

THE
GREVILLE MEMOIRS

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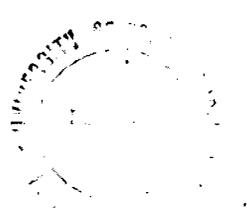
CHARLES GREVILLE AT THE END OF HIS LIFE
Engraved from the photograph by Mayall

THE
GREVILLE MEMOIRS

1814-1860

Edited by
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and
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: 1848-53

1848

January 1st.—The Hampden affair is still *boring* on with prejudicial effects to everybody concerned in it. Dean Merewether,¹ who is piqued and provoked at not having got the Bishoprick himself (which Wm. 4th once promised him), wrote a foolish, frothy letter to John R., who sent an equally foolish, because petulant, reply—only in two lines.² The B. of Oxford has recanted, and He of Salisbury has apologised for their respective parts; the former in a very ridiculous letter, not calculated to do him any credit. Everybody will believe that he found his conduct unpalatable at Court, so took a pretext for shuffling out of it. So much for Sly Sam!

Last week, after a few days' illness, without pain or trouble, Lord Harrowby died at Sandon, having just completed his eighty-fifth year. The three Old friends, Tom Grenville, Archbishop of York, and Ld. H., thus died all three of old age, peacefully and painlessly, within twelve months. Ld. H. survived Mr. G. exactly a year, and the A.B. three months. He was the last of his generation and of the colleagues of Mr. Pitt, the sole survivor of those stirring times and mighty contests. He had all along such bad health that half a century ago his life was considered a very bad one, and yet he reached his eighty-sixth year with his faculties very little impaired. He was at the top of the second-rate men, always honorable and straitforward, generally liberal and enlightened, greatly esteemed and respected.

¹ John Merewether (1797-1850); Dean of Hereford, 1832-50; Deputy-Clerk of the Closet to William IV, 1833.

² Lord John Russell's reply to the Dean was as follows: 'Sir, I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 22nd inst., in which you intimate to me your intention of violating the law.—I have, etc., J. RUSSELL.'

No man ever passed through a long political life more entirely without blemish or suspicion. It is curious that in the biographical notices of him, which according to the custom of the present day have appeared in the newspapers, no mention (or hardly any) has been made of by far the most remarkable transaction in which he ever was engaged, that of procuring the passing of the second reading of the second Reform Bill in the H. of Lords—one of the most important services (as it turned out) that any man ever rendered to his country. In conjunction with Ld. Wharncliffe he accomplished this, his conduct being perfectly disinterested, for he had long before resolved never again to take office, and had refused to be Prime Minister on the death of Canning. I was in their confidence, and much concerned in the whole of that transaction, as fully appears in my journal of that period. His speech on the first Reform Bill was very celebrated, exceedingly able, and superior to any other he ever made. He was remarkably well informed. Madame de Staël speaks of him somewhere as ‘Lord Harrowby, qui connaît notre littérature un peu mieux que nous-mêmes’; but his precise manner and tart disposition prevented his being agreeable in society. He was very religious, very generous, and a man of the strictest integrity in private and in publick life. I lived a great deal with him, but all my intimacy was with his admirable wife, whose virtues and merits I have elsewhere recorded.

Bowood, Friday, January 7th.—Came here on Tuesday, D. Bedford, Chancellor of Exchequer, Lord Devon, Auckland, etc., etc. Wood talked to me about his scheme of taxation; he has been in great doubt how he should apportion and increase (as he must) the income-tax, whether *income* or *property*. After much consideration he appears to have nearly made up his mind to impose three per cent. on Ireland, and to raise it in England to five, or perhaps something less; to announce that the increase is to be temporary, but the *three* per cent. to be permanent; and then, on the strength of the extension to Ireland, to propose a grant to that country, without which Clarendon cannot get on. Peel will concur in this plan.

Great talk here of G. Bentinck’s resignation of the Leadership of the Opposition. John Russell and his colleagues are very sorry for it; nobody can think of a successor to him, and, bad as he is, he seems the best man they have. It seems they detest D’Israeli, the only man of

talent, and in fact they have nobody; so much so, that Wood thinks they will be obliged to go back to G.B.; very strange state of things! G.B. and Stanley disagree on many points, especially on taxation; nevertheless this party, thus acephalous and feeble, have really been fancying they could come into office, and their notion is that if the dissolution had been delayed they would have had a majority, and would have come in. The D. of Beaufort told Bessborough so very seriously, and Lady Jersey told me the same thing, and that G.B. had promised her Son Francis¹ a place at the India Board! These things are hardly credible, but they are nevertheless true.

The Hampden war has been turning greatly to the advantage of the Doctor; his enemies have exposed themselves in the most flagrant manner, and Archdeacon Hare² has written a very able pamphlet also exposing the rascality (for that is the proper word) of his accusers, and affording his own valuable testimony to Hampden's orthodoxy; above all things, Sly Sam of Oxford (my would-be Director and Confessor) has covered himself with ridicule and disgrace. The disgrace is the greater because everybody sees through his motives: he has got into a scrape at Court and is trying to scramble out of it; there, however, he is found out, and his favor seems to have long been waning. The D. of Bedford tells me the Q. and P. are in a state of hot zeal in this matter. The P. writes to John every day very violent, and urged him to prosecute Dean Merewether, which of course John is too wise to do. That Dean is a very paltry fellow, and has moved heaven and earth to get made a Bishop himself; besides memorialising the Queen, he wrote to Lord Lansdowne and suggested to him to put an end to the controversy by making him a Bishop now, and Hampden at the next vacancy. The whole proceeding reflects great discredit on the great mass of Clergymen who have joined in the clamour against Hampden, and on the Oxonian majority who condemned him, for it is now pretty clear that very few, if any, of them had ever read his writings. Now that they are set forth, and people see his unintelligible jargon about dogmas themselves unintelligible, there must be some dispassionate men who will be disgusted and

¹ Francis John Robert Child-Villiers (1819-62), fourth son of fifth Earl of Jersey; M.P. for Rochester, 1852-6.

² Julius Charles Hare (1795-1855); Archdeacon of Lewes.

provoked with the whole thing, and at the ferocity with which these holy disputants assault and vituperate each other about that which none of them understand, and which it is a mere mockery and delusion to say that any of them really believe; it is cant, hypocrisy, and fanaticism from beginning to end. There is that old fawning sinner, the B. of Exeter; it appears that a dozen years ago he called on Hampden at Oxford to express to him the pleasure with which he had read his Bampton Lectures, and to compliment him on them. The Archbishop of Dublin was present on this occasion; he told it to Clarendon, who wrote it to the D. of Bedford, who told it to me.

January 12th, 1848.—From Bowood to Middleton on Saturday, to town on Monday (10th). The morning I left Bowood, Senior showed me the correspondence (not published) between the B. of Oxford and Hampden. It is creditable to the latter; the former really very despicable. The Bishop put a parcel of questions to him as to his belief on points of faith and doctrine, some of which were the most ordinary matter of belief, others unintelligible. Hampden said he might have regarded such questions on the most elementary points of doctrine as an insult, but he would accept his assurances that they were put in a friendly spirit (though he must say much of his conduct was at variance with such professions), and would therefore say 'Yes' to all of them. To his last letter announcing his having withdrawn the charges and read his works, etc. Hampden merely sent a dry acknowledgement of having received the letter.

January 17th.—Still this Hampden affair. Kelly got a rule in Q(ueen's) B(ench), and it will be argued in a few days. Tractarians hope from the known Puseyism of Coleridge and Patteson[†] that the rule may be made absolute; but the Lawyers don't expect it, and think a *strong* Court would not have given a rule. However, it shows the anomaly (not to say worse) of the whole ecclesiastical proceeding under the Act of Henry VIII. The High Churchmen, who want a separation of State from Church (though it does not seem clear what it is they contemplate), are all on the *qui vive*, and fancy their projects are put in a fair train by all these proceedings; but though some of my friends think very seriously of these crotchets, I believe they are very despicable and harmless. This morning I got a letter from the D.

[†] Sir John Patteson (1790–1861); Judge of King's Bench, 1830–52.

of B. enclosing one from William Cowper to him, informing him what took place when H<ampden> was made Regius Professor. W<illiam> C<owper> had given me some account of it at the time, which I inserted in my journal, and I copied it out for the D. of B. during our discussion. I don't find that this more detailed account varies much from the other, though it contains several more particulars, and one (the Archbishop's nominees) curious enough. His account of the transaction is this, saying he got it from Lord M<elbourne>, and by reference to letters which passed at the time: 'The Archbishop of C<anterbury> came to Ld. M. to announce the death of Dr. Burton.¹ In the conversation that ensued my Uncle requested the Archbishop to send him the names of the persons that occurred to him as best qualified for the situation, and begged him not to confine the list to a small number. The Archbishop sent a list including Pusey, Newman, and Keble;² and if it was, as I believe, the list of the Archbishop which is now before me, it contained nine names; but it is possible he may have sent only six, and that the other three were added from another quarter. Ld. M. sent the nine names to the Archbishop of Dublin without mentioning who had recommended them. . . and he justified the confidence reposed in him by giving a full and impartial statement of what he conceived to be the qualifications of each. But previous to this he had been consulted by Ld. M., and asked whom he would recommend, and had written (on 22nd January, 1836) a long letter in which he said: "The best fitted for a theological professorship that I have any knowledge of are Dr. Hampden and Dr. Hinds³ (afterwards Principal of Alban Hall); the qualifications I look to, and which (in combination) they both possess in a higher degree than any others I could name, are, first, sound learning; second, vigour of mind to wield that learning, without which the other is undigested food; and third, the moral and intellectual character adapted for conveying instruction. . . Both Hinds and Hampden are what are considered of liberal sentiments, but agree with me in keeping aloof from parties political and ecclesiastical." . . . Ld. M. doubted for some

¹ Edward Burton, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, 1829-36.

² John Keble (1792-1866), a leader of the Oxford Movement; Professor of Poetry at Oxford, 1831-41; Vicar of Hursley, Hants, 1836-66.

³ Samuel Hinds (1793-1872); Chaplain to Dr Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, 1831-3; Bishop of Norwich, 1849-57.

time between Arnold and Hampden, but, thinking the former rather too rash and unsettled in his opinions for so responsible a post, decided in favor of the latter; and it was not till after he had made up his mind that Hampden was the fittest person that he asked Dr. Copleston to give him his opinion of him, which opinion was so favorable that it confirmed him in his choice; he did not send any list to Copleston. You may rely on the accuracy of this statement as far as it goes.' The Duke also told me in his letter that there had been a very curious correspondence between Prince Albert and the Bishop of Oxford.

January 18th.—I have this morning received a copy of the Archbishop of C<anterbury>'s letter to John about making Hampden B. of Manchester.¹ John wrote to him for his opinion, and here is his reply:—

My dear Lord,—During the ten years which have passed since Dr. H. was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, I have no reason to believe that he has taught from the Chair any doctrines at variance with the Articles of our Church; and in justice to him I must say that I have discovered nothing objectionable in the few publications of his which I have seen and which are ably written; of his discretion or talents for business I have no means of judging. These qualifications may be more than ordinarily required in the first Bishop of such a place as Manchester. I have the honor to be, etc.

W. CANTUAR.

This is his letter, which certainly warranted John in saying 'he received no discouragement from the Archbishop of C<anterbury>.' It amounts very nearly to a sanction of the appointment; and nothing but the Archbishop's age, and the timidity, both natural to him and belonging to his age, can excuse his not having taken a more active part in allaying the irritation than he has done. So far as the Archbishop was concerned, John understated his case.

January 21st, Friday.—Dined on Wednesday with Baron Rolfe—Campbell, Langdale, Wilde, and Solicitor-General (Dundas); much talk about the rule in Q.ueen's> B<ench> (in Hampden's case), and whether the law must be altered. Campbell against alteration, the rest thinking there must be some, and the old law of Edward VI

¹ Actually James Prince Lee was appointed first Bishop of Manchester. This appointment was made by Lord John Russell on October 23rd, 1847.

making the Bishopricks donative restored. This is what Lushington told me must be done.¹

January 22nd.—Aston² called on me yesterday, and told me a great deal about Spain and Spanish affairs. He thinks it is the object of Q. Christina to destroy the Queen, her daughter, and that she will accomplish it; that she has always hated her, and prefers (without caring much for her) the Infanta; thinks that by medical treatment the cutaneous disease with which the Queen has been always afflicted has been driven in, and hence the epileptic fits by which she has been recently attacked; that they have lately put about her a French Doctor, since which all her Spanish Physicians have declined to attend her. I own I cannot believe anything so horrible as this implies, but it accords with suspicions from other quarters. He told me that Espartero before he left England showed him a letter he had received from a man of the name of——, the Queen's musick-master, a devoted adherent of his who had continued to correspond with him. This man was an eye-witness of the scene which took place when the Queen was forced by Serrano to take Narvaez for her Minister, and his relation was as follows:— He was waiting in the room next the Queen's to be called in to give her her lesson. Suddenly he heard violent screams, and his impulse was to rush into the room. On opening the door he saw the Queen on the floor and Serrano standing over her, grasping her by the throat and threatening her with uplifted arm. Serrano's back was turned to him and he did not see him. Terrified at being the witness of such a scene, and knowing it would cost him his life or his liberty if they were aware he had been, he took to his heels as fast as he could. The same evening the decree was signed. Serrano, the most infamous of creatures, of whom the Queen was really fond, had been bought over and fulfilled the contract by this violence. He said that the Queen was now a Prisoner and not allowed to communicate

¹ On December 11th an attempt was made to arrest the confirmation of Dr Hampden as Bishop of Hereford in the church of St Mary-le-Bow. But this was overruled by the Commissioners. On December 24th the Attorney-General showed cause against a rule *nisi* granted on the 14th by the Court of Queen's Bench, for a mandamus against the Archbishop of Canterbury. Judgment was given on February 1st. Mr Justice Coleridge and Mr Justice Erle were in favour of granting the mandamus; Lord Denman, C.J., and Mr Justice Patteson against it. The Court being equally divided, no mandamus was issued.—*R.*

² Sir Arthur Aston succeeded Lord Clarendon as Minister in Spain, and was retained there on the change of Government in 1841 at the Queen's special request; but he was recalled in 1843, on the fall of Espartero, and succeeded by Sir Henry Bulwer.—*R.*

with anybody, a mere puppet in the hands of her abominable mother. All the Grandees in the French interest, regretting the revolution, Carlists in heart, and only caring for a Government of corruption and peculation; the Moderado party in power through the elections which had taken place under the election law by which the freedom of the municipalities was destroyed. The Queen had, however, one chance of emancipation, and that is in the attachment to her of the people of Madrid, which is general and enthusiastic. She has all the Manolas¹ to a woman, and through them their lovers, brothers, and friends; they would rise en masse for her if called upon. Christina is universally unpopular and yet remains there; she is gorged with riches and in possession of uncontrolled power. When she left Spain (in 1843) She stripped the Palace of all the Plate and all the crown jewels of enormous value; of all the gold and silver services there were not six spoons left. Espartero appointed a Committee to enquire into the disappearance of the Crown jewels, but they begged leave not to report to avoid the scandalous exposure of the Queen's mother, and she was left in possession of her spoil. The young Queen was found without cloaths to her back; the Marchioness of Santa Cruz told Aston she had only six pair of darned cotton stockings which hurt her legs, then sore with her cutaneous disease. <Aston> said that Bulwer was constantly intriguing, failed, was found out, and not trusted by any party or any individual.

Brocket, <January> 22nd.—Came here this afternoon, Melbourne having at last invited me. I have been intimately acquainted with him for thirty-five years, and he never before (but once to dinner) asked me into his house. He expects people to come, and at dinner to-day he proclaimed his social ideas and wishes. 'I wish,' he said, 'my friends to come to me whenever they please, and I am mortified when they don't come.' I told him he ought to send out circulars to that effect. He is well and in good spirits, and ready to talk by fits and starts, very anti-Peel and anti-Free-trade, rattled away against men and things, especially against the Denisons, and the Bishop of Salisbury in particular. I asked 'Why then did you make him a Bishop?' He said 'It was the worst thing I ever did in my life.' As usual, he put forth some queer sayings, such as that 'Nobody ever did anything

¹ The working-class girls of Madrid.

very foolish except from some strong principle, he had remarked that.' M. said very little about the Hampden quarrel, only that he 'thought John might have avoided it.' He told me he had wished to make Arnold a Bishop, but — (I forget who) had told him if he did he thought the Archbishop would very likely refuse to consecrate him; so he gave up the idea without finding out what the Archbishop thought of it. Beauvale very strong against Palmerston and delighted with the articles in the 'Times' attacking his administration and his letter to the Greek Government; thought it very lucky he had not gone to Paris, where he must have quarrelled with P. for not obeying his absurd instructions, qu'il avait passé par là at Vienna. When he was there, Lady Westmorland told him She had been commissioned to give him a hint that he would not be able to remain there and oppose Palmerston as he often did. He asked her who told her this; she said *Melbourne*! This was the way the Prime Minister tried to prevent a rupture between his brother and his brother-in-law, not daring to face P., though disapproving of his policy and his ways. Well might Beauvale say P. would always have his way, for he was bold, resolute and unscrupulous; would not yield to others, and would make all others yield to him; and he is unchecked by public opinion here, nobody knowing or caring anything about foreign affairs.

Lady Beauvale told me some anecdotes of the Royal children, which may some day have an interest when time has tested and developed their characters. The Princess Royal¹ is very clever, strong in body and in mind; the P. of Wales weaker, more timid, and the Q. says he is a stupid boy; but the hereditary and unfailing antipathy of our Sovereigns to their Heirs Apparent seems thus early to be taking root, and the Q. does not much like the child. He seems too to have an incipient propensity to that sort of romancing which distinguished his Uncle, George 4th. The child told Ly. B. that during their cruise he was very nearly thrown overboard and was proceeding to tell her how, when the Q. overheard him, sent him off with a flea in his ear, and told her it was totally untrue.

January 26th, Wednesday.—Came back from Bocket on Monday.

¹ Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa, Princess Royal (1840–1901), eldest child of Queen Victoria; married Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia (afterwards the Emperor Frederick), 1858.

Melbourne not much inclined to talk; dined at a quarter-past seven, and he went to bed, or at least to his room, at half-past eight. He is as Anti-Palmerstonian as his brother, agreed with me that P. had all along greatly exaggerated the importance of the Spanish marriage. Much talk with Beauvale, particularly about P.; told me an anecdote of him which shows the man and how difficult he is to manage. During the Spanish discussions B. was at Windsor, and one day when the Prince was in his room a despatch from P. to John Russell arrived, which he wanted to show to the Prince, and afterwards to submit to the Q. for her sanction. Finding the P. was in B.'s room, he came there and read out the despatch. There was a paragraph in it saying that the succession of the Dsse. de Montpensier's children would be inadmissible by the constitutional law of Spain (or words to this effect). John said he thought this ought to be expunged; that we might say what we pleased as to the effect of treaties, but it did not become *us* to lay down the constitutional law of Spain; the Prince and B. both concurred, and John said he would strike out this passage, and submit it so amended to the Q. He did so, and H.M. took the same view. It was returned (so altered) to Palmerston; but when the despatch was published, it was found that Palmerston had re-inserted the paragraph, and so it stood! What more may have passed I know not, but it is clear that they all *stood it*, as they always will.

Lady Beauvale gave me an account of the scene at dinner at Windsor when Melbourne broke out against Peel (about the Corn Laws). She was sitting next M., who was between her and the Q.; he said pretty much what I have somewhere else stated, and he would go on though it was evidently disagreeable to the Q., and embarrassing to everybody else. At last the Q. said to him, 'Ld. M., I must beg you not to say anything more on this subject now; I shall be very glad to discuss it with you at any other time,' and then he held his tongue. It is however an amiable trait in her, that while she is *austere* to almost everybody else, She has never varied in her attachment to him, and to him everything has always been permitted; he might say and do what he liked. Now she constantly writes to him, never forgets his birthday. She is certainly an odd woman; her devotion and submission to her husband seem to know no bounds. When first she married Melbourne told her she must not expect her domestick

happiness *never* to be ruffled. She did not like this at all. But it never has. Albert never looks at her handsome Ladies and Maids of Honor. He is absorbed with other objects, is full of ambition and the desire of governing and having political influence. He has attained this object for He and the Queen are now *one* with the Ministers, with these as well as with the last. It was very different in Melbourne's time. They think her clever; some say that she is cleverer than Albert, but he is remarkably well informed and takes vast pains with himself.

I wrote a letter the other day to the D. of B<edford> about Palmerston and the impression his letter had caused, for him to send to John *if he chose it*. This morning I hear that he has sent it to him. He tells me at the same time that when he was at Windsor the Q. and A. both spoke to him about P., saying that they could say only to John what they said to him,—‘very confidential’; but it is quite superfluous to tell me what their sentiments are in respect to P.

January 27th.—The D. of B<edford> sent my letter (about P.) to J.R., who defends him; admits the letter was too strong, but goes off on his great ability and merit as displayed in the Swiss question: which nobody denies. I am not surprised at this; John is often obstinate and often weak. Le Marchant (his *âme damnée*) said this of him to me. He has his grievance, thinking he ought to have been Secretary to the Treasury and believing that Palmerston was the cause of his not being appointed. He thinks P. has taken a dislike to him, because he was the organ of communication between John and the ‘Times’. This enraged Easthope, who saw the Government information flow towards the ‘T<imes>’ instead of the ‘C<hronicle>’; and he made his complaints to P.

The Attorney-General¹ has got into a scrape about his Son's election,² but it remains to be seen if he will not get out of it; there was a petition against Y<oung> Jervis, and they gave the Petitioners £1500 to drop it. The bargain was discovered, and other parties presented a petition just in time. Dundas would be thrown into a great embarrassment by anything that removed the Attorney-General; he

¹ Sir John Jervis was at this time Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Sir David Dundas was Solicitor-General.—*R.*

² John Jervis (1825–60), eldest son of Sir John Jervis; elected for Horsham, 1847, but unseated on petition, June 28th, 1848.

could not succeed; the Government would not have him, nor would he undertake it; he has no briefs, a thing unheard-of for a Solicitor-General, and the Government found him so useless that they ceased to consult him, and, desirous of getting somebody more efficient, they proposed to him to be Judge-Advocate, which however he refused: he hardly could have accepted it. He has many good qualities, is agreeable, and I like him; he is honorable, high-minded, proud, charitable, generous, accomplished, well-informed, and clever; but he is weak, timid, fastidious, affected, sentimental, and very often absurd, and in no small degree *a humbug*. Altogether he is unfit for rough work and active life, either forensic or political.

February 8th, Tuesday.—Fortnight arrear. On Saturday week to Burnham Beeches; the Grotes, Mrs. Butler and Prandi, a Piedmontese Patriot, and formerly refugee, now restored by the adoption of liberal principles in Piedmont. He was condemned to death above twenty years ago, and escaped with great difficulty. He has lived ever since in London.

On Monday we received news of the revolution in Sicily,¹ of the concessions extorted from the King, and since, of the promulgation of a constitution at Naples.

On Saturday week I read in the newspapers the speech Cobden made at Manchester abusing the D. of Wellington, and scouting the national defences. On Wednesday I wrote a letter to him in the 'Times,' which has had great success.² I have received innumerable compliments and expressions of approbation about it from all quarters, and the Old Duke is pleased. I had no idea of making such a *hit*, but the truth is, everybody was disgusted at Cobden's impertinence and (it may be added) folly. His head is turned by all the flattery he has received, and he has miserably exposed himself since his return to England, showing that he is a man of one idea and no Statesman.

There was a meeting yesterday at Stanley's to chuse a Leader, but they parted without doing anything. Stanley said it was not for him to point out a Leader to the Members of the H. of C., and he

¹ A revolution broke out in Palermo on January 12th, 1848. Ferdinand II granted a constitution, but the revolt continued and Sicily declared itself independent of Naples. In September, however, a Neapolitan force captured Palermo and the rebellion collapsed.

² *The Times*, Feb. 2nd, 1848.

eulogised G. Bentinck (who has taken his place on the back benches). They are to meet again to-morrow, and it is supposed Granby will be their choice! Except his high birth he has not a single qualification for the post; he is tall, good-looking, civil and good-humoured; if these are qualifications, but he is heavy, dull and ignorant, without ability or knowledge, destitute of ideas to express and of the art of expressing them if he had any; and yet this great party can find no better man.

February 10th.—The Protectionists met yesterday and elected Granby, all the world laughing at their choice. It appears that the reports of G. Bentinck's easy and good-humoured retirement are not true.¹ There was an angry correspondence, much heat, and considerable doubt about the successor; some being for Stafford,² the majority for Granby, in the proportions of 60 to 40.

February 13th, Sunday.—On Friday was with Graham for a long time, who talked of everything, affairs at home and abroad, Peel, J.R., Government prospects, etc., etc.; expressed a doubt if the Ministers were up to their work and capable of coping with all their difficulties, said Peel was 'more *sullen* than he had seen him,' and had the same doubts, but nevertheless was more than ever resolved never to take office; hoped, however, that John might bring forward the state of the nation on Friday, and by making a great speech upon it show he was up to his situation; talked a good deal of colonial matters, and said the change in our commercial policy brought about the necessity of a great one in our Colonial policy, that we ought to limit instead of extending our colonial Empire, that Canada must soon be independent. He condemned the Caffre war,³ and extension of the Cape Colony, that we ought only to have a *Gibraltar* there, a house of call; condemned New Zealand and Labuan and Hong Kong; considered

¹ Lord George Bentinck threw up the leadership of the Protectionist party in a fit of ill-humour, caused by some reflections of Major Beresford, which showed, he said, that he had not the confidence of the party. Mr Disraeli called him 'a wrong-headed man,' although they had for some time worked together with apparent cordiality.—*R.*

² Stafford Augustus O'Brien Stafford (1811-57); M.P. for Northants, 1841-57; Secretary to the Admiralty, March-December, 1852.

³ Sir Harry Smith, the new Governor of Cape Colony, annexed British Caffraria on his arrival in 1847, and in February 1848 extended the colony as far north as the Orange River. Caffre wars were continuous between the colonists and the Bantu tribes, 1836-54.

the West Indies interest as gone, and dilated at great length (and very well) on these points. Then on foreign affairs, which he thinks very critical, especially estranged as we are from France; wants Beauvale to be sent to Paris and Vienna to concert measures, and try to avert the dangers he apprehends. He is all for 'defence,' but says the only way is to draw our troops home which are scattered over our useless and expensive dependencies; entirely against the squadron on the African coast and keeping up that humbug, which he says costs directly and indirectly a million a year. I told him Auckland said it only cost £300,000; he replied, it was not so, and that including indirect expenses it cost a million. Caffre war another million, and now that we were going to add to the income-tax, it would only be endured by showing that we had made or would make every practicable reduction, and that we maintained no establishments that were not really necessary. He highly approved of my letter.

February 18th.—Sumner appointed Archbishop,¹ a great mortification to the Tractarians, and great joy to Low Church; but he is so excellent a man, and has done so well in his diocese, that the appointment will be generally approved. Went last night to the Lords to hear Lord L<ansdowne> bring in the Diplomattick Bill (with Rome); he made a very good speech.

I could not stay out the debate, being engaged to dine with Chief Justice Wilde, where we had a great party, almost all Lawyers, Parke, Alderson, Lushington, Talfourd.² I sat next to Alderson, and found him a very agreeable man, Senior Wrangler, Senior Medallist, a Judge (and really a Lawyer), a Wit; a life all of law and letters, such as I might have led if I had chosen the good instead of the bad path. I always think of this when I meet such men who have 'scorned delights, and lived laborious days,' and now enjoy the benefit thereof. He told me he had been writing an exercise in the morning for one of his Sons at Oxford, a dialogue between Erasmus and More, on the preference of the Latin to the Greek as an universal language. There is a good saying going about of the Court of Exchequer and its Barons;

¹ Of Canterbury; in succession to Dr Howley, who had died on February 11th.

² Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd (1795-1854); M.P. for Reading, 1835-47; Judge of Common Pleas, 1849-54; published his tragedy *Ion*, 1835; author of *Letters and Memorials of Charles Lamb*, 1837 and 1848.

it runs thus—Parke settles the law, Rolfe settles the fact, Alderson settles the bar, Platt¹ settles nothing, Pollock unsettles everything. Campbell is anxious to write again, and talked to me of writing the history of the Reform Bill. I told him I could give valuable materials, but that it is not yet time. He wants me to write memoirs of the last twenty years, and was pleased to say no man was so well qualified to do it. This is not true, but I have some qualifications from personal acquaintance with the actors and knowledge of the events of that period, and I might have had, and ought to have had, much more, but my horrible life, habits and pursuits have prevented me, and only left me mere snatches of such real knowledge as could be turned to account.

February 20th, Sunday.—At the H. of Lords on Friday night, for the Committee on Diplomatic Bill. Government beat by three, and all by bad management; several who ought to have been there, and might easily have been brought up, were absent: the D. of Bedford, D. of Devonshire, Ld. Petre,² a Catholic, dawdling at Brighton, Beauvale. D. of Wellington, with his deafness, got into a complete confusion, and at the last moment voted against Government. It was a melancholy thing to see Stanley with Beaufort on one side of him, and Buckingham on the other, now going into a corner with the B. of Exeter, now earwiggling Ld. Kenyon, thus prostrating his fine talents to the folly and bigotry of the titled, tinselled mob, in the midst of whom he sits. Aberdeen behaved very ill, and spoke against admitting ecclesiastics (indeed, against any Nuncio) which was all wrong and untrue as to fact, and which he was crammed with by Bunsen. I did not stay it out, but went away to dinner, where I met Dr. Logan, Head of Oscott; a very able man, very pleasing and good-looking, and neither in manner or dress resembling a Roman Catholic Priest. He is supposed to be the writer of Lord Shrewsbury's letters.³ He told Panizzi, however, that he was very sorry to find that the *English* Catholics were very indignant with Ld. S. for having written these letters, which is very strange and very lamentable, for it has

¹ Sir Thomas Joshua Platt (1790?–1862); Baron of the Exchequer, 1845–56. Of the other four barons here mentioned Sir Frederick Pollock was Chief Baron.

² William Henry Francis Petre (1793–1850), eleventh Baron Petre; succeeded his father in the title, 1809.

³ John Talbot (1791–1852), sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury; succeeded his uncle in the title, 1827; published letters in 1847, urging the Catholic prelates in Ireland to disavow the outrages of the Repealers.

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always been believed that they were more liberal and well-disposed than the Irish, and regarded with horror the excesses of MacHale and Co.

On Friday night John Russell brought forward his financial statement, in a speech which has been much criticised. He seems to have treated the subject of defence, and to have alluded to the military establishments of France, in a style far from judicious; his speech and his plan were very ill received, and the state of the House was considered to be ominous and alarming; dissatisfaction was expressed in all quarters, and opposition threatened upon the most opposite grounds. D'Israeli and Cobden both spoke against him, and the former vehemently attacked the latter, and made a very clever speech. Cobden's tone and spirit were bad, and, so far as can be judged of his intentions, he means to go to work in the line of pure democracy, and with the object of promoting the power of the middle classes over that of the aristocracy. The most serious blow to the Government was the speech of Francis Baring, which told mightily. On the whole, the impression is very bad; people are gloomy, frightened, and angry; the Government inspires no confidence; the great monetary and commercial interests don't think John and Charles Wood equal to their situations and they cast back longing eyes towards Peel. This Macgregor told me yesterday, and it is confirmed by various signs.

Yesterday morning John R. sent for me, and asked me to go to Graham and speak to him about the 'Godless' Colleges,¹ and the payment of Professors, giving me a letter of Clarendon's about it, which I was to show G. with Clarendon's scheme, and ask if it was in accordance with their Bill, and if He and Peel would approve of it. Graham said he did approve, and would support the scheme, but he advised a different mode of paying the Professors (by a vote in the estimates instead of paying them out of the £7000 a year given by the Act), which John agreed to adopt. We had much talk about the H. of Commons and the state of things. Graham thought the appearance of the House very alarming, said John spoke well in a very difficult position, rather defended him, found fault with some of the details of

¹ The undenominational colleges instituted by Peel in Ireland in 1845 were known by this name.

the estimates, and thought they might have adjusted their taxation differently. Neither He nor Peel said a word on Friday. Peel went away after John's speech. I can see that the Whigs are in a state of continual uneasiness about Peel and Graham and the Peelites. They hear it constantly repeated that Peel will not take office, and has announced that he will be no Leader of a party, but they look with great apprehension towards Lincoln, who is certainly ambitious of playing a great part, and preparing to do so; and they suspect Peel is secretly aiding and encouraging him. The 'Morning Chronicle' is believed by the Government people to have been bought by Lincoln.¹ It is certain that its tone is quite altered. Old Delane (Father of the 'Times' Editor) has got the management of it, and a Mr Cook,² who was employed for two years under Lincoln in the Duchy of Cornwall, is Editor. When Easthope sold it, he tried to bargain for its continued support of Palmerston, which was flatly refused. Young Delane told me the paper meant to support the Government, but it has begun by an attack on Grey, and has evinced no very friendly feeling to John himself. The state of affairs is to the last degree extraordinary and perplexing.

Delane came to me yesterday morning to talk over the ministerial exposé and its effects. He said nothing could be worse, that it was *fatal*, that there was no use in attempting to defend them. He found people in the City all against the plan, that it could not pass; and he talked of nothing but defeat and resignation, without being able to suggest any possible alternative. He says, however, that people don't care for this, that they are reckless, that the Government must not look to being carried through, *for fear they should resign*, and because there is nobody to take their places; that nobody will be frightened by this, but that their measure will be opposed, let what may come of it. Others think differently, and Tom Baring told me last night that he thought, notwithstanding the discontent, they would find support enough for their purpose. It is difficult, however, as yet, in

¹ The *Morning Chronicle* newspaper was sold by Sir John Easthope, and purchased by Lord Lincoln, Sidney Herbert, and the other followers of Sir Robert Peel. It was conducted with ability, but it failed to command public support, and after a few years, and the loss of a great deal of money, the old Whig organ sank altogether.—R.

² John Douglas Cook (? 1808–68); Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, 1848–54, and of the *Saturday Review*, 1855–68.

the midst of the uncertainty, excitement, and discontent that prevail, to form any plausible conclusion as to their prospect. There can be no doubt that, as a Government, their position is very unenviable; they are not strong in numbers—that is, they have not an absolute majority of the *H. of C.*—and they are in a minority in the *H. of Lords*. They enjoy no confidence, and no favour; neither collectively or individually are they strong in publick confidence and attachment. There is no enmity to them, and they have a sort of negative support, as being well-intentioned, honest, tolerably capable, and, from the state of parties, the only possible Government. But they are surrounded with cavilling, discontented people, and fragments of parties, all animated with particular objects and designs of their own, which are not yet ripe—people biding their time, and looking for their overthrow. There are the Protectionists, without any Leader, and absolutely unable to find one; the Peelite staff, with a dozen men fit to lead, and most of them willing, but still kept asunder by the old film of political repulsion, the ever-burning hatred of Peel and Peelites on one side, and the honor and feeling which forbids any desertion of, or disrespect to, Peel on the other; and these feelings will still keep the two Conservative sections in this antagonistic state, till events and common interests, Heaven knows how or when, bring them together. There are, however, enormous difficulties, inherent in such a state of things, and aggravated by their continuance, and among them none greater than Stanley's position, and the egregious folly of his conduct. This is, in truth, the great security which the present Government has for keeping in office. If they are defeated, and offer to resign, no other Government will be found possible, and they will be forced to stay in; but I doubt much, even in such a contingency, if they would be able to do so entirely on their own terms, and they would never dare to make publick opinion, if unmistakeably expressed, surrender at discretion.

February 23rd, Wednesday.—On Monday night Wood came suddenly down to the *H. of Commons*, and proposed to refer the Army and Navy Estimates to a secret Committee, and then the miscellaneous estimates. This scheme was violently attacked, particularly the secrecy. D'Israeli spoke forcibly against it. Peel came to the rescue. The effect was very bad: a confession of weakness and perplexity, and

the Government lost credit. Last night Wood again proposed the Committees, owned he was wrong about their being *secret*, and asked for 'select.' D'Israeli attacked him very cleverly; Peel came forward handsomely, spoke for the Committees, but defended the estimates, and talked very sensibly about them and defences, ridiculing Ellesmere's letter very much. Delane had a long interview with the Chancellor of Exchequer the day before yesterday, who told him he had been driven to his present expedient by the deplorable effect of John's speech, which appears to have inflicted *tortures* on his colleagues all the time he was delivering it. He not only (Wood said) said all that he ought not to have done, and made great mistakes in his way of dealing with the subject, but he omitted a great part of what he was to have said, two points especially: Ireland, and what had been done there, and the Spanish marriage question, *which it had been his intention to throw over!* It certainly is remarkable that he showed none of the tact and dexterity which usually pre-eminently distinguish him; he had not been well, and was oppressed with the subject. The effect was very bad, and, as usual, his meaning ridiculously distorted and misrepresented. All the friends of the Government are exceedingly alarmed, and we do certainly appear to be very near a deadlock.

In reference to the Spanish marriage question, I have had some concern in stopping what would have been a very mischievous publication. Wm. Hervey, who is mad on it, has written an elaborate *polémique* in the shape of a pamphlet, or rather book. He sent this over (last summer) to Clarendon, who, not having time to read it, asked G. Lewis to prepare it for, and correct, the press; but first it was sent to Palmerston. He kept it some months, and about Christmas sent it to Lewis, with his imprimatur; L., by accident, mentioned it to me just as he was correcting the last sheets. I thought it so objectionable I begged him to write to Clarendon and tell him so, and to advise him not to let it be published without J.R.'s knowledge and approval. He wrote accordingly. Meanwhile I told the D. of B<edford> what had passed. He sent my letter to John, and John said he would not let it appear and desired me to send G. Lewis to him, which I did. Such a publication, at the moment when the Dsse. de M<ontpensier>'s grossesse is announced,

would be irritating to the last degree, and nothing could be more indiscreet.¹

(July 10th, '57. †Readable. Miscellaneous.†) <C. C. G.>

<End of Vol. III of *Additional MS.* 41116.>

London, February 28th, 1848.—The French Revolution has driven for the time every other subject out of thought, and so astounding has the event been, so awful and surprising from its inconceivable rapidity and the immensity of the operation, that every mind has been kept in a restless whirl and tumult incompatible with calm reflection; while from the quick succession of events crowding on each other, all dashed with lies, false reports, exaggerations, and errors, it has been almost impossible to sit down and give a clear, connected, and true account of what has happened; to jot down from hour to hour all that one hears would only have been to say one moment what must have been unsaid the next. By degrees the facts develop themselves and the fictions are cast aside; but the time is not yet arrived for completing this historical process. There are people alive who remember the whole of the first Revolution, and we of middle age are all familiar with the second; but this, the third, transcends them both, and all other events which history records, in the astonishing political phenomena which it displays. The first Revolution was a long and gradual act, extending over years, in which the mind traces an elaborate concatenation of causes and effects. The second was not unexpected; the causes were working openly and ominously; and at last the great stroke so rashly attempted, and by which the contest was provoked, was only the concluding scene of a drama which for a long preceding time had been in a state of representation before the world. In 1789 everybody saw that a revolution was inevitable; in 1830 everybody thought that it was probable; but in 1848, up to the very moment at which the explosion took place, and even for a con-

¹ Lord William Hervey, then First Secretary of Embassy at Paris, had taken up the question of the Spanish marriages with extreme warmth. He it was who mainly disinterred and relied upon the renunciations annexed to the Treaty of Utrecht, which were designed to exclude any other branch of the House of Bourbon from the Spanish throne. Lord Palmerston adopted these arguments, but without effect, as, indeed, the whole state of Europe had changed; and Lord John Russell never thought there was much weight in them. Lord William Hervey was a highly accomplished and honourable diplomatist, third son of the Marquis of Bristol. His health was bad, and he died in May 1850, at the age of forty-five.—*R.*

siderable time after it (that is, considerable in reference to the period which embraced the whole thing from first to last), no human being dreamt of a revolution and of the dethronement of the King. The power of the Government appeared to be immense and unimpaired. The King was still considered one of the wisest and boldest of men, with a thorough knowledge of the country and the people he ruled; and though his prudence and that of his Ministers had been greatly impugned as to their mode of dealing with the question of Parliamentary reform, the worst that anybody anticipated was the fall of Guizot's Cabinet, and that reform of some sort it would be found necessary to concede. But no one imagined that the King, defended by an Army of 100,000 men and the fortifications of Paris (which it was always said he had cunningly devised to give himself full power over the capital), was exposed to any personal risk and danger. There was a strong reforming and, it might be, a strong republican or revolutionary spirit abroad, but the principal leaders of Opposition were understood to have no designs against the Monarchy, and it was believed by those who had good opportunities of knowing that the bourgeoisie of Paris were comparatively indifferent to political questions, averse to revolutionary movements, and the determined advocates of order and tranquillity. For some time before the day appointed for the Reform banquet, much anxiety prevailed for the peace of the capital; but when it was announced that the Government did not mean to interfere, and that the question of the legality of the meeting was to be referred to Judicial decision, all apprehensions subsided; and when the proclamation of Odilon Barrot and the Chiefs of the Banquet appeared it was regarded as a false and imprudent step, which by putting the Ministers in the right would only seem to strengthen their authority and avert their downfall, which otherwise had been probable. Duchâtel made a very good speech in the Chamber of Deputies, and proved that this last act was so clearly illegal and mischievous that the Ministers were bound to take the course they did; and as the Banqueteers¹ showed a disposition to obey

¹ The Banqueteers, headed by Odilon Barrot, had organised a series of public banquets throughout France, at which speeches were made demanding electoral reform. The first Reform banquet was given in Paris on July 9th, 1847. The banquet arranged for January 22nd, 1848, was forbidden by the Government and the suppression led immediately to the Revolution.

the Government, nobody doubted that the whole affair would quietly end.

When therefore this great and sudden insurrection took place, sweeping everything before it with the irresistible speed and violence of a hurricane, everybody here stood aghast; but for the first two days no one anticipated the final catastrophe. At Paris, from the King downwards, all seem to have lost their presence of mind and judgement. The state of things proved the fallacy of their former calculations and expectations, and their minds seemed incapable of keeping up with the march of events, of embracing the magnitude of the danger, and of discerning the means by which it could be met. Everything was involved in perplexity and confusion; the roar of insurrectionary Paris affrighted the ears and bewildered the senses of the inmates of the Tuileries. At the moment I am writing we are still ignorant of the minute details of all that passed, of what the King said and did, and how others played their several parts. We know that Guizot resigned, that Molé was appointed—a capital fault, for Molé was another Guizot, and the selection only proved how unconscious the King was of the precipice on the brink of which he was standing. Some precious hours were lost in Molé's abortive attempt. Then came Thiers and Odilon Barrot, Ministers of a few hours, who, seduced by the deceptive applause of the rabble, fancied they could command and restrain the people of Paris, and who persuaded the King to withdraw the Troops, telling him they would answer for the people. This fatal advice cost him the crown, which, perhaps, he could not have kept on his head. The tide swept on; a host of people, and amongst them Emile Girardin,¹ rushed to the Tuileries, told the King his life was menaced, and advised him to abdicate; he refused. The people about him, and his own Son amongst them (D. de Montpensier), pressed him, and he signed the act of abdication. Still the crowd pressed on, and the Palace was unprotected. He resolved, or was persuaded, to fly; and with the Queen and such of his family as were with him he quitted the Palace with such precipitation that they

¹ Emile de Girardin (1806-81); founded the political journal *La Presse*, 1836; *député*, 1834-9 and 1842-8; dictated Louis Philippe's abdication, February 24th, 1848; arrested by Cavaignac, June 1848; supported Louis Napoleon in the presidential election, December 1848; exiled for a time after the *coup d'état*, 1851; sold *La Presse* and bought *Liberté*, 1866; bought *Le Petit Journal*, 1872; wielded immense popular influence through his newspapers.

had no time to take anything, and they had scarcely any money amongst them. They proceeded to Dreux, where they separated, and as yet no one knows where the King is, or where those of his family are who are not yet arrived in England.

The Duchesse d'Orléans, after the terrible scene in the Chamber of Deputies,¹ was taken to some house in or near Paris, where she now lies concealed. All these events passed with the velocity of an Express train; hardly an interval was placed between circumstances and conditions of the most opposite description. No Monarchy or Monarch ever fell with such superhuman rapidity. There is something awful and full of fear and pity in the contemplation of such a tremendous vicissitude: of a great King and a numerous and prosperous family, not many hours before reposing in the security of an apparently impregnable power, suddenly toppled down from this magnificent eminence and laid prostrate in the dust, covered with ignominy and reproach, and pursued by terror and grief. All at once the whole edifice of grandeur and happiness fell to the ground; 'it dissolved, and, like the baseless fabric of a vision, left not a wreck behind.' The flight was undignified. It would be hard to accuse Louis Philippe of want of courage, of which he has given on various occasions many signal proofs; but he certainly displayed no resolution on this occasion. It is very doubtful whether his person would have been injured; the people have evinced no thirst for blood. It was then, indeed, too late for resistance, for the means had been withdrawn; but it may fairly be asked if it would not have been the more becoming and the wiser course to affront the danger of popular rage, and have tried what might have been done by firmness, by reason, and by concession at the same time. All this is speculation. It may be that his life and that of his Queen would have been sacrificed; but on a more terrible occasion, when the same Palace was invaded by a more formidable mob, a King still more unpopular and a detested Queen were left uninjured; and it is far more probable that the abdication of Louis Philippe would have satisfied and disarmed the wrath and fury of the

¹ On February 24th, 1848, Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Paris. In the afternoon of that day the Comte de Paris and his mother, the Duchesse d'Orléans, proceeded to the Chamber of Deputies to hear Odilon Barrot proclaim the abdication, but the session was interrupted by the irruption of a mob and ended with the proclamation of a Provisional Government and a Republic.

people. At all events it is certain that he descended from the throne in a manner which, if it is cruel to call it ignominious, was not rendered captivating or affecting by any of those touching or striking circumstances which often environ and decorate the sacrifice of fallen Majesty.

