vivian, Sir Henry Hussey (1821-94), first Bart. 1882, lib. M.P. 1852-93, first Baron Swansea 1893, 361 n.; ii. 383 n., 438, 440 n., 448.
- Vyner, Henry Frederick Clare (1836-83), brother to the wife of Lord Ripon, 266 n., 269; ii. 32.
- Waddington, Sir Horatio (1799-1867), permanent und.-sec. home office 1848-67, 349.
- Waddington, William Henry (1826-94), French min. for for. affairs 1877-9, representative at the congress of Berlin 1878, ambassador in London 1883-93, 63, 67, 76, 84, 86, 275; ii. 36, 64, 70, 76, 79, 80, 83, 85, 86, 88 n., 91, 95, 105, 107, 172, 184-5, 189-95, 199-202, 205-6, 218-19, 220-221, 258, 282, 288, 292, 293, 298, 301, 303, 308-9, 322, 323 n., 325-6, 328, 329, 330, 334, 335, 350, 375, 376, 378, 382, 433; secret agreement with Salisbury, 406-7, 411; ii. 178.
- Waddington, Mrs., wife of above, ii. 120, 258.
- Wade, (after 1875 Sir) Thomas Francis (1818-95), entered the army 1837, served in China 1842-61, member of staff of first legation at Peking 1861, chargé d'affaires, after 1871 min., at Peking 1864-5, 1869-83, ii. 44.
- Wales, Edward Prince of, later Edward VII, 2, 56, 246, 247 n., 248, 252, 256, 257, 366, 399, 462, 467 n.; ii. 13, 28, 31, 50, 51, 52, 247, 274, 370, 414, 446, 447, 450, 451, 453; wish to accompany the brigade of guards to Egypt, i. 407; wish to vote in the Lords on the franchise bill, ii. 232; visit to Ireland, ii. 358.
- Wallace, Sir Donald Mackenzie (1841-1919), correspondent of *The Times* at St. Petersburg 1877-8, at the Berlin congress 1878, at Constantinople 1878-84, priv. sec. to Lord Dufferin as Viceroy of India 1884-8, accompanied Tsarevitch on Indian tour 1890-1, &c., 78.
- Walrond, Theodore (1824-87), sec. to civil service commissioners 1863-75, civil service commissioner 1875-87, 128.
- Walsham, Sir John (1830-1905), second Bart. 1874, entered F.O. 1854, chargé d'affaires Madrid 1866-7, sec. of legation at Peking 1873-4 but did not go, Madrid 1875-8; sec. of embassy at Berlin 1878-83, min. in Paris acting during the absence of Lord Lyons 1883-5, min. in Peking, 1885-92, Bucharest 1892-4, ii. 277, 349 n.
- Washburn, George (1833-1915), Congregational minister and missionary, president of Robert College, founded at Constantinople by C. R. Robert 1863, 1878-1903, 128, 129.
- Watts, George Frederic (1817-1904), painter, ii. 58.
- Welby, Reginald Earle (1832-1915), first Baron 1894, served in the Treasury 1856-94, principal clerk finance dept. 1871-80, auditor of the civil list 1881-5, sec. to the Treasury, 1885-94, 166, 170, 221; ii. 198 n.
- Wellesley, Gerald Valerian (1809-82), dean of Windsor 1854-82, 422, 423, 425, 426, 427, 430; ii. 7.
- Wellington, Arthur Richard (1807-84), second Duke of, lord-lieut. of Middlesex, ii. 226.
- Wellington, Arthur Wellesley (1769-1852), Baron Douro of Wellesley and Viscount Wellington of Talavera 1809, first Duke of 1814, 433; ii. 17, 368 n.
- Wenlock, Beilby (1849-1912), third Baron 1880, as Lawley, lib. M.P. *Apr.-June* 1880, landowner in S. Shropshire, 15, 16, 281, 329 n., 333; ii. 428.
- Wenlock, Beilby Richard (1818-80), second Baron, 218 n.