There is a strong impression that if they had unsparingly used the military means at their disposal while it was still time, the Monarchy would have been saved and the tumult suppressed. The recollection of the 13th Vendémiaire and the Rue de St. Roch, when the Troops of the Convention defeated the Sections of Paris, produces this notion. But when time was given to the émeute to grow and expand, and when the National Guards took part in it, all was over; for the Troops of the line, who would have repressed the mob, would not fight against the National Guard. But between blunders, bad advice, and delay, the insurrection sprang at once into gigantick proportions, and the world has seen with amazement a King who was considered so astute and courageous, with Sons full of spirit and intelligence, sink without striking a blow for their Kingdom, perishing without a struggle, and consequently falling dishonoured and unregretted. The end of Charles X was far more dignified than that of his Cousin, and the survivors of that shipwreck may see with a melancholy satisfaction their successful competitor 'whelmed in deeper gulphs' than themselves. Louis Philippe has been seventeen years on the throne; in many respects a very amiable man, and, though crafty and unscrupulous as a Politician, and neither beloved nor respected, he has never done anything to make himself an object of the excessive hatred and bitter feeling which have been exhibited against him and his family. The mob, though, on the whole, moderate and good-humoured, have been violent against his person, and they plundered the Palais Royal, invaded the Tuileries, and burnt Neuilly to show their abhorrence of him. This manifestation is a cruel commentary on his reign and his character as King.

Sunday, March 5th.—The fugitives have all arrived here day by day, with the exception of the Duchess of Orléans and her children, who are supposed to be in Germany. The King and Queen came yesterday from Newhaven, where they landed; Madame de Lieven and Guizot the day before, the one from Paris, the other through Belgium; they

were in the same train (leaving Paris at seven o'clock on Thursday night), but neither knew the other was there. The King, as soon as he reached England, wrote a letter to the Queen, in which he gave her to understand that he considered all as over with him, and he said that it was the *Comte de Neuilly* who thanked her for all her past and present kindness to himself and his family.¹ It was a very good letter (Lord Lansdowne told me), and the Queen was much moved by it. Her personal resentment had long ceased; Aberdeen told me last night that she had told him so not long ago, and that though the political question was another thing, her personal feelings towards the French Royal Family were what they had ever been.

Yesterday I saw Madame de Lieven, and heard her narrative, both personal and historical. With the sufferers, as with the spectators, the predominant feeling is one of intense astonishment amounting to a sort of incredulity; every one repeats (as well they may) that nothing that history has recorded, or fiction invented, ever approached this wonderful reality, wonderful in every way, in its whole and in all its parts. There is nothing in it that is not contrary to every antecedent probability, to all preconceived notions of the characters of the principal Actors, and to the way in which almost everybody concerned might have been expected to act. The beginning, the middle, and the end of the contest have been equally wonderful: the conduct of the old Government and the conduct of the new; the events of months or years crammed into a few days or hours; the whole change so vast and complete, made as at the stroke of an enchanter's wand. France, on Monday, February 19th, a powerful, peaceful, and apparently impregnable Monarchy; on Wednesday, 21st of the same month, the whole of her Royalty scattered over the face of the earth,² and France become a Republick no less powerful and peaceful; the authority of the latter form of government as generally acknowledged as that of the former was a week before; and an able, vigorous, and *despotic* Government established in the name of the people, which was, with universal consent and approbation, and the admiration

¹ This letter, dated March 3rd, 1848, has been printed in *The Letters of Queen Victoria*.

² The dates should be Monday, February 21st and Wednesday, February 23rd, but the monarchy did not actually collapse until the 24th.

even of those whom it had displaced, discharging every legislative as well as executive function.

Madame de Lieven's story runs thus. On Sunday—that is, this day fortnight—She had a reception as usual. No alarm prevailed, but she was a little struck by Delessert¹ telling her that there was a good deal of agitation amongst some of the lower orders of workmen, and those who were known to the Government as Communists; still he did not appear to attach much importance to it. On Monday evening Guizot told her that it was possible there might be some rioting and disturbance in the streets the following day, and he advised her to go out of her house for a few hours in the morning, which she did, ordering her dinner and meaning to return. That same day the commotions began, but still the Ministers were unterrified; and though the affair began to be serious, they never doubted that they should be able to suppress the tumult and restore order. Everything went on, as is well known, up to Wednesday morning, when Guizot saw the King, told him all would go right, and went to the Chamber. While there Duchâtel called him out, and told him the King wanted him directly at the Tuileries. He was surprised, asked for what, and proposed they should go together, which they did. When they got there they found the King much disturbed; he said the Commandant of the ——— Legion of National Guard had been to him and told him they must have reform, and he was afraid the rest of the National Guard would follow this example. 'Well,' said Guizot, 'if they do, we shall have no difficulty in putting down such a demonstration.' 'Oh, but,' said the King, 'that will produce bloodshed, and may lead to lamentable events'; and then, after beating about the bush a good deal, and with many expressions of personal attachment to Guizot, he said, 'Perhaps a change of Ministers might settle everything, and relieve him from his embarrassment.' Guizot at once said that the mere suggestion of such a thing made it 'une affaire résolue,' and if H.M. thought that by taking any other Minister he could improve the state of his affairs, he, of course, ought to do so. The King then talked of his regrets, and that he would rather abdicate than part with him. G. said abdication was not to be thought of. The King then talked of sending for Molé,

¹ Gabriel Delessert (1786-1858); originally a partner in the Banque Delessert; Prefect of Police at Paris, 1836-48.

and G. assured him of his readiness to support Molé, or any other man who would maintain Conservative principles. He then returned to the Chamber, and announced that the Ministers were out. The Conservatives were struck with astonishment and alarm; crowded round Guizot, and asked him if he had resigned. He said 'No; that he had been dismissed.' Molé was sent for, and said he would try and form a Government. The King said he had only one exclusion to insist on: that Bugeaud¹ should not command the Troops. Molé said it was the very first appointment he should propose to H.M. The King wanted to keep the command in the hands of his Sons. Molé went away to try his hand. Meanwhile the agitation of Paris increased. At night, hearing nothing of Molé, the King sent Pasquier to him; he found him alone. 'Well, is your Government formed?' 'No, not yet; but I expect to see Passy² to-morrow morning.' He was told this would not do, and while he had been thus wasting time, the movement was swelling and advancing. So Molé went to the Palace at ten at night, and threw the thing up. Then the King sent for Thiers and Odilon Barrot. Thiers made it a condition that the Troops should not act for twelve hours, and said he would meanwhile answer for the people. The King consented, and He and Odilon Barrot went out into the streets on horseback to harangue the mob, announce their Ministry, and send them home satisfied; they were received with menaces and shots, and sent about their business. They went back to the Tuileries and said all was over, and they could do nothing. Early in the morning (Thursday morning), the state of affairs having become more and more formidable, a host of people came to the Tuileries (Emile Girardin amongst them), and all urged the King to abdicate. He asked Thiers what he advised. Thiers had lost his head, and said he was not his Minister, and could give no advice; all the rest (none more urgently than the Duc de Montpensier) pressed the King to abdicate. The King was reluctant, and Piscatory³ alone

¹ Thomas Robert Bugeaud, Duc d'Isly (1784-1849); colonel, 1814; *député*, 1831-40; defeated Abd-el-Kader in Algeria, 1836; Governor-General of Algeria, 1841-7; *maréchal de France*, 1843; again defeated Abd-el-Kader at Isly, 1844; created Duc, 1844; commanded the troops in Paris, February 1848 but was forbidden to fire on the mob; died of cholera.

² François Antoine Passy (1792-1873); Under-Secretary for the Interior under Guizot, 1840-8; after the Revolution devoted himself to geology.

³ Théobald Piscatory (1799-1870); fought for Greece in the War of Independence; *député*, 1832-42; French Minister at Athens, 1844-6; Ambassador to Spain, 1847-8; retired into private life after the *coup d'état*, 1851.

entreated him not to do so. 'Il ne faut jamais abdiquer, Sire,' he said to him; 'voilà le moment de monter à cheval et de vous montrer.' The Queen behaved like a Heroine. She who was so mild and religious, and who never took any part in publick affairs, alone showed firmness and resolution; she thanked Piscatory for his advice to the King, and said, 'Mon ami, il ne faut pas abdiquer; plutôt mourez en Roi.' But the King was *lâche*, and the more disgraceful counsel prevailed. He abdicated, and hurried off, as we know. Piscatory was with him to the last, and the Queen, on parting from him, told him to tell Guizot that she owed to him all she had enjoyed of happiness for the last six years. Thus fell the Orleans dynasty, pitoyablement, honteusement, without dignity, respect or sympathy. 'Where,' I asked, 'were the Sons, and what did they do? Madame de Lieven only shook her head with a sign of disgust. She herself had taken refuge at St. Aulaire's, then at Apponyi's, then at an Austrian Attaché's; then Pierre d'Areberg took her under his care, and hid her at Mr. Roberts,¹ the English Painter, who brought her to England as Mrs. Roberts, with gold and jewels secreted in her dress. Guizot was concealed one day at Piscatory's, the others at Broglie's.

In all this great drama Lamartine stands forth pre-eminently as the principal character; how long it may last God only knows, but such a fortnight of greatness the world has hardly ever seen; for fame and glory with posterity it were well for him to die now. His position is something superhuman *at this moment*; the eyes of the universe are upon him, and he is not only the theme of general admiration and praise, but on him almost alone the hopes of the world are placed. He is the principal author of this Revolution; they say that his book has been a prime cause of it;² and that which he has had the glory of making, he has the far greater glory of directing, moderating, restraining. His labour has been stupendous, his eloquence wonderful. When the new Government was surrounded by thousands of armed rabble, bellowing and raging for they knew not what, Lamartine contrived to appease their rage, to soften, controul, and eventually master

¹ David Roberts (1796-1864); began life as a scene-painter; travelled widely in Europe and the Near East; began exhibiting at the Royal Academy, 1826.

² 'The Girondins,' and still more Dumas' play of the 'Chevaliers de la Maison Rouge.'—G.

them; so great a trial of eloquence was hardly ever heard of. Then from the beginning he has exhibited undaunted courage and consummate skill, proclaiming order, peace, humanity, respect for persons and property. This improvisé Cabinet, strangely composed, has evinced most curious vigour, activity, and wisdom; they have forced everybody to respect them; but Lamartine towers above them all, and is the presiding genius of the new creation. He has acted like a man of honor and of feeling too. He offered the King an escort; he wrote to Madame Guizot¹ and told her her Son was safe in England, and caused the report of this to be spread abroad that he might not be sought for; and, moreover, he sent to Guizot to say if he was not in safety where he was he might come to his house. When he first proposed the abolition of the punishment of death he was overruled; but the next day he proposed it again, and declared if his colleagues would not consent he would throw up his office, quit the concern, and they might make him if they pleased the first victim of the law they would not abolish. All this is very great in the man who the Duc de Broglie told me was so bad, 'un mauvais livre par un mauvais homme,' and consequently all France is praying for the continuation of the life and power of Lamartine; and the Exiles whom he has been principally instrumental in driving from their country are all loud in praise and admiration of his humanity and his capacity.

Aberdeen saw Guizot yesterday; he is in good health and spirits, and wants for nothing. He told A. that for the last two years he thought there was a considerable alteration in the King's mind; that he was *occasionally* as vigorous as ever, but on the whole that he was changed for the worse. This makes Guizot's conduct during these two years only the more inexcusable. He thinks (as everybody else does) that this fine fabric which has risen like an exhalation will not last long, and he said, 'You English bet about everything; if I were compelled to bet, I should for choice take the Duchess of Orléans and her Sons as the most probable eventuality where everything is so uncertain.'

March 6th.—Called on Guizot yesterday; found several people there, and Delessert, who was telling his story and all that had

¹ Sophie Elisabeth Guizot (1764–1848), mother of Guizot; her husband was guillotined in 1794. She followed her son to England in 1848 and died there on March 31st.

happened to him. Then Guizot told us his, which, though it is essentially the same as what Madame de Lieven told me, as it is more circumstantial (and in some respects different) I will not pass over. He began with the morning of Wednesday, when he went to the Tuileries and transacted business with the King as usual; thence to the Chambers. Duchâtel called him out, and they went to the Tuileries together. In the way there Duchâtel told him that the King was very uneasy and alarmed at the reform petitions that had been presented to him by the National Guards, and had been talking of changing the Government and sending for Molé. When they arrived the King addressed Guizot in this sense, said that he had received petitions from this and that Officer of the Garde Nationale, and that all the rest would follow their example; that they all asked for Reform, and for the dismissal of the Ministers. Guizot said he was quite ready to face the difficulty, having the support of the Chambers; but that he must have that of the King also. The King then sent for the Queen and the two Dukes of Nemours and Montpensier, and they all joined with the King in urging on G. the necessity of a change of Ministers to appease the clamour that had been raised. Guizot said that from the moment the King and the Royal Family signified such an opinion and such a desire to him, it was 'une affaire résolue,' and it was his duty to submit to their pleasure. The King asked him if he thought Molé could form a Government. He said, 'Yes he might'; and that he should certainly have his best support if he made the attempt. The King appears not to have been quite decided; but while they were still conversing some one arrived from the Chamber and informed Guizot that he must return there directly, as an 'interpellation' was going to be made to him. He said to the King that he must return and tell the Chamber what the state of things was, and on what H. M. thought fit finally to decide. The King said that he might announce that he had sent for Molé to form a Government. Guizot returned to the Chamber, made the announcement, which was received with astonishment and indignation by the Conservative Deputies, who crowded round him and enquired if he had resigned, crying out, 'Nous sommes abandonnés.' He replied that he had not resigned, but had been dismissed. From the Chamber he returned to the Tuileries, and told the King what had passed there. The King said he had sent

for Molé, who had undertaken to try and form a Government. Meanwhile affairs were getting worse in the town, and the concession of the King had of course encouraged the factious. Guizot, who could not return home, went to the Duc de Broglie's and went to bed. Not long after (at one in the morning) he was called up by a message desiring him to come to the Tuileries forthwith; he went, when the King told him he had just heard from Molé that he had tried Passy, Dufaure, and Billault, who had all refused, and consequently that he could not form a Government, and H.M. said that he was disposed to give the command of the Troops to Marshal Bugeaud, and that of the National Guard to Lamoricière,¹ and let them put down the émeute. Guizot said it was the best thing he could do, and he would sign the decree if he would make it. This was immediately done. Meanwhile the King had sent for Thiers, who came, accepted the office of forming a Government, but desired that Odilon Barrot might be joined with him, to which the King agreed. Thiers and Barrot then insisted that for some hours the military should not be allowed to act, and they undertook to pacify the people and put an end to the émeute. The King having consented to this, they mounted on horseback and went off in different directions to harangue the people and announce their Ministry. They were severally received with hisses, uproar, and in some instances shots, returned to the Palace and announced their failure. By this time there was an affluence of people at the Tuileries; the storm without increased and approached; the military, who were without orders, did nothing, and all was over. I asked Delessert whether the Troops were well disposed. He said, 'Perfectly.' Guizot said, 'My entire conviction is, that if Bugeaud had acted the moment he took the command, everything would have been over before nine o'clock.' When the King was pressed to resign, Piscatory said to him, 'Sire, si vous signez votre abdication, vous n'aurez pas régné.' Guizot told me that the Government had long been aware of the secret societies, but never could ascertain who were their chiefs; that their intention had been to delay their republican attempt till the death of the King, but that they had changed this

¹ Christophe Lamoricière (1806-65); served under Bugeaud in Algeria, 1841-7; *député*, 1846-8; Minister for War under Cavaignac, June-December, 1848; exiled after the *coup d'état*, 1851-7; commanded the Pope's army against the Italian patriots, 1860.

plan on the Tuesday night, and resolved to seize the present occasion. I told him we had always supposed the bourgeoisie of Paris, composing the bulk of the National Guard, to be disposed to order, and that they would have maintained it. He said the great majority of them were so, but that the well-disposed had not come forth, while the factious minority had. Moreover, 'you English cannot conceive what our lowest class is: your own is a mere mob without courage or organisation, and not given to politicks; ours on the contrary, the lowest class, is eager about politicks, and with a perfect military organisation, and therefore most formidable.' I said Lamartine had done very well. He said yes, and praised him, though not very cordially; and he added that He was a man who had always wanted to be in the first place, and had never been able to accomplish it. He had tried it in the Legitimist party, and had found Berryer; in the Conservatives, and had found him (Guizot); and in the Opposition, where he was met by Thiers. On the present occasion (he might have added) he had found Odilon Barrot, but he managed to give him the go-by. He and Odilon Barrot were at the meeting on Tuesday when the attempt was determined on, and O. B. wanted to try the intermediate measure of the Regency and the Dsse. of Orleans; but Lamartine flung himself at once into the Republick, and thus écrasé'd his colleague and placed himself without a rival at the head of the movement. Guizot said all this could not last; that France had no desire for a Republick; everybody had adhered from fear or prudence. He expected, however, that there would be a great battle in the streets of Paris within a few days between the Republicans and the Communists, in which the former would prevail, because the National Guard would support the former.¹

He gave us an account of his own personal adventures, which were very simple. He left the Ministry of the Interior with Madame Duchâtel,² Duc de Broglie, and two other people; and he was first taken to a house where he was told he would be safe, and conducted by the Portière au cinquième. She entered the room after him and said, 'You are M. Guizot.' He said, 'I am.' 'Fear nothing,' she said; 'you are safe here. You have always defended honest people, and I

¹ His prediction was exactly accomplished, only a good deal later.—G.

² Wife of the Minister of the Interior in Guizot's Government.

will take care nobody comes near you.' In the evening he went to the Duc de Broglie's; he was one day at Piscatory's, I forget when; and on Wednesday night left Paris as somebody's servant. He said he was never in danger, as the Government would have been sorry to apprehend him.

March 7th.—The French Revolution has been so absorbing as well as exciting that I have never found time to write about domestick affairs, so what I have now to say must be put in narrative form instead of that of journal. I have been in continual communication with Graham for some time past, especially during Charles Wood's income-tax agony. G<raham>, who is by way of being very friendly to the Government (but is evidently not sorry to see their mismanagement and unpopularity), said so much of the difficulty they would have in carrying the two per cent. that I went to C<harles> W<ood> and told him what I had heard. I found him very uneasy, and he owned to me that he had received similar opinions from many other quarters. The same night (a Saturday) I met him at Ly. Palmerston's, when he asked me to find out from Graham what substitute he would propose. I saw G. on Sunday, when he more strongly urged the necessity of abandoning the addition, saying nothing would enable them to carry it; and he said (in answer to my enquiry) that he should take the money the Chancellor wanted from the reserve in hand—in short, just what the Government eventually did. I saw Charles W. the same night, and told him what Graham recommended, and this advice they took.

After this (and indeed before it too) G<raham> and I had many conversations about the Government, its state and prospects, John Russell and his health, Peel and political probabilities and possibilities. We agreed that the Government was much damaged, weak and unpopular, and would have difficulty in going on, especially if (as seemed most likely) John's health gave way, and he should be forced to retire. I said nothing would then be possible but Peel. On this he made me a speech, said Peel was impossible. He was, in the first place, determined not to take office; Lady Peel, who has great influence with him, doing her best to dissuade him; but, besides personal reluctance and objections, his position puts him out of the question. The Protectionists hate him as much as ever, and he hates

them with equal intensity; he abhors what he considers their ingratitude as well as their folly, and nothing would induce him to have anything to do with them, even if they would with him; therefore he has no party. In the H. of Lords he has not ten followers: how then, in a country which can only be governed by party, can he become Minister? That to think of putting himself at the Head of a Whig party would be absurd: at sixty years old to begin such a strange career would be ridiculous. He said a vast deal more in the same strain, all very plausible and not easy to answer; and the conclusion from which was that, for various reasons, Peel could not under any circumstances be Minister again. But in the meantime the reports of John's declining health gained ground; the weakness of the Government became more apparent; the Radicals declared war against them; and one person after another began to turn his eyes towards Peel. There was some talk about sending for Clarendon, which I wrote to him; and in reply he entreated me to extinguish any such idea if I met with it; and he then demonstrated that Peel was a necessity and the only alternative. So many people in different ways said the same thing to me, that I told Graham. He was (or affected to be) still impressed with all the insuperable obstacles to Peel's return, amongst which He himself and Aberdeen were considerable, as Peel would never return without both of them, and they were particularly odious to the Whigs. I said *he* was not popular with them, but neither was *he* so odious; and they knew very well that if Peel returned, he must and would return with him. As to Aberdeen it was different, because he had behaved so ill ever since he left office, and opposed the Government in the most unfair and ungenerous manner. He said Peel never would leave Palmerston at the Foreign Office, and would want Aberdeen there, in whom all his confidence was placed: not but what Aberdeen would be very ready to make any sacrifice. I told him that it was evident there was but one way by which Peel could return to office, and that was the arrival of a state of things which at once rendered him a great public necessity, and the urgency of which would make his refusal impossible; that he must be invited by the whole Whig party, not as a favor due to him, but as a sacrifice exacted from him; and that this must be done heartily, sincerely, and in a spirit of unselfishness, and on public and patriotick grounds. Since

this John Russell has taken himself off to Hastings to try and get well. As Graham tells Peel everything I say, the latter now knows well what is thought and expected, and he has only so to conduct himself as to make the adhesion and overtures of the Whig party possible and not difficult when the time and occasion are ripe. The matter is replete with difficulties, and nothing but a great exigency can smooth them away. At present there are too many jealousies and animosities afloat; there is too much of suspicion, distrust, and old dislike lingering in men's minds to admit of the desired amalgamation; and unhappily the characters of the principal actors, both of John Russell and Peel, are extremely ill suited to deal with such a delicate and difficult state of affairs.

March 10th.—John Russell is better, and writes word confidently from Hastings that he shall return convalescent. Yesterday I saw Southern and Mrs. Austin, both just arrived from Paris. They have each been writing letters the last two or three days in the 'Times,' which are excellent descriptions of the state of affairs in France. Nothing can be more deplorable than it all is, and daily getting worse: no confidence, no work, and everything threatening frightful financial and commercial difficulties, and a general expectation of confusion, violence, and bloodshed. Southern told me that the dissensions in the Provisional Government were great, and the discussions violent; Lamartine often in a minority; no regular parties formed, but a continual dividing and crossing on different subjects. Lamartine wanted to omit what he said in his Circular about the Treaties of 1815, but was overruled. S. thinks the Provisional Government will quarrel and break up before the Chambers can meet. They both agree that all France abhors this Revolution, but notwithstanding the bitter and universal regret that it has occasioned, and will still more, that nobody thinks of endeavouring to restore the Monarchy in any way or under any head. The King was not so unpopular as Guizot, and they confirm all previous impressions, that not only he might have been saved, but that nothing but a series of fatal and inconceivable blunders and the most deplorable weakness could have upset him. The causes of this prodigious effect were ludicrously small. S. declares there were not above 4000 armed men of the populace actually employed; but the Troops were everywhere paralysed, boys carried off

the cannon from the midst of them without resistance. No one has the slightest conception what turn matters will take, but all seem to be of opinion that there will be no reaction. The different Pretenders there might be to the throne are all cast aside by publick opinion; they will have nothing to do with the Bonapartes. The Orleanses are now detested, and even the Legitimists do not look to the Duc de Bordeaux, because he is a poor creature, has no children, and they believe is not likely to have any; therefore it would not be worth while to restore a dynasty which would end with him.

March 11th.—Guizot received a letter from the Duc de Broglie yesterday, in which he said that Paris was quiet on the day he wrote, but such was the state of things that any day it might be the scene of confusion and rapine. I asked Madame de Lœven. what the policy of the Government had been about Reform. She said, King, Duchâtel, and Guizot had all been determined against Reform; the latter willing to concede a very little, but always resolved to keep the Conservative majority, with which Reform was incompatible. I asked why, after having allowed the banquets in the Provinces, they would not suffer that in the capital? The reply was very insufficient: because they did not like to stop the expression of publick opinions in the country generally; but at Paris, when and where the Chambers were assembled, those opinions might have been expressed in them. I met Guizot at dinner at the Hollands', and her also; he goes about everywhere, is very cheerful, and puts a good face on it; everybody is very civil to him, and he feels the kindness of his reception, especially as he knows he has been personally obnoxious since the Spanish marriages. He said last night, that he considered the payment of the members of the Convention fatal to the composition of that Assembly. The old revolutionary Assemblies never paid their members. Napoleon was the first who introduced that custom: his Senators were paid 30,000 fr.; his Deputies 10,000 fr. Guizot went to see the King and Queen two days ago: the interview was very affecting; both threw themselves on his neck; the King is the most abattu of the two; he has no money.

March 12th.—Yesterday Lady Granville and Lady Georgiana Fullerton went to Claremont to see the Royal Family. The Q. was gone to town, but they were received by the King, who talked to them

for an hour and gave them a narrative of his adventures, which they related to me last night. It was very curious, that is, curious as an exhibition of his character. He described his flight, and all his subsequent adventures, his travels, his disguises, his privations, the dangers he incurred, the kindness and assistance he met with, all very minutely. They said it was very interesting, and even very amusing; admirably well told. He was occasionally pathetic and occasionally droll; his story was told with a mixture of the serious and the comic—sometimes laughing and at others almost crying—that was very strange. It struck them that he was undignified, even vulgar, and above all that he seemed to be animated with no feeling towards his country, but to view the whole history through the medium of *self*. His way of speaking of his Son Joinville¹ was curious and indicated dislike of him. He said 'Ils n'ont pas voulu de Nemours, parceque ils n'aiment pas l'ordre. On dit qu'ils avaient envie de prendre *le sourd*—qu'ils prennent *le sourd*, s'ils le veulent.'² It has been said that he and Joinville had quarrelled. He said of the French, 'Ils ont choisi leur sort; je dois supporter le mien.' He gave a very different account of what passed from that of Guizot. He said he was in personal danger when he was on horseback reviewing the National Guard on Thursday morning; that they pressed round him, shouting for reform. He cried out, 'Mais vous l'avez, la réforme; laissez-moi passer donc'; and that he was obliged to spur his horse through the mob, and got back to the Tuileries with difficulty. He said he had posé la question of resistance to Guizot, who had refused to entertain it, and said that he could not give orders to fire on the National Guards. Their two statements are quite irreconcilable, and thus occur historical perplexities and the errors and untruths which crowd all history. I have always said that it is nothing but a series of conventional facts. There is no *absolute* truth in history; mankind arrives at probable results and conclusions in the best way it can, and by collecting and comparing evidence it settles down its ideas and its belief to a certain chain and course of events which it accepts as

¹ François Ferdinand d'Orléans, Prince de Joinville (1818–1900), fifth son of Louis Philippe; married Francesca da Braganza, daughter of Dom Pedro I of Brazil, 1843; vice-admiral, 1845; served in the United States, 1861; *député*, 1871–86.

² In another version of this story given in Henry Greville's *Diary*, I. 232, Louis Philippe added, 'Ce ne sera pas un bonheur pour lui mais peut être un avantage pour la famille.'

certain, and deals with as if it were, because it must settle somewhere and on something, and because a tolerable *primâ facie* and probable case is presented. But when one sees how the actors in and spectators of the same events differ in narrating and describing them, how continually complete contradictions are discovered to facts the most generally believed, there is no preserving the mind from a state of scepticism, nor is it possible to read or hear anything with entire satisfaction and faith. It appears that the Royal Family have no money, the King having invested his whole fortune in France, and beggary is actually staring them in the face. The King evinced no bitterness except in speaking of the English newspapers, especially the 'Times'; and he attributes much of his unpopularity, and what he considers the unjust prejudices against him, to the severity of their *personal* attacks on him! Curious enough this; but as he felt these philippics so acutely why did he not take warning from them?

John Russell made his appearance in the House on Friday, but as they were not to divide he did not stay. Wilson (of the 'Economist')¹ made a very fine speech; D'Israeli very amusing, and Gladstone very good. It was a great night for Free Trade, which Wilson and Gladstone vindicated with great ability. The Government have been sadly vexed at an article in the 'Times' on Friday, speaking of them, and John especially, very contemptuously. The truth is, the 'Times' thinks it has sniffed out that they cannot go on, and wants, according to its custom, to give them a shove; Wood has remonstrated with Delane and so have I, representing to him that matters are not ripe for a change yet, nor anything like it. It is evident that the notion of the weakness and incapacity of the Government is spreading far and wide, and nothing can exceed Charles Wood's unpopularity, nor is any confidence felt in John himself. Palmerston is the most in favor at this moment; he has done well and gained some credit. Peel still holds the same language about not taking office, and treats it as a thing that is quite out of the question; but his friends see well enough that matters are moving on to this inevitable consummation.

¹ James Wilson (1805-60); founded the *Economist*, 1843; M.P. for Westbury, 1847-57, and for Devonshire, 1857-9; Joint Secretary to the Board of Control, 1848; Financial Secretary to the Treasury, 1853-8; Vice-President of the Board of Trade, 1859; first financial member of Council in India, 1859-60.

March 14th.—The Government had a capital division last night, and John made a very good and stout speech. In France everything is going down hill at railroad pace. This fine Revolution, which may be termed the madness of a few for the ruin of many, is already making the French people weep tears of blood. Hitherto there has been little or no violence, and fine professions of justice and philanthropy; up to this time, not a month from the beginning, the account may be thus balanced: they have got rid of a King and a Royal Family and the cost thereof; they have got a reform (so to call it) so radical and complete, that it can go no further; they have repealed some laws and some taxes which were obnoxious to different persons or different classes, but none of which were grievous or sensibly injurious to the nation at large. In short, it is difficult to point out any considerable advantage either of a positive or a negative character which they have obtained, or have got the prospect of obtaining. However, it remains to be seen whether they can work out any advantage from their new institutions.

Meanwhile, the other side of the account presents some formidable items for a political balance sheet. They have got a Government composed of men who have not the slightest idea how to govern, albeit they are men of energy, activity, and some capacity. The country is full of fear and distrust. Ruin and bankruptcy are stalking through the streets of the capital. The old revolutionary principles and expedients are more and more drawn forth and displayed by the present rulers; they are assuming despotick power, and using it without scruple; they confer it on their agents; they proclaim social and political maxims fraught with ruin and desolation, and incompatible with the existence of any Government. The different Ministers vie with one another in the extravagance of their several manifestoes. Louis Blanc¹ holds a Parliament of operatives, whom he feeds with 'soft sawder' and delusive expectations, giving them for political truths all the most dangerous absurdities of his book. Garnier

¹ Louis Blanc (1811–82), the French Socialist; published first two volumes of his *Histoire de la Révolution*, 1847; member of the Provisional Government of February 1848; presided over the Commission of Employers and Workers appointed to deal with unemployment, March–May 1848; fled to England, August 1848, to avoid arrest; completed his *Histoire de la Révolution* in England, 1862; returned to France, September 1870; *député*, 1871–82; founded *l'Homme Libre*, 1876.

Pagès,¹ in his frank exposé of the finances of the country, approaches to the very verge of national bankruptcy, and is evidently prepared for the next step. Carnot² instructs the people to elect for their representatives (who are to be the unchecked Masters of the Empire), not men of property and education, but any men who have republican ideas; and Ledru Rollin³ desires his agents to act in the same spirit, and with all the authority (which means despotism) that a revolutionary government always assumes it to be its right to exercise. In short, all is terror, distress, and misery, both material and moral; everybody fleeing away from the turbulent capital, and hiding what money he can collect; funds falling, everything depreciated in value, the shops unfrequented, no buyers, tranquillity indeed still doubtfully preserved by factitious means, but the duration of which no one counts upon. As the embarrassment and suffering increase, so will the clouds continue to gather, and at last the storm will burst—but how, when, or where, with what fury, whom it will spare, or whom sweep away, none can venture to predict. Such, however, is the state of the capital, the heart of everything; while the provinces are motionless, and seem to wait with patient resignation the unfolding of events. All the letters that arrive here, whether they come from Legitimists, or Liberals, or Orleanists, or indifferents to all parties, tell the same tale of disgust, distress, and dread.

March 16th.—Dined with Madame de Lieven tête-à-tête the day before yesterday. Talk, of course, almost entirely about French affairs. I asked her whether she thought (as many here do) that if the émeute had been put down by violence, the throne must have fallen, as the King could not have reigned in the midst of bloodshed. She said the Ministers would have gone out, but the throne would have been safe. She told me Guizot was not indisposed to give some *parliamentary* reform (not electoral), and was sensible that the great number of

¹ Louis Antoine Garnier-Pagès (1803–78); *député*, 1842–8; appointed Maire of Paris by the Provisional Government, February 1848; Minister of Finance, March–June 1848; afterwards a staunch Republican under Napoleon III.

² Hippolyte Carnot (1801–88), second son of the great Carnot; *député*, 1839–48; Minister of Education in the Provisional Government, March–July 1848; introduced free primary education; father of President Sadi Carnot.

³ Alexandre Auguste Ledru-Rollin (1807–74); barrister by profession; *député*, 1841–8; leader of the Banqueteers, 1847; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government, February–May 1848; candidate in the Presidential election, December 1848; attempted a revolution, June 1849 and, failing, fled to England; returned to France, 1870.

functionaries in the Chamber was shocking to public opinion. He proposed to begin with his own department, and render all diplomatic agents incapable of sitting—a very small concession! She said something to me (as Lord Campbell did) about writing memoirs, and that my curious position—so intimate with so many persons of all parties and descriptions, and being so much in the confidence of all—gave me peculiar advantages for doing so. She knew I had written, and I told her it was so, but in a very loose and casual way, and I asked her if she had not written. She said, 'Beaucoup.'¹

John Russell had a great success the other night, and his speech got many votes. It was one of the best he ever made, and in all respects judicious and becoming his position.

March 20th.—There have been all sorts of *botheration* about Louis Philippe and his affairs, particularly about his remaining at Claremont. Soon after he came, a notification was made to him by *Palmerston* that he was not to remain there permanently.² He complained of this to all the people he saw (talking very loosely and foolishly), and it got wind and made a noise. Soon after, the Duke of Wellington went to see him, and told him that Claremont was the fit place for him, and the other day a letter arrived from Leopold telling him he might stay there as long as he liked; he is therefore to stay. So many different versions have been put forth of the *details* of what passed concerning this matter, that it is next to impossible to ascertain the exact truth. I had told Beauvale what was said; he told his sister and wrote me word what she said. I wrote him my own opinion on the subject and what other people said. This drew from Lady P(almerston) a long letter to me, full of panegyrics on P., but not really explaining anything. Then there has been another cancan about the Montpensiers, and some lies told on that score.

Everything in France gets more serious and alarming every day.

¹ A portion of Mme de Lieven's *Memoirs* was published in 1925, edited by Professor Harold Temperley.

² Lord Palmerston made an unsuccessful attempt to remove Louis Philippe from Claremont, although it was not even an English royal palace at that time, but belonged to the King's own son-in-law, Leopold, King of the Belgians. Lord Palmerston's design was signally defeated, and only excited the disgust of all those who knew the circumstances; but it was characteristic of his virulent personal animosity to the Orleans family, which, indeed, appears to have dated from a much earlier period, even before the Restoration in 1815.—R.

The clubs of Paris are omnipotent, the National Guards are écrasés, the Provisional Government makes a show of independence, and Lamartine makes fine speeches; but they are at the mercy of the Parisian mob, whose organisation is wonderful. The playing out of the game will be very curious. At present, this mob of the capital seems resolved to dictate to the Provinces, and to set aside the Army.

March 25th.—Nothing is more extraordinary than to look back at my last date and see what has happened in the course of *five days*. A tenth part of any one of the events would have lasted us for as many months, with sentiments of wonder and deep interest; but now we are perplexed, overwhelmed, and carried away with excitement, and the most stupendous events are become like matters of every-day occurrence. Within these last four or five days there has been a desperate battle in the streets of Berlin between the soldiers and the mob; the flight of the Prince of Prussia; the King's convocation of his States; concessions to and reconciliation with his people; and his invitation to all Germany to form a Federal State; and his notification of what is tantamount to removing the Imperial Crown from the head of the wretched crétin¹ at Vienna, and placing it on his own.

Next, a revolution in Austria; an émeute at Vienna; downfall and flight of Metternich, and announcement of a constitutional régime; émeute at Milan; expulsion of Austrians, and Milanese independence; Hungary up and doing, and the whole Empire in a state of dissolution. Throughout Germany all the people stirring; all the Sovereigns yielding to the popular demands; the King of Hanover submitting to the terms demanded of him; the King of Bavaria abdicating; many minor occurrences, any one of which in ordinary times would have been full of interest and importance, passing almost unheeded. To attempt to describe historically and narratively these events as they occur would be impossible if I were to attempt it; and it is unnecessary, because they are chronicled in a thousand publications, from which time and enquiry will winnow out the falsehoods, and leave a connected, intelligible, and tolerably accurate story. It is only therefore left to me to save some small fragments of facts or senti-

¹ Ferdinand I (1793–1875), Emperor of Austria from 1835 to 1848. He abdicated on December 2nd of this year.

ments which would otherwise be swept down the stream and lost for ever, whenever such come across me.

France marches on with Giant strides to confusion and ruin; Germany looks better; and there still appear to be some influences whose strength and authority are unimpaired, and the passion for reconstituting a German nationality may still save her from anarchy. It is very surprising that as yet in no country has a single master-mind started forward to ride on these whirlwinds and direct the storms. In the midst of the roar of the revolutionary waters that are deluging the whole earth, it is grand to see how we stand erect and unscathed. It is the finest tribute that ever has been paid to our Constitution, the greatest test that ever has been applied to it, and there is a general feeling of confidence, and a reliance on the soundness of the public mind, though not unmixed with those doubts and apprehensions which the calmest and the most courageous may feel in the midst of such stupendous phenomena as those which surround us.

Our most difficult task is to deal with Irish disaffection and Irish distress: the former has never been so bold, reckless, and insolent. Clarendon, after enduring much and allowing the agitators to go on unchecked, at last attacked them in the persons of O'Brien, Mitchell,¹ and Meagher.² The general opinion here was that they were not worth attacking, and were so contemptible, and had so entirely failed to work upon the people, that they might be let alone; but he judged otherwise, and there is a great disposition to defer to his judgement. No sooner had they been held to bail, than others of the same party not only renewed the seditious language the first had used, but broke out with far greater fury and indecency; in plain language, they called on the people to arm for the purpose of overturning the Constitution, and they said they would have no more Kings or Queens. I thought this must amount to high treason; but George Grey told me yesterday that the Lawyers here hold that to make it treason it must be followed by some overt act. However, whether Clarendon was right or wrong in attacking the rebel Repealers, it is clear that he ought now to

¹ John Mitchel (1815-75); wrote *The Weekly Irishman*, 1848; tried for sedition and transported, 1848; escaped to U.S.A., 1853; edited *Irish Citizen*, 1867-72.

² Thomas Francis Meagher (1823-67); founded the Irish Confederation, 1847; tried for sedition and transported to Tasmania, 1848; escaped to U.S.A., 1852; brigadier-general in the Civil War, 1862.

throw away the scabbard, and war having been declared to wage it vigorously and unflinchingly. The confidence in him is unbounded, both there and here. It is a good feature in the case that the R. C. Clergy have on the whole behaved exceedingly well, and C(arendon) has written to John Russell that something must be done for them; but the difficulties of doing this something are next to insurmountable. No amount of danger, no policy however urgent, no considerations of justice, are sufficient to overcome the obstinacy and bigotry of the people of England and Scotland on this question.

March 26th.—I dined yesterday with Palmerston to meet Guizot and Madame de Lieven! Strange dinner, when I think of the sentiments towards each other of the two Ministers, and of all that Guizot said to me when I was at Paris last year! However, it all did very well. I thought P(almerston) and G(uizot) would have shaken each other's arms off, and nothing could exceed the cordiality or apparent ease with which they conversed. There was not the slightest symptom of embarrassment; and though Guizot's manner is always stiff, pedantic, and without the least approach to *abandon*, he seemed to me to exhibit less of these defects than usual. There were the Granvilles, Clanricardes, Harry Vane,¹ Temple,² Holland; and Beauvale came in the evening. I am glad Palmerston asked him to dinner, especially after what passed in reference to *the Exiles*, and the impertinent remonstrances from Paris.

March 31st.—At Northampton races. Nothing new these last few days; Ireland getting more and more serious, and a strong opinion gaining ground that there will be an outbreak and fighting, and that this will be on the whole a good thing, inasmuch as nothing will tame the Irish agitators but a severe drubbing. There has been a wrangle (or nearly one) between Spencer and the Court about the place of Serjeant-at-Arms.³ The Q. and Prince have taken to seize everything in the way of patronage they can lay their hands on. The Chamberlain formerly used to have it all, even to the appointment of domestic

¹ Lord Harry George Vane (1803-91), afterwards fourth Duke of Cleveland, third son of first duke; Liberal M.P. for South Durham, 1841-59, and for Hastings, 1859-64; succeeded his brother in the dukedom, 1864; K.G., 1865.

² Hon. William Temple (1788-1856), younger brother of Palmerston; British Minister at Naples, 1833-56; K.C.B., 1851.

³ That of Serjeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons.

servants. First they took Hampton Court and the distribution of the apartments there. Spencer found matters there, and acquiesced; but on the vacancy made by Gosset's death they wanted to seize his place also. Spencer resisted, or *half* asserted his right. He wrote to the Prince and said he proposed to appoint Charles Russell; and he told me he should resign if they refused their assent. On the course at Northampton a messenger arrived with the reply, which was an assent, but not a very willing one, and giving him to understand that they considered the appointment as their own.

Last night I met Delessert¹ at dinner; he talked of the recent events in France and state of the country; hopeless about the latter, and gave a character of his countrymen which he said he was ashamed to give, but it was the truth. He said they were not to be governed, for they had no sense of religion or of morality, or any probity among them; he said he had been faithful to the Government to the last, and it did not become him now to speak against Guizot and his policy, but that his unpopularity was immense, and he had committed the great fault of staying in power in spite of it and for so many years, when the French could not bear anything that lasted long; and he said he was always aware of the fatal mistake Guizot had made about the Spanish marriages, and the consequences of the rupture of the English alliance; and he said Duchâtel was of the same mind as himself, and had communicated to him the conversation I had had with him when I was at Paris, and all I had said on the subject. I was not aware before that I was prêchant à un converti so entirely, though I suspected it. Delane told me yesterday that Leopold saw their correspondent the other day, and asked him if England would give him a subsidy to assist in repelling the French and Belgian republicans who threaten his territory; and Van de Weyer told him they were in a great dilemma, as the French Government were letting loose these ruffians upon them, affording them all sorts of assistance underhand; and if the Belgian Government repelled them, it was very likely the mob and clubs at Paris would compel the Provisional Government to support them and swallow up Belgium. Everybody now thinks

¹ M. Delessert had been Préfet de Police under the late French Government, and was one of the most judicious and respected members of the Conservative Party in France.—R.

there must be a war somewhere, out of such immense confusion and excitement.

April 2nd.—There is nothing to record but odds and ends; no new revolution, no fresh deposition. Madame de Lieven told me yesterday what she had heard from Flahault of the outbreak at Vienna and the downfall of Metternich. When the people rose and demanded liberal measures, they were informed that the Council would be convened and deliberate, and an answer should be given them in two hours. The Council assembled, consisting of the Ministers and the Archdukes. The question was stated, when Metternich rose and harangued them for an hour and a half without their appearing nearly to approach a close. On this the Archduke John¹ pulled out his watch and said, ‘Prince, in half an hour we must give an answer to the people, and we have not yet begun to consider what we shall say to them.’ On this Kolowrath² said, ‘Sir, I have sat in Council with Prince Metternich for twenty-five years, and it has always been his habit to speak thus without coming to the point.’ ‘But,’ said the Archduke, ‘we must come to the point, and that without delay. Are you aware, Prince,’ turning to Metternich, ‘that the first of the people’s demands is that you should resign?’ Metternich said that he had promised the Emperor Francis on his deathbed never to desert his Son, the present Emperor, nor would he. They intimated that his remaining would be difficult. Oh (He said) if the Imperial Family wished him to resign, he should feel that he was released from his engagement, and he was ready to yield to their wishes. They said they did wish it, and he instantly acquiesced. Then the Emperor himself interposed and said, ‘But, after all, I am the Emperor, and it is for me to decide; and I yield everything. Tell the people I consent to all their demands.’ And thus *the Crétin* settled it all; and the great Minister, who was in his own person considered as *the Empire*, and had governed despotically for forty years, slunk away, and to this hour nobody knows where he is concealed. But in this general break-up of the Austrian Monarchy there seems still some vitality left in it, and we hear that these

¹ Archduke John of Austria (1782–1859), sixth son of the Emperor Leopold II; during the revolution of 1848 was appointed Administrator of the Empire by the Parliament of Frankfurt but used his position and power to restore the fugitive Emperor.