- West, Sir Algernon Edward (1832-1921), priv. sec. to Gladstone 1868-72, 1886, commissioner Bd. of Inland Revenue 1872-92, 86, 87, 110, 267, 310 n., 425; ii. 452.
- West, Lionel Sackville (1827-1908), second Baron Sackville 1888, sec. of embassy at Paris 1868-72, min. in Madrid 1872-81, in Washington 1881-8, 294, 295, 315, 331; ii. 46 n., 227, 232.
- Westminster, Hugh Lupus (1825-99), third Marquis of, first Duke of 1874, lib. M.P. 1847-69, master of the horse 1880-5, 20, 21, 24, 236, 237, 239; ii. 427 n.
- Westminster, Duchess of, wife of above, i. 236.
- Wetherell, Thomas Frederick, clerk in W.O. 1856-71, priv. sec. to Granville 1871-4, 203.
- Whitbread, Samuel (1830-1915), lib. M.P. 1852-95, a lord of the Admiralty 1859-63, 64; ii. 434, 438.

- White, (after 1883 Sir) William Arthur (1824-91), entered the consular service 1857, serving at Warsaw and Danzig, consul-gen. at Belgrade 1875-9, min. at Bucharest 1879-85, min., later ambassador, in Constantinople 1885-91, ii. 177.
- Whitley, Edward (1826-92), solicitor, mayor of Liverpool, 1868, cons. M.P. for Liverpool 1880-92, 110.
- Wilkinson, George Howard (1833-1907), bishop of Truro 1883-93, of St. Andrews 1893-1907, ii. 7.
- William I (1797-1888), King of Prussia, German Emperor 1871, 165, 205, 208, 212; ii. 365, 369, 371.
- Wilson, (after 1880 Sir) Charles Rivers (1831-1921), served in the Treasury 1856-76, vice-president of commission of inquiry into Egyptian finance 1878, finance min. of Egypt 1878-9, president international commission of liquidation in Egypt 1880, royal commissioner for commercial treaty with France 1881, a British director of Suez Canal Company 1876-96, 320, 329, 331, 332, 333, 336, 348, 369, 390, 391, 392, 433, 440; ii. 5, 28, 138.
- Wilson, (after 1881 Sir) Charles William (1836-1905), entered the army 1855, military consul in Anatolia 1879, served under Sir E. Malet at Cairo 1882-3, head of ordnance survey in Ireland 1883, chief of intelligence to Wolseley's relief of Gordon expedition 1884-5, &c., 134 n., 137 n., 138 n.; ii. 5 n., 28, 162 n.; considered as Malet's successor, ii. 43, 44, 145, 148.
- Wilson, Daniel (1840-1919), son of Scottish father and a mother descended from a member of the Convention, md. dau. of President Grévy 1881, republican member of French Chamber, ii. 107.
- Winchester, Edward Harold Browne (1811-91), bishop of 1873-90, 463 n., 466.
- Wine duties, 124, 129, 132-3, 136-7, 168, 330; ii. 368.
- Winmarleigh, John (1802-92), first Baron 1874, cons. peer, ii. 213.
- Woburn Abbey, Beds. (Duke of Bedford), 80, 86.
- Wolff, Sir Henry Drummond (1830-1908), entered the F.O. 1849, sec. to high commissioner of the Ionian Islands 1859-64, cons. M.P. 1874-85, commissioner for the organization of E. Rumelia 1878-80, mission to Constantinople for settlement of Egypt 1885-7, min. at Teheran 1887-91, Bucharest 1891, ambassador in Madrid 1892-1900, 143, 144, 341 n., 350, 373, 399 n., 409; ii. 74, 78, 341-2, 416.