² Count Francis Kolowrat Libsteinsky (1778–1861); Austrian Minister of State, 1826–48; Prime Minister, March 21st–April 4th, 1848, after the fall of Metternich.

Provinces which demand liberal governments do not want to get rid of the dynasty; and in the midst of the confusion there is no small jealousy of the King of Prussia, and disgust at his attempt to make himself *Sovereign of Germany*. The condition of Prussia is disquieting; and the King, who has acted a part at once wavering and selfish, has raised up a host of enemies against his pretensions.

There has been, however, something of a pause on the Continent for some days, which gives us leisure to look inwards and consider our own situation. We are undisturbed in the midst of the universal hubbub, and the surface of society looks smooth and safe: nevertheless there is plenty of cause for serious reflection and apprehension. It is the fashion to say that this country is sound; that the new-fangled theories which are turning continental brains find no acceptance here; but the outward manifestations are not entirely to be relied upon. Ireland never was in so dangerous a state; not the less so because the Repealers and Republicans are so mad or so wicked, and the masses so ungrateful and stupid. It is in vain that we prove to demonstration that the Irish would gain nothing by separation from England, and that we point to our superhuman exertions in the famine as a *proof of our good feeling*. Our remonstrances and the violent appeals of the Irish Leaders are addressed to vast masses who, in spite of all we have done for them, are in the lowest state of misery and starvation; it is not surprising that millions who are in this state should listen to the pernicious orators who promise to better their condition by the Repeal of the Union and the overthrow of English power. When men are so low and miserable that they cannot be worse off, and they see no prospect of being better off under the existing state of things; when they are ignorant and excitable, and continually acted upon by every sort of mischievous influence, it would be strange indeed if they were not as turbulent and disaffected as we find them.

April 5th.—Broke off the other day, and now resume. John Russell, in reply to a question put by Jocelyn to him in the H. of C., said the Government would come to Parliament for powers as soon as they deemed it necessary, gave him to understand that they were preparing measures, but declined to say what. His answer did not give satisfaction. Everybody here wants something to be done to stop this

torrent of sedition. I saw Graham this morning for a short time, he is greatly alarmed at the aspect of affairs both at home and abroad; he thinks the temper of the masses here very serious. The Chartist meeting on Monday next makes him uneasy, and he has talked much to G. Grey and the Speaker about precautions. State of the law very doubtful, and a nice question whether to prevent a procession to the H. of Commons or not. The expressions of the Act about seditious assemblies are ambiguous. Then he strongly deprecates the Queen's going out of town on Saturday, which he thinks will look like cowardice in her personally, and as indicative of a sense of danger which ought not to be manifested. I advised him (and Peel, who thinks so likewise) to tell the Government this; he said Peel would tell the Prince. He spoke very bitterly of John Russell's having allowed the Irish Arms Bill to expire, and showed me his speech in which he engaged, if necessary, to come down and ask for fresh powers. I said, 'Why don't they come now?' He said it would be very difficult now; that the forms of the House, which enabled anybody to obstruct, would infallibly be seized on, and no Bill allowed to pass; every sort of delay would be interposed. I said, 'They ought not to endure this, and should suspend the Standing Orders.'

'How was this to be done? They would never allow the question to be put.'

'Surely the H. of C. never will allow itself to be turned into a Polish Diet with a liberum veto to any man who chuses to obstruct the business of the country. If there is no other way, it will be a time for the Speaker to interfere; he alone can do it; refuse to put the question of adjournment, and cast himself on the House for support. A brave Speaker will do this.'

'This is a very serious matter: our forms are admirable, and with gentlemen are everything that is useful and desirable. If once you set them aside, all freedom of debate will be gone, and from such a coup d'état there would be an appeal out of doors.'

'The appeal would not be successful in such a case; the English abhor the Irish and their proceedings, and will never endure that the H. of C. shall be dictated to by Irish Repealers and agitators.'

Here somebody came in, and we were obliged to leave off.

The reply of Lamartine to the Irish deputation, which has been so

anxiously expected, came yesterday, and excellent it was. He gave a lecture to the Irish much stronger than any they have had here; and if his speech does no good, it will certainly do no harm. There is now an increasing opinion that the French will be driven to go to war somewhere as a relief from the intolerable distress in which the country will soon be plunged. Beggary and anarchy are striding on at a fearful rate, and the present bloodless but most agitated and frightened state will probably soon be changed into scenes of violence brought about by the ferocity of every kind of unchained passion.

April 6th.—Ireland now absorbs all other interests. I saw Grey yesterday, who told me they did not mean to do anything till after Monday next, but then they would. It has not yet been determined whether they should stop the Chartists from entering London or not, but a Cabinet was to be held to decide the matter to-day.¹ He thought they should prevent their crossing the bridges. I saw the Duke in the morning at Apsley House in a prodigious state of excitement; said he had plenty of troops, and would answer for keeping everything quiet if the Government would only be firm and vigorous, and announce by a proclamation that the mob should not be permitted to occupy the town. He wanted to prevent *groups* from going into the Park and assembling there, but this would be impossible.

This morning I had another conversation with Graham. He told me he sat next to Hobhouse at Hardinge's dinner² at the India House last night, and had much very open talk with him. He understood from H. that Government did not intend to do anything, and he told him that he was afraid that they would find great difficulty in surmounting the obstacles that the forms of the House would enable the Opposition to throw in their way. Subsequently, however, he had a conversation with Peel, who he found took a very different view of the matter, and the same that I do. He said that the Government ought

¹ These were the preparations for the great Chartist meeting announced to be held by Feargus O'Connor on Kennington Common on April 10th, when a Chartist petition, signed by five millions of persons, was to be presented by a huge procession of the people to the House of Commons. On April 7th Sir George Grey brought in a Bill for the better security of the Crown and Government of the United Kingdom, directed against all persons who sought to accomplish seditious ends by open speaking. The Duke of Wellington explained to the Cabinet on the 6th, with admirable lucidity, the details of his preparations.—*R.*

² A dinner was given to Lord Hardinge on April 5th, on his return from India.—*R.*

to act as if they had no doubt of obtaining all they required from Parliament; to consider well what that was; to chuse their time, not delaying it long, and then to have a call of the House and ask for all the powers they require. If they find themselves thwarted by a minority moving successive adjournments, to sit there for any number of hours; to divide twenty or thirty times; and at last, when they had sufficiently proved to the country that their efforts were vain, and that they had exhausted all legitimate means, to give up the contest, instantly hold a Cabinet, and then a Council, at which they should do by Order in Council what they wished to do by Act of Parliament, and trust to public opinion and Parliament to support and sanction their proceedings. He told me he had expressed to Hobhouse the strong opinion he has of the inexpediency, even the danger, of the Queen's quitting town at this juncture, and that if these strong measures are to be adopted, her presence would of course be indispensable. The Speaker told him that an Act of Parliament was not necessary, as by an old Act (21 & 22 George III) the Lord-Lieutenant could in case of rebellion (of the existence of which he was himself the Judge) proclaim martial law and suspend the Habeas Corpus; but Peel is against having recourse to such a measure, and prefers the application to Parliament. He thinks, too, that if the Government do not soon adopt such a course, they will be incurring a responsibility far more fearful than any they can incur by its adoption—the responsibility of all the blood that will be shed and the mischief that will ensue. Graham again spoke of John Russell's conduct in giving up the Arms Act, and said that he had so great a regard for him that he would not say one word against him on that score; but that he must expect to hear of it in case of extremities, and that he would be called to a severe account if there should be an outbreak, and if torrents of blood were shed by the instrumentality of those arms which but for him would not have been put into every man's hands. In my conversation with Grey yesterday, he told me that the Church question must be brought forward—not now, because the moment of rebellion and armed resistance was not that in which it would be wise or dignified or right to make concessions and introduce remedial measures; but that when peace was restored, and in another year, this great question must be faced and dealt with; the details, however, it is no use as yet to enter into.

April 9th.—After I had seen Graham the other morning, I thought it of such importance that John R. should know what He and Peel thought, that I went to him and told him. He received me with one of his coldest and most offensive manners, said nothing, and did not vouchsafe to tell me that they had made up their minds to do something, and that Grey was going to give notice of a Bill in a few minutes from that time. Nothing could be more ungracious, and I mentally resolved never to go near him again to tell him anything of use to him. I wrote to the D. of Bedford and told him all this; and he wrote me back word that he was not surprised, and that nobody had more to suffer from John's manner than he himself; that John is very obstinate and unmanageable, and does not like to be found fault with or told things which run counter to his own ideas—all which he owned was very unfortunate, and a grievous fault in his character.

All London is making preparations to encounter a Chartist row tomorrow: so much that it is either very sublime or very ridiculous. All the Clerks and others in the different Offices are ordered to be sworn in special constables, and to constitute themselves into garrisons. I went to the police office with all my Clerks, Messengers, etc., and we were all sworn. We are to pass the whole day at the office tomorrow, and I am to send down all my guns; in short, we are to take a warlike attitude. Colonel <Harness>,¹ of the Railway Department, is our Commander-in-chief; every gentleman in London is become a constable, and there is an organisation of some sort in every district.

Newmarket, April 13th.—Monday² passed off with surprising quiet, and it was considered a most satisfactory demonstration on the part of the Government, and the peaceable and loyal part of the community. Enormous preparations were made, and a host of military, police, and special Constables were ready if wanted; every gentleman in London was sworn, and during a great part of the day, while the Police were reposing, they did duty. The Chartist movement was contemptible; but everybody rejoices that the defensive demonstration was made, for it has given a great and memorable lesson which will not be thrown away, either on the disaffected and mischievous, or the loyal and peaceful; and it will produce a vast effect in all foreign countries, and

¹ Captain Harness, R.E., Secretary to the Board of Railway Commissioners.

² April 10th.

show how solid is the foundation on which we are resting. We have displayed a great resolution and a great strength, and given unmistakeable proofs, that if sedition and rebellion hold up their heads in this country, they will be instantly met with the most vigorous resistance, and be put down by the hand of authority, and by the zealous co-operation of all classes of the people. The whole of the Chartist movement was to the last degree contemptible from first to last. The delegates who met on the eve of the day were full of valour amounting to desperation; they indignantly rejected the intimation of the Government that their procession would not be allowed; swore they would have it at all hazard, and die, if necessary, in asserting their rights. One man said he loved his life, his wife, his children, but would sacrifice all rather than give way.

In the morning (a very fine day) everybody was on the alert; the parks were closed; our office was fortified, a barricade of Council Registers was erected in the accessible room on the ground-floor, and all my guns were taken down to be used in defence of the building. However, at about twelve o'clock crowds came streaming along Whitehall, going northwards, and it was announced that all was over. The intended tragedy was rapidly changed into a ludicrous farce. The Chartists, about 20,000 in number, assembled on K<ennington> Common. Presently Mr. Mayne¹ appeared on the ground, and sent one of his inspectors to say he wanted to speak to Feargus O'Connor.² Feargus thought he was going to be arrested and was in a terrible fright; but he went to Mayne, who merely said he was desired to inform him that the meeting would not be interfered with, but the procession would not be allowed. Feargus insisted on shaking hands with Mayne, swore he was his best of friends, and instantly harangued his rabble, advising them not to provoke a collision, and to go away quietly—advice they instantly obeyed, and with great apparent alacrity and good-humour. Thus all evaporated in smoke. Feargus himself then repaired to the Home Office, saw Sir G. Grey, and told him it was all over, and thanked the Government for their leniency,

¹ Richard Mayne (1796–1868); Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, 1848; K.C.B., 1851.

² Feargus O'Connor (1794–1855); M.P. for Cork, 1832–5; started the *Northern Star*, the organ of the Chartists, 1838; M.P. for Nottingham, 1847–52; certified insane, 1852.

assuring him the Convention would not have been so lenient if they had got the upper hand. Grey asked him if he was going back to the meeting. He said No; that he had had his toes trodden on till he was lame, and his pocket picked, and he would have no more to do with it. The petition was brought down piecemeal and presented in the afternoon. Since that there has been an exposure of the petition itself, covering the authors of it with ridicule and disgrace. It turns out to be signed by less than two millions, instead of by six as Feargus stated; and of those, there were no end of fictitious names, together with the insertion of every species of ribaldry, indecency, and impertinence. The Chartists are very crestfallen, and evidently conscious of the contemptible figure they cut; but they have endeavoured to bluster and lie as well as they can in their subsequent gatherings, and talk of other petitions and meetings, which nobody cares about.

(August 14th, 1857. †Readable enough.†) <C. C. G.>

<End of Additional MS. 41116.>

London, April 15th.—Every account from every quarter proves the wonderful effect produced by the event of Monday last. Normanby writes me word that it has astonished and disappointed the French more than they care to admit; and it has evidently had a great effect in Ireland, where Smith O'Brien is gone back in doleful dumps at his rebuff at Paris, and his reception in the H. of Commons. Clarendon writes word that if there is any outbreak (which he now doubts) it will probably be after a great tea-party they were about to have on Smith O'Brien's return. The Government have gained some credit and some strength by this affair, as well as by their (at last) bringing fresh measures of a protective character into Parliament. The Conservatives are very angry with them for giving way on the clause about 'words spoken,' in the new Bill, and for consenting to make it temporary. Graham told me he had great doubts about that clause, but he would support whatever they proposed. It is certainly true that their concessions are not well managed; they do not come down and make them as if on mature consideration; but they suffer themselves to be bullied out of them by their Radical opponents, and this gives them an air of vacillation and irresolution which is very prejudicial. John made a very good speech on the Bill, and G. Grey by common consent does his work very well indeed.

I had some talk with the Duke of Bedford at Newmarket about Ireland, and told him my plan of operations, that is, the idea that has presented itself to my mind. It consists of two parts—one as to the land, the other the Church. I propose that the Government should become a great Proprietor and capitalist, raising whatever funds are necessary, and expending them in productive works and the employment of labour. I have observed that all who have written, spoken, or thought on this subject, agree that the indispensable thing for Ireland is the application of capital to the development of the resources of the country and the employment of its people. Nobody will invest capital there in its present state; consequently those resources remain undeveloped, and the people are in a state of idleness and starvation; that which it is desirable that everybody should do, but which nobody will do, must be done by the Government itself. I have only as yet formed the idea, without having deeply considered it, still less attempted to work out its details. The other question, the Church, that eternal stumbling-block, does not present less difficulty, but is equally urgent. This morning the Duke of Bedford came here and told me he had spoken to John about my ideas, but without going into any detail, or even explanation, and John said he should like to talk to me about it himself; he said, moreover, that they not only mean to propose something about the Church, but have got a plan half prepared. They will not, however, attempt to bring anything forward this year, and they would be very wrong if they did.

There has just appeared in all the newspapers a long letter of Louis Philippe's to the Queen of the Belgians,¹ giving his whole case about the Montpensier marriage, with certain other letters from Guizot and Salvandy on the same subject. These papers were found at the Tuileries, and have been published at Paris. The history of this letter is this. When the King had concocted the marriage he made his Queen write to ours, and after mentioning all his family by name, and telling her all they were severally about, She mentioned this marriage in the same casual way, as a happy event in the family. Our Queen wrote an answer, in which she expressed her satisfaction at the happiness and prosperity of the different members of her family whom Queen

¹ His daughter.

Marie Amélie had enumerated, excepting the last topic, that of the marriage. This She said was a *political* matter, on which She entertained very different sentiments. It was then that Louis Philippe wrote this long epistle which the Queen of the Belgians sent to our Queen, who wrote a very laconic reply, saying that it had not altered her opinion, and that she considered that the King had forfeited the word he had given her.¹ These letters she showed to John R. and Palmerston. The King was furious, and from that moment no more communication took place between them till the letter the Queen wrote to him (or to Q. M<arie> Amélie)² on the death of Madame Adélaïde. The Duchess of Gloster sent the Duchess of Bedford a letter of the Queen's to her on the present state of affairs and her own situation, which exhibits her in a very amiable light. She talks with such sympathy of the sufferings of others in whom she is interested, and with such thankfulness for the many blessings which she herself enjoys, and which she says she almost 'grudges' when she looks round and sees the afflictions of so many whom she loves. The expression is faulty, but the idea is clear.

April 30th.—I had intended to write something else but went to Newmarket, where I never have time to write or read anything, and have now forgotten it. While I was there the newspapers published the correspondence between Palmerston, Bulwer, and Sotomayor, which excited great interest and no small animadversion even at Newmarket.³ It was a choice specimen of Palmerston's insolence and domination, which, so far from being moderated by all that was said about his Greek correspondence, seems only to have broken out with fresh virulence on this occasion. It remains to be seen whether John Russell and his Colleagues will once for all make a stand against his arbitrary and independent administration of the F<oreign> Office, or submit to it: this must be the crisis. The Duke of Bedford told me

¹ This letter (September 18th, 1846) is printed in *The Letters of Queen Victoria*.

² It was to the King—January 5th, 1848 (*The Letters of Queen Victoria*).

³ On March 16th Lord Palmerston addressed a despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer, British Minister at Madrid, in which he directed him to represent to the Queen of Spain that she would do well to change her Government. Sir Henry not only communicated this despatch to Queen Christina and the Duc de Sotomayor, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but caused it to be published in the Opposition journals. The Spanish Government returned the despatch with a haughty answer. Lord Palmerston, however, approved the conduct of Sir H. Bulwer, and the consequence was that on May 19th the British Minister was ordered to leave Spain in forty-eight hours.—R.

he had read it in the papers with much annoyance, because he foresaw the difficulties it would produce; that he had known of it some time ago, and of what had occurred relating to it; that Palmerston had shown John Russell the despatch, and that John had objected to it, stating his reasons for so doing. According to his custom, P. made no reply; but they parted, John naturally concluding that after he had stated his objections the despatch would not be sent. Shortly after he was with the Queen, and in conversation on this subject he told her what had passed between P. and himself, and what he had said. 'No; did you say all that?' said the Queen. He said, 'Yes.' 'Well then,' she replied, 'it produced no effect, for the despatch is gone. Lord P. sent it to me and I know it is gone.' What more passed I do not know. John said to his brother 'I often think of that story¹ you told me, that Arbuthnot told you about the army estimates.' The only difference P. made was that he divided his despatch to Bulwer into two, but he did not omit or alter a word of what John had objected to. When I first heard this my impression was that this was such a daring defiance of the Prime Minister and such an insulting indifference to the sentiments of his colleagues that it must lead to a quarrel, and that Palmerston would be forced to resign. I anticipated discussions in both Houses of Parliament, in which P.'s colleagues would be obliged to speak out, especially John Russell, and that they would throw him over, which if they did it would be impossible for him to stay in. Stanley, who was at Newmarket all last week, told the D. of B. that it was very much against his inclination to attack Palmerston, who was so good-natured and agreeable, but that it was impossible to pass this over. Still on consideration I expect that Palmerston's audacity and good fortune, his rare dexterity, and total absence of sensitiveness will carry him through. They will probably knock under to him, they will not venture to throw him over in publick and will content themselves with some timid remonstrance in private, which he will receive with perfect good humour and treat with sovereign contempt. He has not evinced the slightest disposition to give way, for I heard yesterday (from Aston who heard it at the F.O.)

¹ This story must have had reference to Palmerston's early days in office. Arbuthnot was Joint Secretary of the Treasury, 1809-23, during which time Palmerston was Secretary at War.

that he has written to Bulwer fully approving of his letter, has replied to Sotomayor in a tone of insolent sarcasm, and he has taken this opportunity to make Bulwer K.C.B. Of course he will not hear of recalling him, and I begin to think that it will end in his dictating to everybody, Spanish Cabinet and his own colleagues, and he will march on triumphant in the midst of ineffectual grumblings and abortive efforts to restrain him.

May 2nd.—Palmerston is lucky inasmuch as Urquhart has started up to attack him in the H. of Commons. Ben Stanley told me yesterday morning that He would make out a very good case for himself. I have not the least doubt he will wriggle or swagger out of it. His colleagues will never quarrel with him.

May 3rd.—Palmerston and John R. seem to have made up their matter (if ever they quarrelled about it, which they probably did not), for I hear of John expressing joy that it is taken up by Urquhart in the H. of C. rather than by any more formidable opponent. Ben Stanley tells me that it is all Bulwer's fault, and that he was instructed only to interfere if a suitable opportunity presented itself, and then verbally; but as P. will not throw over Bulwer, it is an imbroglio, and will make a bother; but it is clear that P. is in no danger. B.S. also says that the Spanish Government are very anxious to make it up; however, we shall have something elicited by the discussions.

John is very much annoyed with the Queen on two accounts. First, she has chosen (without consulting him) to issue an order for everybody's appearing at her drawing-rooms in garments of British manufacture. This was done by herself and the Prince, and is taken up eagerly by the Protectionists, especially the Ladies. It is so directly contrary to the principles of free trade and such a miserable clap trap that John is disgusted. Spencer sent to him to say there was an intended association of Ladies to carry out this object, and asked if Lady John would be on it. He wrote back, No, No—very angrily, much to Spencer's surprise, who fancied he knew of it. The other thing is this:—The Government have only two business days in the H. of Commons, Tuesday and Friday, and have great difficulty in getting their business through. The Queen has increased the difficulty by fixing on Friday for her balls, which takes people away; so John begged she would change the day and give her balls on Wednesdays,

which is dies non (except in the morning) in the Houses of Parliament. She refused. This is very selfish, very wrong, and very impertinent. It seems she is mighty despotick about her social arrangements and hates any interference with them. John is very wrong if he does not make her give way.

I had a long letter from Clarendon yesterday, and saw Southern¹ in the morning, just come from Dublin, where he has been staying several weeks. The former wrote to me on the subject of the Irish Church, and says that he is all against touching it, for that the Protestants are now the sole link between the two countries, and that they from feelings of pride and old associations cling to that Establishment with unconquerable tenacity, and any attempt to invade it would alienate the whole Protestant body and render them repealers also. He writes at considerable length on this topic, and what he says may be true; but if it be, and if it is always to be acted on, peace never can be attainable. Southern says everything is better so far as the chance of any immediate outbreak is removed, but that the state of the country is not improved, and that the chronic agitation and disaffection will only go on the more in every district under the Priests. Clarendon says not a R. C. in Ireland is to be trusted, and S. gives a deplorable picture of the condition of landed property and proprietors; the inveterate habit of selfishness and indifference to the state of the masses, which has so long distinguished the landowners, makes it impossible to get them to act on the principles which regulate the relations of landlord and tenant here; and he assures me that there are many who contemplate in the most cold-blooded way the relief from a starving and redundant population by the operation of famine. Then the tricks and jobbing of those who are concerned in the administration of the poor laws produce infinite mischief, and in short the whole material, high and low, is so corrupt that it is an Herculean task for anybody to introduce order into such a chaos, and to try and weed out its manifold evils. He complains that Clarendon's plans and schemes for employing the people and developing the national resources do not meet with the attention he has a right to expect from

¹ Mr Southern had been Lord Clarendon's private secretary when he was Minister in Spain, and had just paid him a long visit in Ireland. Southern entered the diplomatic service, and eventually became British Minister at Rio Janeiro, where he died.—*R.*

the Government, and he doubts if John Russell comprehends, or even reads them.

Yesterday arrived the news of Smith O'Brien's affair at Limerick,¹ which was hailed with great satisfaction. Ever since the Bills passed there has been a manifest falling off in the violence and determination of the Patriots; they have quailed under the force of Government, and nothing can be more paltry than the figure they are now cutting compared with their boastings and menaces the other day. Mitchell, Meagher, and O'Brien were near being killed at Limerick by an O'Connellite mob, and were saved by the interposition of the Queen's troops. Smith O'B. was severely beaten, and has renounced the country, and says he will retire into private life. Mitchell, who meant to meet the law and the Government face to face, and dared them to the fight, has recourse to every sort of chicanery, and avails himself of all the technical pleas he can find to delay his trial. All these things have drawn both ridicule and contempt on these empty boasters, who began by blustering and swaggering, and who now crouch under the blows that are aimed at them.

May 7th.—The Limerick affair and discomfiture of the Young Irelanders has given a great blow to the whole rebellious faction, put Clarendon in spirits, and for the time cleared the horizon, and dispelled all chance of disturbance or outbreak. People jump to the conclusion (and the Press takes that line) that the agitation is entirely at an end, and Ireland about to become peaceable, if not satisfied. I have had a letter from Bessborough, who tells me what Clarendon and *Crampton* said to him about Catholick endowment, and of the impossibility of it. The latter, he says, mixes with people of every denomination and description, and his opinion upon it he thinks entitled to much attention. B. also thinks everything is looking better in Ireland, and more promising for future prosperity and tranquillity; he anticipates, in short, a very prosperous year.

Meanwhile everything is improving here. Within the last week there is a manifest revival of trade both in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the magnificent weather which has succeeded the long course

¹ On April 29th an affray took place at Limerick between the Old and Young Irish Repealers. Meagher delivered one of his most impassioned speeches. But the 'moral force' O'Connellites attacked and beat the other party.—*R.*

of rain and cold promises as good a harvest as the Farmers can desire.

On Friday evening Stanley made his attack on Palmerston in a very brilliant speech, which Guizot was there to hear. He made a strong case, and Lansdowne a very weak defence, and that only by throwing over Bulwer, and casting the blame on him. It will all end in nothing, as usual, and P. will not care a straw. It is, however, damaging, for everybody thinks that he has been flippant, insolent, and that there was neither motive and occasion for his interferences, or that it has been well done if there had been. In short, it is an ill-judged, unskilfully conducted proceeding.

May 9th.—Palmerston got another drubbing last night in the Lords, which will be a lesson to him, if anything can. Stanley made a second speech, still more effective than his first, and Aberdeen followed him. Lansdowne was miserably feeble in reply, as he might well be, having no case. I never saw publick opinion more strongly or generally pronounced, and it may be of use in moderating P. for the future. If he were not the man he is, there would be no doubt of it, but he is apparently incurable. The whole affair is very discreditable to the Government. It looks bad enough as it is; but what would people think of it if they knew that John Russell had seen these offensive despatches, had objected to them, and that they had gone in spite of him; and now he and his colleagues are obliged to come down to Parliament and to defend them.

May 13th.—Palmerston's affair has not failed to produce certain consequences. Lansdowne was in a state of great indignation and disgust; he told the D. of B. he never had in all his life been placed in such a situation, that he had not cared for Stanley's first speech, but that when he made his second, he was conscious he had not a word to say. He had never read the despatches, and had not a notion how far P. had committed himself in approval of Bulwer. Said that he had been to John and told him this must never happen again, and it was arranged between them (he little knows how vainly) that for the future John at least should see P.'s despatches before they go. Hobhouse spoke to me about it, and in reply to my remarks saying how unfair it was to place such a man as Ld. L. in such a position, he very comically said, 'I wish *you* would say all this to Palmerston.' This was

too good a joke, as I told him, that He a Cabinet Minister, his colleague and sharing his responsibility, could not tell him his mind, and should ask me to tell Palmerston the truths it behoved him to know. Both Labouchere and Charles Wood also spoke to me about it. I said to the latter, '*Unless P. is quite incorrigible* all this will be a lesson to him, and restrain him for the future.' He replied, 'You are quite right to put in that proviso.' Such is the state of things in this Cabinet.

Charles Wood asked me to go to Graham and find out what his views were about the W. Indian question, and whether he was prepared to grant the W. Indians any relief, and to meddle with the Bill of '46. I went to him yesterday morning, and was with him for two hours, talking about everything and everybody.

May 14th.—Graham said about the West Indians that the Old Proprietors must be ruined, nothing could save them. New purchasers who went out and cultivated these estates might do well, but men *here* could no longer derive incomes from sugar estates; he would not disturb the arrangement of '46, though he thought the Government had been wrong in making it, and he and Peel had only supported them because if they had been beat they would have gone out. Nor would he give any money; said that the Committees now sitting would recommend doing away with the African fleet and the whole of our Anti-slavery machinery, and that all that could be done for the W.I. was to authorise a sort of regulated slave trade, procuring labourers and making them free; the people of this country had tasted cheap sugar, and would not now go back to dear; he anticipated no difficulty from the French Government in doing away with the Treaty, but much from Palmerston who was insane on the subject and would hardly be brought to propose it. Talked much of the Spanish correspondence, of P., J.R., and the rest; could not understand how Grey stood it, seeing that everything that had happened had justified him in his original objections. Told me a story of J. Russell's having sat by somebody (I found out afterwards it was Ellice), just after the suppression of the insurrection at Madrid, to whom he expressed his satisfaction at the Government having put it down, and added, 'Think of that fool Bulwer having taken that opportunity to make an attempt in favor of the Progressista party,' which Graham said was a proof that he had not known anything of Palmer-

ston's instructions. I did not tell him what the real state of the case was. He said that He and Peel did not want to turn the Government out, nor embarrass them, and therefore gave me to understand that they should not take any part against P.; but he severely criticised his conduct, and was evidently very glad at his getting into such a scrape. His general views were very apparent to me; he has a great contempt for the Government, thinks nobody has done well but G. Grey and Clarendon, but is biding his time and acting on the policy which I long ago saw was the true one, of making a junction with the Whigs possible hereafter. He is very much provoked with Lincoln and Gladstone, who he said were 'impatient,' and acting in a spirit of most injudicious half hostility and annoyance to the Government; he sees all the inconvenience of this course, but he does not chuse to interfere, and I perceive he does not like Lincoln nor think much of him. His object is to have as many doors open to him (and Peel) as possible by-and-by, and he looks to govern upon such popular principles, and at the same time safe ones, as may enable them to raise a standard that will have attraction for all moderate, sensible, and liberal people. He anticipates a great part to be played by Francis Baring, of whose talents and influence he thinks highly; that he is greatly improved in speaking; and being now Head of the great Family of Baring, opulent, with a strong mind and will, very rigid and severe in his principles, he must be a very conspicuous and powerful man in publick life; said Charles Wood had not given satisfaction and displeased everybody by the flippancy of his manner. I have no doubt he would like to coalesce with Baring by-and-by, and have him for Chancellor of the Exchequer in their Government when they make one; talked of Aberdeen and the way he was 'cottoning' himself to Stanley; owned that these times of universal revolution were unsuitable to the genius and taste of Aberdeen, who was an excellent Foreign Minister with Peel, adopting his free trade principles, and dealing with Monarchical Europe; but now the scholar of Castle-reagh, whose inclinations all lay towards Metternich, Guizot, etc., was disgusted and disheartened at the spectacle Europe presented. I hinted that this might in some degree prove convenient, which he perfectly understood.

Stud House: May 22nd and 25th.—In these times an hiatus of ten

days leaves an immense arrear of events and circumstances of different sorts. The principal one last week was the strange scene in the French Chamber and the conspiracy against its independence which was so completely frustrated. It is never worth while to describe scenes which are better and more circumstantially narrated in the newspapers. The spirit of order was completely victorious, but the conduct of those who have got the upper hand is still very unaccountable.¹ People go on wondering that Lamartine should be so irresolute, and that he should endure Ledru Rollin as a colleague. Madame de Lieven supplied me with the solution of this question which I dare say is the true one. She told me that Roberts the Painter (who brought her away from Paris) came to her the other day and told her that the Revolution found Lamartine as well as Le D R. ruined men, and that they formed a compact to feather their nests, which both have accomplished. While they have been ostensibly (and perhaps really) the heads of different sections of the Government and the promoters of different principles, they have always been connected by a secret understanding and a common interest, and therefore they cannot break with each other, and accordingly whenever the moderate party appear to have the upper hand and cry out to Lamartine to come forward and crush his colleague, Lamartine, on the contrary, shuffles, temporises, and compromises, and so He and Ledru Rollin go on together. The consequence of all this is that there is no government in France, and all the material interests of the country keep getting worse and worse, and ruin stares everybody in the face.

On Monday morning before I came here I saw the D. of Bedford, who told me there had been a fresh matter of complaint against Palmerston, which had given John great annoyance. It seems that several days ago Brunnow communicated to Palmerston that the Emperor of Russia had determined to make common cause with the

¹ On May 15th another insurrection occurred in Paris. The mob forced its way into the Chamber of Deputies, and declared the Government, of which Lamartine was the head, to be dissolved. But the National Guard turned out with spirit, and, with the aid of the troops of the line, quelled the sedition and reinstated Lamartine.

The passage that follows is certainly incorrect. Lamartine did not act with Ledru Rollin, and undoubtedly did not feather his nest, for he fell from power as poor a man as he was when he assumed it.—R.

King of Denmark,¹ and at the same time he made this known to the Prince of Prussia.² The next day the Prince went to pay a visit to the Queen, when he alluded to this important communication; the Queen was excessively embarrassed, for she had never heard a word about it, Palmerston having omitted to tell her. As soon as the Prince was gone she sent for John Russell, who was at Richmond. He came up to town and went to the Queen, who told him what had passed, describing her embarrassment, but said that she thought it better not to let the Prince know she was in ignorance of such a matter, and she had therefore pretended to be aware of it. By mere accident John Russell himself had received a box from Palmerston with this communication a few minutes before he went to the Queen; if it had arrived ten minutes later he would have known nothing about it either. This coming after the Spanish affair, and so soon, does not improve P.'s position with the Queen or his colleagues.

I found the Duke (who had sent for me) much disturbed at a communication he had received from Arbuthnot, who told him that the Government would be very hard pressed on Friday upon Bankes' motion on the Spanish correspondence;³ that the motion had been settled by Bankes and Lincoln together, and approved by Stanley; that all the Protectionists would support it; and if Hume and the Radicals did also, the Government would be beat. All this A. had learnt from a Protectionist friend, who added that he did not know what Peel and Graham and their friends would do. This latter point I undertook to ascertain, and I forthwith called on Graham and asked him. He told me that both he and Peel would support the

¹ On the death of Christian VIII, on January 20th, 1848, his son Frederick VII succeeded to the Danish throne; a week later he promulgated a new constitution, establishing a common legislature for Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein. This was the beginning of the famous Schleswig-Holstein dispute which ended with the seizing of the duchies by Prussia in 1864. In 1848 Prussia supported the rebellious Schleswig-Holsteiners against Frederick VII and in May occupied Jutland; but an armistice for seven months was arranged, through Swedish intervention, on August 26th. Russia took no active part in the campaign, although she gave diplomatic support to Denmark.

² William Frederick Louis, Prince of Prussia (1797-1888), afterwards King William I of Prussia, second son of Frederick William III; during the rising of 1848 lived in England, March-June 1848; succeeded his brother on the throne, 1861; proclaimed Emperor of Germany, 1871.

³ On June 5th Mr Bankes moved in the House of Commons a resolution censuring the conduct of Lord Palmerston and Sir Henry Bulwer at Madrid. After a debate the motion was withdrawn, and the discussion turned out quite differently from what was expected. See *infra*, June 10th.—R.

Government, not approving Palmerston's conduct, but not wishing to damage the Government, and not thinking it fair or proper to inflict upon P. a Parliamentary censure. He told me what he should say on the occasion, which I need not say here, as he will say it himself. We had a great deal of talk about the state of affairs. I told him what was said about Lincoln and Bankes, and what the effect of Lincoln's conduct was; he deplored it very much, and said that it was not only very imprudent but very unfair to others, but that he could do nothing about it. If Peel was like other men he would keep Lincoln strait, and it behoves him especially to do so, as L. is supposed to be his favourite adherent.

Yesterday I rode to the course (Epsom) with Clanricarde, and we talked about Palmerston, John Russell, etc. He said that such things as had lately happened were not to happen again, but that he thought there had not been enough of common consultation and understanding in their Cabinet upon important matters; did not think Palmerston had done *many* objectionable things, owned that John Russell was not fit to be the *Head* of a Government, was admirable in the H. of Commons, but wanting in the qualities that a Prime Minister ought to have.

While this Spanish debate is impending, the difficulty of the case is greatly increased by the news of Bulwer's having been driven out of Madrid, his passports sent him, and ordered to quit it in forty-eight hours; and last night I received a letter from him announcing his arrival and begging to see me. I saw Stanley at Epsom, who said that this event had rendered it very difficult to know what course to take; he concludes that Narvaez could not have taken such a step without having sufficient evidence to prove that they had a good case against Bulwer, and that this evidence must have been transmitted to our Government. I am going to London to see Bulwer to hear his story.

May 30th.—I called on Bulwer on Thursday, found him with Delane, and soon after Hayward¹ came in, so had no opportunity of questioning him. He told his story in a long, rambling style, pretty much as the Spanish papers give it; he told me he had originally sent

¹ Abraham Hayward (1801–84); editor of *Law Magazine*, 1828–44; Q.C., 1845; a contributor on foreign affairs to *The Times*, *Morning Chronicle*, *Quarterly Review* and *Edinburgh Review*; published essays, 1858.

a long account to P. of the state of parties in Spain, and the character of the principal men, and advised him to be on good terms with Narvaez and his Government. He did not say what answer P. sent, but I inferred that it did not meet his views. The thing that struck me was the knowledge which he betrayed of the plots or intrigues that were going on against the Government, and it does not appear either from these papers or from what he said to me that he ever gave the benefit of his information to them. For example, he knew of the military insurrection, the day on which, the place at which, it was to take place, who was to command it, and, in short, particulars which implied familiarity, if not complicity, with the conspirators. Then there appears to have been a system of offensive and injudicious interference, and in the functions discharged by the English Minister one searches in vain for any international interest, or anything in which we are concerned, and he seems only to have existed at Madrid to meddle and give officious, unrequired, and unwelcome advice. The whole affair is at present in a very embarrassing state, but the man who takes it the most lightly is Palmerston himself. Everybody condemns the spirit of meddling which P. has exhibited in this as in so many instances, and even those who think his interference warrantable, admit that his tone and manner have been very injudicious and in exceeding bad taste. At present his Colleagues show no disposition to give him up, and his will is so strong and he is so daring and reckless, while they are all so feeble and yielding, that he will probably harness them all to his car and make them assist in lugging him out of the difficulty. This affair will, however, prove a source of discredit out of the Cabinet, and of weakness and dissension within it. There is not a Minister who does not feel more or less disgusted and alarmed at P.'s proceedings, and still more at his character. Out of doors the reprehension is universal. Graham, who had announced his opposition to Bankes' motion and his intention to assist the Government, has now communicated to them (through me) that he can pledge himself to no course till he shall have seen all the papers and heard all the explanations on the subject. Bulwer and Isturitz met at Palmerston's dinner on the Q.'s birthday, and accosted each other very cordially. It was remarked that the Q. was very civil to Isturitz at the levée.

The account of Mitchell's conviction¹ has given great satisfaction here, and compensated for the defeats in the other cases. The good of it is that the Government have proved to the Irish and to the world that they have the means of punishing these enormous offenders, and that they will not be able to pursue their turbulent and factious course with impunity. The three hundred imitators whom Mitchell announced as ready to encounter similar martyrdom will probably not be forthcoming. So far as the system of terror is concerned, which is the only one we can now employ, it is a great and happy event, but it will not contribute to the regeneration of the country, and will probably augment the fund of accumulating hatred against English connexion. Still, anything is better than political impotence, and, before any attempt can be made to introduce those practical improvements which may disarm the Irish of their prejudices and animosities, the power of the law and the Government must be firmly asserted and enforced. An incident has, however, accompanied these trials which is not pleasant to the Government. The Whigs, and John Russell at the head of them, when in opposition, bitterly attacked the conduct of the Law Officers in their Jury challenges in the political trials. On this occasion, the Whig Law Officers found they must either do exactly as their predecessors had done, or connive at their own defeat. They wisely and properly chose the former alternative, but of course at the cost of exposing the present Government to charges of gross inconsistency. Last night in the H. of C. the subject was touched upon, and John Russell had the imprudence to read part of a private letter from Clarendon, referring to the conduct of the late Government in striking the Jury in O'Connell's case as open to reproach. This brought up Graham, who affirmed that the instructions given by his Government and those given by the present Government were precisely the same, which John Russell was obliged to admit. The allusion, however, gave offence both to Graham and to Peel. The former has written me a note about it this morning, by which I see he is a good deal nettled.

¹ On May 24th Mitchell, one of the leaders of the Young Ireland Party, was convicted of felony under the Act for the better security of the Crown and Government, and sentenced to be transported for fourteen years. The sentence was immediately carried into effect. It occasioned some commotion and disturbance amongst the Chartists and Irish in London and elsewhere.—R.

May 31st.—Yesterday Grey called on the D. of Bedford to talk over the Spanish affair, at which he is beginning to kick, though very gently. He has only just found out (from John himself) what passed between the latter and P., when John objected to the contents of his despatch and P. divided what he had written into two but sent the objectionable part. In consequence of what passed between Grey and the Duke and from what he also heard from other members of the Cabinet, he wrote John a very long and strong letter, setting before him the unfairness *to his colleagues* of allowing matters to go on thus in the F.O., and the damage and discredit which were thereby caused to the Government. The present state of the case is this: from all that appears in publick, the Spanish Government has been wholly unjustifiable, and we are not likely to know more as yet, for Mirasol¹ having brought no credentials, Palmerston refuses to receive him, and has desired him to convey what he has to say through Isturitz; but he came away in such a hurry (running a race with Bulwer) that he left all his papers behind him, and accordingly he has nothing to show. What between the awkwardness of the Spaniards, the artfulness of P., and the reluctance there is on all sides to push the Government to extremities, it appears most likely that the discussions in Parliament will produce no other result than a good deal of talk, and some expression of an opinion that the Spanish Government has been very impertinent. But nobody cares about the affront they have offered us, for the simple reason that it is universally considered as aimed at P. and B<ulwer>, and that both have provoked it by their own insolent and unbecoming interference, the matter and the manner of which are equally condemned. It is now reported that P. means to insist on sending Bulwer back to Madrid, for no other reason, of course, than to make the Spaniards eat humble pie; and, for the sake of achieving a personal triumph, he will not mind making the English Government and country odious in Spain. Every day the difficulties of the Government increase, and its weakness becomes more apparent, but without any tolerable alternative presenting itself. The friends and subordinates of the Government acknowledge

¹ The Spanish Minister in London, Isturitz, was not withdrawn, but Mirasol was sent on a special mission to London, to explain the course adopted by the Spanish Government. He was unsuccessful, and on June 14th Isturitz received his passports and left the country. Diplomatic relations were thus suspended between England and Spain.—*R.*

this. There is a general sense of rottenness, and a consciousness that they inspire no confidence. Hawes told me yesterday that 'he was nobody, and could only shrug up his shoulders at all he saw.' They were beat last night (on small matters, it is true) in both Houses,¹ and now there appears a very good chance of their being beat on the resolutions of the W.I. Committee, which has reported to the House in favor of a duty <on sugar> of ten shillings for six years. John at once declared he should oppose it. The division in the Committee was a very curious one; this resolution was carried by seven to five, and by a strange crossing over of opposite parties. Goulburn and Cardwell did not vote; two or three Whigs voted for it.

The Princess Sophia died a few days ago, while the Q. was holding the Drawing-room for her Birthday. She was blind, helpless, and suffered martyrdom; a very clever, well-informed woman, but who never lived in the world. She was the intimate friend of the Duke of York while he lived, and of the Dss. of Gloster up to the last. For several years she was much in the intimacy of Conroy, and it is supposed the Dss. of Kent used to meet him there. This connexion (which was carried on secretly) set the Queen very much against her, and she resented it so much that she never took any notice of her Aunt, except making her a formal visit once a year. The Princess left a letter for the Queen, which was delivered to her in the garden of B<uckingham> Palace by Andrew Drummond² on Monday morning.

June 1st.—Isturitz has sent in Mirasol's case, which, he admits himself, is no case at all, flimsy and weak, and unsupported by proofs. This, however, though it puts the Spanish Government in the wrong, does not thereby relieve our embarrassment; for, while it imposes on us the necessity of requiring some reparation for so gross an affront, it is very difficult to know what to demand; and if the Spaniards don't comply, what we are to do next. There seems to be very little doubt that the coals have been blown by Louis Philippe and Guizot, the latter of whom is in constant correspondence with Madrid, as our

¹ Ministers were beaten in the House of Lords by a majority of six on the Irish Poor Law Bill, and by a majority of one in the House of Commons on a motion relating to the Public Accounts.—*R.*

² Andrew Robert Drummond (1794–1865), of Cadland, Hants, grandson of Robert Drummond, the Charing Cross banker and first cousin of Berkeley Drummond, Groom-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria.

Government have ascertained, and both are animated with the strongest desire to do Palmerston an ill turn.

Meanwhile, the affair has become more serious here. Grey has at last been to John R., and (in very temperate terms) told him matters cannot any longer go on as they have done, and he afterwards went to the D. of Bedford, and told him what he had done. Grey learnt for the first time, when he spoke to John, what had happened about the despatch to which John had objected. The Duke wrote his brother a very long letter, setting forth all the danger and discredit which accrued to the Government from these proceedings, and the discontent which was produced amongst their friends. John took this letter in good part, and he told the Duke that if they got over this affair something must be settled for the future. He at the same time gave him another anecdote as an example of Palmerston's way of doing business, which fortunately ended without mischief, but might have had a very different result. One day when the Duc de Broglie was with Palmerston, he asked him if there was any news. P. said he had just got a box, which he had not yet opened, but he would open it then. He did so, found a despatch from Howden on the subject of the Monte Video business, and gave it to the Duc de Broglie to read. The Duc read it, said that its contents were not pleasant, and remonstrated against them, whatever they were, which I do not know, and, for the point of the story, does not signify. Immediately after, Palmerston joined the Queen in Scotland, leaving the conduct of this affair in the hands of John Russell. John and the Duke (de Broglie) came to an understanding, but in the meanwhile Palmerston wrote a despatch to Normanby on the subject, which passed through London without being communicated to J.R. This, which Normanby was instructed to read to Guizot, surprised him very much, and he told Normanby that it was different from what the Duc de B. had given him reason to expect. This annoyed Normanby very much, and as it placed him in a very awkward situation, he complained of it. The matter was then explained, and eventually Guizot acted with so much moderation that it was adjusted amicably. Palmerston when urged on the subject threw the blame on the Foreign Office, which they say he is constantly in the habit of doing.

The D. of B. told me to my great astonishment that all the Queen's

former attachment to L<ouis> P<hilippe> and the French Royal Family has revived in greater force than ever; she says the marriages are not to be thought of any more. She is continually in tears and nothing but the extraordinary good sense of Albert and the boundless influence he has over her keeps her feelings under due restraint; but for him she would have made all her household go to Claremont, and when the French Royal Family have come to visit her she has received them as King and Queen, and one day one of the children went up to Louis Philippe and called him 'Your Majesty,' which had no doubt been done by the Q.'s commands. I take for granted that they have persuaded the Queen that their ruin has been the work of Palmerston, for this is what they always say, and possibly they believe it.

June 3rd.—Yesterday morning I saw Graham. He said matters were going on worse and worse; the Government seemed to be paralysed, and to have lost their understandings. They had such a night on Tuesday in the H. of C. as he never witnessed. He then enumerated their defeats and their blunders and mismanagement, without bitterness but with great contempt. They sustained a defeat on Bowring's motion about the collection of taxes, a very important matter, not having got their people down. I found out afterwards that they did not expect a division, and thought to prevent one by counting out the House, and to aid this Sir G. Grey told people who were waiting there they had better go away. This was blundering. Then they made a great mistake in fighting the Derby writ, in which they, in conjunction with the Protectionists, got beat by the Liberals and the Peelites. On Anstey's¹ R. C. Relief Bill none of the Government were present. On Thursday night John came down with two very foolish notices, one for our alteration of the Oath (which is only a new Jew bill in a fresh form), and another to relieve voters from disqualification on account of nonpayment of the assessed taxes, which was intended as a sop to Hume before his Reform motion.² Both these

¹ Thomas Chisholm Anstey (1816-73); converted to Roman Catholicism during the Oxford Movement; Radical M.P. for Youghal, 1847-52; continually opposed Palmerston and advocated Home Rule for Ireland and Scotland; Attorney-General of Hong Kong, 1854-8.

² Joseph Hume moved a resolution for electoral reform on June 21st. The four points demanded were: (1) that all householders should have a vote; (2) 3-year parliaments; (3) voting by ballot; (4) equal electoral areas.

Graham denounced as weak and unwise. I asked him what they thought of the resolution of the W.I. Committee.¹ He said it was very awkward. He was as strong as ever against the proposition, and the best reason he gave was that it would be of no service to the W. Indians if it was carried; that if all foreign sugar was prohibited they would be as much swamped by Mauritius and the East as by Cuba and Brazil. He will, therefore, oppose it; but he is not sure the Government may not be in a minority, and I told him if John was defeated on it I really believed he would resign. He said he thought the Protectionists were prepared to form a Government if they carried the resolution. I do not, however, believe any such thing, and I reminded him that such a division, composed as the majority would be of the most heterogeneous materials, would be no test of their strength as a party; and that if they were mad enough to attempt it, and the Queen would consent (which she never would) to let them, they would not stay in three days. He said they must dissolve; they had no other course, and that revolution would be the inevitable consequence of a dissolution and a fresh election at such a time as this; that such a Parliament would be returned as we had never seen; Hume's reform and the four points would be carried, and the Monarchy swept away. However, though he believes these results would follow from the formation of a Stanley Government, he does not, I am sure, for a moment contemplate such a contingency as within the limits of possibility. I told the D. of B. all G. had said, and that he might make any use of the knowledge this gave him of the Government proceedings to put matters (if he could) in a better train. He said he would talk to John, though he hates doing so, for he is always suffering under that deplorable infirmity of John's—his disinclination to hear unpalatable truths, and above all to be found fault with. The consequence of this is that he receives everybody ill who goes to him to tell him what he does not like to hear, and nobody now but the Duke (and he very reluctantly) will go to him to tell him what he ought to hear. The Duke said he agreed with Graham as to the consequences of a Protectionist Government, but that it was out of the question, and if

¹ A strong attempt was made on behalf of the West India interest to exclude slave-grown sugar from this country. On June 16th Lord John Russell proposed to reduce the sugar duty from 13s. to 10s., which was ultimately carried by a majority of 260 to 245.—R.

John was forced to resign, Peel must take the Government, and the Whig party must join and support him; and between some of the present Cabinet and some of the late a very strong Government might be formed.

I afterwards saw Grey, who talked to me about the state of the Government, and what had passed between John and him touching Palmerston. He said that he only came into office with a distinct understanding that John should exercise a controul over the F.O. and secure the Cabinet against any imprudence of P.'s.

The Government are now getting seriously uneasy about the Chartist manifestations in various parts of the country, especially in London, and at the repeated assemblings and marchings of great bodies of men. Le Marchant told me that two or three months ago, when he was at the Home Office, he received accounts he thought very alarming of the wide-spreading disaffection of the people, and particularly of the enormous increase of cheap publications of the most mischievous and inflammatory character, which were disseminated among the masses and eagerly read; and lately, accounts have been received from well-informed persons, whose occupations lead them to mix with the people, Clergymen—particularly R. C.—and medical men, who report that they find a great change for the worse amongst them, an increasing spirit of discontent and disaffection, and that many who on the 10th of April went out as special Constables declare they would not do so again if another manifestation required it. The speeches which are made at the different meetings are remarkable for the coarse language and savage spirit they display. It is quite new to hear any Englishmen coolly recommend assassination, and the other day a Police Superintendent was wounded in the leg by some sharp instrument. These are new and very bad symptoms, and it is impossible not to feel alarm when we consider the vast amount of the population as compared with any repressive power we possess. The extent and reality of the distress they suffer, the impossibility of expecting such masses of people to be eternally patient and forbearing, to restrain all their natural impulses, and endure tamely severe privations when they are encouraged and stimulated to do otherwise, and are thus accessible to every sort of internal and external temptation,—all these considerations may well beget a

serious presentiment of danger. But though many do feel this and brood much over it, there appears to be a fatal security amongst the majority, whose sluggish minds cannot be awakened to the possibility of a great convulsion here, notwithstanding the Continental conflagration that stares them in the face. What we principally want is a strong Government which shall obtain public confidence and respect, and which may have a chance of conciliating, satisfying, and keeping in check public opinion. This the divisions and subdivisions of parties, and the enduring enmities and vindictive feelings of the Conservatives, effectually prevent. The only strong Government that could be formed would be a Liberal one under Peel, and the Protectionists would rather encounter the chances of revolution than see the man they detest so bitterly at the Head of affairs again. They are so blind to their own interest, or so insane in their resentment, that they would prefer to run the risk of all that Radicals or Chartists could do than owe their safety to Peel, whom they affect to think the Enemy of their best interests, and a man not to be trusted; and this they go on harping upon, although half of them now admit that it is the greatest blessing to them to have been saved by his measures from the dangerous predicament in which they would now otherwise be.

June 10th.—At Ascot all last week. The Spanish debate went off just as might have been expected; all fought in muffled gloves, and as the outrageous conduct of the Spanish Government rendered it a national affair, it was impossible to attack either P. or B. (ulwer); but the latter was not only not *attacked*, but he was bepraised by everybody to an extent that now seems ridiculous. Peel said all that Graham told me he should say, praising B. and quizzing Palmerston, while he *affected* to defend him. Guizot saw all this farce with considerable vexation, mixed with disdain, but it could not take any other turn all circumstances considered.

The Government have at last taken strong measures against the Chartists; but in spite of the arrest of some of their Leaders, another demonstration is expected on Monday, for which great preparations are to be made. These demonstrations are getting a great bore, besides being very mischievous. The townspeople, who are thus perpetually alarmed, are growing very angry, and the military are so savage that Lord Londonderry told the Duke of Wellington he was

sure, if a collision took place, the Officers of his Regiment would not be able to restrain their men. Many people think that a severe chastisement of these mobs will alone put a stop to their proceedings, and that it will be better the Troops should be allowed to act and open fire upon them. This is an extremity which must be avoided if possible, but anything is better than allowing such an evil as this to go on increasing. But if these multitudes of discontented men can be daunted into submission, fearful considerations remain behind. We have an enormous overgrown population, a vast proportion of which are in undeniable misery and distress, and are soured and exasperated by their sufferings. To expect such beings to be reasonable, and still more to be logical, is to expect a moral impossibility. While the minds of the masses are in a combustible state, and they are ready to listen to anybody who appears to sympathise with them, and who pretends to be able to put them in the way of mending their condition, there are not wanting Agents who strive with all their might, and not without success, to inflame and mislead them. The suffering people are prompt to believe that that cannot be a sound and just condition of society in which they are abandoned to starvation and destitution, while other classes are revelling in luxury and enjoyment. They have confused notions that this is all wrong, and that under some different political dispensation their interests would be better cared for, and according to their necessities they would be comforted and relieved. They are neither able to comprehend nor disposed to listen to the long processes of argument by which it might be demonstrated to them that all the prevailing misery and distress are attributable to causes over which Government has no controul, and which no legislation can counteract: the unhappy state of the world, the confusion which prevails everywhere, the interruption of regular industry, the disturbance of the ordinary course of social life, and the universal poverty and suffering react upon this country and to a certain degree undermine the broad foundations on which our social and political fabric stands. We are not indeed yet shaken from our equilibrium, but there is a restlessness, an apprehension, a heaving and struggling, which appear like warnings and forerunners of a possible earthquake. We seem to have got into another stage of existence, our world is almost suddenly altered, we deal with new questions, men seem to be

animated with fresh objects; what are called politics, international questions and the strife of parties, sink into insignificance; society is stirred up from its lowest depths, and we are obliged to turn our eyes and thoughts and faculties to the vast spectacle that is laid bare before us—and an appalling and awful spectacle it is which may well make the most thoughtless reflect, and turn levity and indifference into seriousness and fear.

June 11th.—The D. of Bedford told me yesterday that he has had a letter from Clarendon in which he gives him an account of his mode of proceeding, which appeared to him so dangerous and unwise that he has written strongly to him on the subject and spoken to John about it, who agrees with the D. It is the employment of spies he objects to and which he says Clarendon is carrying on to an extent as great as the old system of Sidmouth which excited so much indignation. He is right; for it would make a great uproar here, if it were known, and materially affect Clarendon's authority in Ireland, and damage the high reputation he has acquired.

A very good debate on Friday night on the Navigation Laws, and a good division and majority. Peel made an excellent speech.

June 13th.—John Russell was highly delighted with Peel's speech on Friday, says he behaved most handsomely, and he is not like the same man. The virulence and immortal hate of his quondam friends was exhibited in the most indecent manner on this occasion. When he rose to speak they tried to hoot and bellow him down, and at the head of these vulgar clamourers was a Judge, the Recorder Law;¹ it was a very disgraceful scene, and shows what an incorrigible faction they are.

It seems that John's proposition about altering the oaths has had the effect of preventing a fresh election in the City, which was viewed with great dread by everybody, but which would otherwise have taken place. John will now make a speech and announce his plan, but not attempt to carry any Bill this year. This will satisfy Rothschild, who will not stir, but wait to see the result of the measure in the next session. The Oaths² are very absurd, and want altering. There

¹ Charles Ewan Law (1792–1850); Recorder of London, 1833–50; M.P. for Cambridge University, 1835–50.

² The oath for Members of Parliament had to be taken 'on the true faith of a Christian' and it was this disability for Jews that Lord John Russell proposed to remove. The House of Lords had thrown out the previous Bill for that purpose on May 26th, 1848.

are two Peers—Lord Bra. Lord¹ and Ld. Clancarty²—who will not take them, nor consequently their seats in the H. of Lords; and the D. of Bedford told me, that though he had taken them, as a matter of course, he doubted if he could bring himself to do so again.

The expected Chartist demonstration yesterday ended in smoke, both here and in the Provinces; nevertheless great preparations were made of Military, Police, and Special Constables. It rained torrents the whole day, which probably would have been enough to prevent any assemblages of people; but the determined attitude of the Government and the arrests that have taken place intimidated the leaders. Everybody had got bored and provoked to death with these continued alarms, but it is now thought that we shall not have any more of them. The Chartists themselves must get tired of meeting and walking about for nothing, and they can hardly fail to lose all confidence in their Leaders, whose actions so ill correspond with their promises and professions. A man of the name of MacDougal, who appears to be the Chief of the London Chartists, harangued his rabble a few days ago, declared the meeting should take place in spite of Government, and announced the most heroic intentions. He went to the ground (at one of the rendezvous), and finding a Magistrate there, asked him if the meeting was illegal, and if the Government really intended to prevent it. The Magistrate referred him to the printed placard, by which he would see that it was illegal, and that the Government did intend to prevent it; on which he made a bow, said he did not mean to oppose the law, would go away, and advise his friends to do the same; and off he went. The failures have been complete everywhere, and nobody feels any alarm; nevertheless the spirit and the sour disaffection, and the vast numbers that are infected with it, are dangerous, and may some day be productive of serious consequences.

June 18th.—On Friday the Government had a bad night in the House of Commons. John R. brought forward his W.I. plan³ (con-

¹ George Augustus Bridgeman (1789–1865), second Earl of Bradford; succeeded his father in the title, 1825.

² William Thomas Le Poer Trench (1803–72), second Viscount Clancarty; succeeded his father in the title, 1837.

³ For postponing the equalisation of the foreign and colonial sugar duties from 1851 to 1854.

cocted by Wilson), which was very ill received on all sides, and met by objections from the most opposite quarters and on the most opposite grounds; he made a very bad opening speech, but a very good reply. The Protectionists were very violent, and Hawes was furiously attacked about a despatch of Sir Charles Grey's, which he had not produced to the W.I. Committee, and which he was accused of unfairly suppressing. It was a very ugly case, and afforded G. Bentinck and Disraeli materials for much triumph and abuse, of which they largely availed themselves. These personal affairs, which have a discreditable look, are always very damaging, and there is again a notion abroad of John's feebleness, and of the impossibility of his conducting the Government when the times are so difficult and his health so frail. The Government are very confident that they shall carry their W.I. measure, notwithstanding the storm of reproach with which it is assailed.

The curtain has fallen on another act of the Spanish drama, Isturitz having been civilly sent out of this country. The papers present a case all to our advantage. Bulwer's despatch of May 30, in vindication of himself, was very well done, and Palmerston's last note to Isturitz excellent. The Spaniards have played their cards (not bad ones originally) so miserably ill, that they have given the game to our Foreign Office, though it is difficult to say what the stake is worth; they are, however, like people who had a very good hand, but revoked at a critical moment, and so lost the game. Bulwer and Palmerston are triumphantly curvetting about, completely smashing their antagonists in argument, partly because the latter are blunderers who have deceived themselves and been misled by others, and partly because they cannot put forth their true case and the reasons which have influenced them. They know perfectly well that Palmerston and Bulwer have all along moved heaven and earth to keep or drive Narvaez out of office, and Montpensier out of Spain. While Sotomayor has put forward frivolous or unsustainable pretexts for the violent and rash course they have adopted, Narvaez is compelled to keep back the real case he had against Bulwer, and the cause of his animosity towards him. He knows that Bulwer moved heaven and earth to prevent his coming in to power; that he was the life and soul, the leader and director of the faction opposed to him, whom he

instigated to adopt the most violent measures. I read in Bulwer's own handwriting an account of his proceedings and of the failure of his schemes. It was through Serrano all this was to be done, but Serrano was under the influence of his mother, and Nuñez,¹ his doctor, and they were both corrupted by the other side. This was the cause of failure. Then Serrano, as all the world knows, was himself bought over, and he has since given to Narvaez in writing a detailed account of his communication with Bulwer, and of the conduct of the latter, but in which the Queen is so implicated and compromised, that it is impossible for Narvaez to make any use of it. This Guizot (who knows everything that passes at Madrid) told Reeve, and I have no doubt it is true, because it corresponds with that letter of Bulwer's which I myself saw and which was addressed, I think (but am not sure) to Delane. This is the secret history of the matter.

I find Clarendon's views in respect to the government of Ireland are becoming known, and producing no small sensation.² *Ld. Barrington*³ asked me the other night if it was true that his opinions had undergone a great change, and that he was now convinced Ireland could only be governed in connexion with and by the support of the Orangemen. I told him there was, I apprehended, much exaggeration in this, but some truth; that I conceived a man of his penetration could not have governed Ireland for a year without seeing that the whole Catholic body were either disaffected and dangerous, or so timid as to be useless, and that in fact the Protestants alone were to be depended upon for attachment to the British connexion, and resolution to support it, but that I was convinced he would not suffer the ingratitude and misconduct of the Catholics to interfere with his determination to render equal justice to all. I shall however write to

¹ José Nuñez y Pernia, Marqués de Nuñez; died 1879; introduced homœopathic medicine into Spain and founded the Homœopathic Hospital at Madrid; created senator.

² When Lord Clarendon went to Ireland in 1847, he was animated by an earnest desire and hope to conciliate the Irish Catholic body. He invited their prelates and their leaders to the Viceregal Lodge, opened his mind to them freely, and expressed with perfect sincerity his liberal intentions towards them. But the experience of a year, and more especially the conduct of the Roman Catholics during the agitation which had prevailed in Ireland, convinced Lord Clarendon that no reliance at all could be placed on the loyalty of the Catholic population or of its chiefs. He arrived most reluctantly at this conclusion, but it never altered his determination to treat the Catholics with perfect courtesy and justice.—*R.*

³ William Keppel Barrington (1793–1867), sixth Viscount Barrington in the Peerage of Ireland; succeeded his father in the title, 1829; M.P. for Berkshire, 1837–57.

him on the subject and tell him what is said. It was Lord Hardwicke who told Lord Barrington.

May <June> 24th.—We are on the brink of a crisis and one of the most fearful nature. This sugar question is going to destroy this Government, as former sugar questions have destroyed former Governments. Until yesterday I was satisfied that Government would not think it necessary to resign if beat on Pakington's¹ amendment, and Hobhouse, whom I met the other day, seemed to think they need not. Many of them, however, thought differently, and yesterday there was a Cabinet, at which they came to an unanimous resolution to resign. The D. of Bedford thought as I had done, and strongly urged John not to resign; this he told me yesterday morning, but that he had not been able to convince him. After I saw him I went to Graham; I found him in great alarm at the state of affairs and the prospect of the country. He said that he expected the Government would be beat, and that he did not see how they could go on if they were; he approved of their resigning; that it was a vote of censure or want of confidence, and that in fact they had lost all hold of the H. of Commons; that they had done so in great measure by their own blunders and follies; and he then enumerated many of these; and he was satisfied they had so lost credit and power that they could not go on, and therefore if they survived this vote they would fall by some other. He then told me that Peel's friends had separated themselves from him, and would vote with the Protectionists; he and Peel should support Government, but he did not know for certain of any others who would go with them; he should do so with great reluctance (he owned) but he would not turn them out. The rest of the Peelites were angry with Peel for supporting the Government as he had; they were impatient, could no longer be restrained, and were resolved to join the Protectionists. He had had no communication with any of them, but he concluded they were and must be ready to join Stanley and take office under him if he invited them. He looked on Stanley's coming into office as inevitable. I asked him what his Cabinet would be: he supposed principally Peel's old Cabinet with G. Bentinck and

¹ Sir John Somerset Pakington, Bt. (1799–1880), afterwards first Baron Hampton; M.P. for Droitwich, 1837–74; created baronet, 1846; Secretary for War under Lord Derby, 1852, and under Disraeli, 1866–8; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1858; created baron, 1874.

D'Israeli; and he then descanted on all the evils and dangers to be apprehended from their assumption of power however brief, much as he did in our former conversation; the great impetus it would give to reform, and the vast power the Radical and subversive interest would acquire; in fact, his anticipations are of the most serious and gloomy character—foreseeing the downfall of the Church, the H. of Lords, and the Crown itself. In the afternoon I told the D. of B. what he had said of the defection of the Peelites from their Chief, and that this event would be openly manifested in the course of the present debate. The Duke was to dine at the Palace, where I knew he would have a great deal of conversation with the Queen, so I called on him this morning to hear what had passed. She and the Prince entered into it all, and were aware of what was impending, for John had prepared her for it. She said she was very sorry, as everything had gone on very smoothly with one exception—one black sheep. This of course was Palmerston. She said that up to the last moment he was doing something to annoy her, and asked him if John had told him of a certain despatch to Portugal which had been sent without his knowledge. The D. had not heard of it. She then said that P. kept her in such constant hot water that she did not think she ever could again consent to his returning to the Foreign Office, if the Party returned to power, and she hoped some other place might be found for him. She praised Grey and said he had always behaved very well. The Prince said that what they would like would be to have a Government with Peel at the Head of the Finances and John at the Foreign Office. She was very calm, and though she is not at all pleased at the idea of a Stanley Government, and has a horror of D'Israeli (which John has been trying to get over), the getting rid of Palmerston and having Aberdeen back will be a considerable compensation to her and go no small way in reconciling her to the change. This at least is the D. of B.'s opinion, and I subscribe to it.

John has made up his mind to advise her to send for Stanley, and she is prepared to do so. Nobody now doubts that Stanley, if sent for, means to undertake it, and this is the state of affairs up to this time. There was a most scandalous scene in the H. of C. last night, originating in the virulence of G. Bentinck's attack on Hawes; but I know nothing of it as yet but from the newspaper report.

June 25th.—Everybody was full of the scene in the House of Commons, which seems to have been to the last degree deplorable and disgraceful, calculated to bring the H. of C. into contempt. Everybody behaved ill; nothing could exceed the virulence and intemperance of G. Bentinck's attack on Grey and Hawes, accusing them in terms not to be mistaken of wilful suppression of documents, and then the most disgraceful shuffling and lying to conceal what they had done and escape from the charges against them. On the other hand, John R. lost his temper; and, as gentlemen in that predicament usually do, at the same time lost his good taste and good sense. He twitted G. B. with his turf pursuits, and managed to make what he said appear more offensive than it really was intended to be. This brought D'Israeli to the defence of his friend, and he poured forth a tide of eloquent invective and sarcasm which was received with frantic applause by his crew; they roared and hooted and converted the H. of C. into such a bear-garden as no one ever saw before. When Hawes got up to defend himself they would not hear him, and attempted to bellow him down with groans and 'Ohs,' spurning all sense of justice and decency. It was grief and scandal to all reasonable men. Peel sat it out and never uttered a word, but he cheered Hawes when he was speaking.¹

May <June> 26th.—The state of the Government is like that of a sick man, the bulletins of whose health continually vary, one hour better with good hopes, another worse. Yesterday it looked up. Tufnell's list presented a chance of success; he has sixty-nine doubtfuls, and they now think a good many of these will vote with Government. Graham told me yesterday he had thought Government sure to be beat, but he now found more people were disposed to go with Peel than he had believed, and that he now rather expected a majority. Many are waiting to hear Peel's speech, and will be guided by him. Everybody

¹ Lord John Russell brought in his Bill for reducing the Sugar Duties on June 16th. On the 19th, Sir John Pakington proposed an amendment, condemning the scheme of the Government. It was on this point that the fate of the Ministry turned. Lord George Bentinck envenomed the debate by accusing the Colonial Office (in which Mr Hawes was Under-Secretary) of the suppression of documents. Lord John Russell replied that such tricks were not resorted to by men high in office, but were rather characteristic of men engaged in the pursuits the noble lord had long followed. Upon this, Mr Disraeli retorted that Lord George Bentinck was not to be bullied either in the ring or from the Treasury Bench. Sir John Pakington's amendment was rejected on June 29th by 260 to 245.—*R.*

is talking, however, of what is to be done, and who the Q. is to send for. The D. of B. has advised John not to say anything about resigning in his speech, and instead of at once advising the Q. to send for Stanley, to consult Peel as to the advice he shall give her. Melbourne has written to her and advised her to send for Peel. Beauvale told me this, and his notion is that a Government may be formed with Aberdeen at the Head of it. It is incredible what harm John's foolish speech on Friday night has done; it will very likely influence the votes, and certainly will prove very injurious to the Government; everybody thinks, let this end as it may, that we have got to the beginning of the end. At night I met Jocelyn, who told me that He meant to vote with Lincoln and Sidney Herbert against Government. I asked him how they could all be so foolish as not to follow Peel's example and do as he did. He then informed me that these Peelites have no intention whatever of joining Stanley and taking office with him; their notion is that this Government is so weak and inefficient that it cannot stand, and that it will be found so impossible to form any other, that it cannot fail to fall into Peel's hands, and they expect by a sort of gentle violence to compel him to take it, having persuaded themselves that he will find a general support, though they can't well say how or where. Such are the tacticks of the *impatients*; they hate the Whigs, and imagine they can become a Government and be recruited by moderate Conservatives and moderate Radicals, setting aside Whigs and Protectionists. He hinted to me that *Peel might have prevented their taking this course* if he disapproved of it. I told him they were plucking the fruit before it was ripe. On the other hand Graham discoursed largely on the impossibility of Peel's coming into office, and repeated what he has so often said before about party governments; the hatred of the Whigs of Peel, and still more of him; Peel's fear for his health, and the impression made on him by the fact that nobody had ever led the H. of C. after sixty (which Macaulay told him). I wasted a great deal of time in arguing with him against objections which were all simulated on his part. Every now and then he let out in the way of admissions certain things which showed how ready and anxious he really is to come in again whenever he can. I asked him why Peel had not endeavoured to keep his youngsters straight, and at all events given them good advice for their conduct. He

declared that he had done so. His conduct is not very clear, and I have not that opinion of his purity and singleness of purpose that would make me believe his course has been altogether candid, straitforward, and fair, not such as the Duke of Wellington's would have been, but it is very difficult to know what he has really said and done, and impossible to know what he really thinks, wishes, and means. We were kept all yesterday in a state of intense curiosity by the news of the fighting in the streets of Paris.

(August 21st, 1857. † I have read this with interest—the details are curious.† <C. C. G.>)

<End of Vol. I of Additional MS. 41117.>

June 30th, Friday.—On Tuesday I went to the H. of Lords to hear Grey in the matter of the suppressed despatches, and his defence against the various charges brought by G. Bentinck and Co. He had been exceedingly excited, and was resolved to bring the matter forward, though many people thought he had better leave it as it was, and rest satisfied with what had passed in the H. of C. He promised himself, however, a signal vindication and triumph, and the pleasure of severely chastising his accusers, but it turned out a very unfortunate night, and a painful one to those who heard the discussion. Grey made a long and not judicious speech. He entered into too many details, and said much that he had better have let alone. Then Stanley rose, and after a complimentary exordium set heartily to work, made a réchauffé of G. Bentinck's and D'Israeli's speeches with his own peculiar sauce of style and diction, and made as bitter, ill-natured, and (all things considered) as ill-timed an attack as ever was heard. But he wound it up with a charge in reference to the memorial of certain planters, which was certainly well founded and made a very disagreeable impression.¹ On this point Grey was clearly in the wrong and could make no sufficient defence for himself; it has damaged him very much, and the Government through him; and this affair has altogether turned out very unhappily, for it has not only wounded the credit and character, and thereby impaired the strength of the Government, but it has struck at the honor of publick

¹ The memorial was to the Colonial Office from the planters of Jamaica. Earl Grey had quoted an extract from it to the House of Lords; but the extract was calculated to give an impression directly contrary to the rest of the memorial which he left unquoted.

men, and this is in these times a great evil. There was a very severe article in the 'Times' yesterday morning on Grey, which was, however, not more than the truth. This affair coming at a time when Government has nothing to spare in point of credit and authority is peculiarly disastrous.

In the meantime, however, the division on Pakington's motion was generally known to be safe, and accordingly there was a majority of fifteen against it last night, which was ten or fifteen less than was expected; on Sunday last Graham told me that he thought there would be a majority, as he found many people meant to wait for Peel's speech and would probably vote as he did. We then discussed what should be done if the Government should be in a minority, and consequently resign. The same evening I wrote him a note and told him that I thought if this did happen John would consult Peel before he gave the Q. any advice. I am sure he told Peel this, for on Monday night I got a note from him <Graham> begging to see me the next morning. I went to him, when he said with great earnestness that he wanted to impress upon me that it was of the greatest consequence that the Queen (in case the necessity occurred) should send for Stanley forthwith, and that without consulting anybody John should give her this advice. It was very desirable that there should be no appearance of any concert between him and Peel, while a consultation between them would certainly be known to Stanley, and would take away much of the grace of sending for him; that Stanley should have no excuse for declining, and the Q. should tell him she was left without a Government and that she placed herself in his hands, giving him *carte blanche*, and telling him she was prepared to agree to everything he proposed to her. He said he did not believe Stanley would be able to form a Government, still less to carry it on if he did form one; but he thought it of the greatest consequence that his failure should be complete, and that every opportunity and advantage should be given to him. He urged this with an unction which showed me clearly enough (if I had before had any doubt, which I had not) what his secret thoughts and intentions are, and that he is quite prepared (and Peel too) to come into office provided circumstances turn out favorably for Peel's resumption of power. I promised I would take care that this should be done, and

yesterday morning I told the D. of B., who was just going off to Endsleigh. Every day I find more evidence of the way in which people's minds are turning towards Peel and anticipating his return to power. Emily Eden told me that Auckland was very anxious for a junction, and quite ready to give up his own office to facilitate it. Matters are not yet ripe for such a consummation, but it must end in this manner.

The details which reach us of the extraordinary contest which has just taken place at Paris are equally horrible and curious. Hitherto we have been struck with the absence of that ferocity which distinguished the first Revolution, and the little taste there seemed to be for shedding blood; but the ferocity of the people broke out upon this occasion in the most terrible examples. There was a savage rancour about this exceeding the usual virulence of civil contests; the people not only murdered, but tortured their prisoners. Since the victory the prisoners have been executed by hundreds, and with hardly any form of trial; indeed, no trial was possible or necessary, they were rebels taken en flagrant délit, at once rebels and prisoners of war. One man, when he was going to be shot, said he did not care, for he had had his revenge already, and he pulled out of his pocket twenty tongues that had been cut out. All agree that the organisation, the military skill displayed, and the vast resources the insurgents possessed in the matériel of war, were as extraordinary as unaccountable. The preparations must have been long before made, for the houses of their principal fortifications were perforated for the purpose of communication and escape, the staircases removed, and there were telegraphic signals arranged by lights on the tops of the buildings. There certainly was a Commander-in-chief who presided over the whole, but nobody knows who he was; and the Government have never yet been able to ascertain who the Leaders were. Although distress and famine were the prime causes of this great struggle, it is remarkable that there was no plundering or robbery; on the contrary, they were strictly forbidden and apparently never attempted. It is the only example (so far as I know) that history records of a pitched battle in the streets of a great capital between the regular Army and the Armed civil power on one side, and the populace of the town militarily armed and organised also on the other, nobody knowing how the

latter were organised or by whom directed. Colonel Towneley,¹ who came from Paris last night, told me that it is believed that the old Municipal Guard, who were disbanded by the Provisional Government after the Revolution, had a great deal to do with it, but that the skill with which the positions had been chosen and fortified was perfect. Prodigies of valour seem to have been performed on both sides, and the incidents were to the last degree romantic. An Archbishop² appearing as a Minister of peace in the midst of the fray, and mounting the barricades to exhort the living and to bless the dying amidst the din and fury of the contest, and then perishing a martyr to his attempt to stop the effusion of blood; women mixing in the contest, carrying ammunition and supplies, daring everything, their opponents shrinking from hurting these Amazons, and at last being obliged to fire upon them in self-defence; the strange artifices employed to convey arms and cartouches. The Garde Mobile, composed of the gamins de Paris, appear to have signalised themselves with peculiar heroism, and it is fortunate that they were on the side of the Government instead of on that of the people. There was one boy, not above fifteen or sixteen, a frightful little urchin, who scaled three barricades one after another and carried off the colours from each; Cavaignac³ embraced him and gave him the Legion of Honour from his own person, and he was carried in triumph and crowned with laurels to a great banquet of his comrades. But it would be endless to write down the particulars of a contest which fills the columns of every newspaper now, and will be recorded in innumerable books hereafter.

July 5th.—Since the division on Pakington's motion the Government stock has considerably risen, and they are now generally considered safe for the present and for some indefinite time to come; they will probably get their Sugar Bill through. The loud complaints that have been made of the waste of time in Parliament have not been

¹ Colonel Charles Towneley was appointed Queen's Foreign Service Messenger in 1847.

² Denis Auguste Affre (1793–1848); Archbishop of Paris, 1840–8; killed before a barricade in the Faubourg Saint Antoine by a shot from the Government forces, June 25th, 1848.

³ Louis Eugène Cavaignac (1802–57), son of Cavaignac, a member of the Convention of 1792; sent to Africa by Louis Philippe, on account of his Republican sympathies, 1832; distinguished himself during Bugeaud's campaigns; *maréchal de camp*, 1844; Minister of War, May–June 1848; after the insurrection of June, appointed Prime Minister by the Assembly; heavily defeated at the Presidential election of December 1848; arrested during the *coup d'état* and afterwards lived in retirement.

without effect, and there is an appearance of getting on with business. Then the Chancellor of the Exchequer's announcement that the deficit of £2,000,000 will be reduced to £500,000, and that no new taxes will be wanted, has put people in better humour. The funds are rapidly rising, the harvest promises to be good, the Continent is in a better state, and on the whole our prospects are considerably improved within the last week. The state of the Continent, though still bad enough, is somewhat more promising; there appears to be something of a lull from exhaustion and perplexity; there is a chance of the Danish quarrel being arranged. The great victory in Paris, the establishment of a strong military Government, and the evident determination of the Assembly to promote the cause of law and order, and to put down all the wild theories which have been in the ascendant for the last three months, have largely tended to brighten the political sky; and this example may encourage others to act with the same vigour and in the same spirit. The whole world is influenced by all that is done at Paris. But in the midst of this improved prospect we have enough to disturb our tranquillity; it will be impossible for a long time for the Continent to be restored to a healthy state, and its disturbed and impoverished condition fearfully reacts upon us, and paralyses that foreign trade on which not merely the prosperity but the subsistence of vast masses of our population depends. We cannot therefore look forward to anything but great distress and suffering in our manufacturing population; and this, together with Ireland, are enough to keep us in hot water.

The Government, though safer, are not stronger, and nobody thinks they can go on very long, without any clear idea what is to turn them out, or what is to succeed. It is pretty generally understood now that Stanley has never had the least notion of forming a Government, nor even of making the attempt. Had the event occurred he would have made a pirouette, and whisked off; having done his mischief and had his fun, he would have considered his work over. It was very significant that while all the world was fancying he meditated becoming Prime Minister, he accepted the office of Steward of the Jockey Club, to which high dignity he is this day to be promoted. I told Charles Wood this the other day, when he said he had never believed Stanley seriously contemplated being Minister, and that it

was clear there were only two men in the Country who could be—J.R. and Peel.

Meanwhile the Peelites are playing an odd game: they appear to be disengaging themselves from their Chief, without joining the Tories, and they are so conducting themselves as to make any junction with the Whigs very difficult. It is never easy to know what Peel himself is *at*, and what his real sentiments are. If I may judge from a few words that dropt from Graham the last time I saw him, He and P. (who are man and wife politically) are provoked with their followers and resent their conduct. What he said was something about 'letting them see the consequences of their insubordination,' or some such expressions. It was the *tone* in which it was said that struck me. I do not know to which of them they were meant especially to apply, but I suppose to Lincoln and Sidney Herbert.

Brougham told me yesterday that he had been to see Louis Philippe, who had described to him the military men who are now ruling France. He said Cavaignac was a brave and good Soldier who had been very rapidly promoted, that he was a downright but honest Republican. When he went with the King's Sons to Algiers, he told them he would serve their Father with fidelity, but not from conviction, for his sentiments were Republican. He is not a man of great ability; Bedeau,¹ Lamoricière, and Changarnier² are all abler men, but they are thoroughly imbued with ideas of military despotism. Everybody believes that the late Government connived at the *émeute*. Gabriel Delessert told me it was impossible such preparations could be made, and that they should be so organised and abundantly provided without the knowledge of the Police.

Endsleigh,³ *July 14th, Friday*.—I escaped from the 'fumum strepitumque Romæ,' from racing and politicks, on Monday last, and came down with De Mauley to this place. We have passed four days here pleasantly enough; it is exquisitely beautiful, so is the country round

¹ Marie Alphonse Bedeau (1804–63); distinguished himself in Algeria, 1837–47; commanded a column during the street fighting in Paris and was wounded, June 1848; arrested during the *coup d'état* and exiled, 1851–9; died in retirement.

² Nicolas Changarnier (1793–1877); *général de division* for his services in Algeria, 1843; sent as Governor-General to Algeria, April 1848; Governor of Paris with Royalist sympathies, 1849; repressed the rising of June 1849; arrested during the *coup d'état* and exiled, 1851–9; Royalist *député*, 1871–5, and senator, 1875–7.

³ The Duke of Bedford's house in Devonshire, near Tavistock.

about it; a mass of beauty, comfort and luxury; house perfection, and everything kept as English houses alone are. This place was a creation of the Duke's. The house, which is a cottage, cost between £70,000 and £80,000, and the grounds, laid out with inimitable taste, must have cost thousands more. There are sixty miles of grass rides and gravel walks. Yesterday we went to see a farmhouse, once one of the hunting seats of the Abbot of Tavistock, a great man whose ample domains were granted to the Earl of Bedford, who was gorged with ecclesiastical spoils here and at Woburn. We then went to see the great copper mine discovered three or four years ago, the best and most profitable in the West of England. The ground was leased three and a half years ago to certain adventurers, who covenanted to give the Duke one-fifteenth of the *gross* produce; and as soon (if ever) as they made £30,000 a year from it, one-twelfth. After some fruitless attempts they came upon this lode very near the surface, and found it of the best copper. A fortune was made instanter. The shares were at one time worth £700,000, i.e. £700 apiece; since that there has been a great fall, but they are now worth £200 apiece. The expense of working is, however, so much increased, that the Duke's Agent told me he got nearly half the *net* profits. All this country is full of copper, but the Duke told me he was resolved not to grant any more leases for mining, although he had applications every day and could make a great deal of money by giving them; but he does not want the money, and he is averse to promote the spirit of gambling which mining speculations very generally excite among the people, often greatly to their loss and always to the detriment of the agriculture of the country; the latter is neglected for the chances of the former; the farmers let their carts and horses to the miners instead of employing them on their own farms; and though mining is both a profitable and a popular employment, the D. deems it so mischievous that he will not suffer any more of his ground to be broken up for the chance of the copper that may be found underneath it. I have not heard a word here in the way of politicks. We (i.e. we three) are disgusted at what seems the backwardness of the Government in dealing with the Irish clubs.

London, July 21st, Friday.—Left Endsleigh on Saturday and went to Plymouth; received by two Admirals to whom Auckland recom-

mended us, and we saw everything—the Breakwater, the new docks (magnificent work) and Mount Edgecumbe. On Sunday, after Church, went on board the 'Caledonia' (120), and visited every part of the ship; then to the Citadel, the whole thing well worth seeing. On Sunday afternoon went on to Exeter; in the morning saw the Cathedral and went to Church; a beautiful choir, Church handsome inside, poor in monuments. Then De Mauley and I separated. I went to Wells; was delighted with the Cathedral and with the Bishop's Palace. On Tuesday to John Thynne's parsonage, Walton, near Glastonbury; noble ruins of the Old Church and Abbey. On Wednesday returned to town, having seen a great deal and passed the time very agreeably.

When I got here, found that Clarendon, whose arrival had been announced to me, and who was to have come on Monday, had been obliged to give up coming in consequence of the threatening aspect of affairs in Ireland, and He himself writes word that he does not think an outbreak can be prevented.¹ The disgust felt here at the state of Ireland and the incurable madness of the people, constantly worked upon by the Agitators, is now so great that most people appear to think the sooner the collision takes place the better, and that nothing is now left to be done but to fight it out and reconquer the country. I have certainly arrived at a conviction that no political measures can now avail to restore peace and to cement the Union, which in point of fact only now exists in name. There is no union for any of the real purposes of an union. What makes the Irish question the more dreadful is that the potatoes are again failing, and starvation will be the inevitable lot of the people. In that emergency, when it arrives, the Irish will look in vain to England, for no subscriptions or parliamentary grants or aid of any sort, publick or private, will they get; the sources of charity and benevolence are dried up; the current which flowed last year has been effectually checked by the brutality and ingratitude of the people, and the rancorous fury and hatred with

¹ On July 18th the Lord-Lieutenant issued a Proclamation against the treasonable proceedings of the Repeal Clubs in Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda. On July 21st Lord John Russell announced that the Habeas Corpus Act would be suspended in Ireland. The Bill was brought in on the 22nd, and carried through the House of Commons in one day, and passed the House of Lords on the 24th. It came into operation in Dublin on the 26th.—R.

which they have met our exertions to serve them. The prospect, neither more nor less than that of civil war and famine, is dreadful, but it is unavoidable.

John Russell gave notice the other night of the measures he meant to go on with, and those he meant to abandon; nobody expected anything more, so no great complaints were made. The Government is safe enough, but they fall more and more into discredit. There has been a blunder about the sugar duties, which makes the Government look ridiculous, and it is in fact the constant repetition of small things which damages their credit, and makes them so miserably weak. Grey's affair was a body blow, for the effect of it has been undeniably great. The funds have been rapidly rising and trade improving little by little, but this Irish affair has checked the rise and produced alarm. Then the potatoes are failing in England, and we have every chance of low prices of agricultural produce without abundance, and if this should happen we shall have an unquiet winter. So far as I can form an opinion from what I heard in my tour, the state of the country is not satisfactory. Chartism seems to increase, and the masses, the operatives in villages, are restless, ill-disposed, and want they know not what. It is a great evil that while education is sufficiently diffused to enable most people to read, they get either from inclination or convenience nothing but the most mischievous publications, which only serve to poison their minds, to render them discontented, and teach them to look to all sorts of wild schemes as calculated to better their position. The best part of the Press (the 'Times,' for instance) seldom finds its way to the cottages and reading-rooms of the lower classes, who are fed by the cheap Radicalism of the 'Weekly Dispatch,' and other journals unknown almost to the higher classes of society, which are darkly working to undermine the foundations of our social and political system. The lessons of experience which might be so well taught by the events now passing in France and elsewhere, are not presented to the minds of the people in a manner suggestive of wholesome inferences, but on the contrary they are only used as stimulants and for purposes of misrepresentation and perversion.

July 22nd.—Last night John Russell gave notice of a Bill to enable the Lord-Lieutenant to apprehend any suspected persons, and Lord Lansdowne did the same in the H. of Lords. Lord L. made a very

animated speech, but it was impossible not to think that all he said and was going to do might as well have been said and done long ago. Brougham said as much; Stanley spoke very well; and the announcement was hailed with universal satisfaction. It would have been still better in my opinion if they had suspended the Habeas Corpus at once.

July 24th.—The H. of C. was wonderful on Saturday; nobody had the least idea of it, not the Cabinet. It was an inspiration of John Russell's; he began by making an excellent speech, an hour and a half. When they divided he made a speech in the lobby, begged the people not to go away, and said he meant to propose to go on with the Bill. To his own amazement as much as anybody's, he found no opposition, and carried the Bill through at the sitting. By seven o'clock it was completed and he was on his way to Richmond, where I dined with him. He was in high spirits; Shiel and Ward were there, and we talked over the payment of the Priests, which we all agreed (John included) must be soon done, or at least attempted. Yesterday was spent in searching for precedents, to see if it was possible to pass the Bill to-day through the Lords. The Chancellor, D. Wellington, and others, said it was impossible, as notice must be given of the suspension of the Standing Orders. Lord Lansdowne said if only *one* precedent could be found he would take it, and carry the Bill through; but if not, they must wait till to-morrow. I should have *made* the precedent: a more fitting occasion could not be. However, what was done in the H. of C. will infallibly produce all the effect that is required, and will strike terror into the Irish rebels. It was a great event, for which neither the Lord-Lieutenant nor anybody in Ireland will have been the least prepared.