- Wolseley, Sir Garnet Joseph (1833-1913), first Baron 1882, Viscount 1885, field-marshal 1894, commanded Red River expedition 1870, in Ashantee War 1873, in Egypt 1882, Gordon relief expedition 1884-5, commander-in-chief in Ireland 1890-5, commander-in-chief of the army 1895-1900, 244, 245, 247 n., 248 n., 251 n., 261, 267, 268, 276, 287 n., 289, 314, 433, 446; ii. 25; and Egypt, i. 397, 415, 416 n., 419, 421, 438; ii. 6, 316; and Sudan, ii. 125, 126, 127, 182, 317, 339-40, 343, 344, 348, 349, 354 n., 416; and Gordon, ii. 149-50, 154, 181, 220 n., 238, 242, 244, 246, 258 n., 259, 261, 263, 264, 266, 267 n., 268, 270, 276, 317, 321-2.
- Wolverton, George Grenfell (1824-87), second Baron 1873, lib. M.P. 1857-73, joint sec. to the Treasury and lib. whip 1868-73, paymaster-gen. 1880-5, 1886, 3, 13, 14, 26, 27, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 68, 91, 104, 119, 120, 121, 148, 313; ii. 8, 9, 33, 214, 380, 389, 397, 414, 415, 427, 432, 446, 447, 451, 452, 459, 460 n.
- Wood, (after 1879 Sir) Henry Evelyn (1838-1918), entered the navy 1852, transferred to the army 1855, served in S. Africa 1878-82, maj.-gen. 1882, Sirdar of the Egyptian army Dec. 1882-5, gen. 1895, fieldmarshal 1903, 456, 462 n., 463; ii. 80, 81, 82, 105, 161, 162 n.
- Worcester, Henry Philpott (1807-92), bishop of 1860-90, ii. 210.
- Working Classes, Central Committee for Organizing the, on foreign policy, 3.
- Workmen's Constitutional Association, 99 n; *see also* Labourers' M.P.s.
- Workmen's Neutrality Committee, meeting in Agricultural Hall 1878, 68, 69.
- Worms, Henry (1840-1903), Baron de, of the Austrian Empire, cons. M.P. for Greenwich 1880-5, Liverpool 1885-95, first Baron Pirbright 1895, ii. 162.
- Woronzov-Dachekow, Count J. J., gen., aide-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia and head of the imperial household 1882-97, 252, 255, 256.
- Wright, J. S., treasurer of national lib. federation, 6, 7.
- Wrottesley, Arthur (1824-1910), third Baron 1867, a lord-in-waiting 1869-74, 1880-5, lib., later unionist, peer, lord-lieut. Staffs. 1871-87, 124 n., 143, 149.

- Wycombe Abbey, Bucks. (Lord Carrington), 5, 7.
- Wyllie, John William Shaw (1835-70), Anglo-Indian civil servant 1858-67, 80.
- Wyndham, (after 1894 Sir) George Hugh (1836-1916), entered diplomatic service 1857, sec. of embassy and sometime chargé d'affaires at St. Petersburg 1881, at Constantinople 1881-5, min. at Belgrade 1885-6, Rio de Janeiro 1888-94, 472 n.; ii. 45, 289.
- York, William Thomson (1819-90), archbishop of, 1862-90, ii. 209.
- Zancoff, *see* Tsankov.
- Zanzibar or E. Africa, contract for postal service, 453; difficulty with Germany over, ii. 293-5, 303, 374, 380.
- Zebehr, *see* Zobeir.
- Zetland, Lawrence (1844-1929), first Marquis of 1892, a lord-in-waiting *May to Sept.* 1880, lord-lieut. of Ireland 1889-92, 124, 148 n., 149, 150, 156.
- Zobeir (1830-1913), Pasha, slave trader, appointed gov. of the Sudan by the khedive, deposed and held at Cairo, confined at Gibraltar 1885-7, ii. 127, 145, 157, 162 n., 163, 165, 166, 168, 173, 188, 217, 261, 265, 270, 273, 275, 276, 387.
- Zohrab, James, vice-consul at Mostar 1856-64, consul at Berdiansk 1864-74, at Erzeroum 1874-8, at Jeddah 1878-81, &c., 139.
- Zululand, 95 n., 97, 102, 445 n.; ii. 26, 28, 30, 172-3, 304, 432.

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