July 31st, Monday.—At Goodwood all last week where I lost all my money and am ashamed of myself for being a miserable blunderer at the miserable trade I drive; found no time to write or do anything there. The day after we arrived we were startled by the intelligence of the rebellion in Ireland having actually broken out; it was not, however, believed, and turned out to be a disgraceful hoax.¹ Instead

¹ Upon the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, Smith O'Brien and the other leaders of the Repeal movement fled to Ballingarry, where they were ignominiously hunted down by a party of fifty policemen and soon afterwards captured. The crisis had arrived, and the whole agitation collapsed.—*R.*

of breaking out, it has not shown a symptom of vitality, and all the swaggering and boasting and the dreadful threats and exhibition of physical force have absolutely shrunk into nothing and evaporated before the formidable preparations and determined attitude of the Government. The Leaders are skulking about nobody knows where; the clubs are either suppressed or self-dissolved; the people exhibit no disposition to rise; the sound and fury which were echoed and re-echoed from the clubs and meetings, and through the traitorous press, have been all at once silenced. The whole thing is suddenly become so contemptible as to be almost ridiculous. My own conviction was (and I wrote to Clarendon so) that there would be no outbreak; but I did not contemplate that all these mighty preparations, this club organisation and universal arming would all at once dwindle into nothingness and general submission just as easily as the Chartist demonstrations did here some weeks ago; but so it is, and it is now pretty clear that in a short time Ireland will be just as quiet and submissive as if Conciliation Hall had never existed. The most satisfactory part of the business is the good conduct of the Catholic Clergy, who appear to have very generally used their influence over the people to deter them from their rebellious courses. It is to be hoped that the recollection of their behaviour on this trying occasion will have a considerable effect in paving the way for the payment of the Irish Clergy, when that vital question comes on, as very soon it must. George Grey declared himself in favor of it in a speech which he made on Saturday last, and it is clear that as soon as Ireland is thoroughly pacified, this question must be regularly taken up by the Government, and in spite of all the opposition which pride, prejudice, and bigotry will throw in its way, it must be forced through. It seems at first sight as if the best thing which could happen was the bloodless suppression of this talking rebellion, but I am not sure that it would not have been better in the end if the Leaders had succeeded in bringing together a body of insurgents, and if a signal chastisement and ignominious dispersion of them had taken place. There would be a great advantage in letting them see the fearful consequences of a collision, and as far as England is concerned, the people of this country would be better disposed to clemency and conciliation after they had severely punished the Irish for their turbulence and folly. As

matters are, though there will be no outbreak, no bloodshed, and an easy triumph, it will leave the great chronic disease of the country just where it was; the disaffection, the hatred of the Union, the enmity to law, will remain the same; the people will be subdued but not reconciled; and these feelings will be the stronger because the distress will be greater than ever. No country can be so shaken to pieces without enormous distress to the masses; and if the potato crop again fails (as it has threatened to do) the misery will be appalling and irremediable. By what has passed and is still passing, England will not be softened towards Ireland, but contempt will be added to resentment.

Clarendon will, I take it, have been astonished at the result corresponding so little with the beginnings of this Irish manifestation. He evidently considered an outbreak as imminent and almost certain. The D. of Bedford showed me a letter from him which he received at Goodwood, bitterly complaining of the Government for not having at an earlier period furnished him with the powers he demanded, and saying that though he had repeatedly asked both John Russell and George Grey to do so, they never would. He said he had never to any human being disclosed what had passed between himself and the Government on this matter, but he evidently feels deeply hurt both at their not attending to his request, and at the blame of stronger and earlier measures not having been applied for, being thrown upon him. It is certainly true that the Government have allowed it to be believed that they have all along been ruled by his advice, and that they have done at each successive stage of the business all that he desired. Even Lord Lansdowne in the H. of Lords the other night declared that there had been the most perfect agreement all along between the Government and the Lord-Lieutenant.

I dined at Holland House yesterday, and sat next to Old Adair, eighty-five years old, but with mind very fresh. He lived in great intimacy with all the 'great of old, who still rule our spirits from their own,' and I believe possesses a great store of anecdotes of bygone days. He gave me an account of young Burke's preventing the reconciliation between his Father and Fox, which, however, is too well known to require repetition; but he told me how the Duke of Portland came to be put at the head of the Whig party on the death of Lord

Rockingham in '82, which I had not heard before. There was a meeting of the party to chuse their Chief; the Duke of Richmond put forth his pretensions, but he was so great a Radical (having views of Parliamentary Reform not only far beyond those of any man of that day, but beyond the Reform we have actually got), that they were afraid of him; and Charles Fox got up and said that he thought He, as Leader of the H. of Commons, had claims at least as good as the Duke of Richmond's, but that they ought both of them to waive their own claims, and in his judgement the man they ought to place at their head was the Duke of Portland. This compromise was agreed to, but the D. of Richmond was so disgusted that he joined Lord Shelburne. My Grandfather was a very honorable, highminded, but ordinary man; his abilities were very second-rate, and he had no power of speaking; and his election to the post of Leader of the great Whig party only shows how aristocratic that party was, and what weight and influence the Aristocracy possessed in those days; they would never have endured to be led by a Peel or a Canning. Adair told me that Old Lord George Cavendish¹ expressed the greatest indignation at their party being led by *Burke* in the H. of Commons, and it was this prevalent feeling, together with the extraordinary modesty of Burke, who had no vanity for himself (though a great deal for his Son) which accounts for the fact (so extraordinary according to our ideas and practice) that though Burke led the Whig party in the H. of C. for four or five years, when that party came into power He was not offered a place in the Cabinet, but put in a subordinate office, which he condescended to accept, seeing men so immeasurably inferior to himself occupying the highest posts.

August 5th.—In Ireland there has hardly been a semblance of resistance; flight and terror and sulky submission have been the order of the day. Meanwhile the military preparations and arrangements have not been relaxed, and the arrests have been multiplied. Hitherto the search for O'Brien and the other Leaders has been fruitless, and it is currently reported that the former has escaped; letters have been written with detailed accounts of his escape, but this is believed to be only a trick to facilitate it. The rebellion is effectually suppressed, but

¹ Lord George Cavendish (1727–94), second son of third Duke of Devonshire; M.P., 1750–94; at his death the 'Father' of the House of Commons.

the state of Ireland is lamentable, and a great and long futurity of difficulties and evils may be expected. Very few arms have been taken; they are all hid by the Peasantry, to be drawn forth when occasion offers itself.

Hardinge is just gone over.¹ Brougham in the H. of Lords delivered a flaming panegyrick on Hardinge's patriotism in going, and the Duke of Wellington's wisdom in appointing him; but the real truth is that he was selected for this post by the Queen and John Russell; without the knowledge and not entirely to the satisfaction of the Duke. Neither did Clarendon like the appointment, and H. himself, though he evinced a proper devotion and immediately consented to go, begged he might be released as soon as possible. Arbuthnot told the D. of B. that it was a pity John had not consulted the Duke about sending Hardinge, instead of only telling him after it was settled, which sufficiently shows the Duke's feeling; and Clarendon from what he said, though he made no objection, evidently did not like it. If they had known how little there would be to do, he probably would not have been sent to Ireland at all. The Duke does not think very highly of Hardinge's military talents. The two men whom he places his confidence in are Sir Charles Napier and Sir Harry Smith;² he was asked the question, and this was his answer; and moreover he thinks that on one occasion in India Hardinge committed a dangerous military blunder which Gough repaired; whereas all the world believes that Gough, though a very brave soldier, was a very inefficient commander, and that to Hardinge was attributable the success of the Sikh campaign.³

¹ He was appointed to a special military command in Ireland under Sir Edward Blakeney, the Commander-in-Chief.

² Sir Harry Smith (1787-1860), first baronet; served under Wellington, 1808-15; won the battle of Aliwal against the Sikhs, 1846; created baronet, 1846; Governor-General of the Cape, 1847-52; defeated the Boers at Boom Platz, 1846.

³ The statement that Hardinge committed a military blunder which Gough repaired, rests on no good authority, and is highly improbable. I have been favoured by the present Viscount Hardinge with the following interesting account of what took place on the eve of the battle of Ferozeshah. 'My father gave his star to his surgeon, Dr Walker, in the middle of the night of December 21st, and sent him with Colonel Wood, his military secretary, who was badly wounded, into Ferozpoor. He and Lord Gough, although some counselled a retreat on Ferozpoor, both agreed that although matters were very critical from the behaviour of the native troops, yet there was but one course to pursue—to attack in the morning, beat the enemy or die honourably on the field. Mr Greville has mixed up this occurrence with what happened on the following day, the 22nd, about noon, after the

The true history of that campaign is as yet very little known, but whenever it is fairly put before the world it will exhibit one of the most striking and extraordinary examples of the chances and accidents on which the fate of Empires depends that has ever been recorded. I have often heard that the events of those Sikh battles were very precarious, but it was only the other day that I heard on what a marvellous accident the last great battle depended. Hardinge considered the battle lost, and the destruction of his army inevitable. Not expecting to survive the defeat, he gave his watch and some other things about him to one of his Officers, desiring him to have them conveyed to his wife, with the assurance that his last thoughts were with her. At this juncture a Staff Officer (whose name I did not hear), who from nervousness or fear had lost his head, went to the Commander of our Cavalry, and told him that he was the bearer of an order to him to retire. He asked if he had no written order, he said he had not, but he spoke so positively as to the instruction with which he was charged, that the other believed him and began to draw off his men. This movement was seen by the Sikhs, and, mistaking its purport, they fancied it indicated a disposition to take them in flank and cut off their communications. They were seized with a sudden panic, and immediately commenced their retreat: it was thus that this victory was won when it was all but lost, and won by the mistake or the invention of an officer who in terror or confusion had communicated an order which never was given to him, and which he had himself invented or imagined. It is universally agreed that if we had been defeated in that action our Eastern Empire would have been lost to us, for the prestige of our power would have been lost, and all India would have risen to cast off our yoke. After the action the question arose how this officer was to be dealt with, but it was not considered prudent to bring him to a Court-martial, when the consequences of his conduct had been such as they were, and the inquiry

enemy had been beaten in the morning and had fallen back on the Sutlege. Colonel Lumley, the D.A.G. of cavalry, ordered the whole of the cavalry brigade into Ferozpoor on the *assumed* authority of Lord Gough. This happened almost simultaneously with the advance of a fresh Sikh force, which after firing a few shots retired again to the river. This action on the part of the Sikhs was never explained, but it was naturally supposed that they were afraid of being outflanked, as Mr Greville puts it. This I witnessed myself, and can vouch for the truth of it.—R.

might have revealed the magnitude of the peril from which we had escaped.

August 8th.—At Latimers from Saturday till Monday. Called on Wrio Russell at Chenies, and Lady W.¹ told me that there is not far off a Chartist establishment; a society of Chartists located and living on land bought by Chartist subscriptions; a sort of normal society. It has existed some years, but is now falling into decay. Feargus O'Connor spoke to Charles Russell about it, and said he wished his brother would take some notice of them, *for they liked to be noticed by people of rank*; and he added, 'Collectively they are with me, but individually they are with you.' In these words a great lesson and significant fact are contained well worth attention.

On arriving in town yesterday, found the news of S<mith> O'B<rien>'s capture, which some think a good thing and some a bad. It is certainly embarrassing and very difficult to know what can and what ought to be done with him; some say he is mad, some are for hanging him, some for transporting, others for letting him go; in short *quot homines tot sententiæ*. He is a good-for-nothing, conceited, contemptible fellow, who has done a great deal of mischief and deserves to be hung, but it will probably be very difficult to convict him.

August 10th, Thursday.—On Tuesday evening Stanley made a brisk attack on the Government for their Sicilian policy; Lord L<ansdowne> made a moderate defence.² They refused to say whether they had or had not instructed Parker to prevent the Neapolitan fleet attacking Sicily, from which it is of course inferred that such instructions have been given him in violation of the principle of non-intervention and the laws of nations.³ The man in the Cabinet who has been most strenuous for intervention (after Palmerston) has been Grey!

August 16th, Wednesday.—Went on Saturday with Ld. Lansdowne

¹ Elizabeth Laura Russell (d. 1886), daughter of Lord William Russell; married Rev. Lord Wriothesley Russell, 1829.

² An insurrection broke out in Naples on May 16th, and soon afterwards the people of Sicily declared their independence. This movement was much favoured and indirectly aided by the British Government.—R.

³ In July 1848 Admiral Parker, commanding the Mediterranean fleet, received orders from the Admiralty to salute the Sicilian national flag 'as soon as possible,' which he had already done on July 12th; but no instructions were ever sent to him to prevent the Neapolitan fleet attacking the insurgents.

and Granville to Stowe:¹ worth seeing, but a sorry sight; a dull, undesirable place, not without magnificence. The garden front is very stately and palatial; the House full of trash mixed with some fine things; altogether a painful monument of human vanity, folly, and, it may be added, wickedness, for wicked it is thus recklessly to ruin a great House and wife and children.

Thence to Nuneham, a charming place, and on Monday to London. I heard an anecdote at Nuneham which was new to me: Harcourt gave it on the authority of Sir Robert Peel. He said that when the discussion took place about the East Retford question during the Duke of Wellington's Government, *in the Cabinet* Peel was for giving the representation to one of the great towns, and Huskisson against it; that Peel was overruled by a majority of his colleagues and consequently took the part he did in Parliament; while Huskisson was induced to change his opinion and to take in Parliament the opposite line from that which he had taken in the Cabinet; He and Peel, in fact, both changing sides. His colleagues were naturally very indignant with Huskisson, and this accounts for the bitterness which the Duke of Wellington evinced, and for his celebrated 'No mistake.'² This seemed to me a strange story, though some people there wondered I had never heard it before. If it be true, it is equally discreditable to both Peel and Huskisson; in the former it was both a fault and a crime; it was a great error in judgement and very wrong in itself.

I found a letter from Clarendon when I got to town, telling me he had been 'much bothered by the vacillation and timidity of our rulers on this occasion as on the preceding ones, when I was compelled to insist on further power for the protection of life and the maintenance of law and order. It is not pleasant to have to poke a Cabinet into a sense of duty, or to extract by threats as if for a personal favor that which should be readily acceded to when the public necessity for it was proved and manifest. However, that has been my task, and I don't much care if the thing is achieved and nobody knows it. . . . Against the clubs a law of some kind was necessary. No one

¹ The Duke of Buckingham being ruined, all the contents of the great house of the Grenvilles at Stowe were sold by auction. All London went to see the place, the furniture, and the curiosities. Even the deer in the park were for sale.—*R*

² When, in 1828, Huskisson attempted to withdraw his resignation, the Duke said 'There is no mistake, there can be no mistake, and there shall be no mistake.'

could doubt that, and so I insisted, making *for the third time* my remaining here conditional upon it. So they succumbed, but not with a good grace, etc.' All along the Government have been afraid to adopt a vigorous and decided course, and have been fencing with Clarendon, who has insisted on it. The consequences of endeavouring to make the law work are now apparent in the failure of the first of the trials. It is trying to make bricks without straw; the people will not work the machinery of the law, but, on the contrary, abhor and will oppose the law itself; everybody sees that and still the Government don't dare openly say so, and adopt the measures that are necessary to cope with the difficulty. There was an excellent article in the 'Morning Chronicle' yesterday in this sense. I pointed it out to Lord Lansdowne, who expressed his concurrence with it. However, for the present I believe Clarendon is in possession of power enough to keep the country in order. He can imprison everybody and put down the clubs by so doing, but he will never be able to obtain convictions. Indeed, it would probably be better they should all fail at first than have one succeed every now and then, just enough to prevent their having recourse to another system.

The brilliant success of the Austrians and the disgraceful termination of Charles Albert's campaign¹ has produced a fresh interest in foreign affairs and great anxiety as to the result of the offered mediation of England and France. Palmerston's conduct throughout the Milanese war has been very extraordinary, but I will pronounce no positive opinion on it till I am better informed of all the hidden circumstances in which the question has been involved. What appears is this: some time ago the Austrians invited our mediation, sent Hummelauer over here for that purpose, and were prepared to make great sacrifices to settle the question. Palmerston refused; he thought the Austrian cause was irretrievably ruined and that all Italy would be lost to them, and he wished that result to take place. Old Radetzky² cunctando restituit rem, and the tide of war was on a sudden victoriously rolled back, and the King of Sardinia completely baffled. Then Palmerston stepped in with his offer of mediation when

¹ Charles Albert of Savoy (1798-1849); King of Sardinia, 1831-49.

² Count Johann Radetzky (1766-1858); first fought in the war against Turkey, 1788-9; created field-marshal, 1836; evacuated Milan, March 23rd, 1848; recaptured Milan, August 5th, 1848; again defeated Charles Albert at Novara, 1849; Governor-General of Lombardy, 1848-57.

there were no longer any parties to mediate between, or matters to mediate about, losing sight of his own conduct in the Swiss affair, when after the defeat of the Sunderbund he declared that the quarrel was decided and no mediation was necessary. He is now on the best possible terms with Cavaignac, and acting cordially with France. Cavaignac seems to have behaved with great frankness and good sense; he sent Beaumont here with the most amicable professions;¹ he said that his object was to preserve peace, did not attempt to disguise the fact of the deplorable state of his finances, and the great object it therefore was to abstain from war; but he appears to have assumed that the honor of France was in some way concerned in delivering by fair means or foul the Milanese from the Austrian yoke. How far Palmerston has admitted this pretension remains to be seen, and we do not yet know whether he has come to an understanding with France as to what is to be done by her in the event of the joint mediation being declined; whether or no he has tacitly or expressly assented to the invasion of Italy by the French, and their making war on Austria to expel her from Lombardy. It would hardly appear possible that he should have done so, if it were not for his conduct in reference to Naples and Sicily, for if it turns out to be true that the British Admiral is ordered to prevent the King of Naples from making any attempt to reconquer Sicily, he cannot object to the French Government's interfering in the affairs of the North of Italy. But if the Austrians reject the mediation (as they probably will), and Cavaignac sends an Army across the Alps with our connivance and consent, we shall not play a very dignified part, and I question if such policy will find general acceptance here.

August 20th, Sunday.—On Wednesday night D'Israeli made a very brilliant speech on foreign affairs in the H. of Commons, and Palmerston a very able reply which was received with great applause and admiration. It was, however, only a simulated contest between them; for Dizzy, while pretending to attack P. with much fire and fury, did not in reality touch him on difficult points. In reference to the mediation, P. had with his usual good luck received on the morning of the debate a communication from the Austrian Minister stating

¹ M. Gustave de Beaumont came to London as French Ambassador under Cavaignac. His accomplished wife was a granddaughter of M. de Lafayette.—R.

the desire of his Court to avail itself of our mediation, of which he availed himself with great effect. His speech was certainly very dexterous, and all the more because he contrived to glide undetected over the weak points, and to satisfy the H. of C. without giving them any information whatever.

All the people who come from Paris represent the state of affairs there and in France in a curious light. The tranquillity is complete, the submission general, and there is little probability of any fresh outbreak, none of a successful one. The Republick is universally despised, detested, and ridiculed, but no other form of Government and no Pretender is in much favor or demanded by publick feeling and inclination. They hate the Republick because they are conscious that the Revolution which turned France into one has inflicted enormous evils upon them. The best chance *at the present moment* seems to be that of the D. de Bordeaux, Henry V, not because anybody cares about *him*, for He is almost unknown in France, and what is known *of* him does not make him an object of interest to Frenchmen, nor (what is by no means unimportant) to Frenchwomen; but he represents a principle, and there still lingers in many parts of France, and reigns in some, a sentiment of attachment and loyalty to the Elder branch and the legitimate cause. This gives him a chance, but nobody seems to have any idea what sort of monarchy could be restored, if to a monarchy the French eventually recur. But I was told last night by Bulwer, who is just come from Paris, a fact which if it be true is of great importance, and that is that there has sprung up in France a great respect for station and position, which is a sentiment that did not exist before, and which indicates a revolution in the minds of men of a very reactionary and beneficial character.

Bessborough, who is just come back from Ireland, brings a very bad account of the state of the country, and Clarendon seems to have talked to him very openly upon all matters connected with Irish administration, and the views and conduct of the Government here. Though the rebellion is put down, the whole animus of the people is as bad as ever; they brood over their defeats, and only long for revenge and action at some future time. The outbreak was within an ace of taking place, and seems to have been prevented by an accident and by the pusillanimity or prudence of the clubs. They had

established a very perfect club organisation and were in a state of great preparation, but had resolved not to rise till September. When the suspension of the Habeas Corpus was proposed, Smith O'B. and the other leaders saw that they must proceed to action then or that they should be taken up, and they proceeded to Carrick, addressed the people, and asked them if they were ready; they said they were, but the clubs must be consulted; he sent to the clubs, but a small body of troops having marched into Carrick the same day, the clubs were intimidated and refused their consent to the rising. This put an extinguisher on the whole thing; if the clubs had consented thousands would have poured down from the hills, and the country would everywhere have been up. He says Clarendon does everything in Ireland himself, and directs Judges, Law-Officers, Commander-in-chief, Stipendiary Magistrates, Police Constables—his work enormous. He wants to come over here that he may see the Cabinet collectively and explain his own views and opinions; he is evidently disgusted to the greatest degree at the impossibility of getting them to move out of the beaten track, and face the difficulties of the case by measures of a decisive character. He thinks Clanricarde is the man in the Cabinet who is most opposed to his policy, and that, from the most selfish and narrow motives.

September 5th.—On Saturday to the Grange, where Charles Buller showed me a paper he has drawn up with suggestions of measures for Ireland, which are very sound and good on the whole, though I do not know that I should agree as to all the details. He proposes strong Government, abolition of Jury unanimity in criminal cases, emigration on a large scale—particularly to the Cape of Good Hope, and the constitution of a Board of employment and cultivation, who are to borrow money and invest it just as an individual capitalist might do. He adds to this, payment of the Catholic Clergy by funds to be raised in Ireland, not asking Imperial aid nor touching the Protestant Church; he only allots to this purpose £350,000—not enough. He very justly says, however, that unless Government do something bold, new, comprehensive, and on a great scale, they will incur disgrace and ultimately ruin.

We had a Council yesterday for the parting Speech, and to-day this long session, the longest and most tedious ever known, closes. On

Wednesday last, D'Israeli with a great flourish of trumpets and note of preparation delivered an oration à la Lyndhurst, of three hours long, to which John Russell made a pretty good reply. Dizzy's speech was very sparkling and clever, but it was, after all, nothing but a theatrical display, without object or meaning but to show off his own powers. It was prefaced by a sort of advertisement that the great actor would take his benefit that morning on the stage of St. Stephen's; an audience was collected, and he sent word to Delane that he was going to speak in order that he might have one of his best reporters there. He quizzed Charles Wood unmercifully, and showed up a good many of the blunders and *really stupid things* which the Government did in the course of the session.

September 22nd.—No sooner was Parliament up than every creature took flight, and London became more empty and deserted than ever I saw it.

September 28th.—I was about to record my own proceedings and such other scraps as occurred to me, when my mind was diverted from all other topics by the intelligence of the death of George Bentinck. This event was so strange and so sudden, that it could not fail to make a very great sensation in the world, and so it did. It would be false and hypocritical were I to pretend that it affected me personally with any feeling of affliction, but I can say with truth that I was much shocked, and that I was sincerely sorry for it. I was sorry for the heavy blow thus inflicted on his Father and his family, and it was impossible not to regard with compassion and something of regret the sudden termination of a career which promised to be one of no small prosperity and success. He was in truth a very remarkable man, of a very singular character and disposition, and his history is one very much out of the common way. I am in one respect better, and in another worse, fitted to describe him than any other person, for nobody knew him so intimately and so well as I once did, nobody is so well acquainted with his most private thoughts and feelings as well as with his most secret practices; but, on the other hand, I should never be deemed an impartial biographer of a man from whom I have been so long and completely estranged, and between whom and myself there existed such strong feelings of alienation and dislike. Nevertheless, I will try to describe him as I think he really was, nothing

extenuating, and nothing setting down in malice. The world will and must form a very incorrect estimate of his character; more of what was good than of what was bad in it was known to the publick; he had the credit of virtues which he did not possess, or which were so mixed with vices that if all had been known he would have been most severely reproached in reference to the matters in which he has been the most loudly and generally bepraised; but his was one of those composite characters, in which opposite qualities, motives, and feelings were so strangely intermingled that nothing but a nice analysis, a very close and impartial inspection of it, can do him justice. His memory has been kindly and generously dealt with; he was on the whole high in favor with the world; he had been recently rising in publick estimation; and his sudden and untimely end has stifled all feelings but those of sympathy and regret, and silenced all voices but those of eulogy and lamentation. He has long been held up as the type and model of all that is most honorable and high-minded; 'iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,' indeed, but the lofty and incorruptible scorner of everything mean and dishonorable, and the stern exposor and scourger of every species of delinquency and fraud, publick or private. Oh for the inconsistency of human nature, the strange compound and medley of human motives and impulses, when the same man who crusaded against the tricks and villainies of others did not scruple to do things quite as bad as the worst of the misdeeds which he so vigorously and unrelentingly attacked! But it is only possible to make his character intelligible by a reference to certain passages of his life, especially to his transactions and connexions with myself.

He was brought up at home under a Private Tutor, was not studious in early life, and very soon entered the army. I do not remember whether he went to a publick school. He soon distinguished himself in the army by his great spirit and courage, and by that arrogance which was his peculiar characteristic, and which never deserted him in any situation or circumstance in which he was placed. I well remember his getting into a quarrel which would have led to a duel, if his Father had not got me to go to the Duke of York, by whose interposition the hostile collision was prevented.¹ I have, however,

¹ He had a great many quarrels, and at last he fought a duel in which Rous was his second, who knows all the details of it.—G.

forgotten both the name of his antagonist and the merits of the case. He very soon quitted the Army, and when Mr. Canning became Prime Minister he made George his Private Secretary. It has been said that Canning predicted great things of him if he would apply himself seriously to politicks, but I do not know whether this is true. It is certain that after Canning's death, although by no means indifferent to publick affairs, he took no active or prominent part in them, and the first development of his great natural energy took place in a very different field. He fell desperately in love with the Duchess of Richmond, and he addicted himself with extraordinary vivacity to the turf. At this time and for a great many years we were most intimate friends, and I was the depository of his most secret thoughts and feelings. This passion, the only one he ever felt for any woman, betrayed him into great imprudence of manner and behaviour, so much so, that I ventured to put him on his guard. I cannot now say when this occurred, it is so long ago, but I well recollect that as I was leaving Goodwood after the races I took him aside, told him that it was not possible to be blind to his sentiments, that he was exposing himself and her likewise; that I did not mean to thrust myself into his confidence in so delicate a matter, but besought him to remember that all eyes were on him, all tongues ready to talk, and that it behoved him to be more guarded and reserved for her sake as well as his own. He made no reply, and I departed. I think I repeated the same thing to him in a letter; but whether I did or no, I received from him a very long one in which he confessed his sentiments without disguise, went at great length into his own case, declared his inability to sacrifice feelings which made the whole interest of his existence, but affirmed with the utmost solemnity that he had no reason to believe his feelings were reciprocated by her, and that not only did he not aspire to *success*, but that if it were in his power to obtain it (which he knew it was not), he would not purchase his own gratification at the expense of her honor and happiness; in short, his letter amounted to this—

Let me but visit her, I'll ask no more;
Guiltless I'll gaze, and innocent adore.

At the time it was much believed that a liaison existed between them, and there were persons who pretended that they knew it.

Stradbroke spoke to Richmond about it, and articles appeared in some of the low weekly papers, dealers in scandal, which he traced (as he believed) to George Lennox, Richmond's brother. Once and once only he spoke to me on this subject. He then poured forth all his feelings, but he gave me to understand that something had occurred of a painful nature. I did not ask and never knew what it was, and we neither of us ever recurred to the subject again. His intimacy with the whole family continued the same in appearance, but it was not without disagreeable drawbacks and occasional clouds.

I allude to this to show the terms of intimacy on which he and I were, and likewise to do justice to the purity and unselfishness of his devotion, for I am certain that all he said to me was true. He was, however, not of a very warm temperament, and this may perhaps materially diminish the virtue and the value of his high-flown and self-immolating sentiments; but let them pass for what they are worth.

The first time I ever knew him much occupied with politicks was during the great Reform battles in 1831 and 1832, when he was member for Lynn. He took much the same views that I did, and was very anxious to modify the Reform Bill and render it a less Radical measure. The people of Lynn wanted a member and commissioned him to find one, and he exerted himself greatly for that purpose. By his desire I applied to Kindersley,¹ then a man of some eminence at the Chancery bar, but he declined. I remember that He and his Father did not coincide in their opinions. The Duke was frightened out of his wits, dreaded the loss of his vast property, and thought that the only safe policy was unconditional submission to the roar for Reform. Hating the measure in his heart, he was against any endeavour to arrest its progress; and he was not at all pleased with George for the part which he took. The latter, however, to do him justice, was never afraid of anybody or anything; and he sturdily but deferentially adhered to his own opinion in opposition to the Duke's. Meanwhile, he constantly attended Newmarket, and it was not long before he began to have horses of his own, running them, however, in my name. The first good racehorse he possessed was 'Preserve,' whom I bought for him in 1833, and She, alas! was the cause of our first quarrel, that

¹ Sir Richard Kindersley (1792-1879); K.C., 1825; Master in Chancery, 1848; Vice-Chancellor, 1851-66; knighted, 1851.

which was made up in appearance, but in reality never. Of course in this quarrel (which took place in August 1835) we both thought ourselves in the right. Till then not an unkind word had ever passed between us, nor had a single cloud darkened our habitual intercourse; but on this occasion I opposed and thwarted him, and his resentment broke out against me with a vehemence and ferocity that perfectly astounded me, and displayed in perfection the domineering insolence of his character. I knew he was out of humour, but had no idea that he meant to quarrel with me, and thought his serenity would speedily return. I wrote to him as usual, and to my astonishment received one of his most elaborate epistles, couched in terms so savage and so virulently abusive, imputing to me conduct the most selfish and dishonourable, that I knew not on reading it whether I stood on my head or my heels. I was conscious that his charges and insinuations were utterly groundless, but what was I to do? I could not tamely endure such gross and unwarrantable insults, and I could not challenge my Uncle's Son. In this dilemma I consulted a friend, and placed the letter in his hands; he went to him, and (not I believe without great difficulty) he persuaded him to *ask* to withdraw it. It was agreed that the letter should be destroyed, and that there should be no ostensible quarrel between us; but it was evident that our turf connexion could no longer subsist, and accordingly it was instantly dissolved, and other arrangements were made for his stud. He sold some of his horses and got Lord Lichfield to take the others.

Then commenced his astonishing career of success on the turf; he soon enlarged the sphere of his speculations, increased his establishment, and ultimately transferred it all to John Day at Danebury, where he trained under all sorts of different names, it being a great object with him to keep his Father in ignorance of his proceedings.¹ He and I met upon civil but cool terms, according to the agreement; but in about two years we began to jumble into intimacy again, and at length an incident happened which in great measure replaced our relations on their former footing. My horse 'Mango' was in the St. Leger, and I wanted to try him. John Day told me he was sure Lord George

¹ Some years before he had lost £11,000 at Doncaster, which he could not pay. The Duke was greatly annoyed, but paid the money for him, exacting a promise that he would not bet any more on the turf. Of course, he never dreamt of his keeping racehorses.—G.

would gladly try him for me. I proposed it to him, and he instantly assented. We went down together and tried him. He won his trial, won the St. Leger, and George won £14,000 on the race.¹—All this contributed to efface the recollection of past differences, and we became mutually cordial [and ‘Yours affectionately’] again.² With me the reconciliation was sincere. I had forgiven his behaviour to me, and desired no better than to live in amity with him for the rest of my life; whether it was equally sincere on his part he alone knew, but I very much doubt it. We continued, however, to live very well together up to the time when he brought out the famous ‘Crucifix,’³ when, without any fresh quarrel, our intimacy became somewhat less close in consequence of my perceiving a manifest intention on his part to keep all the advantage of her merits to himself without allowing me to participate in them. Still we went on, till the occurrence of the notorious ‘Gurney affair,’ on which he and I took opposite sides, and in which he played a very conspicuous and violent part.⁴ While this

¹ In 1837.

² It was not long after this that a very important incident in his *curf life* occurred. The Duke, his Father (the most innocent of men), had his curiosity awakened by seeing a great number of horses running in the names of men whom he never saw or heard of. These were all his Son’s aliases. He asked a great many questions about these invisible personages, to the great amusement of all the Newmarket world. At last it was evident he must find out the truth, and I urged George to tell it him at once. With great reluctance and no small apprehension he assented, and mustering up courage he told the Duke that all those horses were his. The intimation was very ill received; the Duke was indignant. He accused him of having violated his word; and he was so angry that he instantly quitted Newmarket and returned to Welbeck. For a long time he would not see George at all; at last the Duchess contrived to pacify him; he resumed his usual habits with his Son, and in the end he took an interest in the horses, tacitly acquiesced in the whole thing, and used to take pleasure in seeing them and hearing about them.—G.

³ ‘Crucifix’ won the Two Thousand Guineas and the Oaks in 1840.

⁴ A full meeting of the Jockey Club was held on February 5th, 1842, to consider the betting transactions of Richard Gurney at the Derby of 1841. Gurney had been a heavy winner but a still heavier loser over the account; and the Jockey Club had appointed three managers to collect the debts and pay the creditors, and until their certificate had been received Gurney was to be considered a defaulter. The required certificate that all the creditors had been paid in full was presented by the managers in the previous December, but Lord George Bentinck protested that some of the creditors had accepted a composition, which he held to be unfair to those who had paid their debts in full. After four hours’ discussion Lord George was outvoted and the Jockey Club sanctioned the settlement arrived at. Thereupon a Mr Thornton, who had paid £1250 into the pool under guarantee that the creditors were to be paid in full, sued the managers in the Exchequer Court and recovered the money, which he handed over to Christ’s Hospital. The Stewards retaliated by advertising Thornton as a defaulter; and they called upon the Duke of Portland, the lessee of Newmarket Heath, to warn him off. This the Duke refused to do, and published a letter in support of his son’s view of the matter; while Thornton sued the Stewards for libel and was given £200 damages.

was going on we were brought into personal collision at Newmarket in a matter relating to the revision of the rules of the Jockey Club, when his arrogance and personal animosity to me broke out with extraordinary asperity. There was still no regular and avowed quarrel till the Spring following (184-), when at a meeting of the Jockey Club I made a speech in opposition to him which he chose to construe into an intentional insult, and the next time he met me he cut me dead. I made several attempts, as did our mutual friends, to do away with this impression and to effect a reconciliation, but he refused to listen to any explanation or overture, and announced his resolution not to make it up with me at all. From that time our estrangement was complete and irreparable. He was now become the Leviathan of the turf; his success had been brilliant, his stud was enormous, and his authority and reputation were prodigiously great.

In 1844 he became still more famous by his exertions in detecting the 'Running Rein' fraud, and in conducting the 'Orlando' trial. There can be no doubt that the success of that affair was in great measure attributable to his indefatigable activity, ingenuity, and perseverance. The Attorney in the cause was amazed at the ability and dexterity he displayed, and said there was no sum he would not give to secure the professional assistance of such a coadjutor. He gained the greatest credit in all quarters by his conduct throughout this affair, which was afterwards increased by his manner of receiving a valuable testimonial, subscribed for the purpose of honouring and rewarding his exertions: he refused to accept anything for himself, but desired the money might be applied towards the establishment of a fund to reward decayed and distressed Servants of the turf, which was eventually denominated 'The Bentinck Fund.'

It was in the course of this transaction that an incident occurred which had in the end, though indirectly, an important influence upon his Character and his career. The Baron de Teissier,¹ who was a Steward of Epsom races, had refused to entertain the protest which (before the Derby) was tendered to him against 'Running Rein.' His conduct was discussed at a meeting of the Jockey Club, when

¹ James, first Baron de Teissier (1794-1868), of Woodcote Park, Epsom, Surrey; of Huguenot descent; created baron by Louis XVIII on account of his father's hospitality to French refugees, 1817.

G. Bentinck openly and with his usual vehemence accused him of corrupt motives. The Baron demanded an enquiry; and one took place before the whole Jockey Club, at which G. Bentinck brought forward his charges in a very elaborate speech of two hours long. It will be seen hereafter what important consequences flowed from this speech. The following year (1845) there was a great explosion in consequence of certain malpractices (and suspicions of others) on the turf, and here again George B. took a very leading part, both in the Committees in Parliament and in the Jockey Club. He had now proclaimed himself to the world as the stern and indignant vindicator of turf honor and integrity, and he announced his determination to hunt out all delinquencies and punish inexorably the delinquents in whatever station of life they might move. Accordingly a great enquiry took place in October 1845 into the conduct of certain Jockies and others, as well as into that of two gentlemen (Messrs. Crommelin and Ives), against whom he displayed the most determined and bitter hostility. These men were frightened out of their wits, well knowing the vigilance, perseverance and virulence of their enemy; and they came to me to help them out of their dilemma. Their conduct had been very questionable, but there was enough that was doubtful in it, and it was in fact so very little worse (if proved) than that of many who carried their heads high in the air, that I could without any violent breach of conscience lend them my aid to extricate them from his clutches. I had been now so long pitted against him, and we had had so many encounters, that I will not deny that I took a personal pleasure and interest in baffling him; and I did so before I became acquainted with the disclosures which were elicited in the progress of this case.

About two years before this time his connexion with John Day had ceased. Differences had arisen between them and he had transferred his horses to Goodwood. The consequence was that He and the Days regarded each other with sentiments of mutual dislike; and they were exceedingly well acquainted with the characters of each other. Crommelin had long been connected with the Days, and in the hour of his danger they came in a very extraordinary manner but very effectively to his assistance. They told him they could furnish him with weapons which in case of necessity he could wield against Lord

George with terrible effect; and that if the latter persisted in pursuing him to his ruin, he might overwhelm his accuser in a destruction not less complete. They had preserved all his correspondence during the whole period of their connexion, and the whole of it they now abandoned to Crommelin. He selected from the vast mass a number of important letters, which he brought to me. They were damning in their import, for they disclosed a systematick course of treachery, falsehood and fraud, which would have been far more than sufficient to destroy any reputation, but which would have fallen with tenfold force upon the great Purist, the supposed type and model of integrity and honor. (While I am writing this, I read in 'The Economist' as follows:—'He was the open and avowed enemy of the tricks by which horse racing is contaminated, and had acquired reputation by exposing and putting some of them down.')

I have now only a faint recollection of many of these revolting details, but some of them are indelibly impressed on my memory. The case of 'Crucifix' is at once the strongest and the most personal to myself. She was an extraordinary animal and great was his anxiety to turn her to the best account. In October, just before She ran for the Criterion stake at Newmarket, She hit her leg while turning round in the stable and after the race it was very much swelled. When he went to the stable and saw this he took fright, came down to the rooms, and availing himself of the favor She was then in he laid a great sum of money against her for the Oaks by way of hedging. This was quite fair, but the important part is what follows. He sent for the Veterinary Surgeon, Barrow by name, who, not knowing the cause of the swoln leg, gave an opinion that it was a very bad case, that She probably would not stand sound, and at all events must be blistered, fired, and thrown up for a long time. As soon, however, as She got home to Danebury young John Day, who was himself a Veterinary Surgeon,

¹ Stanley has written a letter to Tom Baring about a testimonial which is going to be got up in honor of G. B., in which is the following passage. 'An innate love of truthfulness and honor, and an intense abhorrence of all that is false, trickery, and underhand were among the leading features of his character; and, able as he was etc. etc., what won for him the respect of his opponents and the admiration of his countrymen was the conviction felt by all that he was never acting a part.' (November 4th, 1848.) What dupes people are in this world and how it does abound in humbug and delusion! The D. of Bedford may well write me word 'The nonsense that is written and spoken about G. B. surpasses anything I ever recollect.'—G.

ascertained that no mischief was done and informed G. B. that She required none of the treatment Barrow had prescribed, but would be well again in ten days. On this he formed his scheme, his object being to get back all he had laid against 'Crucifix' and as much more as he could; and in order to do this, to make everybody believe she was lame and would never run again. He began by writing to Barrow and desiring him to send him in writing his opinion of the case; and having obtained this, he had a copy made of the letter which he sent to John Day, retaining the original in his own hands. Day was ordered to show this letter to everybody to whom he could find any pretext for showing it, while he did the same with the other, amongst other people to *me*, with whom he was then living on terms of amity and ostensibly of confidence. He knew that I had backed 'Crucifix,' and he showed me this letter by way of friendly advice that I might take an opportunity of hedging my money, while he took care to plant somebody to take the odds of me, when I laid them, as I afterwards did. This game he played with others who had backed 'Crucifix,' showing them (as if by accident and while talking of other matters, and complaining of his ill luck) Barrow's letter and advising them to hedge. He spared nobody. One letter to John Day which I saw was to this effect:—He told him that *George Byng* and *Mr. Greville* were going down to Mr. B. Wall's and would probably go over to Danebury to see the horses; that he would naturally show them, and he must take care to make 'Crucifix' look as bad and as 'bedevilled' as he could; that at any rate *I* should go over, and that if I did he was to take care to show me Barrow's letter. In a subsequent letter he said that he need not show me Barrow's letter, as he had already shown it me himself. The burthen of all his letters to John Day was to show Barrow's letter to as many people as he could. It completely answered, for he got a great sum of money upon her, both for the 2000 Guineas stake and the Oaks, both of which she won.

Besides this unparalleled tissue of fraud, falsehood and selfishness, the secret correspondence divulged many other things, plans and schemes of all sorts; horses who were to be made favourites in order to be betted against—not intended to win; then horses who were to run repeatedly in specified races and get beat, till they were well handicapped in some great race which they were to run to win. There was

a horse called 'Meunier,'¹ against whom a great sum of money was laid, which was divided between *the Duke of Richmond* and himself.

One of his letters distinctly alluded to the bribery of Jockies who were to ride against him. He tells John Day he shall want to back some horse for so much for himself, so much for certain other people, and so much 'for the Jockies who were to ride against him in the race.' It would be unfair, however, to accuse him on this of direct bribery to the other Jockies not to win if they could. It was not this; but he thought it advisable as one of the means of success that the other Jockies should have some interest in his winning if they could not. However such a letter, if it had appeared, would have had a very *ugly* and suspicious look; and one can easily imagine what he would have said of it in anybody else's case.

All these things were concocted with infinite care and explained in elaborate detail, the whole forming such a mass of roguery that any attempt at explanation, extenuation, or palliation would have been vain. I will acknowledge that when this black budget was put before me, and I saw the man who had pursued me with the most unrelenting hatred thus delivered into my hands and his honor and position in the world placed at my mercy, a feeling of satisfaction was mixed with that of disgust and resentment. Not that I ever contemplated for a minute conniving at his exposure; I hope and believe that I should not have done so under any circumstances. But on his Father's account and for the credit and the peace of his family I would have done anything to prevent these letters being made publick. I therefore advised Crommelin to keep them for his own security and to deter G. B. from driving him to the wall, but neither then or at any other time to make use of them.² Crommelin scrambled out of his difficulty, and the letters remain in his possession to this hour. The contents of them were made known to a few persons—I think to 4 or 5, amongst others to George Anson, who was one of the Court of enquiry [on Crommelin and the others], and who was put in possession of these documents that he might slur the matter over and, by saving Crommelin, be the means of saving G. Bentinck also; for if the former had been condemned and disgraced he was quite determined to

¹ 'Meunier' was a chestnut colt belonging to the Duke of Richmond, foaled in 1835.

² They were afterwards destroyed.—G.

publish the whole correspondence and drag his accuser down with him, and most assuredly he would have done so.

An intimation was conveyed to G.B. that he was threatened with a retaliation of some sort, and that the Days had put Crommelin in possession of certain letters of his. He affected great indifference, but the notification had a very evident effect on his conduct during the remainder of the enquiry and from that time he never molested Crommelin any more. As we were already not on speaking terms, I had no opportunity of evincing the feeling produced on my mind by these disclosures; but I rejoiced that the quarrel had never been made up, and of course resolved that it never should be, for I must have been the greatest of hypocrites if I could have ever met him again on terms of cordiality, knowing what I knew of his baseness to me. But the only revenge which I ever desired to take was this; I wished the day might come when he should know that I had been fully acquainted with his conduct in all its details, and that I had used my best endeavours (and that successfully) to prevent a publick exposure of it. This satisfaction was never given to me and he died in ignorance of all that had passed, and no doubt with the same sentiment of enmity and dislike, which when once kindled in his bosom was rarely if ever extinguished.

And now, after having laid bare his conduct, I will endeavour to do justice to his character, which, paradoxical as it may appear, I do not believe to have been nearly so bad as such facts would warrant its being pronounced. It was in truth a strange compound of inconsistent qualities and opposite impulses, which sometimes drove him into evil, but often urged him into good courses. Undoubtedly the man who *could* act thus must have had much that was sordid and selfish in his disposition and could not have been animated with those high and unerring principles which shrink instinctively from flagrant breaches of integrity, good faith and good feeling. His mind was disturbed and debased, and bad habits and evil desires had for a time at least silenced the voice of conscience and honor and made him no better than a rogue. But this was not his natural disposition; I believe that all the time he hated and was ready to wage war with every kind of villainy which he could detect in others, and had no indulgence for any misdeeds but his own. He had made for himself

however a certain system of right and wrong, in which he allowed himself a very strange and enormous latitude. He would never have done anything which he thought wrong and which was not consistent with his own ideas; but he had taught himself to believe that such practices as I have described were permissible and all fair at the game he was playing.

He was exceedingly self-willed and arrogant, and never could endure contradiction; and whatever he undertook he entered into with an ardour and determination which amounted to a passion. As he plunged into gaming on the turf, he desired to win money, not so much for the money, as because it was the test and the trophy of success; he counted the thousands he won after a great race as a General would count his prisoners and his cannon after a great victory; and his tricks and stratagems he regarded as the tactics and manœuvres by which the success was achieved. Not probably that the money itself was altogether a matter of indifference to him: he had the blood of General Scott¹ in his veins, who won half a million at hazard, and the grandson most likely chassait un peu de sa race.

(March 4th, 1858.) <C. C. G.>

<End of Vol. II of Additional MS. 41117.>

But to do him justice, if he was 'alieni appetens,' he was 'sui profusus.' Nobody was more liberal to all his people, nor more generous and obliging in money matters to his friends, and I am inclined to think that while he was taking to himself the mission of purifying the turf, and punishing or expelling wrongdoers of all sorts, his own mind became purified, and (though I do not know it) I should not wonder if he looked back with shame and contrition to all the schemes, plots, and machinations which, in the ardour of his racing pursuit, he had so cunningly devised. What makes me think that it was less the base desire of pecuniary gain than the passionate eagerness of immense success which urged him on, is the alacrity with which he cast away his whole stud (at a moment when it promised him the most brilliant results and most considerable profits) as soon as another passion and another pursuit had taken possession of his mind; one in which there was not only no pecuniary benefit in view,

¹ General John Scott, of Balcomie, Fife, father of Joan, Viscountess Canning and Henrietta, Duchess of Portland.

but the occupation of which obliged him to neglect his turf concerns so entirely that he lost a great deal of money in consequence.

This brings me to his very extraordinary political career. There was a paper published in 'John Bull' on Sunday last with a sketch of it, which is so true and accurate that I will insert it here. 'I well remember, in the winter of '45 (when Peel's intentions began to be known or suspected) what indignation he expressed and what violent language he used about him. As soon as Parliament met he began to take an active part amongst the Protectionist malcontents, and he devoted much time to getting up the pro Corn Law case. He had never studied political economy, and knew very little on the subject, but he was imbued with the notions common to his party that the repeal of the Corn Laws would be the ruin of the landed interest; he therefore hated the Anti-Corn Law League, and—considering that the first and most paramount of duties was to keep up the value of the Estates of the order to which he belonged, and that Peel had been made Minister and held office mainly for this purpose—he considered Peel's abandonment of Protection, and adoption, or rather extension, of Free Trade, as not only an act of treachery, but of treason to the party which claimed his allegiance, and he accordingly flung himself into opposition to him with all his characteristic vehemence and rancour. Still neither He himself nor any one else anticipated the part he was about to play, and the figure he was destined to make. One of the men whom he was in the habit of talking to, was Martin, Q.C.'¹ and he told him that he had a great mind to speak on the Corn Law debate, but that he did not think he could; he had had no experience and could not trust himself.² Martin told me this. I said I thought

¹ Afterwards a Baron of the Court of Exchequer.—R.

² He told Martin that he had carefully and elaborately got up the case, but he could not make the speech, and he begged him to find a man who would use his materials and speak for him. The man found, he undertook to provide him with a seat in Parliament. The first man they applied to was Humphry. George saw and conversed with him, and immediately said he would not do. They then went to Serjeant Byles. He was delighted with the Serjeant, and would gladly have taken him, but, after at first consenting, the Serjeant drew back and declined the task. After this, Martin asked Frederic Robinson if he knew of a man, when he replied, 'It is all nonsense, looking out for a man; he must make the speech himself. Do you think the H. of Commons would listen to a hired Orator, brought down for the purpose? They will listen to him and to nobody else.' This Martin repeated to him, telling him it was very true; and then he added what I had said about his speech in the case of the Baron de Teissier. He said, 'Did he really say so? I thought it very bad, and I was disgusted at doing it so ill, and making such bad use of the good materials I had.' The next

was advocating, and seizing all that could be turned to account by any amount of misrepresentation and suppression he might find it convenient to employ. It was thus he acted in the West India Committee; his labour and application were something miraculous; he conducted the enquiry very ably, but anything but impartially; having had no political education, and being therefore unimbued with sound principles on fiscal and commercial questions, he had everything to learn; and having flung himself headlong into the Protectionist cause, he got up their case just as he did that of 'Orlando' and 'Running Rein,' and ran amuck against everything and everybody on the opposite side.

Against Peel he soon broke out with indescribable fury and rancour. Nothing could be more characteristic than the attack he made upon him about his conduct to Canning, which has been since ascribed to his attachment to the latter, and a long-cherished but suppressed resentment at Peel's behaviour to him. Nothing could be more ridiculously untrue; he did not care one straw for Canning, alive or dead, and he did not himself believe one word of the accusations he brought against Peel; but he thought he had found materials for a damaging attack on the man he detested, and he availed himself of it with all the virulence of the most vindictive hatred. It was a total failure, and he only afforded Peel an opportunity of vindicating himself once for all from an imputation which had been very generally circulated and believed, but which he proved to be altogether false. The House of Commons gave Peel a complete triumph, and G.B. was generally condemned; nevertheless, with more courage and bulldog perseverance than good taste and judgement, He returned to the charge, and instead of withdrawing his accusations, renewed and insisted on them in his reply. This was just like him; but though his conduct was very ill advised, I well remember thinking his reply (made too against the sense and feeling of the House) was very clever.

I have always thought that his conduct in selling his stud all at one swoop, and at once giving up the turf, to which he had just before seemed so devoted, was never sufficiently appreciated and praised. It was a great sacrifice both of pleasure and profit, and it was made to what he had persuaded himself was a great publick duty. It is true

he could; that I had been much struck with a speech he had made against the Baron de Teissier, when he had spoken for two hours, and in a way which satisfied me he had *speaking in him*. Martin went and told him this, which struck him very much, and it decided him (so Martin told me) to make the attempt. It was a remarkable exhibition, and made a great impression at the time: not that it was a very good, still less an agreeable speech; quite the reverse. He chose the worst moment he possibly could have done to rise; the House was exhausted by several nights of debate and had no mind to hear more. He rose very late on the last night, and he spoke for above three hours; his speech was ill-delivered, marked with all those peculiar faults which he never got rid of; it was very tiresome; it contained much that was in very bad taste; but in spite of all defects it was listened to, and it was considered a very extraordinary performance, giving indications of great ability and powers which nobody had any idea that he possessed.

The rest of his career is well known. He brought into politicks the same ardour, activity, industry, and cleverness which he had displayed on the turf, and some of the same cunning and contrivances too. He never was and never would have been anything like a Statesman; he was utterly devoid of large and comprehensive views, and he was no pursuer and worshipper of truth. He brought the mind, the habits, and the arts of an Attorney to the discussion of political questions; having once espoused a cause, and embraced a party, from whatever motive, he worked with all the force of his intellect and a superhuman power of application in what he conceived to be the interest of that party and that cause. No scruples, moral or personal, stood for a moment in his way; he went into evidence, historical or statistical, not to inform himself and to accept with a candid and unbiassed mind the conclusions to which reason and testimony, facts and figures, might conduct him, but to pick out whatever might fortify his foregone conclusions, casting aside everything inimical to the cause he

day he wrote word to Martin that he had made up his mind to make the attempt himself. This was ten days or a fortnight before the night on which he spoke.—G.

Joseph Humphry (b. 1795); admitted to Lincoln's Inn, 1816; Q.C., 1846; Master in Chancery, 1850.

John Barnard Byles (1801-84); serjeant-at-law, 1843; Judge of Common Pleas, 1858-73; knighted, 1858.

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that he had taken up his new vocation with an ardour and a zeal which absorbed his old one, but still it was a very fine act, and excessively creditable to him. He never did anything by halves, and having accepted the responsible post of Leader of his party, he resolved to devote himself to their service, and he did so without stint or reserve; and when he had ceased to be nominally their Leader (a transaction in which his behaviour was honorable and manly), and took up particular questions and the interests of particular parties, he voluntarily and gratuitously imposed upon himself an amount of labour and anxiety, which beyond all doubt contributed to the accident which terminated his life. Notwithstanding his arrogance and his violence, his constant quarrels and the intolerable language he indulged in, he was popular in the House of Commons, and liked more or less wherever he went. He was extremely good-looking and particularly distinguished and high-bred; then he was gay, agreeable, obliging, and good-natured, charming with those he liked, and by whom he was not thwarted and opposed. His undaunted courage and the confident and haughty audacity with which he attacked or stood up against all opponents, being afraid of no man, inspired a general sentiment of admiration and respect, and his lofty assumption of superior integrity and his resolute determination to expose and punish every breach of publick honor and morality were quietly acquiesced in, and treated with great deference by the multitude who knew no better, and were imposed on by his specious pretensions. The sensation caused by his death, the encomiums pronounced on his character, and the honors paid to his memory, have been unexampled in a man whose career has been so short, and who did not do greater things than he had it in his power to accomplish. He made himself, however, the Advocate of powerful interests, and of vast numbers of people whose united voices make a great noise in the world, and there is something in the appalling suddenness of the catastrophe which excites general sympathy and pity, and makes people more inclined to think of his virtues, his powers, and his promise, than of his defects. Of the latter perhaps the greatest was his constant disposition to ascribe the worst motives to all those to whom he found himself opposed;

Suspicion always haunts the guilty mind;

and when he invariably fancied that he saw intentional fraud and the utmost baseness in the conduct of his antagonists, it is impossible not to ascribe such false and erroneous views of human nature to the moral consciousness which was the result of his own former courses, constantly suspecting others of the same sort of practices with which he was once so familiar. I have not the least doubt that, for his own reputation and celebrity, he died at the most opportune period; his fame had probably reached its zenith, and credit was given him for greater abilities than he possessed, and for a futurity of fame, influence, and power which it is not probable he ever would have realised. As it is, the world will never know anything of those serious blemishes which could not fail to dim the lustre of his character; he will long be remembered and regretted as a very remarkable man, and will occupy a conspicuous place in the history of his own time.

October 20th.—Just after writing the above I saw the correspondence which took place between G.B. and Bankes, on his giving up the Leadership, from which it was evident that the labour and anxiety had already begun to make no inconsiderable inroad on his constitution, and that he was quite conscious of the risk he incurred by continuing his parliamentary and political career with the same intensity.

One day the week before last, I dined with D'Orsay to meet Louis Blanc. Nobody there but He and I. We had a great deal of talk. He is very gay, animated, and full of information, takes in very good part anything that is said to him, and any criticisms on his Revolution and the Provisional Government. After that, a week at Newmarket, and last week at the Grange with a large party, agreeable enough. Dumon was there, and we asked him for some explanation why the Government of which he was a member had so obstinately refused to concede any reform. He gave an explanation and apology for their conduct, which was not very satisfactory, and amounted to little more than the old story of the necessity of keeping together the Conservative majority. Louis Blanc told me the Revolution had not ruined France; that the ruin was already consummated, and the Revolution only tore away the veil which concealed it.

November 7th.—A week more at Newmarket, where I caught the gout after a long interval, and then to town. Notwithstanding that I have had on the whole a successful year on the turf and particularly

the latter part of it, I am left with a weariness and disgust which I cannot describe and a longing to find some way of escaping from the trammels of this pursuit. This feeling has repeatedly haunted and assailed me—then I have thrown it off and begun again with some zest; and in such alternations of fancy and disgust I have gone on, and go on still, and probably shall go on till the sense of self reproach and a sort of blame become so strong that they drive me to make an effort for my own liberation. I think I have during the last racing meetings felt more than ever the lassitude, the ennui, the intolerable idleness, the absolute *fainéantise* of the life of the place. It unhinges, enervates and discomposes my mind. It half paralyses my faculties, it disturbs my temper, and really renders me unfit for society. It makes me shy, stupid and silent. It is a moral and intellectual disease; there is no reason why this should be so, but so it is. Then I grow more and more disgusted with the atmosphere of villainy I am forced to breathe, and at the sight of the long processes of fraud and the systematick robberies with which I am perforce made familiar and from which it is not easy to keep oneself undefiled. It is monstrous to see high bred and high born gentlemen of honoured names and families, themselves marching through the world with their heads in the air, 'all honorable men' living in the best, the greatest and most refined society, mixed up in schemes which are neither more nor less than a system of plunder, stooping to a camaraderie with rascals who pass their lives in fraud, deceit and robbery and who scruple at no means of making money, only taking care to avoid detection and to carry on their machinations with a secrecy essential to success. Sometimes I feel disposed to detail all these things; but it is enough now to record the sensations of shame, disgust, regret and remorse with which they oppress me.

While I was at Newmarket, Clarendon came over here, but I never succeeded in seeing him till yesterday. He is to have the Garter, Leinster and Fitzwilliam having both refused it, and he wished to refuse it also, but John made a point of his taking it. A Committee of Cabinet is appointed to consider of Irish measures, but I see very clearly that no attempt will be made to pay the Priests; and though I have not changed my opinion as to the measure itself, I am disposed to think that at this time it could not be attempted with any chance of

success. While everything else is in a constant state of change, Protestant bigotry and anti-Catholic rancour continue to flourish with undiminished intensity, and all the more from being founded in nothing but prejudice and ignorance, without a particle of sense and reason.

November 11th.—G. Bentinck's servant called on me the other morning, and told me that he had a strong impression his Lord would have soon thrown up politics and taken to racing again as suddenly as he took to the former; that his interest in the turf continued to be very great; and that his disappointment at the failure of his West Indian attempt had been excessive, having been confident of success, and of turning out the Government upon it. The man gave me many details of his labours and exertions, all corresponding with what I had heard before. He often sat up all night, never got any air or exercise, and passed his whole time between his own house and the H. of Commons, writing, reading, and seeing people, often as many as twenty or thirty in a day.

The Irish scheme propounded by Charles Buller, and so readily taken up by the Government (at first), seems now likely to vanish in smoke. It was soon evident that the payment of the Priests would not be attempted. Clarendon has been always against it, and he showed me two days ago a letter from Redington¹ (who had undertaken during his absence to sound the Catholic Prelates), with an account of his conversation with Archbishop Murray, from which it was clear that it would be useless to attempt it, and so Redington himself said, he being the man (so Clarendon told me) above all others most strongly feeling the degradation of his Church; so that this matter will be left in statu quo. Last night I met Charles Wood, and soon found from his conversation that there is not much greater probability of the financial part of the scheme being carried out. He, at all events, is dead against it, against raising money and expending capital *by the Government*. I said something about this part of the plan, when he said, very contemptuously, 'What, you are in favor of that scheme, are you? I am surprised that with your sense you should think it practicable.' He then went off upon the inexpediency of any Government

¹ Sir Thomas Nicolas Redington (1815-62); Whig M.P. for Dundalk, 1837-46; Undersecretary for Ireland, 1846-52; K.C.B., 1849.

interference, admitted the evils that existed, the ruin that would overtake a great many people, but nevertheless was for letting matters take their course. He said: 'You are in too great a hurry. I admit that capital is required for improvement, but it must come in the regular way and by private investment. There is great depreciation, and there will be more, and in the end this will attract capital, and people who have money to lay out will have recourse to this as a profitable investment.' It is needless to detail our several arguments, and sufficient to say that with the Chancellor of the Exchequer of this mind it is not likely that anything will be done. I told Charles Buller in the evening what had passed, and he said it was only what he expected, as from the moment a *Committee* of Cabinet was appointed he was sure nothing would be done.

C. Wood lamented to me very bitterly the fatal effects of the mistake Peel had made in abolishing all Corn duty whatever (prospectively) and the Timber duties. He said G. Bentinck was quite right in his preference for low duties instead of abolition, and that if we could now have the above duties they would relieve the revenue from almost all its difficulties, and be felt by nobody; and the unhappy thing is that this mistake is irretrievable, for *revocare gradum* is totally impossible. Peel acknowledged his error about timber, and probably he might also about corn. He was, in fact, misled and carried away by his flourishing revenue, and did what he did without consideration.

November 15th.—The scheme for improving Ireland seems likely to fall to the ground altogether. Everybody affirms or admits that the time is so unpropitious for 'endowment' that it is useless to think of it, and C. Wood and G. Grey have convinced themselves that Parliament and the country will not be disposed to advance money in any shape for Irish purposes. I had a long conversation with Clarendon on the subject yesterday, and laboured to persuade him that this was an error, and that if Government can show that the money will be judiciously employed, and in all probability that there will be no ultimate loss to the State, there will be no difficulty in gaining the assent of Parliament to the fiscal part of the proposed plan.

In the morning I met Bunsen, who said the King of Prussia was going on well, and he augured success to his present measures. It is a

great thing to see reaction anywhere, and the revolutionary and democratic tide rolled back which has been deluging all Europe; but this is a very doubtful contest, and the King inspires no confidence.¹ The Prussian affair points a great moral, and reads an important lesson. It shows at once the danger of resistance to just demands and reasonable desires, and the dangers and evils of full democratic sway, sweeping everything before it. If the King of Prussia had long ago fulfilled his promises, and given a constitution to his Country while he could have done so gracefully and safely, the new institutions would have had time to develop and consolidate themselves, and would in all probability have proved the security of the Crown when the flood of revolution broke over Europe. He refused, and fought it off so long that at last his people grew discontented and angry, and when the French Revolution set all Germany on fire, the work was so far from being perfected that the Crown was left to battle with the democratic fury that broke forth, and its own weakness and vacillation rendered the power irresistible which still might have been coerced and restrained. Whether it is still time to retrace his steps remains to be seen. The success of Louis Napoleon in France now seems beyond all doubt.² Thiers has sent a message to Guizot (through a friend of both) to say that he is resolved to take no part in his Government, and Normanby informs me that Odilon Barrot is to be his Minister. This will make the whole thing perfect, O. B. being of all men the most unpractical, and having failed ridiculously in everything he ever undertook.

November 25th.—I met Guizot at dinner twice last week. He told me Thiers had sent a man over to him, *and to the King*, to make him the assurance above stated. Rather curious his keeping up this communication with the exiled Sovereign and Minister—the two men, too, whom he most detests. I asked him if he believed what he said,

¹ After a succession of riots and changes of ministry in Berlin during the summer of 1848, the King of Prussia abandoned his liberal policy and appointed Count von Brandenburg President of the Council on November 9th. Von Brandenburg immediately removed the Assembly from Berlin, broke up the meetings of the Liberal members by military force, and dissolved the National Guard.

² Preparations for the Presidential election were being made in France at this time. The two chief rival candidates were General Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon; but Cavaignac had lost his popularity, and was eventually defeated by 5,500,000 votes to 1,500,000 at the poll on December 10th.

when he intimated that it might or might not be true. They have never sent the Royal Family any money up to this time, though the Chamber long ago voted back their property; but the Government have promised to send the King £20,000, and the D. d'Aumale¹ £10,000; the latter has £50,000 a year and no debts. From what Guizot's daughter² said to me, it is clear they by no means give up the idea of returning to France and of his taking a part in publick affairs, but not yet.

Clarendon went to see the King a few days ago, and was with him two hours, when he told him the whole history of his flight and all his adventures. He said, he should not know which to vote for, Cavaignac or L. Napoleon, if he had a vote to give. Guizot, however, is all for the latter, I can very well see. He told me it would be the first step towards a Monarchy, but he did not say what Monarchy he meant. The King told C. we need not fear a war; that the Army knew its strength, and meant to exercise it, and would insist on deciding on the political futurity of France; that it detested the Republic, but had no desire to go to war, and moreover it could not, for it was *dénuée de tout*. He said nobody knew how ill provided the French army was, and that this was alone a security against war. C. told him he did not consider it as such, as a country like France could always provide everything very quickly, but that he thought there were other causes operating in the direction of peace. He found him very well and in very good spirits; he has been greatly pleased at the visits of the National Guards to him (who went in great numbers); but it drives him wild when they say to him, 'Sire, pourquoi nous avez-vous quittés?' He knows he threw everything away, and constantly tries to persuade himself and others that the Army would not have supported him. Flahault said to him the other day that he had no right to cast such an imputation on the Army, which had proved its fidelity in all circumstances and to all Governments, even in July, and that the Army would have saved him if it had been allowed to act. Everybody now knows that if he had done anything but run away, if he had

¹ Henri Eugène d'Orléans, Duc d'Aumale (1822-97), fourth son of Louis Philippe; Governor-General of Algeria, 1847-8; lived in England, 1848-70; *député*, 1871-6; banished from France, 1885.

² Henriette Guizot (b. 1829), eldest daughter of Guizot; married Conrad de Witt, 1850; published *Monsieur Guizot dans sa famille*, 1880, as well as many historical novels.

gone to St. Cloud only, or anywhere, and called the Troops about him, all would have been saved. He threw his cards on the table, and the game was stupidly and disgracefully lost.

I met Guizot at Reeve's on Thursday, with a M. Lemoinne,¹ one of the rédacteurs of the 'Journal des Débats,' and the man who wrote the excellent articles on England and our politicks and condition, showing great knowledge of this country. There were, besides, Woodham,² who writes in the 'Times,' a clever man and Longman.³

Clarendon told me he had a long talk with Queen and Prince at the Priory the other day, when they imparted to him their extreme dissatisfaction with the foreign policy of their own Government for the last six or eight months, their abhorrence of Charles Albert, and their entire sympathy with all the political reactions now going on. He did not like to say much on the subject, rather delicate for him, and contented himself with hearing what they had to say and expressing his own ignorance of all details.

November 29th.—Melbourne died on Friday night at Bocket, without suffering pain, but having had a succession of epileptic fits the whole day, most painful and distressing to his family collected about him.

This morning has occurred the death, after a short illness, of another remarkable man, Charles Buller. He had an operation successfully performed about ten days ago, but he was afterwards attacked by typhus fever and diarrhœa. The case became hopeless, and he expired at half-past five this morning in the forty-first year of his age. The career of Melbourne was over; that of C. Buller for great and useful purposes may be said to have been only just beginning. Melbourne's friends are deeply annoyed and angry at a biographical article on him which appeared in the 'Times' the morning after his death; and it certainly was coarse, vulgar, and to a great degree unjust. It was a mere daub and caricature, and very discreditable to the paper. I bitterly attacked Delane about it, who attempted but failed

¹ John Lemoinne (1815-92); began contributing to the *Journal des Débats*, 1840; became chief Editor during the Empire; supported the Orleanists until 1873, when he became a Republican; senator, 1880-92.

² Henry Annesley Woodham (1814-75); Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge; for many years a regular leader writer for *The Times*.

³ Thomas Longman (1804-79), the publisher; succeeded his father as head of the firm, 1842; published for Macaulay and Disraeli.

at making a defence. I hope the universal disapprobation which this article has met with will make him change his biographer and employ for the future a lighter and more delicate hand.

It is a very difficult thing to write a good article upon Melbourne, one which shall delineate his character with impartiality and discrimination, and describe fairly and truly his political career. I have known a great deal of him in the course of my life, but I never lived in real intimacy with him; and as he at no time seemed to have much inclination for my company (though we were always very good friends) I saw but little of him; but every now and then we had something to say to each other, and at rare intervals we met on intimate and confidential terms. He was certainly a very singular man, resembling in character and manner (as he did remarkably in feature) his Father, the late Lord Egremont.¹ He was exceedingly handsome, when first I knew him, which was in 1815 or thereabouts. It was at this period that the irregularities of his wife² had partly estranged him from her, though they were not yet separated, and he was occasionally *amused* by her into condonation of her amours, and into a sort of half-laughing, half-resentful reconciliation. They lived in this queer way. He, good-natured, eccentric, and not nice (*originally in the MS. [brutal]*); She, profligate, romantic, and comical. Both were kept together, as they had been brought together, by the influence and management of their common relations and connexions; but it was during this period that he devoted himself with ardour to study, and that he acquired the vast fund of miscellaneous knowledge with which his conversation was always replete, and which, mixed up with his characteristic peculiarities, gave an extraordinary zest and pungency to his society. His taste for reading and information, which was confirmed into a habit by the circumstances of those years, continued to the end of his life, unbroken, though unavoidably interrupted by his political avocations. He lived surrounded by books, and nothing prevented him (even when Prime Minister, and with all the calls on his

¹ This sounds strange, but it was believed by those who were acquainted with the *chronique scandaleuse* of a former generation, in the last century, that William Lamb and Lady Cowper (afterwards Lady Palmerston) were not the children of their putative father, the Lord Melbourne of that day, but of Lord Egremont.—*R.*

² Lady Caroline Lamb (1785–1828), only daughter of third Earl of Bessborough; married William Lamb (afterwards second Viscount Melbourne), 1805; published *Glenarvon*, 1816; separated from her husband, 1825.

time, to which he was compelled to attend) from reading every new publication of interest or merit, as well as frequently revelling amongst the favourite authors of his early studies. His memory was extremely retentive, and amply stored with choice passages of every imaginable variety, so that he could converse learnedly upon almost all subjects, and was never at a loss for copious illustrations, amusing anecdotes, and happy quotations. This richness of talk was rendered more piquant by the quaintness and oddity of his manner, and an ease and naturalness proceeding in no small degree from habits of self-indulgence and freedom, a licence for which was conceded to him by common consent, even by the Queen herself, who, partly from regard for him, and partly from being amused at his ways, permitted him to say and do whatever he pleased in her presence. He was often paradoxical, and often coarse, terse, epigrammatic, acute, droll, with fits of silence and abstraction, from which he would suddenly break out with a vehemence and vigour which amused those who were accustomed to him, and filled with indescribable astonishment those who were not. His mother-in-law, Lady Bessborough, told me that high office was tendered to him many years before he began to play any political part, but at that time he preferred a life of lettered and social idleness, and he would not accept it. He never was really well fitted for political life, for he had a great deal too much candour, and was too fastidious to be a good party man. It may be said of him, at least in his earlier days, that he was

For a Patriot too cool, for a drudge disobedient,
And too fond of the right to pursue the expedient.¹

And still less was he fit to be the Leader of a party and the Head of a Government, for he had neither the strong convictions, nor the eager ambition, nor the firmness and resolution which such a post requires. From education and turn of mind, and from the society in which he was bred and always lived, he was a Whig; but he was a very moderate one, abhorring all extremes, a thorough Conservative at heart, and consequently he was only half identified in opinion and sympathy with the party to which he belonged when in office, often dreaded and distrusted his own colleagues, and was secretly the enemy of the

¹ From the lines on Burke in Goldsmith's *Retaliation*.

measures which his own Government originated, and of which he was obliged to take the credit or bear the obloquy. No position could be more false than the position in which Melbourne was often placed, and no man ever was more perplexed and tormented than he was by it, for he was remarkably sensitive; and most of the latter years of his administration were passed in a state of dissatisfaction with himself and with all about him. He hated the Reform Bill, which he was obliged to advocate. He saw, indeed, that Reform had become inevitable, and therefore he reconciled it to his conscience to support the Bill; but he had not sufficient energy of character or strength of will to make a stand against the lengths which he disapproved, and he contented himself with those indirect attempts to modify it which I have narrated in their proper place. It was probably his personal popularity, and the reluctance of Lord Lansdowne to take so laborious a post,¹ which led to his being made Prime Minister on the resignation of Lord Grey, for there never was a man more incapable of exercising the vigilance and supremacy which that office demands. After the great breach of 1835, and the abortive attempt of William IV to throw over the Whig Government, his relations with his Ministers became very uncomfortable; but Melbourne was a good-natured man, and a gentleman, and perhaps no one else would have gone on with the King so harmoniously as he managed to do.

But it was upon the accession of the Queen that his post suddenly grew into one of immense importance and interest, for he found himself placed in the most curious and delicate position which any Statesman ever occupied. Victoria was transferred at once from the nursery to the throne—ignorant, inexperienced, and without one human being about her on whom she could rely for counsel and aid. She had been bullied by the Dss. of Kent and Conroy *<originally in the MS. [her mother and her mother's paramour]*, and though not

¹ I read this to Lord Lansdowne, and he told me what had occurred about himself. When the Whigs came in, in '30, Lord Grey proposed to him to be First Lord of the Treasury, and offered to take the office of Privy Seal himself. Lord L. told him the Government must be *his* Government, that he should only be *his* First Lord, and that it was fitter and better he should take the post himself: besides that, for various reasons, he had no disposition for it, and he would rather take some other office. When Lord Grey retired, and the King sent for Melbourne, M. spoke to Lord L. and said, 'I believe you don't wish to take Lord Grey's place, is not that the case?' Lord L. said it was so, and that he might make himself quite easy as far as he was concerned. He had no objection to remain where he was, but would not be at the head of the Government.—G.

without affection for her mother she [hated and] feared them both. She found in her Prime Minister and constitutional adviser a man of mature age, who instantly captivated her feelings and her fancy by his deferential solicitude, and by a shrewd, sagacious, and entertaining conversation, which were equally new and delightful to her. She at once cast herself with implicit confidence upon Melbourne, and, from the first day of her reign, their relations assumed a peculiar character, and were marked by an intimacy which he never abused; on the contrary, he only availed himself of his great influence to impress upon her mind sound maxims of constitutional Government, and truths of every description that it behoved her to learn. It is impossible to imagine anything more interesting than the situation which had thus devolved upon him, or one more calculated to excite all the latent sensibility of his nature. His loyal devotion soon warmed into a parental affection, which she repaid by unbounded manifestations of confidence and regard. He set himself wisely, and with perfect disinterestedness, to form her mind and character, and to cure the defects and eradicate the prejudices from which the mistakes and faults of her education [and perhaps in some degree of her character] had not left her entirely free. In all that Melbourne said and did, he appears to have been guided by a regard to justice and truth. He never scrupled to tell her what none other would have dared to say; and in the midst of that atmosphere of flattery and deceit which Kings and Queens are almost always destined to breathe, and by which their minds are so often perverted, He never scrupled to declare boldly and frankly his real opinions, strange as they sometimes sounded, and unpalatable as they often were, and to wage war with her prejudices and false impressions with regard to people or things whenever he saw that she was led astray by them. He acted in all things an affectionate, conscientious, and patriotick part, endeavouring to make her happy as a woman, and popular as a Queen.

It is notorious that he committed two great errors in judgement, both of which were attended with disastrous consequences, and I believe that in both cases his discretion was misled by his feelings, and that it was his care for her ease and happiness which betrayed him into these fatal mistakes. The first was the Flora Hastings affair, the scandal of which he might certainly have prevented; the other was

the Bedchamber quarrel when her reluctance to part with him, and his tenderness for her, overruled his better judgement, and made him adopt a course he must have known to be both impolitic and wrong. In these affairs (especially the first), Melbourne must have suffered torments, for his tender solicitude for the Queen, and the deep sense of his own responsibility, were sure to weigh heavily upon him. His influence and authority at Court were not diminished, nor his position there altered, by her marriage; but the Prince, though always living on very friendly terms with him, was secretly rejoiced when the political power of this great favourite was brought to a close; for, so long as Melbourne was there, he undoubtedly played but an obscure and secondary part. When the inevitable change of Government at last took place, the parting between the Queen and her Minister was *very sorrowful to both, and it was then that he gave his last and generous proof of his anxiety for her happiness in sending me with his advice to Peel.*

It would be rendering imperfect justice to Melbourne's character to look upon him rather as a Courtier than as a Statesman, and to fancy that he made his political principles subordinate to his personal predilections. He was deeply attached to the Queen, but he had all the patriotism of an English gentleman, and was jealous of the honor and proud of the greatness of his country. He held office with a profound sense of its responsibilities; there never was a Minister more conscientious in the distribution of patronage, more especially of his ecclesiastical patronage. He was perfectly disinterested, without nepotism, and without vanity; he sought no emoluments for his connexions, and steadily declined all honors for himself. The Queen often pressed him to accept the Garter, but he never would consent, and it was remarked that the Prime Minister of England was conspicuous at Court for being alone undecorated amidst the stars and ribbands which glittered around him. He has been not inappropriately compared to Gaius Sallustius, as described by Tacitus: '*Quamquam prompto ad capessendos honores aditu, sine dignitate senatoriâ multos triumphalium consulariumque potentiâ anteit; diversus a veterum instituto per cultum et munditias; copiâque et affluentia luxu propior. Suberat tamen vigor animi ingentibus negotiis par, eo acrior, quo somnum et inertiam magis ostentabat. Igitur incolumi*

Mæcenate proximus; mox præcipuus cui secreta Imperatorum maxime inniterentur.’¹

From the time Melbourne left office he was only an occasional guest at Court, but the Queen continued to correspond with him constantly, and gave him frequent proofs that her regard for him was undiminished. He took very little part in politicks after 1841, and it was not long before his health began to give way. He had been so completely absorbed by the Court, that for many years he had been almost lost to society; but as soon as he was out of office, he resumed his old habits, and was continually to be found at Holland House, at Lady Palmerston’s, and with a few other intimate friends. There he loved to lounge and sprawl at his ease, pouring out a rough but original stream of talk, shrewd, playful, and instructive. His distinctive qualities were strong sound sense, and an innate taste for what was great and good, either in action or sentiment. His mind kindled, his eye brightened, and his tongue grew eloquent when noble examples or sublime conceptions presented themselves before him. He would not have passed ‘unmoved by any scene that was consecrated by virtue, by valour, or by wisdom.’ But while he pursued truth, as a philosopher, his love of paradox made him often appear a strange mass of contradiction and inconsistency. A sensualist and a Sybarite, without much refinement or delicacy, a keen observer of the follies and vices of mankind, taking the world as he found it, and content to extract as much pleasure and diversion as he could from it, he at one time would edify and astonish his hearers with the most exalted sentiments, and at another would terrify and shock them by indications of the lowest morality and worldly feelings, and by thoughts and opinions fraught with the most cold-hearted mockery and sarcasm. His mind seems all his life long, and on almost every subject, to have been vigorous and stirring, but unsettled and unsatisfied. It certainly was so in the two great questions of religion and politicks, and he had no profound convictions, no certain assurance about either. He studied divinity eagerly and constantly, and was no

¹ The passage occurs in the *Annals* of Tacitus, book iii. ch. 30. Sallustius Crispus was a descendant of the sister of Caius Sallustius, the historian, who allowed him to assume the name of Sallust. Horace addressed to him the second Ode of the second book of *Odes*.—R.

contemptible theologian; but he never succeeded in arriving at any fixed belief, or anchoring himself on any system of religious faith. It was the same thing in politicks. All the Liberal and Constitutional theories which he had ever entertained had been long ago more than realised, and he was filled with alarm at the prospect of their further extension. All his notions were aristocratic, and he had not a particle of sympathy for what was called progressive reform. He was a vehement supporter of the Corn Laws, abused Peel with all the rancour of a Protectionist, and died in the conviction that his measures will prove the ruin of the landed interest.

During his administration his great object seemed to be to keep a ricketty concern together, less from political ambition than from his personal feelings for the Queen. He abhorred disputes and quarrels of every description, and he was constantly temporising and patching them up when they occurred in his Cabinet (as they often did) by all sorts of expedients, seldom asserting either the dignity or the authority of his position as head of the Government. Such weak and unworthy misrule brought his Cabinet, his party, and himself into contempt, and it was unquestionably in great measure owing to his want of judgment and firmness that they became so unpopular, and at last fell with so little credit and dignity as they did in '41. He was capricious about money, and generous and stingy by fits and starts. Easy and indolent, he suffered himself to be plundered by his servants, and took little trouble in looking after his affairs. He was fond of his family, and much beloved by them, but, both with regard to them and his friends, he was full of a jealousy and touchiness, which made him keenly alive to any appearance of indifference, and equally sensible of any attentions that were shown him. This grew into a morbid feeling after his health had given way, and tinged his latter days with melancholy, for he fancied himself neglected and uncared for. On the formation of John Russell's Government, he was mortified at not being invited to take a share in it. It was evident that he was conscious of, and bitterly felt, the decay of his own powers, and the insignificance to which he was reduced. He would, if he could, have disguised this from himself and others, but it preyed on his mind, and made him very unhappy, and often apparently morose. Sometimes his feelings would find vent in these lines from the 'Samson Agonistes,'

which he would repeat with a sad memory of the past, and sense of the present:—

So much I feel my genial spirit droop,
My hopes all flat, nature within me seems
In all her functions weary of herself,
My race of glory run, and race of shame,
And I shall shortly be with them that rest.

Taking him altogether, he was a very remarkable man in his abilities and his acquirements, in his character and in his career, with virtues and vices, faults and merits, curiously intermingled, and producing as eccentric results as society has [ever] beheld.

December 2nd.—The death of Charles Buller has occurred when he can be ill spared to the party of which he was rapidly becoming an important member, and to the Country which he was well capable of serving. He is a great social and a great public loss, more especially in days of mediocrity and barrenness like the present. He was clever, amiable, accomplished, and honest. His abilities were of a very high order, and though he loved the world and its pursuits, he had great powers of application. Few people were more agreeable and entertaining in society, and he had a very gentle and affectionate disposition. He never made, and never would have made, much progress in the profession of the law, which he originally embraced. It was evidently unsuited to his genius, his taste, and his habits, and he judged rightly in exchanging it once for all for a political career, in which, had his life been spared, he would have achieved great eminence. In politicks He was originally a Radical, but though the old leaven not unfrequently showed itself, it was greatly modified in his latter years; and when he manifested ultra-Liberal sympathies, it was probably more from love of paradox and controversy, than from real and sincere conviction. His political opinions, however, which for a long time seem to have been in an unsettled and transitional state, he never suppressed or compromised for any personal interest; and though he was both very ambitious and very poor, he never committed a mean or discreditable act for the sake of either favor or office. A man more honorable and independent never existed, and he would have been indebted for the political exaltation which was certainly in store for him to nothing but the force and influence of his own capacity and

powers. His career of usefulness was in fact only beginning. Up to a very recent period he had made no progress in public life commensurate with his ability, and especially his parliamentary talents; but if justice was not done him, it was mainly because he did not do justice to himself. [In the House of Commons (though it would be exaggeration to compare him to a luminary which appears to have been so resplendent to its own contemporaries) he may be said to have been the Charles Townshend of his day.] He was perhaps the most popular member of the House of Commons. By universal acknowledgement he was an admirable speaker, full of matter, lucid, never dull, and generally very amusing, so that he never rose without being sure of an attentive and favourable audience. His greatest speeches were on dry and serious subjects, such as colonisation, emigration, or records, none of which became heavy or uninteresting in his hands. He had, however, one great defect, which not only rendered him less agreeable in society than he would otherwise have been, but which had a very serious and unhappy influence on his political career. He was seduced by his keen perception of the ridiculous and an irresistible propensity to banter into an everlasting mockery of everything and everybody, which not only often became tiresome and provoking, but gave an appearance of levity to his character that largely deducted from the estimation in which he would otherwise have been held. It was impossible to be sure when he was in earnest and when he was in jest, when he really meant what he said, and when he was only jeering, gibing, and making game. It is incredible what damage this pernicious habit did him; for it created a notion that though he was very witty and entertaining, he had no settled principles and convictions, and that he 'made a mockery of life.' Of this defect (with which his friends had often reproached him) he was manifestly curing himself. He had begun to take a more sober and earnest view of the great concerns of the world, and his really excellent understanding was asserting its predominance over the wild vagaries of his wit. In thus disciplining his mind into more of practical wisdom, he was paving the way for his own success; and had he not been snatched away thus suddenly, 'while his hopes were as warm and his desires as eager as ours,' he would have become an eminent man. As it is he has left behind him a memory cherished for its

delightful social qualities, and a vast credit for undeveloped powers. It may well be said of him that:—

A merrier man
 Within the limits of becoming mirth
 I never passed an hour's talk withal.
 His eye begets occasion for his wit,
 And every object that the eye doth catch
 The other turns to a mirth-moving jest.¹

Yesterday, Clarendon went to the Grange in his way to Ireland. I had a long conversation with him before he went. He told me what they are meditating for Ireland. They give up all idea of paying the Priests, and laying out money for any purpose but that of emigration. For this, however, they have a great scheme connected with Canadian railways. Their purpose is to establish a vast line of railways in Canada, and to make a large emigration from Ireland for this purpose. A tax on Canadian timber, and a sum of money to be borrowed here, the interest on which Clarendon thinks he can supply (£180,000), are to provide the necessary funds. They have satisfied themselves that this is as much as they can venture to attempt.

He told me that Wyld² (to whom the Prince is in the habit of talking very openly) told him that the Prince had been discussing with him the possibility of some change of Government being rendered necessary by John's health breaking down, and that they would like him (Clarendon) to succeed him, and that if such an event occurred, the Queen would certainly send for him to consult him on the subject. C. desired him to take an opportunity of telling the P. that no power on earth should induce him to accept such a post, and as it was much better the Queen should never make an overture which would not be accepted, he wished none such might ever be made to him. He then gave his reasons for considering himself disqualified. I told him they would not accept his excuses, because since his Irish administration he had acquired a reputation which rendered him in the eyes of the world fit for any post, but that I understood well why for various reasons he might wish to decline the office. He said he could not speak, and had not had parliamentary ex-

¹ *Love's Labour's Lost*.

² Colonel William Wyld, Groom of the Bedchamber to Prince Albert at this time; major-general, 1854; general, 1866.

perience enough, having come too late into the H. of Lords, and never having been in the H. of C. Finally he begged me to tell anybody who suggested such a possible contingency, that no power on earth would ever induce him to take it. But I don't think he was displeased when I told him I should certainly not say that, because I did not consider it so absolutely impossible, and that events might occur, and the state of parties be such, that his acceptance of the post would become a matter of public necessity and a public duty on his part. The truth is, he is sincere in his disclaimer, but with an *arrière-pensée* of ambition, which not unnaturally smiles on the idea of such a prodigious elevation.

December 9th.—Dined on Tuesday last with Milman; Guizot, Macaulay, Hallam, etc.; Macaulay receiving (with great modesty) felicitations and compliments on his book,¹ of which the whole impression was sold off, and not a copy was to be got, though it had only been out three days. Macaulay and Hallam talked of a branch of our literature of which Guizot (well informed as he is) could know nothing. Macaulay's French is detestable, the most barbarous accent that [has] ever *écorché les oreilles* of a Parisian.

On Tuesday breakfasted with Macaulay, very small party and nothing remarkable. Went in the afternoon to see Beauvale. He talked to me of Melbourne, and so did She.² They are not at all pleased at Brougham's being his Executor, which astonishes everybody. It would be mighty inconvenient to have M.'s papers overhauled by B. Ellice has written to him to propose that they should all be delivered to Beauvale unseen by anybody.

M.'s conduct in respect to the Queen's correspondence has been unpardonable, and considering his fondness for her inconceivable. From the moment of her accession She corresponded with him whenever they were apart with the greatest unreserve. Accordingly, after his first paralytic attack She got alarmed about her letters, and wrote to him to say so, not however asking to have them returned. He

¹ The first two volumes of Macaulay's *History of England* were published at the end of November 1848.

² Alexandrina Sophia, Lady Beauvale (1818-94), afterwards Viscountess Melbourne and Lady Forester; daughter of Count Von Maltzan, Prussian Minister at Vienna; married first to Lord Beauvale, 1841 (who succeeded his brother as Viscount Melbourne, 1848, and died 1853), and secondly the second Baron Forester, 1856.

ought then to have returned them, but he did not, and seems to have made hardly any reply. At all events if he did not send her her letters he ought to have taken measures to secure their immediate restoration to her upon his death, but he did nothing of the kind. He left them with the mass of his papers, and gave no directions about them either in his will or in the letter which he left for Beauvale.

In this letter he left certain pecuniary directions in favor of Lady Brandon¹ and Mrs. Norton, and a solemn declaration that what he had instructed the Attorney-General to say on the trial as to her purity was true. He said that, as his indiscretion had exposed her to obloquy and suspicion, he was bound to renew this declaration. Beauvale told me that Young's letter was the immediate cause of his death, as it brought on the attack from which he never rallied; but his constitution was already irretrievably shattered. His mind, however, when he mustered his energies was clear enough. I read a letter he wrote to Young, just like himself and full of his peculiarities of mind and manner.

Bowood, December 20th.—The result of the French election for President has astonished the whole world. Everybody thought L. Napoleon would be elected, but nobody dreamt of such a majority. Great alarm was felt here at the probable consequences of Cavaignac's defeat and the success of his rival, and the French funds were to rise if Napoleon was beat, and to fall if he won. The election has taken place: Napoleon wins by an immense majority, the funds rise, confidence revives, and people begin to find out that the new President is a marvellous proper man. I really believe that the foolish affair of the tame Eagle in 1840 was the principal cause of the contempt with which he was regarded here;² added to this, he led an undistinguished life in this country, associating with no conspicuous people, and his

¹ Elizabeth, Lady Branden (d. 1862), daughter of Colonel David La Touche; married fourth and last Baron Branden, 1815. Her husband was a clergyman and, according to Creevy, attempted to blackmail Lord Melbourne into making him a bishop, in exchange for a compromising correspondence between Melbourne and his wife. Lord Melbourne was cited by Lord Branden as co-respondent in a suit for divorce in 1829, but the case was withdrawn.

² On August 6th, 1840, Louis Napoleon landed at Boulogne from an English steamer he had chartered, accompanied by two generals in uniform and 53 men, together with a tame eagle. The men were disguised as soldiers of the 42nd Regiment, which was in garrison at Boulogne. But the attempt to win over the regiment failed, and Louis Napoleon was captured on the beach while trying to return to his steamer.

miserable failure in the Chamber when he attempted to speak there, confirmed the unfavorable impression. But Van de Weyer (who is here) says that he has long known him and well, that he is greatly underrated here, and is really a man of considerable ability. He crossed the water with him when he went to take his seat after his election¹ and he then expressed the most undoubting confidence in his own success at the Presidential election, and said that he had every reason to believe, if he chose to put himself forward, he would be supported by an immense force, and that he might assume any position he pleased; but that he should do nothing of the kind, that he had a legal position beyond which he would not force himself, but that he was prepared to accept all the consequences to which it might lead. And now there is a pretty general opinion that he will be Emperor before long. The ex-Ministers and Legitimists, who were hot for his election, considering him merely as a bridge over which the Bourbons might return to power, begin to think the success greater than is agreeable, and that such an unanimous expression of public opinion may lead to the restoration of the Bonapartes instead of to that of the Bourbons.

Badminton, Xmas Day, Tuesday <Monday>.—Came here on Friday from Bowood. Pahlen, Luttrell (still very lively and agreeable at 80 past) and Byng, and sixteen of the family. This family is going to the dogs as fast as the foolish pride and vanity of the good-natured host can drive it, and before long there will be a regular smash. He spent £20,000 on the unnatural contest with his brother at the last election,² without having a guinea to pay the expenses of the election with. It is a sad and melancholy thing to see.

I finished Macaulay's two first volumes before I left Bowood, and never was so delighted with any books. I meditate writing an *éloge* on them and putting it in the 'Times.'³

¹ To the French Assembly in 1848.

² At the election for Monmouthshire in 1847 Captain Arthur Somerset was put up by the Duke of Beaufort against Lord Granville Somerset, his brother and sitting member. But Lord Granville held the seat by 47 votes.

³ A long review of Macaulay's *History* appeared in *The Times* of December 26th, 1848, but it was not the work of Greville.

London, January 2nd, 1849. The past year, which has been so fertile in public misfortunes and private sorrows, wound up its dismal catalogue with a great and unexpected calamity, the death of Auckland, who went to the Grange in perfect health on Friday last, was struck down by a fit of apoplexy on his return from shooting on Saturday, and died early on Monday morning, having only shown a slight and momentary consciousness on seeing his sister Fanny¹ in the course of Sunday. His loss to the Government is irreparable, and to his family it is unspeakably great. To His sisters he was as a husband, a brother, and a friend combined in one, and to them it is a bereavement full of sadness almost amounting to despair. He was a man without shining qualities or showy accomplishments, austere and almost forbidding in his manner, silent and reserved in society, unpretending both in publick and in private life, and in the House of Lords taking a rare and modest part in debate, and seldom speaking but on the business of his own department. Nevertheless he was universally popular, and his company more desired and welcome than that of many far more sprightly and brilliant men. His understanding was excellent, his temper placid, his taste and tact exquisite; his disposition, notwithstanding his apparent gravity, chearful, and under his cold exterior there was a heart overflowing with human kindness, and with the deepest feelings of affection, charity, and benevolence. Engaged from almost his earliest youth in politics and the chances and changes of publick life, He had no personal enemies and many attached friends amongst men of all parties. His colleagues in office were fully sensible of the merits which he never endeavoured to push forward, and he was successively raised to the posts of President of the Board of Trade, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Governor-General of India; and He was a second time First Lord of the Admiralty on the formation of John Russell's Administration in 1846.

His Government of India was the subject of general applause till

¹ Frances Eden, youngest sister of the first Earl of Auckland, herself died four months later.

just as it was about to close, when the unfortunate Cabul disaster tarnished its fame, and exposed him to reproaches which he did not deserve. Whether that expedition was wisely or unwisely undertaken, it is incontestable that it was suggested or sanctioned by some of the greatest authorities both in England and in India; that the military operations were completely successful, and that the subsequent misfortunes were not attributable to any neglect or impolicy on the part of the civil Government. But rage and shame took possession of the publick mind at the bloody and discreditable reverse which befel our Arms, and without any discrimination all who were concerned in the invasion were involved in a common sentence of indignant reprobation. Lord Auckland bore this bitter disappointment with the calmness and dignity of a man who felt that he had no cause for self-reproach, probably trusting to an ultimate and unprejudiced estimate of the general merits of his laborious and conscientious administration.

His conduct of affairs at the Admiralty, his diligence, his urbanity, his fairness and impartiality have been the theme of loud and general praise. In an office in which jobbing and partiality have so often prevailed, in which from the nature of the service the Minister is compelled to disappoint many fair hopes and just expectations, and to wound the pride, the vanity, and the feelings of many brave and honorable men, it requires the greatest firmness to be just, and the nicest tact and delicacy to avoid giving offence. In this most difficult function no First Lord ever was more successful than Auckland. Always patient and affable, holding out none of the false hopes which in the end made sick hearts, dealing openly and frankly with his officers, he inspired the whole profession with confidence and esteem. Such a character and such a career may well be envied by every well-regulated mind; nor can the termination of that career, however grievous and deplorable to all who loved him, be regarded as an unhappy destiny for himself, for if the pursuits and pleasures of existence were suddenly and prematurely cut off, he was spared from sickness and infirmity with their train of suffering and sorrow, and from the privations which attend the approaches of old age and the gradual decay of the bodily and mental powers. He closed an useful, honorable, and prosperous life with his faculties unimpaired, leaving behind him a memory universally honoured and regretted, and cherished by

the tender affection and inconsolable grief of his family and his friends.
(*1 sheet of MS. here cut out.*)

This 'Annus Mirabilis,' as it may well be called, is at last over, and one can't but feel glad at getting rid of a year which has been so pregnant with every sort of mischief. Revolutions, ruin, sickness, and death have ravaged the world publickly and privately; every species of folly and wickedness seems to have been let loose to riot on the earth. It would be easy to write a great deal of wise matter, but very little that is new, on these topics. If ever mankind is destined to learn by its own experience, to look at beginnings, middles, and endings, to see what comes of what, and to test the virtue, wisdom, and utility of plausible maxims and high-sounding phrases, this has been the time for mankind's going to school and studying the lessons put before it. We have seen such a stirring up of all the elements of society as nobody ever dreamt of; we have seen a general Saturnalia—ignorance, vanity, insolence, poverty, ambition, escaping from every kind of restraint, ranging over the world and turning it topsy-turvy as it pleased. Every theory and crotchet have had full swing, and powers and dominations have bowed their necks to the yoke and cowered under the misbegotten tyranny which has suddenly changed places with them. Democracy and philanthropy have never before (or hardly ever) had their own way without let or hindrance, carte blanche to work out their own great and fanciful designs. This time they have—and all Europe exhibits the result—a mass of ruin, terror, and despair. Nothing strikes one more than the poverty of invention as well as the egregious folly of the new Patriots all over the world. They can think of nothing but overturning everything that exists, and of reconstructing the social and political machine by universal suffrage! To execute the most difficult task which the human mind can have set before it, the task which demands the highest qualities of knowledge, experience, and capacity, it is thought enough to invite masses of men with strong passions and prejudices, without even any of that practical knowledge which might serve, though inadequately, instead of theoretical, to enable them to play their part in this prodigious operation. Universal suffrage is to pick out the men fit to frame new Constitutions, and when the delegates thus chosen have been brought together—no matter how ignorant, how stupid,

how in every way unfit they may be—they expect to be allowed to have their own absurd and ruinous way, and to break up at their caprice and pleasure all the ancient foundations, and tear down the landmarks of society; and this havoc, and ruin, and madness are dignified with the fine names of constitutional reform. Nor can the excuse be urged that this inundation of wickedness and folly has been brought about by a resistance which stood out too long, and was at last swept away by the effects of its own obstinacy.

Leaving out France altogether, whose Revolution was an accident—and who is retracing her steps as fast as she can, scrambling, crest-fallen, perplexed, and half-ruined, out of the abyss into which She suffered herself to be plunged—let us look at Prussia and Rome. In both places the Sovereigns spontaneously advanced to meet the wishes and promote the interests of the people: they went to work in the right way. In Countries where the people had never exercised political rights and privileges, where self-government was unknown, it was clear that the masses were not capable of legislating or taking an immediate part in framing Constitutions for themselves; but in every country, even in the Roman States, there were some men of education, knowledge, genius, who were more or less qualified to undertake the great work, and the Pope called such men to his Councils, and gave the Romans the framework of a Government as liberal as was compatible with the working of any government at all. This was what sense and reason suggested; but, though it pleased his foolish and despicable people for a moment, they soon got tired of such safe and gradual progress as this, ran riot, flung off all controul, and proceeded from one excess to another, constantly rising in the scale of democracy, till they reached their climax by assassinating the Pope's Prime Minister,¹ and forcing the Pontiff himself to escape in disguise from Rome. Nobody knows what they want, nor do they know themselves how they are to recover from the anarchy and ruin in which they are so deeply plunged.

¹ On November 15th, 1848, Count Rossi, the Pope's Minister of the Interior, was stabbed in the neck and killed as he was entering the Chamber of Deputies. The following day a mob besieged the Pope in the Quirinal Palace, and in the course of a conflict between the mob and the Swiss Guard, Cardinal Palma, the Pope's Secretary, was shot dead. On November 24th the Pope disguised himself as a footman and escaped to Neapolitan territory.

In Prussia better things might have been expected, for there at least the people are better educated, and they have enjoyed municipal institutions, and do know something of the practice of civil administration; nevertheless, Prussia has not shown until lately much more moderation and wisdom than Rome. This, however, now appears to have been entirely the King's fault. If he had shown more firmness and decision he would have rallied round him the Conservative feelings and interests of the country; but when these interests found themselves abandoned by a Sovereign who commanded 200,000 faithful Troops, and they saw him bowing his head to the dictation of the rabble of Berlin, they lost all heart, and democracy became rampant and unrestrained.

At length a reaction began. Vienna first, and Berlin after, were reduced to obedience, and the tide is now flowing back. It is impossible to speculate on the final result, but for the present at least the disgust and abhorrence of the brutal excesses committed under the pretence of a spurious liberalism are intense and apparently increasing.

{March 5th, 1858. †G. Bentinck, Auckland, Revolutionary Europe.† (C.C.G.)}

⟨End of Vol. III of Additional MS. 41117.⟩

London, January 19th, 1849.—Laid up with the gout in both hands, and unable to write. Auckland's death naturally excited great interest and curiosity about the Admiralty. The first and most general feeling was a desire that Minto might not be his successor. This was proclaimed in the press and in all places; but such a disagreeable manifestation was hard upon him, as it turned out that he not only never aspired to the place, but he at once told John Russell to take the Privy Seal without scruple and do anything he pleased with it if his resignation would be of use in any fresh combination he might wish to make; in fact, he behaved very well. John resolved to make the offer to Graham (after having consulted Lord Lansdowne) provided the Cabinet did not object. He called them together and proposed him. Though certainly some of them did not like it, they consented unanimously, and he accordingly wrote to Graham and asked him to come up to town. Graham arrived, and they had a long and frank conversation. Graham said he was quite independent, and his being invited *alone* was no objection. He asked John what the

views and intentions of Government were, and John explained everything to him in the most open and candid manner. G. seems to have made no objections to anybody or anything, but rather to have hinted his apprehensions that they might not go far enough in the way of economy; and he showed some leaning towards Cobden's schemes, that is, he said he thought there was a great deal in his speech and letter.¹ At the end of the conversation he asked John if he had any objection to his consulting Peel, who, he had reason to believe, was to pass through London that afternoon; if he had, he would give him his answer at once. John said he had no objection, and G. went away. In the evening he came back, said he had missed Peel and could not consult him, and finally he declined, somewhat I think to John's surprise, for he gave no good reason for declining, and, after asking for information as to the Government plans, and appearing satisfied with them, John naturally expected he would accept. They parted on very friendly terms, but John is not pleased; it has not raised his opinion of Graham, and he will not make him another proposal if he can help it. They can't understand his conduct and motives, but they think he was afraid—which probably is the truth. They then proposed it to F. Baring, who took it directly. On the whole he will probably be of more use to them than Graham. The accession of the latter would have been distasteful to the Whigs generally and to many of the Government; he would not have been at his ease with his colleagues nor they with him, and I only wonder he ever hesitated. It is perhaps as well that the offer was made to him, but on the whole better as it is. The Protectionists, who, contemptible as they are as a party, can always do some mischief, would have been more disposed to thwart and embarrass the Government when Graham had become a part of it, for he is their favourite aversion.

Cobden's new economical agitation is making a great stir, and the

¹ In a letter dated December 18th, 1848, to the Liverpool Financial Reform Association, Cobden produced a wide scheme of national economy. By reducing the expenditure on armaments and levying estate duty on real estate, he calculated that it would be possible to save £11,500,000, which sum he proposed should be spent on the abolition of certain burdensome customs and excise duties. On January 10th he made a speech at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, where he elaborated his plan for reducing warlike expenditure, and declared that the risk of England being involved in a European war was not as great as the need for lower taxation.

Government are so uneasy at it that they are moving heaven and earth in the way of reduction.

Palmerston has been dreadfully nettled at some recent attacks on him in the 'Times'; and Lansdowne (evidently at P.'s instigation) sent for Reeve the other day, and asked him point blank if he was the author of them. He denied it, and L. took his denial after a rather ticklish conversation. Fortunately Chas. Wood about the same time sent for Delane and entreated him to desist from these bitter attacks, and he promised he would for the present; said they had recorded their opinions and did not want to do any more. The state of our foreign affairs and Palmerston's management of them are the astonishment of all Europe. There will certainly be more discussion than usual about them in the ensuing Session, but probably with no more result than heretofore. Stanley and Aberdeen will do their best (or their worst) in the H. of Lords, but all their blows will fall on the soft, non-resisting cushion of Lansdowne's evasive urbanity, while in the H. of Commons there will be nobody to attack Palmerston, and between those who *won't* grapple with him, and those who *can't*, he will come off unscathed, as he has always done. It is said, however, that he is more *uneasy* (as well he may be) than he ever was before, and from several little symptoms I suspect this to be the case. Whether *he* is or not his Colleagues are, and his royal Mistress still more. This I know from the D. of Bedford who is at Windsor now, and to whom She talked with great openness and warmth on the subject.

Monday (January) 22nd.—Yesterday the D. of Bedford called on me on his way from the railway station. He first gave me an account of his conversation with the Queen. He found her in a state of great excitement against Palmerston. She said that so far from being reconciled to his management of affairs She was more and more annoyed, and She did not think She could endure it much longer; that She had hoped the death of Ld. Auckland might have paved the way to some fresh arrangement, by which Clarendon might have been brought to the F.O. and Palmerston have gone to Ireland, or some other change would have removed P. from where he is; that it was vain to speak to Lord John, who only laughed or turned it off without making any reply; and that She besought him (the Duke) to speak seriously to his brother on the subject. So much for that, but he said there was some-

thing much more serious behind, *all* of which he could not tell me; and accordingly he made me a half confidence which only served to whet my curiosity.

He said, at the Speaker's where he met John, a red box had arrived with something in it very serious indeed, and which must bring matters to a sort of crisis about Palmerston. He could not tell me what it was, but it was so serious that he had no idea how it would end and whether it would not lead to P.'s retirement; that the Queen knew nothing of it, nor the Cabinet except two or three of them. He then let out that something had been done which rendered an apology necessary from Palmerston, and that he did not think P. could well consent to make such a one as John would think it right to require of him. I thought it was an apology to his own colleagues, but he said no, it was an apology *to a foreign power*. After beating about the bush, and telling me a part but not the whole, he went away to meet John. He called on me again in the afternoon to tell me what had passed (as he wrote me word), which however was nothing but 'some writing.' If I had seen him I have no doubt he would have told me the rest. I told him that without knowing what the matter was I had no doubt P. would say or do anything rather than quit the F. Office; that he had on former occasions eat dirt and submitted to mortifications that no man of high spirit and any delicacy would have consented to do, and that no doubt this matter would be patched up just as all others had been: he would say anything anybody pleased and would go on just as before, making no alteration in his conduct, everybody else tamely submitting, till some other outrage produced similar remonstrances and similar results. But, be this matter what it may and end as it may, it will not be without some consequences sooner or later.

January 28th.—The past week there have been repeated Cabinets and one morning J.R. went down to the Queen and returned. A rumour got abroad that there was something the matter, but nobody knew what; foreign affairs in some shape were supposed to be the cause but nothing known. I heard nothing more from the D. of B. (who is at Woburn all this time) till last night, when I got this note:—'I can tell you in confidence that Palmerston having directed our foreign policy and having been John's colleague so long, he feels

bound in honor to fight the battle with him in the approaching session. Whether they will weather the storm together, or what will happen if they get through it, is more than I can tell you, or any other man can prognosticate. With all P.'s abilities and perhaps sound views of foreign policy he gives terrible offence and keeps everybody, Queen, colleagues, friends, party and public in hot water.' This showed (what I never for a moment doubted) that there would be no resignation on the part of P., that the matter would be patched up somehow, and that his colleagues would consent to go on with him. As to 'fighting the battle with him' *of the past*, they can't help themselves; they have no alternative. They are one and all as responsible as he is, and as they have tamely endured his sway all this time, they cannot 'stop now for breath.' It is not a case of honor but of necessity. It is however pretty clearly implied that there is something reserved, some future reckoning to be made, something to be discussed which may have serious consequences; and they do not appear quite sure of making their case good in Parliament. What may happen there it is difficult to say, but if they scramble out of the difficulty and Palmerston continues to weather the session, I do not believe there will be any balancing of accounts between him and his colleagues. He will go on as heretofore, and they will be content with hoping that he will behave better. The same miserable, disgraceful and injurious state of things will continue, unless some unforeseen events or circumstances occur to bring about a change.

It is pretty clear that the foreign power whom P. offended was Austria. Delane, who saw Aberdeen for a long time on Friday, found that he knew nothing of this fresh affair, but as he is gone to Brighton to see Metternich, and as all the foreign Ministers tell him everything, he is sure to find it out. A. talked to D. a great deal about P. and his proceedings, and told him of all the Queen's and Prince's abhorrence, of which they make no secret to him. He said he could not understand any man consenting to hold office, who was treated as Palmerston was by the Queen; who, from that, evidently makes no scruple in showing her real sentiments.

A. has been with Peel, and says that he is still more animated against Palmerston than he is himself, and he expects that Peel will not abstain from manifesting his opinion when Parliament meets.

Ab⟨erdeen⟩ said he had no hostility to the Government, and no objection to anything but the conduct of foreign affairs, so much so that if Clarendon came to the F.O. he would give him his proxy if he would hold it. The Government are evidently in a stew. There was an article in the 'Times' on Thursday, in which, though there was no attack on Palmerston, who was not named, there was an allusion to former articles and to our conduct to Austria, which evidently rubbed on a sore place, for C. Wood sent for Delane and expressed his regret that we were on such bad terms with *Austria*. D⟨elane⟩ said, he had all along been saying the same thing, when C. W. replied that he did not think we had *done* anything we could not justify and defend, but unfortunately Palmerston's manner of doing things and the language he employed had given great offence, and that it was much to be regretted that he had given advice and expressed opinions in so offensive a tone as he had done, especially to *Austria*. All this showed clearly enough that Austria was the Power whom he has *last* insulted. He has not, however, been quite idle about Russia, having instructed S. Canning to move the Porte to take some steps to thwart Russian policy in that quarter. Canning was very prudent, and nothing serious came of it; but the Emperor is informed of his proceedings, and has taken care to let him know that he is, without making any quarrel. He has also given P. to understand that it is not his intention to allow great European questions to be dealt with, in which he may naturally be expected to take an interest, without his being consulted and considered.

It appears by Aberdeen's account to Delane that Graham did not give the same account to Peel and him of what had passed with John Russell about his taking office. John says that he appeared well inclined to accept, made no serious objections to anybody or to anything, and that he could not make out why he finally refused. It is clear, however, that Graham must have given some reasons for declining, and, in fact, they are pretty well agreed as to the literal part of their several statements. John Russell, when the Queen asked him why Graham declined, told her that the reasons he gave were some doubts whether their contemplated reductions would go far enough, and some objections as to the foreign policy; but John clearly thought that these doubts and objections were so faintly expressed that they

did not amount to anything like insuperable obstacles. He said with reference to foreign policy, that it always must be remembered that Palmerston had kept us at peace—(all stuff, and as Graham went away expressly to consult Peel, that implied that if Peel advised him to accept he would. This is not the conduct of a man who had serious objections to our past policy. Of course he could not join without subscribing to the past and undertaking its defence; but to Peel he declared that he had refused because he could not approve of or defend Palmerston's foreign policy, and because their reductions were not sufficient, putting his objections and refusal in a much stronger way than he appears to have put them to John. All this comes from his timidity, and I have no doubt the want of a really clear conscience. He pines for office, he dreads to take it; he knows he is an object of suspicion and dislike to people of all parties; he is embarrassed with his own position; he is clear-sighted enough to perceive all its entanglements and difficulties. When with John he wants to be well with him and he says but little. When he goes to Peel and Aberdeen he wants to be well with them, and then he says much more, and no doubt gave them to understand he had said much more than he really did to John. All sorts of absurd stories are current about his demands and what the negotiation went off upon.

February 7th. Parliament opened last Thursday, and the Government began the campaign very victoriously. A great flourish of trumpets had been sounded to announce the attack which Stanley was to make, especially on the vulnerable point of the foreign policy, and the Government and their friends were not at all easy as to the result. Stanley's was one of the worst speeches he ever made, ill put together and arranged, full of ignorance, and consequently of misrepresentations and misstatements. Lord Lansdowne made a very able and judicious reply. The Government got a majority of two in a division which Stanley most unwisely forced on, and the affair ended in a general opinion that the Ministers had much the best of it, and that Stanley had been signally defeated. His blunders, however, were not confined to his speech. He had at first determined not to move any amendment to the Address, and the Duke of Wellington had entreated him not to do so. He had accordingly told Eglinton (his Whipper-in) he should not, and Eglinton told Stafford none would

be moved. Then Stanley changed his mind, contrary to the opinions of Eglinton and others, and much to the annoyance of the former, who had misled Strafford by his information. After Lansdowne's speech, to persist in the amendment was very injudicious. The Duke of Wellington opposed it in a very sensible speech, when Stanley rose and said there was nothing in his amendment about foreign affairs; on which St. Germain's pointed out to him that that was an express allusion to them. He said he had forgot it, and still persisted; but it is much believed that some of his own people were sent away to avoid the embarrassment of their being in a majority. So much for the Lords.

In the Commons Government was equally triumphant. There had been a great deal of squabbling among the Protectionists about their Leadership, some wanting Herries, some Granby, and some Disraeli, and when Parliament met there was nothing settled. Stanley had written a flummery letter to Dis., full of compliments, but suggesting to him to let Herries have the lead. Dis., brimful of indignation against Stanley and contempt for Herries, returned a cold but civil answer, saying he did not want to be leader, and that he should gladly devote himself more to literature and less to politicks than he had been able to do for some time past. Meanwhile Herries declined the post, and Granby with Henry Bentinck insisted on Dis.'s appointment, both as the fittest man, and as a homage to G. Bentinck's memory. I saw a note from D<israeli> a day or two ago, saying he had received the adhesions of two-thirds of this party. In the H. of Commons he appeared as Leader, for he moved Stanley's Amendment, which was sent to him so late that he placed Stanley's draft in his own handwriting in the Speaker's hands. He made a clever speech with some appearance of attacking Palmerston in earnest. The debate was adjourned, and the next night Palmerston made one of the cleverest, most impudent, and most effective speeches that ever was heard. It took vastly with the House, threw his opponents into confusion, and he came out of the mêlée with flying colours. The Opposition have committed nothing but blunders, and the Government have naturally reaped the benefit of them, and they are in a high state of elation.

As soon as Graham came to town, he called on me, and gave me his reasons for not having accepted office. He said nothing could be

handsomer or more gratifying than J.R.'s conduct to him. He had been more than frank, he had been confidential, and had told him things that he desired him not to repeat even to Peel or Aberdeen, and which he said he never would repeat to anybody. Graham made an excellent case for himself, and after hearing him I am satisfied that he both acted fairly and judged wisely. He said, 'I have played some pranks before high heaven in my time. I quitted the Whigs once, and it would not do to quit them again; and unless I could subscribe to all their past conduct and policy, as well as feel quite satisfied for the future, it was better not to join.' The great obstacle he owned was Palmerston, and he anticipated being very likely placed in a state of collision with him, which might have been most embarrassing to himself and to the Government.

On Sunday he came to me again. He told me he had called on Stanley and had a good deal of conversation with him. Stanley found fault with Clarendon's letter, which he thought insufficient for the re-suspension of the Habeas Corpus, and Graham said it appeared to him very meagre. He then went on to say that he felt great difficulty in supporting such a coercive measure, when unaccompanied by any remedial measures whatever; that he did not wish to do or say anything to embarrass the Government, but he could not conceal his opinion that remedial measures ought to be brought forward, especially the payment of the Irish Clergy, and he felt the more difficulty about this, because Disraeli in his speech had made an evident appeal to Protestant bigotry by treating this question as altogether gone by and defunct, and one which never could be raised again, and against this he thought a protest ought to be made. He said he was much struck by the absence of all allusion to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus in both Stanley's and Dis.'s speeches, and he could not help thinking they were preparing to embarrass the Government by some opposition to it, and consequently that the task of carrying it through the H. of C. would not be so easy as Government imagined. He gave me to understand that he wished me to communicate to John Russell what he had said to me. I did not agree with him and we discussed the matter.

The next day I went and told John what had passed, and afterwards I told Lord Lansdowne. Yesterday morning I saw Graham

again, when I found him no longer inclined to think that Stanley and Co. would take any part against the Habeas Corpus Bill, and certainly not inclined to oppose it himself. When I got to the office, I saw Lord Lansdowne, who told me (albeit not used to talk politicks with me) that what I had said to John Russell had made such an effect upon him, that he had determined, as he (Lord L.) thought very unwisely, and much to his regret, to propose the renewal for six months only instead of for a year as had been intended. I was exceedingly annoyed at this, and told Ld. L. that John must have misunderstood me, or exaggerated the importance of what I said, and I hoped it was not too late to revert to the original intention, as I was quite certain there was no necessity for limiting the period, and that if there was opposition from any quarter, it would be as great for six months as for twelve. He begged me to go to J. R. at the H. of C. and say so to him, which I did; but he said merely that they had resolved to adopt a former precedent, and should take it for six months. In the evening I saw Lord L., who was evidently extremely mortified and disappointed, and said to me, 'I think we have made a great mess of it,' which was a great deal for him. All this proves that there has been considerable difference of opinion in the Cabinet, and it shows a vacillation and infirmity of purpose, which has been all along the besetting sin of this Government.

February 9th.—It appears that the change from twelve to six months was a sudden turn of John's under the influence of fear. He had got it into his head that there would be a strong opposition to the longer period, but not to the shorter. Accordingly at two o'clock on Tuesday he summoned his Cabinet, and to the great astonishment of all or most of them, announced his intention to make this alteration. There was evidently a considerable struggle. Clanricarde told me he did not believe the Bill was necessary at all, and he would rather have let it drop. Labouchere owned yesterday morning it was all wrong. G. Grey and Wood evidently went with Lord John.

On Wednesday night the Government found themselves in a great dilemma. When C. Wood proposed his grant of £50,000 he had no idea of meeting with any opposition, for he told me he was not sure whether he should *give* the Irish £50,000 or £100,000; but the English members and constituencies have become savage and hard-hearted

towards the Irish, and one after another of all parties jumped up and opposed the grant. Graham said he was for giving it, with the understanding that it should be the last, whereas C. Wood proposed it as the first of a series of grants. Nobody knows whether it will be carried or not, but it is quite certain that nothing more will be given, let the consequences be what they may. Meanwhile the state of things is monstrous and appalling.

Ireland is like a strong man with an enormous cancer in one limb of his body. The distress is confined to particular districts, but *there* it is frightful and apparently irremediable. It is like a region desolated by pestilence and war. The people really are dying of hunger, and the means of aiding them do not exist. Here is a country, part and parcel of England, a few hours removed from the richest and most civilised community in the world, in a state so savage, barbarous, and destitute, that we must go back to the Middle Ages or to the most inhospitable regions of the globe to look for a parallel. Nobody knows what to do; everyone hints at some scheme or plan to which his next neighbour probably objects. Most people are inclined to consider the case as hopeless, to rest in that conviction, and let the evil work itself out, like a consuming fire, which dies away when there is nothing left for it to destroy. All call on the Government for a plan and a remedy, but the Government have no plan and no remedy; there is nothing but disagreement among them; and while they are discussing and disputing, the masses are dying. God only knows what is to be the end of all this, and how and when Ireland is to recover from such a deplorable calamity. Lord Lansdowne (a great Proprietor) is filled with horror and dread of the scheme that some propound, of making the sound part of Ireland rateable for the necessities of the unsound, which he thinks is neither more nor less than a scheme of confiscation, by which the weak will not be saved, but the strong be involved in the general ruin. Charles Wood has all along set his face against giving or lending money, or any Government interference in the capacity of capitalist, and he contemplates (with what seems very like cruelty, though he is not really cruel) that misery and distress should run their course; that such havoc should be made amongst the landed proprietors, that the price of land will at last fall so low as to tempt capitalists to invest their funds therein, and then that the country will

begin to revive, and a new condition of prosperity spring from the ruin of the present possessors. This may (supposing it to answer) prove the ultimate regeneration of Ireland; but it will be at a cost of suffering to the actual possessors and to the whole of the present generation such as never was contemplated by any system of policy. Lord L. thinks Trevelyan¹ is the real author of this scheme, who, he tells me, has acquired a great influence over Wood's mind.

February 11th.—I heard from Clarendon last night. He takes the matter of the Habeas Corpus more quietly than I expected, but he says, 'I thank you for telling me the cause of what I consider great vacillation and cowardice on the part of the Government. In the speeches there is no evidence of opposition that could justify a Government in turning away from its purpose.'

On Friday night John R. made a fool of himself in the House of Commons. He was most unnecessarily and imprudently provoked by Claude Hamilton² and Bernal Osborne³ into going into a long history and explanation of the appropriation clause in 1835 and of his conduct on Peel's Coercion Bill in 1846. He professed to state *the facts* of the case. This brought up Peel, who gave him a heavy fall, contradicting his facts, showing that he was an inaccurate historian of those circumstances, and throwing him over in a very masterly style because it was done without petulance or ill humour and with exceeding apropos. It was very unlike John to be betrayed into such a discussion, and unworthy of him to descend into the arena on being challenged by such a man as Claude Hamilton.

Madame de Flahault told me an anecdote about the new French Ambassador, Admiral Cécille,⁴ creditable to all the parties concerned. When the Embassy here was offered him, he told the President that he had always been attached to Louis Philippe, and if he was to be made the instrument of saying or doing anything disagreeable to him

¹ Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan (1807–86), afterwards first baronet; Assistant Secretary to the Treasury, 1840–59; in charge of Irish relief works, 1845–7; K.C.B., 1848; Governor of Madras, 1859–60; financial member of Council of India, 1862–5; created baronet, 1874; married Lord Macaulay's sister.

² Lord Claud Hamilton (1813–84), brother of first Duke of Abercorn; M.P. for Tyrone, 1835–7 and 1839–74; Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, 1866–8.

³ Ralph Bernal Osborne (1808–82), eldest son of Ralph Bernal; Whig M.P., 1841–74; assumed name of Osborne, 1844; Secretary of Admiralty, 1852–8.

⁴ Jean Baptiste Cécille (1787–1873); vice-admiral, 1847; Ambassador to London, 1849; senator, 1853.

or his family, he could not accept it. The President said he might be perfectly easy on that score, and that he might go and pay his respects at Claremont as soon as he arrived if he pleased. Accordingly the Admiral sent to the King to offer to wait on him, but Louis Philippe very sensibly said it would only place him in a position of embarrassment, and that he had better not come. I met Duchâtel at dinner on Thursday at Lansdowne House. He spoke highly of the French Ministry and of the President, and he evidently thinks the Monarchy (or Empire) is more likely to be revived in his person than in that of any other Candidate.

February 15th. — The Government got good divisions the other night on their Irish questions. Graham told me (the morning of the discussion) that he would strongly advise them to make a declaration of their intention to revise local taxation, and connect that question with the Poor Laws. I wrote C. Wood word what he said, and John Russell acted on the advice. Lord Lansdowne did not conceal from me his disgust at the resolution to which the Cabinet had come of proposing a sort of rate which is to embrace (under certain restrictions) all Ireland.

Saturday, February 24th. — Last Tuesday was as disastrous a night as any Government ever suffered, for it was injurious and humiliating. Baillie¹ had given notice of a motion for a Committee to enquire into the Govt of Ceylon, British Guiana, and Mauritius, with a view to their better government. He afterwards withdrew Mauritius, and the Government resolved to give the Committee about the other two; and they did this, though they knew that what was really meant was an attack on Torrington² about Ceylon, and on Grey on both scores. Ellice and I told Grey (whom we met at dinner the day before) that they ought not to give the Committee; but he seemed to be all for it, whether nolens or volens I know not. On Tuesday night this motion came on, when Baillie made the most bitter and abusive speech that

¹ Henry Baillie, Esq., of Redcastle, was then member for Inverness-shire, and a considerable West Indian proprietor. He was assisted in organising this attack on the Colonial Department by Mr Matthew Higgins (1810-68), better known as 'Jacob Omnium,' a man of great wit and intelligence. — *R.*

Henry James Baillie (1803-85; M.P. for Inverness-shire for twenty-eight years; Joint Secretary to the Board of Control, 1852; Under-Secretary for India, 1858-9).

² Viscount Torrington was Governor of Ceylon during a formidable insurrection which had occurred in that island in the preceding year. — *R.*

could be uttered. He said that he meant it as a vote of censure, and he accused Grey (who was sitting under the gallery all the time) of the most disgraceful and dishonourable conduct, especially in reference to the celebrated Jamaica Memorial in the H. of C. last year. The House went with Baillie, and against Grey and Torrington. The Government met the case in a very poor, blundering, low way; a sort of dodge was attempted and totally failed in the shape of an amendment proposed by Ricardo. Peel said a few damaging words, and John Russell made a very poor speech, which had all the air of throwing Grey over. The motion for Committee was carried without any division or resistance, and with scarcely any alteration. The effect was as bad as it could possibly be. The Government and their people were mortified and dejected, Grey immensely disgusted, and the Opposition (especially Protectionists) insolent and elated. It is generally believed that if they had divided, they would have been beat, for all the scattered sections of the Opposition and some of their own friends would have voted against them, and this has revealed the disagreeable truth that they have in fact no hold on the H. of C., no certain majority, and that whenever all the other parties can find a common ground to meet upon, the Government are sure to be beat.

Graham called on me on Thursday to talk over this debate. He thought it very damaging and very bad; John Russell wretched; he thought after Baillie's speech he ought to have refused the Committee and abided by the consequences, standing up and manfully defending both his colleague and his employé. He said he had observed that Peel had latterly been more ill-natured to the Government, and that he still bitterly resented John's speech on the Appropriation Clause. Aberdeen told Delane the same thing, adding that Peel had never liked Ld. John, and that he thought his conduct in attacking him, after the support he had given him, was very bad, and he resented it accordingly, and this was not the last proof he would give of his resentment.

March 2nd.—A day or two ago Bankes asked a question in the H. of C. about the stores furnished to the revolutionary Sicilian Government, to which Palmerston made a reply, and the matter dropped. This matter of the stores was the very thing which the Duke of

Bedford alluded to, when he told me half the story 5 weeks ago. I knew the thing at the time, but did not know (nor guess) that it was what he was alluding to. It is very singular that none of the Opposition leaders got hold of it, for there never was a stronger case coupled with all the rest of Palmerston's Sicilian doings. They have so entirely mis-managed their case, and contrived to give him so great a triumph, and to establish such a *prestige* of his success and dexterity, that it is now difficult, if not impossible, to take the field against him afresh with any prospect of success. But the Sicilian case is so strong and so bad, that even now, when the papers are published, they may make a good deal of it, and do Palmerston some damage if they manage the case well. His case for the maritime interference after the capture of Messina has been thrown over completely by the speech of General Filangieri¹ in the Neapolitan Parliament, which bears every mark of truth; and I have since heard how he got up the story of atrocities supposed to be committed, which he put into the mouth of the Queen in her speech in Parliament, and which he repeated himself with so much effrontery in the H. of C., and made Lord Lansdowne so innocently repeat in the H. of Lords. Long after, I believe two months after the intervention, he wrote to Lord Napier, and desired him to instruct the British Consul at Messina to collect details of the Neapolitan atrocities, and to send them to him, and this was the evidence on which he made the statements which so materially assisted in carrying him through the debate the first night of the session. The mention in the Queen's Speech of the 'King of *Naples*,' instead of the K. of the Two Sicilies, is now said to have been a mere inadvertence, but I have no doubt it was overlooked by his colleagues, but put in by him intentionally and with a significant purpose. It is his whole antecedent conduct from first to last which confers such importance on the case of the stores. Sicilian Agents came over here and applied to the Government contractor to supply them with stores. He said he had none ready, having just supplied all he had to Government, but that if Government would let him have them back, he would supply them to the Agents, and replace the Government stores in a short time. The

¹ Carlo Filangieri (1784-1867); promoted general by Murat for his services against the Austrians, 1815; sent by Ferdinand II of Naples to subdue the revolt in Sicily; bombarded Messina, September 1848; Viceroy of Sicily, 1848-53.

Sicilians had no time to lose, and by their desire the Contractor applied to the Ordnance, stating the object of his application. If the matter had been merely treated commercially, and the Contractor, without stating his object, had asked the Government to oblige him as a convenience to himself, it would have been quite harmless; but the object having been stated, it became a political matter. So the Ordnance considered it, and they referred the request to Palmerston as Foreign Secretary, who gave his sanction to the transaction. This made the whole thing a political affair, and a direct assistance rendered by Government to the Sicilian insurgents. The Neapolitan Minister heard of it, and *an apology* to his Government became necessary. This was the apology of which the D. of Bedford spoke to me. All the Ministers saw the gravity of this matter, but by the extraordinary good fortune which never deserts Palmerston, nobody found it out, and not a word was said about it the first night, to the great joy and surprise of the Ministers, who were trembling lest this delicate point should be touched upon.¹

The rate in aid for Ireland is making a great stir and very bad blood in Ireland. The evidence before both Committees is very much against it. Labouchere told me yesterday that the Commons Committee had been much shaken by the evidence of a Mr ——, a Poor Law Commissioner examined before them yesterday, and Gulston² has produced the same effect in the H. of Lords. Lord Lansdowne cannot endure it, and though it is a Government measure, the Cabinet are anything but unanimous about it. Clarendon does not like it either, but he must have money, *quocunque modo rem*.

¹ It is curious that Mr Greville should not have remembered and stated exactly how this affair of the Sicilian arms transpired. Delane knew Hood, the arms contractor—a man who used to hunt with us with the Old Surrey Hounds—and by mere accident learnt from Hood all this story. *The Times* perceived the importance of it, and soon afterwards charged the Government with having connived at a supply of arms from the Queen's stores to the Sicilian insurgents. No notice was taken of this first charge. It was therefore repeated in stronger language. Upon this, Lord John R. (who knew nothing of the matter) took it up, said he must enquire into it, and that the charge must be contradicted or the practice stopped. On enquiry, he found it was perfectly true, and then it was that he compelled Palmerston, sorely against his will, to make a formal official apology to the King of Naples, the man whom he most hated and despised in the whole world. This is the transaction referred to at p. 8 of this volume (of MS.). Greville knew quite well the story of the stores and the part taken by *The Times* in exposing it; but he was not aware till much later how very serious Lord J. R. had thought it.—R.

² E. Gulson, the senior Poor Law Inspector, was called to give evidence before the Parliamentary Poor Law Committees.

In the midst of more important affairs the exposure that has just been made of Hudson's railway delinquency has excited a great sensation, and no small satisfaction. In the City all seem glad of his fall, and most people rejoice at the degradation of a purse-proud, vulgar upstart, who had nothing to recommend him but his ill-gotten wealth. But the people who ought to feel most degraded are those who were foolish or mean enough to subscribe to the 'Hudson Testimonial,' and all the greedy, needy, fine people, who paid abject court to him in order to obtain slices of his good things.

March 7th.—The news from India of Gough's disastrous and stupid battle² filled everybody with indignation and dismay, and an universal cry arose for Sir Charles Napier. On Saturday evening I met John Russell at Granville's, and told him so, entreating him to send him out. He answered, in his cold, easy way, that 'it was too late now,' that the campaign could not last beyond the end of this month or middle of the next, and that he therefore could not get out in time; that they had appointed Gomm,³ and that the Duke of Wellington gave him a high character, and he thought all would do well; in short, he seemed not inclined to do anything.

On Sunday I called on Arbuthnot at Apsley House, where I found the Duke. I talked to him of the battle; he shook his head, and lifted up his hands. I said they ought to send out Napier; he said he had long ago wanted to do so, that now he could not (if they would send him) get out till the campaign was over; that he hoped it would all end well, though it had been a bad affair, and ill-managed. I asked him would Napier go if they would appoint him. He said, 'Oh yes; he would go, he would go,' he repeated. He then went away. When he was gone, Arbuthnot said to me, 'Though the Duke puts a good

¹ In 1845 the admirers of Hudson, the 'Railway King,' presented him with £16,000 as a token of their respect.

² The battle of Chillianwallah, one of the most sanguinary and least successful actions ever fought by the British in India, took place on January 13th. Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, was severely blamed for his rash and headstrong tactics on this occasion. Sir William Gomm had just been appointed to succeed Gough, but he was believed to be equally incompetent. The state of India demanded a far stronger hand, and it was found in Sir Charles Napier. Lord Gough, however, defeated the Sikhs shortly afterwards in a second battle at Gujerat. R.

³ Sir William Gomm (1784-1875); K.C.B. for his services in the Peninsula, 1814; Commander-in-Chief at Jamaica, 1839-42; Governor of Mauritius, 1842-3; Commander-in-Chief in India, 1850-5; field-marshal, 1868.

face upon it, and endeavours to make the best of it, I can tell you (though he will not say so to you or to anybody) that he is extremely alarmed, and thinks the state of things most serious.' He then said that he would like exceedingly to send out Napier, but that he would express no opinion, and give no advice; that he always said he was not a Cabinet Minister, and it was not for him to *tender* advice, but he would give it if it was asked. I said I had spoken to John Russell the evening before, when A. said, if I could do anything with the Government to induce them to send Napier out, it would be doing a great service, and he knew that the Duke would afford every assistance in his power for that purpose. I said I would try. I determined to go and speak to Hobhouse.¹ In my way to Brooks', where I went to look for him, I met Ld. Lansdowne, when I urged him to send out Napier. He said he would not go. I told him I knew he would, and then repeated what had passed at Apsley House. He said J.R. had seen the Duke the day before, who had said nothing about it. I told him the Duke would not say anything unless he was asked, but then he would, and would give his opinion. I then went to Hobhouse, found him, and urged him, as strongly as I could, to send Napier out, telling him how clamorous everybody was for it, and what the Duke and Arbuthnot had said to me. He acknowledged that it was the only thing to do, but that he did not know how the Directors were to be brought to consent to it, and that his having the seat in Council or not made the difference of between £8000 or £18,000 a year to him, to say nothing of the insult which Napier considered would be put upon him by excluding him from the Council. He then said, 'You do not know the difficulties I have had with these men. I have brought the Government, the D. of Wellington, and the Queen all to bear upon them, and all in vain. It was only the other day, after the affair in which Cureton² was killed that I made another attempt. I sent to Sir James Lushington,³ and asked him if it was not then possible to send Napier out to India. The next day he sent me word that it was impossible, for if it was proposed *not one man* would vote for it.'

¹ Sir John Cam Hobhouse was then President of the Board of Control.—R.

² Charles Robert Cureton (1789–1848); adjutant-general in India, 1846; killed in action at Ramnagar in the Second Sikh War.

³ General Sir James Lushington (1779–1859); a director of the East India Company; Chairman, 1838–9; M.P., 1825–31.

I said, since all the powers had failed, I would bring one more to bear upon them, viz. the H. of Commons, and advised him to go down and announce the appointment of Napier as Commander-in-Chief; and if the Directors refused the seat in Council, to cast all the responsibility on them, and ask Parliament for the additional salary. He approved of the plan, if it should become necessary. I ended by urging him to probe the D. of Wellington, who would tell him his real opinion (he was to see him the next morning), and then to take a decisive step, and send Napier out. I told him his Government wanted credit, and that while in the event of any fresh disasters they would incur an enormous responsibility, and be called to a severe account for not having sent the best man they could find, by doing so now, they would acquire reputation for vigour and resolution. The next morning early he went to John Russell, and they agreed to appoint Napier. Hobhouse went to the Duke, and it was settled at once, greatly to the Duke's satisfaction. Napier, however, took twelve hours to consider of it, and the Duke told me he did not at all like it. The Directors behaved well, and, whether agreeable to them or not, they acquiesced with a good grace. Ellenborough advised Napier to demand powers greater than had ever been given to any Commander-in-chief, but Napier consulted Hardinge, who advised him to do no such thing. He said there was no necessity for them, and that he had much better go out as all his predecessors had done. This was sound advice, and Napier took it. It would have been most unwise in a man appointed under such circumstances to make extraordinary demands upon the authority which only with the greatest reluctance could be induced to give him any powers at all. Hardinge told me this in the H. of Lords last night.

The satisfaction at Napier's appointment is great and universal, but I really believe it was in a considerable degree attributable to the accident of my seeing the Duke on Sunday, and bringing him and the Government to an understanding on the subject. If I had not seen Hobhouse on Sunday afternoon, I doubt if any change would have been made, and am inclined to think Gomm's appointment would have been carried out.

Last night in the House of Lords Palmerston got the hardest hit he has ever yet had, though his skin is so impenetrably thick that He will hardly feel it. Some nights ago Bankes had asked a question about the

Sicilian arms, which P. answered in his usual off-hand way, and as usual the matter fell flat down, nobody appearing to think or care anything about it. P. made a sort of explanation, such as it was, without a word in it of regret or excuse, as if it had been all quite natural and right. But the matter did not go off so easily in the Lords. Stanley stated the case he had heard, and asked if it was true. Lord Lansdowne at once owned it was true; he called it 'an inadvertence'!! But he said that as soon as it was known to the Cabinet, they were deliberately of opinion that the permission ought to have been withheld, and that instructions had been sent to Temple in case any complaint was made, to apologise, explain, and promise nothing of the sort should ever recur. A more mortifying declaration for Palmerston (if anything can mortify him) could not well be, and it was besides an exposure not to be mistaken. If this affair had stood alone, it might have passed for *an inadvertence*, but conjoined with all the other circumstances of the case, and the general tenor of P.'s Italian policy, nothing can well be worse. Palmerston is *safe* enough as far as his office is concerned, and the Government will not be shaken, but it is damaging beyond all doubt, and when the question comes to be regularly discussed, Stanley (though now too late) will give him a tremendous dressing.

March 16th, Friday.—I have been entirely occupied with the labour and trouble of migration from Grosvenor Place to Bruton Street, where I took up my abode yesterday evening, and the consequence is that I have not found time to write a line about passing events.¹

A day or two after Lord Lansdowne's explanation in the House of Lords (about the Sicilian Arms) Bankes made an interpellation in the House of Commons, the object of which was to ask the same question that Stanley had done. But unlike his Chief he made a long, rambling stupid speech, which gave Palmerston one of those opportunities of which he never fails to avail himself with so much dexterity, and accordingly he delivered a slashing, impudent speech, full of sarcasm, jokes, and clap-traps, the whole eminently successful. He quizzed Bankes unmercifully, he expressed ultra-Liberal sentiments to please the Radicals, and he gathered shouts of laughter and applause as he

¹ Mr Greville removed at this time from the house he had occupied, No. 40 Grosvenor Place, to a suite of rooms in Lord Granville's house in Bruton Street, in which he passed the remainder of his life.—R.

dashed and rattled along. He scarcely deigned to notice *the* question, merely saying a few words at the end of his speech in reply to it; and all this did perfectly well for the H. of Commons, and he got the honors of the day. Stanley was furious, and all the Anti-Palmerstonians provoked to death, while he and his friends chuckled and laughed in their sleeves. John Russell also came to his rescue, and made an apology for him, which in his mouth was very discreditable, for it was in fact untrue. He tried to give to the H. of C. an impression of P.'s conduct in the affair which is the reverse of the truth; and this is really tantamount to a lie. But he has in fact completely prostrated himself to Palmerston. The D. of B. tells me he has a strange partiality for him, is in fact fascinated and enthralled by him, in spite of all the embarrassments he causes him.

I saw the Duke as he passed through town. He is annoyed at this matter and does not like John's speech, which is so different from Lord Lansdowne's that it must be obvious to everybody that if Lord L. spoke the truth, J. R. did not, and if J. R. did, then Lord L. threw Palmerston over and did not defend him as he might have done.

The D. added some other details of the beginning of the transaction, which only prove the more how reprehensible John's statement was. He said that when first the attention of his colleagues (or some of them) was called to the matter—which was by the first article in the 'Times'—an enquiry was made of Palmerston as to the truth of it, *when he flatly denied the whole story!* Later, and just before Parliament met, Grey found out it was true; and it was a letter of complaint from him which John R. received at the Speaker's and which caused him so much alarm and embarrassment. Then John came to town and wrote to Palmerston telling him he must apologise. On the Sunday when I saw the D. of B., P.'s answer had not come, but John was of opinion that P. would not and *could* not consent to the humiliation of making an apology. I laughed to scorn this idea. As I predicted, P. made no difficulty; and finding he must do it, when the Cabinet met he proposed to do so—and this was what John called 'on reflection shortly after thinking it better to make an apology and proposing to his colleague to do so'!

The D. of B. told me some other stories of P. and his behaviour, which sufficiently account for the Queen's abhorrence of him, and

which justify it, for he degrades the crown itself. But this makes John's conduct the more inexplicable as well as unpardonable, for he suffers both the dignity of the crown and the proper authority of his own post as Prime Minister to be degraded and insulted too. Such a case as the following is hardly credible:—Palmerston on some occasion proposed to do something (he did not tell me what) which both the Queen and John disapproved of. H.M. and her Prime Minister talked the matter over and agreed in their disapprobation of what P. proposed. Accordingly John R. wrote him word that both the Q. and himself objected and wished the thing (whatever it was) should not be done. P. replied that he was of a different opinion, but of course if both the Q. and He thought otherwise, it should not be done—and having written this, he immediately did the thing. John submitted and the Queen was obliged to submit too. It seems that when John objects to anything Palmerston writes or proposes to say by letter, it is usual with P. to take no notice and not to send him any answer at all. I told the Duke that I considered John's conduct without excuse; that it would have been better (bad as that would be) to have said at once he could not controul Palmerston and would not pretend to do so (which would at least have been intelligible and open) than to pledge himself to Grey to exercise a supervision over the Foreign Office and to forfeit that pledge, and to attempt to exercise it and to fail. To make remonstrances and objections and see them treated with indifference and contempt, that this was degrading; and that he ought not to consent to be Prime Minister on such terms. The Duke could not deny it, and he evidently feels it very much.

On Thursday in last week Disraeli made his promised display in favor of the landed interest. His speech was vehemently praised by the Tories, but regarded with very different opinions by different people; on the whole it was not much admired. The night before last, the debate having been adjourned for several days, Charles Wood answered it in one of the best speeches that has been heard for a long time, and by far the best he ever made. Peel warmly congratulated him, and he told Ellice it was not merely a good, it was a great speech. This has been very useful to the Government as well as to the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself, and both regained something of credit. The Government are (as heretofore) hampered with measures

which they have brought forward with very doubtful means of being able to carry them. The Rate in Aid and the Navigation Laws are both in jeopardy, though this time by no fault of the Government, who have done all they could to pass both. It is a state of things full of difficulty and uncertainty. Every party is strong enough to thwart and embarrass its opponents, and to obstruct and damage measures it dislikes, and none is strong enough to have its own way, and carry matters with a high hand. All this was foreseen as the inevitable result of the Reform Bill, but so many years elapsed during which peculiar circumstances prevented the actual occurrence of the result, that people forgot the prediction, and everybody fancied matters were to be carried on exactly as they used to be before the Reform Bill had destroyed the machinery of rotten boroughs, and let in a flood of popular influence.

March 20th.—The complication of foreign affairs is not a little increased by the bad humour into which we have thrown the Emperor of Russia by our proceedings at Constantinople. Brunnow, generally so couleur de rose and such a fast friend of Palmerston's, holds language quite unusual with him. Graham told me he met him at a great dinner of diplomats and politicians at Aberdeen's last Wednesday, when he talked to him with much vehemence and in a very menacing tone. The case is this: By the treaty of Ackerman the Hospodars in the Provinces are elected for seven years, by that of Adrianople the election is for life.¹ The Emperor desired to revert to the former mode, and proposed it to the Turks. They were disposed to consent, when Stratford Canning interposed, prevailed on them to refuse, and so excited them that they assumed a military attitude and began to arm. This is Brunnow's version of the affair; at the same time intimating that he attributed it more to S. Canning than to Palmerston himself. It is well known that S.C. is strongly anti-Russian, both politically and personally, but I don't believe he would take any serious course without being assured of P.'s concurrence; and Eddisbury² told me he had done quite right. We suppose that

¹ The Treaty of Adrianople of 1829 superseded the Convention of Akkerman of 1826.

² The Right Hon. Edward John Stanley was called up to the House of Lords on May 12th, 1848, by the title of Baron Eddisbury. He succeeded his father as second Baron Stanley of Alderley in 1850. Lord Eddisbury was at this time Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. R.

Russia and Austria have a perfect understanding, and if it be so, this is the result of Palmerston's having quarrelled with Austria.

While clouds are gathering in that quarter, and the Hungarian war seems far from its termination, the Danes have denounced their armistice,¹ and the King of Sardinia his, the Sicilians seem resolved to reject the King of Naples' terms, and war is about to break again with fresh fury over half of Europe, France and England alone remaining at peace within themselves, with each other, and with all the world.

March 25th.—Aberdeen made a strong attack on Palmerston on Thursday night about the affairs of Piedmont, showing his partiality for Sardinia and against Austria, and particularly his suppression of an important despatch in the papers he laid before Parliament at the beginning of the last session. Lansdowne replied with his usual spirit, but he could not parry the attack, and was reduced to the necessity of making a somewhat discreditable defence. Brougham rose afterwards and lashed the whole transaction, and there it ended; but the D. of B. told me John was annoyed at what had occurred. He was with him and Lady John the other morning talking it over, when Lady John expressed great indignation at this suppression, which she very justly thought dishonorable; and she did not conceal her sentiments which did her credit. John was silent, but at last said that he never saw the Blue Books, and therefore had not known what was put before Parliament and what was not. It was a very damaging discussion to Palmerston, as far as *character* is concerned, but he does not mind that sort of damage, and no other can be done to him.

The Government are dissatisfied with Dalhousie,² and it appears to be in agitation to recall him. Hobhouse told me that Napier had

¹ In March 1848 the inhabitants of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein had rebelled against King Frederick VII of Denmark and sought to join the German Confederation. Prussia sent an army to occupy the Duchies and desultory warfare followed between the German Confederation on the one side, and Denmark, supported by Sweden and Russia, on the other. Through the mediation of England an armistice for seven months was signed on August 26th, 1848.

² The cause for dissatisfaction with Lord Dalhousie at this moment was his eagerness to annex the Punjab. Sir Henry Lawrence had been home on leave and induced Hobhouse at the India Board to oppose Dalhousie on this question. The Punjab was annexed by a proclamation of Lord Dalhousie on March 29th, but by then the news of the victory of Gujerat on February 21st had reached England; and the Government showed their approval of Dalhousie's policy by creating him a marquess.

proposed to him to make him (N.) Governor-General. It was not indeed a formal proposal, but he said, 'Why don't you make me Governor-General at once?' They would have given him a Peerage if he had insisted on it as the condition of his going to India, but this he did not know. When the Command was offered him, he would not give his answer without twenty-four hours' consideration, in spite of all pressing to accept at once. The Directors swallowed the pill with a good grace enough. Three of them (whose names Hobhouse told me) voted against his having a seat in Council, the rest agreed.

March 30th. - At Althorp the last three days, for Northampton races. The day before I went there, two hours with Graham, who was very serious and very sad about everything, more especially Ireland and India. I think he now regrets not having gone to India, and would go if it were again offered him. He is now prodigiously alarmed at the opposition the Rate in Aid is meeting with from the Northern Irish,¹ and greatly staggered by Twistleton's² evidence and resignation, in short he is shrinking from his original opinions on this subject, expressed a great wish to talk to Clarendon, and discussed Palmerston and foreign affairs, cum multis aliis. Amongst other things he spoke of the conduct of the Chancellor to Romilly, Solicitor-General, about the report of a Committee (of which Romilly was Chairman last year) to enquire into legal abuses. Romilly had drawn up a report, and he said because it affected the Master's offices, the Chancellor insisted on burking it, and frightened Romilly from going on with it. As he made it out, it was a very bad case.

Graham talked much of John Russell and of his being able to go on, and said his loss would be so great that if he was unable to face the severe work of the H. of C., he had better go to the Lords and retain his office. At Althorp I told the D. of Bedford all that had passed between Graham and me. He was so much struck by what he had said about John (which chimed in with his own feelings) that he resolved to write to him and propose to him to take this course, and the next

¹ Lord John Russell had brought in a Bill to relieve the bankrupt Poor Law Unions in Ireland by levying a rate-in-aid of 6*d.* in the £ throughout Ireland. The Bill met with great opposition and was only saved for the Government, at second reading on March 27th, by the support of Sir Robert Peel.

² The Hon. Edward Turner Boyd Twistleton (1809-74), brother of the sixteenth Baron Saye and Sele; Poor Law Commissioner in England, 1845-7; Chief Poor Law Commissioner in Ireland, 1847-9.

morning he told me he had done so; and that he intended, if John did it, with Tavistock's assent to make him a sufficient dotation. This is so great an object for him and for his Son,¹ that it will probably reconcile him in great measure to the sacrifice of quitting the H. of C.

Yesterday came the news of the defeat of the Sardinians² and the abdication of Charles Albert, which was received with universal joy, everybody rejoicing at it except Palmerston, who will be excessively provoked and disappointed, though he will not venture, and is too clever, to show it. Clarendon had a conversation with him a few days ago, in which he told P. how much he wished that Radetzky might crush the King of Sardinia, when P. did not disguise the difference of his own opinions, and his wishes that the Austrians might be defeated. Yesterday there was a Drawing-room, at which everybody, the Queen included, complimented and wished joy to Colloredo,³ except Palmerston, who, though he spoke to him about other things, never alluded to the news that had just arrived from Italy. I met him at Madame de Lieven's (who was in a state of rapturous excitement), and he told us so there. Nothing could be more striking than this marked difference between the Foreign Secretary and his Sovereign, and all his countrymen, and we may be sure Colloredo will not fail to make a pretty story of it to his Court. The moral, however, is deplorable, for while it must satisfy the Austrians that England has no bad feeling towards Austria, but the reverse, they can't but see that Palmerston is permitted to drag the English Government and nation wherever it pleases his crotchets, caprices, or prejudices to make them go. I certainly never saw a more general expression of satisfaction than the intelligence of Radetzky's victory excited here.

While I was at Althorp the D. of B. showed me two letters (which Hobhouse had sent him) of the Duke of Wellington's to Dalhousie, containing his advice and opinions on the conduct of the war in the

¹ John Russell (1842-76), afterwards Viscount Amberley, eldest son of Lord John Russell by his second wife; M.P. for Nottingham, 1866-8. He married in 1864 Katharine Louisa, daughter of the second Lord Stanley of Alderney.

² Marshal Radetzky defeated the Sardinian army at Novara on March 23rd, 1849. This event was followed by the abdication of Charles Albert, and deferred the emancipation of Italy for ten years. The Piedmontese were unquestionably the assailants in this campaign, hence it was thought that they were justly punished for their presumption.—R.

³ Count Francis Colloredo (1799-1859): Austrian Ambassador to Russia, 1843-7; Ambassador at London, 1849 and 1852-6.

Punjaub, which are admirable, and show that his mind is as vigorous, comprehensive, and sagacious as ever.

April 1st.— I do not think anything Palmerston has done has excited so great a sensation, and exposed him to so much animadversion, as his behaviour to Coloredo at the Drawing-room the day on which the news of Radetzky's victory arrived. Everybody is talking of it; Clarendon told Ld. Lansdowne of it, who was both shocked and surprised. The impolicy of this unmistakable display of animus is the more striking, because we are now (through Ponsonby) entreating the Austrian Government to show moderation, and not to exact large contributions. This is not the first time men have suffered more from their small misdeeds than from their great ones.

The D. of Bedford told me yesterday that John had taken in very good part his proposal, and had promised to discuss the matter with him, but said very justly that he must not quit the House of Commons without a clear necessity, and that it would be very inexpedient to go to the House of Lords just at the moment when a decision of that House may possibly upset the Government. This may take place on the Navigation Laws,¹ for the Government have made up their minds to resign if they are beat upon it, and John was to propose to the Cabinet that Lord Lansdowne should announce their intention in the H. of Lords. Meanwhile it is understood that Stanley means to beat them if he can, and is prepared to take the Government if it is offered to him. The Queen asked Graham the other night if it was true that Stanley really did mean it, and he told her he believed it certainly was true. She then asked him what would be the consequence. He said a struggle between the aristocracy and the democracy of the country, very perilous to the former. She said She entirely agreed in this opinion. John Russell sent on Friday for Ellesmere, and asked him to go and talk to the Duke of Wellington, who is going to vote against the repeal, for they justly think that though he would probably not carry many votes with him if he went with Government, he would carry a good many if he went against them.

¹ As a corollary to Free Trade the Whigs wished to repeal the Navigation Laws, which had been in force since 1662, and thus open the trade between England and her colonies to ships of every nationality. The Bill they introduced for the purpose passed its second reading by only 10 votes in the House of Lords on May 7th.

Clarendon has had two interviews with Graham with very full, frank, and amicable discussion on all points. C. is struck with his great sagacity, and at the same time with a pusillanimity which goes far to neutralise that sagacity. I have remarked this myself, and that his judgement is often blinded by his fears. We certainly may be approaching a very serious crisis, but nothing will make me believe, till I see it, that Stanley and his Crew will come into power, and that the Queen will be reduced to the deplorable necessity, and even degradation, of taking such a pack as he would offer her, and of dissolving Parliament at their bidding. That She would struggle to avert such a calamity, and appeal to all the Statesmen of both parties to save her, I do not doubt, but then would appear the fatal obstacle of Palmerston, for assuredly nobody will join in any new arrangement by which he would remain at the Foreign Office.

Reeve, who is just come back from Paris, gives a very unsatisfactory account of the state of things there, and of the miserable uncertainty about everything and everybody in which the country is involved. He says that notwithstanding our close alliance and apparent intimacy, there is really no amicable feeling towards us, but on the contrary great jealousy and secret ill-will. They have no more confidence in our diplomacy than the Powers whom we have sacrificed to the French connexion, and any incident may any day put an end to this connexion. There is absolutely no Government, Odilon Barrot has no weight, influence, or capacity; the President is not unpopular, and that is all that can be said of him. The Army *they hope* is still firm, but the greatest efforts are made to corrupt the soldiers, and they read Prudhomme's¹ atrocious journal. He does not think that all France is so resolutely pacific as we fancy, and that a little matter might again kindle a warlike spirit; in short, it is a state of things full of uncertainty and therefore of danger. Thiers is said to have fallen into the lowest discredit. He is now known to have shown great cowardice on February 24th, and this, which Frenchmen never forgive, together with his recent vacillating conduct, has had a fatal effect on his influence and position, and as he has quarrelled more or less with most of his old friends, he is entirely without political power.

¹ Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809-65), anarchist; Editor of *Le Peuple*, November 1848-May 1849; imprisoned for his attacks on Louis Napoleon, 1849-52.

April 2nd. It has been settled between Clarendon, J. R., and C. Wood to give up the Rate in Aid and impose on the Irish the income-tax, which it is said they prefer. The two Ministers wanted the Irish income-tax to be for three years instead of putting it exactly on the same footing as the English. This Clarendon stoutly opposed, representing the extreme impolicy of making any difference, and he at last, but not without difficulty, made them give way. On Thursday last Peel made a great speech, bringing forward very elaborately his views of Irish relief, but without explaining *how* his plan was to be carried out. Graham is dead against him, so much so that they have had no conversation on the subject. Clarendon is equally against him, as are the Government, but C. determined to see him and talk it over with him. They met at Palmerston's on Saturday night, when Peel treated C. with extraordinary cordiality, and C. proposed an interview, which is to take place at Peel's house to-morrow morning.

Ellesmere went to the Duke of Wellington to talk to him about the Navigation Bill, and found him in excellent disposition. He promised to do all in his power to support the Government, and he advised P. Albert, who called on him a day or two ago, to keep quiet and say as little as possible on the subject to anybody.

April 4th. The D. of B. told me yesterday morning that John has made up his mind to go to the H. of Lords, but that he will not have the Peerage continued to his Son. His purpose is to be created with remainder to the Duke. He disapproves of poor Peerages, of men being created without ample patrimonies, and the property which the Duke means to settle on John (he did not tell me the amount or locality, only that it is a good gentleman's property) he does not consider enough for a Peerage. I know not whether he will adhere to this resolution, which, if he does, will form a new precedent. It has only been mentioned to Lansdowne, whose disposition is to retire, but they will never allow him, for his continuing with them is of the greatest consequence to the Government and to John himself; his loss would be irreparable in all ways.

April 6th.—Clarendon had a long interview with Peel, who received him with the greatest cordiality and even warmth. Their conversation was to the last degree open and friendly, and Peel professed the most earnest desire to do anything in his power to co-operate with

C. in doing good to Ireland. They discussed Peel's plans, and Clarendon stated to him frankly all his objections to them, and why a great part of them was quite impracticable. All this Peel received with the utmost candour and good-will, and C. told me he thought he had completely succeeded in proving to him that much that he proposed (the Commission particularly) was quite impossible. I never saw a man more satisfied than he was at this interview, or more gratified at Peel's reception of him. Peel entreated him with the greatest earnestness not to think of leaving Ireland till he had accomplished something great and important towards the regeneration of the country. This, however, C. is not very sanguine as to his power of doing with the present Government. His indignation against his own political friends is boundless.¹ He poured it all out to me the other night, and he is equally indignant about the past and hopeless about the future; hopeless, because John Russell is so feeble and infirm of purpose, that he will not predominate over his Cabinet and prevent the chaos of opinions and interests which prevent anything Clarendon proposes being done. He attributes a great part of the obstacles he meets with to Charles Wood, who is entirely governed by Trevelyan; and C. W. is to the last degree obstinate and tenacious of the opinions which his Secretary puts into him. Then he says that the Chancellor is a great mortgagee in Ireland, and on account of his own personal interests he resolutely opposes all the plans (relating to the transfer of property) which by any possibility can affect the mortgagees. Lansdowne and Clanricarde are both Irish proprietors, so they have their own separate interests. The consequence of all this confusion is that he is continually thwarted and baffled in his endeavours to carry measures he thinks essential to the relief of Ireland, and he assures me that he has all along predicted to John R. and G. Grey exactly what has happened. The measures which the Government are now finding themselves obliged to adopt are the very same which he originally proposed and which they rejected. He appears not to have minced matters with John Russell, but to have spoken his

¹ The measure which Lord Clarendon had in view, and was anxious to carry, was a Bill to facilitate the sale of encumbered estates in Ireland, which was ultimately adopted and carried by the Government by the creation of the Land Court. In the course of the thirty ensuing years, land to the amount of more than fifty millions was sold under the direction of this Court, and the encumbrances cleared off.—*R.*

mind freely, and visited upon the Cabinet in most unsparing criticism and reproach all their sins of omission and commission.

(June 12th, 1858. †Uninteresting.† <C.C.G.>)

<End of Additional MS. 40117.>

Thursday, May 11th (10th) (Bruton Street).— I think this is nearly my first notice of anything since I changed my domicile. For the last fortnight everybody has been occupied with the division in the H. of Lords on the Navigation Bill; the greatest whip-up was made on both sides that ever was known, and the lists made and re-made out with such accuracy that every vote was pretty well ascertained, and the numbers quite correctly calculated. Stanley made a magnificent speech, the best it is said he ever made, and one of the most brilliant and effective ever made by anybody. He made a sort of attack on the Duke of Wellington which was both unjustifiable and in bad taste. The Duke behaved oddly in this matter. He gave repeated assurances to the Government that he would assist them in every way he could, but he really gave them no assistance at all, for he refused positively to communicate with any Peers on the subject, would not speak to those who wished to consult him, and he never opened his lips in the debate. I am compelled to believe that Stanley really meant, if he could have defeated this Bill, to have taken the Government if offered to him. So Aberdeen assured Delane.

The Protectionists are gone mad with the notion of reaction in the country against Free Trade. Many people, however, say that distress really has produced a very considerable change of opinion, and it is allowed on all hands that in the event of a dissolution the Irish (frantic with distress) would support any Protectionist Government to a man. We hear that Stanley means to overturn the Bill in Committee,¹ as he undoubtedly can, and that the Government will be compelled to restore its integrity again on the report, and this is to be the future progress of the contest.

On Monday night a great event occurred in the House of Commons. Young Peel, Sir Robert's third Son,² made a maiden speech

¹ Stanley was again defeated in Committee of the House of Lords on the Navigation Bill by a majority of 13. The repeal of the Acts came into operation on January 1st, 1850.

² Frederick Peel (1823-1906), second son of Sir Robert Peel, second baronet; M.P. for Leominster, 1849-52, and for Bury, 1852-7 and 1859-65; Under-Secretary for the Colonies, 1851-5; Under-Secretary for War, 1855-7; Financial Secretary to the Treasury, 1859-65; K.C.M.G., 1869.

(on the Jew Bill) of such extraordinary merit, that it at once placed him at the top of the tree. Its excellence and its great promise were universally admitted. Peel came into the House just at the close of it, and it is said that neither He nor Lady Peel had any idea their Son was going to speak. The appearance of a young man who promises something great, is in these days of mediocrity an occurrence of enormous value and importance.

May 21st.—Too much occupied with the Derby and Oaks to write about political matters, but I cannot omit a fresh Palmerstonian affair, as bad or worse than any which have preceded it. On Monday last Lord Lansdowne in reply to a question of Beaumont's said, that 'no communication whatever had been made by the Austrian Government to ours relative to their intervention in Italy,' the fact being that Colloredo had five or six days before gone to Palmerston, and communicated to him by order of his Government their motives, objects, and intentions, as to Italian intervention in great detail. This communication he never imparted to his Colleagues, and Lord L. was consequently ignorant of it. On Tuesday the newspapers reported Lord L.'s answer, on which Colloredo went to Palmerston to complain of it. At the Queen's ball (on Wednesday night) Colloredo spoke to Lord Lansdowne and asked him why he had said what he did. Ld. L. had nothing for it but to acknowledge his ignorance. On Friday, the first day on which the House met, I heard of this affair. Guizot asked Reeve what it all meant, and told him what had passed between Colloredo and Palmerston. I resolved to go to Lord L. and tell him. I found him at L<ansdowne> House, just going to the H. of Lords. I began to tell him the object of my calling on him. He stopt me, said he knew all about it, that he was going to the House to correct his former statement, and 'to make the best excuse he could,' that it was exceedingly disagreeable, and the more unaccountable as he had taken the precaution on Monday before he went to the House of Lords to answer Beaumont, to send to the F. Office to enquire whether any communication had been received, and the reply was, 'None whatever.' On reference to Palmerston he had said that 'he had quite forgotten it,' and Lord L. told me that John Russell was as much in ignorance of it as he was himself. I saw that he was exceedingly annoyed, but nothing seems to rouse any of them to any

serious manifestation of resentment and displeasure. This is as bad a case as can be, but it will have no more result than any of Palmerston's other delinquencies.

June 3rd.—As usual at this time of year I have been too much occupied with the various races to devote any time to politicks, or writing here. However I am always roused to exertion by anything about Palmerston; and it is seldom that a long time elapses without something fresh occurring in which he is concerned. I have recently had two communications which make together a rather curious piece of secret political history. The D. of Bedford told me a few days ago that the Queen had been again flaming up about P. more strongly than ever. This was in reference to the suppressed Austrian despatch which made such a noise. She then sent for John Russell, and told him she could not stand it any longer, and he must make some arrangement to get rid of P. This communication was just as fruitless as all her preceding ones. I don't know what John said, he certainly did not pacify her, but as usual there it ended. But the consequence of not being able to get any satisfaction from her Minister has been that she has poured her feelings and her wrongs into the more sympathetic ears of her late Minister, and the Duke told me that he knew that the Queen has told Peel everything, all her own feelings and wishes, and all that passes on the subject. This John does not know, and the D. said he should not let him know it, as it would only annoy him extremely; but he should tell Lord Lansdowne. So much for the Queen.

A few days ago Delane told me he had had a curious conversation with Charles Wood on the possibility of getting Palmerston out; and shortly after he gave me an account of it. It appears that C. Wood and Delane are on the most confidential terms possible; and though C.W. has certainly not intrigued against P. in any way or acted any unfair or underhand part, he has probably not concealed from D. the great difficulties and embarrassments of which P. is continually the cause to them.

It is well known that Aberdeen and Stanley have for some time meditated a vigorous and combined attack on the foreign policy of the Government, and one day not long since Aberdeen discussed this matter fully with Delane. He told him they did intend to make this

attack, that He and Stanley and Peel were all agreed on opposition to Palmerston, that of Disraeli they were not so sure, and that Peel, though abhorring the foreign policy, was always in dread of doing anything to damage the Government. Aberdeen had tried to persuade him that an attack on Palmerston, if successful, need not affect the Government, that it was now proved to demonstration that a Protectionist Government was out of the question, and that an adverse vote would turn out Palmerston, and by so doing would in the end strengthen and not weaken the Government itself. The substance of this conversation D. repeated to C. Wood, and they discussed the consequences that might result from a hostile vote in the H. of C. C. W. said that if Peel and his friends did join in an attack on P., the Government would be beat; and in that case, having gone on with P. so long, they could not but make common cause with him, and if beat they must all resign. D. suggested that the attack if made would be against *Palmerston*, and that two courses were possible; one, that P. might resign and the rest stay in, merely filling up his place; the other, that they might all resign, and then when it was proved, as it would be, that no other Government could be formed, that the old one might be reconstituted without Palmerston, and with certain changes and modifications. C. W. said the first was impossible, but that the second might be accomplished. The rest of the conversation I forget, but it is not material. The curious part of it all is the *carte du pays* it exhibits, and the remarkable and most improper position which P. occupies vis-à-vis the Queen, his mistress, and his own Colleagues. I know not where to look for a parallel to such a mass of anomalies, the Queen turning from her own Prime Minister to confide in the one who was supplanted by him; the Chancellor of the Exchequer talking over quietly and confidentially with the Editor of the 'Times' newspaper by what circumstances and what Agency his Colleague, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, might be extruded from the Government; the Q. abhorring her Minister and unable to rid herself of him; John Russell fascinated and subjugated by the ascendancy of Palmerston, submitting to everything from him and supporting him right or wrong; the others not concealing from those they are in the habit of confiding in, their disapprobation of the conduct and policy of their Colleague, while they are all the time supporting the latter and

excusing the former, and putting themselves under the obligation of identifying themselves with his proceedings and standing or falling with him. The whole thing is bad, discreditable, and injurious.

July 29th. Two months have elapsed since I could bring myself to write anything in this book. I was disgusted with the occupation, nothing interested me; it was useless to jot down the common course of events, which the newspapers record far better, nothing of sufficient interest came to my knowledge to make me take up my pen.

I was tired of writing about Palmerston, and I had exhausted myself on that subject in another way, for I wrote two papers, one on Sicily and one on Spain, in which I set forth in detail Palmerston's conduct in both cases, and these I sent to the Duke of Bedford for his edification, and he sent them to Clarendon. Since that there has been a great Foreign debate in the H. of Lords, an attack on the F. policy arranged by Brougham, Stanley and Aberdeen. The Government expected to be beat, but by the help of proxies they got a majority of 12. A day or two after, Palmerston made his devils (Bernard Osborne and M. Milnes) get up a discussion in the H. of Commons to enable him to make a speech. He made one (on a Saturday morning), impudent and clever as usual, skimming over with his usual nonchalance the bad parts of the case against him, and interlarding his speech with some very judicious remarks and very sound principles (the very reverse of his practice) and divers plausible claptraps for his Radical friends; the whole being as usual exceedingly well received by a very select audience, for I understand there were not 50 people present; Peel had left town and Graham went away. This speech and the majority in the Lords were construed into a triumph; and P. and Lady P. are on their high horses in consequence. So much for politics.

I had got so tired of everything, and so longed for something fresh to stimulate my jaded mind, that I resolved to make a run into Scotland, and see Edinburgh, and as much of the country as could be visited in a few days. I really was ashamed of having never been in any part of Scotland. Accordingly last Tuesday week, the 17th, I went with the Ellesmeres to Worsley (a place I found immensely improved), and on Thursday afternoon I proceeded to Edinburgh. On Friday I went all about the town, new and old, going to all the re-

markable places, and clambering to the top of Arthur's Seat; on Saturday to see Melrose and Abbotsford, the latter a miserable humbug of a place, ugly, mean, and not worth crossing the street to see, and yet such is the influence of a name, that crowds of travelling Pilgrims repair to the habitation of Walter Scott. Melrose is a beautiful ruin, but it is I dare say true that

If you would view fair Melrose aright,
You should view it by the pale moonlight.

On returning to Edinburgh, I went to the Calton Hill and again walked about the town. On Sunday morning the aspect of the new town was curious, it looked like a City of the dead. In the vast and magnificent Streets and Squares, there was scarcely a human being moving about or a sound to be heard; it looked like a town newly built that had not yet been used, and which was waiting for its inhabitants. The effect was the oddest I ever saw as I sauntered about for an hour before Church time. By eleven o'clock Princes Street was swarming, for they are a Church-going people.

I went to hear the celebrated Dr. Candlish¹ preach, and was exceedingly struck with him, and with the simple and impressive service. He is very eloquent, and I was able to listen to a discourse above an hour long without being tired, which is the best proof of the merit of the Preacher. The service in good hands is admirable, but all depends on the Minister, and on the whole I think such a Liturgy as ours a preferable form of worship.

After Church I walked about the Old town, and dived into the Wynds, and examined the remnants of ancient architecture, and of the old edifices, all very striking and curious. In the afternoon by rail to Perth. There I met Ld. Glasgow returning from Hay Mackenzie's funeral,² and he induced me to make an appointment with him at Glasgow on Wednesday, and go steaming up the Lochs. On Monday morning I went to Dunkeld, walked about the place; thence to Blair Athol, where I slept; next morning retraced my steps through the Pass of Killiecrankie, and along a beautiful road to Taymouth; found

¹ Robert Smith Candlish (1806-73), a leader of the Free Church; Minister of Free St George's, Edinburgh, 1843-73.

² John Hay Mackenzie, first cousin of eighth Marquess of Tweeddale, and father of Anne, Duchess of Sutherland.

Breadalbane there, who took me all over the place. It is grand and beautiful, as fine a place as I ever saw. I could not stay, but returned by another road along the Tay to Dunkeld, and then back to Perth. Next morning very early by rail to Glasgow. There I met Glasgow, who had hired a steamer, in which we started and sailed up different Lochs, ending at Tarbet, where we landed, went to the foot of Ben Lomond, got into a boat and paddled about the Lake, then returned to Kilbirnie, a strange, old, half-neglected place, very comfortable and exceedingly pretty, and there I slept. Next morning started again, sailed round by Arran up Loch Fyne to Inverary.¹ Nothing can exceed the beauty of this scenery (description superfluous), especially the approach to Inverary; Duke and Dss. very civil, and pressed us to stay, but could not, returned to Kilbirnie. On Friday walked about the place, then by rail to Glasgow, looked at the town, and on Saturday morning by express train to London. A successful and delightful expedition; saw a great deal in a very short time.

August 8th.—The Session closed during my absence from London. Its last days were distinguished by a long debate in the House of Lords on foreign affairs, and a short (not debate, but) demonstration got up in the House of Commons by Palmerston. There is a *dessous des cartes* about this affair, as follows: the Session was drawing to a close, when the project (originally entertained, but abandoned) of making an attack on Palmerston and the foreign policy of the Government was resumed, and a confederacy was formed for the purpose between Brougham, Stanley, and Aberdeen, not without misgivings on the part of Aberdeen and his friends, for both He and Canning told me they thought it was too late, and possibly might do more harm than good. This was a very unwise confederacy; the only man of the three who was in earnest was Aberdeen, and he never ought to have had anything to do with such a false trickster as Brougham. As soon as it was known that this field day was in preparation, a great whip began on both sides, and it was considerably believed that the Government would be left in a minority. Meanwhile Lady Palmerston was furious with Brougham, and she wrote him some very angry and reproachful

¹ Inveraray Castle, Argyll, the seat of the Dukes of Argyll, was at this time occupied by George Douglas, eighth duke and his wife, Elizabeth Georgiana, daughter of the second Duke of Sutherland.

letters. Brougham had no mind to quarrel with her. She fairly bullied him and frightened him, and he accordingly threw over the cause he had undertaken. He made a miserable speech, which enraged his colleagues and all the opponents of the Government, who swore (and it was true) that he had sold them. Aberdeen spoke well, and Lord Lansdowne admirably. The Government was in a minority in the House, but by dint of proxies got a majority of twelve, so that the whole thing was in fact a failure. A day or two after Palmerston made his devils bring on a discussion in the H. of C., that he might make a speech. He replied after a fashion to Aberdeen, that is, he made some offensive personal allusions to him, but did not attempt to vindicate his own conduct in the essential particulars. The men he selected to assist him on this occasion were Bernal Osborne, Dicky Milnes and Nugent, the first and the last the most troublesome frondeurs of the Government, the other always Palmerston's Lacquey. He made as usual a clever and impudent speech, laying down some sound principles enough (the reverse of what he has acted on), but interlarding plenty of sops to the Radicals and lots of Hungarian Liberalism, which were vociferously cheered by the 50 people who were present. This exhibition was trumpeted forth as a great Palmerstonian triumph, and the close of the Session has left him and his spouse immoderately jubilant. It admits of no doubt that in spite of the enormous case there is against him, Palmerston has not only escaped undamaged, but seems to be invested with all the insignia of triumph. He is now evidently endeavouring to make for himself a great Radical interest in the H. of Commons, and thus to increase his power, and render himself more indispensable to the Government by making them feel how dangerous he would be out of office.

There has very nearly been a scompiglio with the Duke of Wellington, who took such umbrage at something (I don't know what) that he threatened to resign. The D. of Bedford told me this, but said he would not tell me what it was about because he thought John had behaved so ill about it, he did not like to mention it. He did not hear it from John but from Arbuthnot, and the rest of the Cabinet knew nothing about it. They contrived to pacify the Duke, and the matter has dropped. The Duke consulted me about John's now going to the H. of Lords, but as his health is much better I advised against it, for he

is indispensable in the H. of Commons; and all the more from the attitude which Palmerston is taking. He said that he was even more indispensable than I was aware of, for George Grey, who had been looked upon as a fit successor to John in the H. of C. in the event of his translation, had not given satisfaction in the House and had undoubtedly rather fallen this session. Wood, on the other hand, has risen, having made some very good speeches and done his business well. Nobody however is so popular in the House as Palmerston.

August 14th, Tuesday.—On Wednesday last to Stoke, on Friday to Nuneham. At Stoke the D. of Bedford talked to me about the very serious question of extension of the suffrage, and John's position in relation to it. Just before the Session ended Graham spoke to John on this subject, told him it would be one of the questions he would have to consider during the recess, as it must occupy Parliament next Session; that He (G.) was prepared to support a measure of this kind, and that he must tell John that after his having upon two occasions in the H. of C. declared himself favorable to some extension of the suffrage, it was incumbent on him to give effect to those declarations. It is pretty evident that Graham (after his wont) is afraid of not being beforehand with public opinion or clamour, and that he is ready to advocate some Radical, or at any rate Liberal measure. John seems to be conscious that this is a very grave matter, but he says he thinks he can frame a good measure, and he intends to busy himself about it. I called on Labouchere at Stoke on Thursday morning, and had some talk with him about it. He is afraid of it, and sees all the danger and difficulty of the question, and is not a little disgusted that the agitation of it and the necessity of some proposition should have been caused by John Russell's committing himself as he chose to do in the H. of Commons. Labouchere spoke also with much disapprobation of Palmerston's parting speeches in the H. of Commons, and his expressions in reference to Hungary and Austria to please the Radicals with whom he is coquetting, while they do nothing but sing his praises.

I saw Lord Lansdowne last night, just returned from Ireland, having had an escape on the railroad, for the train ran off the rail. He said nothing could surpass the success of the Queen's visit in every

respect;¹ every circumstance favorable, no drawbacks or mistakes, all persons and parties pleased, much owing to the tact of Clarendon, and the care he had bestowed on all the arrangements and details, which made it all go off so admirably. The Queen herself delighted, and appears to have played her part unusually well. Clarendon of course was overjoyed at the complete success of what was his own plan, and satisfied with the graciousness and attention of the Court to him, which he was not before. In the beginning, and while the details were in preparation, he was considerably disgusted at the petty difficulties they made, and at what he thought the want of consideration for him they evinced, but he is satisfied now. Lord L. said the departure was quite affecting, and he could not see it without being moved; and he thinks beyond doubt that this visit will produce permanent good effects in Ireland. All the accounts represent the material prospects of the country to be better.

London, September 15th, Saturday.—On Monday, the 3rd, on returning from Hillingdon, I found a summons from John Russell to be at Balmoral on Wednesday 5th at half-past two, for a Council, to order a Prayer for relief against the cholera. No time was to be lost, so I started by the five o'clock train, dined at Birmingham, went on by the mail train to Crewe, where I slept; breakfasted the next morning at Crewe Hall, which I had never seen, and went on by the Express to Perth, which I reached at half-past twelve. I started on Wednesday morning at half-past six, and arrived at Balmoral exactly at half-past two. It is a beautiful road from Perth to Balmoral, particularly from Blairgowrie to the Spital of Glenshee, and thence to Braemar. Much as I dislike Courts and all that appertains to them, I am glad to have made this expedition, and to have seen the Queen and Prince in their Highland retreat, where they certainly appear to great advantage. The place is very pretty, the house very small. They live there without any state whatever; they live not merely like private gentlefolks, but like very small gentlefolks, small house, small rooms, small establishment. There are no Soldiers, and the whole guard of the Sovereign and the whole Royal Family is a single Policeman, who walks about the grounds to keep off impertinent intruders or improper characters.

¹ Queen Victoria and Prince Albert sailed to Ireland in the yacht 'Victoria and Albert' in August 1849, and spent ten days visiting Cork, Dublin and Belfast.

Their attendants consisted of Lady Douro and Miss Dawson,¹ Lady and Maid of Honour; G. E. Anson and Jordan;² Birch,³ the P. of Wales's Tutor; and Miss Hildyard, the Governess of the children. They live with the greatest simplicity and ease. He shoots every morning, returns to luncheon, and then they walk and drive. She is running in and out of the house all day long, and often goes about alone, walks into the cottages, and sits down and chats with the old women. I never before was in society with the Prince, or had any conversation with him. On Thursday morning John Russell and I were sitting together after breakfast, when he came in and sat down with us, and we conversed for about three-quarters of an hour. I was greatly struck with him. I saw at once (what I had always heard) that he is very intelligent and highly cultivated, and moreover that he has a thoughtful mind, and thinks of subjects worth thinking about. He seemed very much at his ease, very gay, pleasant, and without the least stiffness or air of dignity. After luncheon we went to the Highland gathering at Braemar—Q., P., four children and two Ladies in one pony carriage; J. Russell, Mr. Birch, Miss Hildyard, and I in another; Anson and Gordon on the box; one groom, no more. The gathering was at the Old Castle of Braemar, and a pretty sight enough. We returned as we came, and then everybody strolled about till dinner. We were only nine people, and it was all very easy and really agreeable, the Queen in very good humour and talkative; he still more, and talking very well; no form, and everybody seemed at their ease. In the evening we withdrew to the only room there is besides the dining-room, which serves for billiards, library (hardly any books in it), and drawing-room. The Queen and Prince and her Ladies and Gordon soon went back to the dining-room, where they had a Highland dancing-master, who gave them lessons in reels. We (J.R. and I) were not admitted to this exercise, so we played at billiards. In process of time they came back, when there was a little talk, and soon after they went to bed. So much for my visit to

¹ The Hon. Caroline Margaret Dawson (1822-1912), granddaughter of first Earl of Portarlington; Maid of Honour, 1845-51, married third Baron Congleton, 1851.

² Alexander Hamilton Gordon (1817-90), second son of fourth Earl of Aberdeen; Equerry to Prince Albert and later to Queen Victoria; K.C.B., 1873.

³ Rev. Henry Birch (b. 1819); an assistant-master at Eton until 1849; tutor to the Prince of Wales, 1849-51; resigned owing to a disagreement with Prince Albert over the Church Catechism; appointed Vicar of Prestwich, Lancs, 1851.

Balmoral. I was asked to stay there the first night, but was compelled to remain the second, as the Braemar gathering took all the horses, and it was impossible to get away. The Prince was very civil about my staying when this was explained to him. The first night I felt so gouty that I did not go to dinner.

I had a walk on Wednesday with Aberdeen, who came there for the Council. He said the Government were going on very well *in all respects but one*, but he admitted that it was impossible to get rid of Palmerston, and therefore John could do nothing but defend him; that Peel would not attack him in the H. of C., as nothing would induce him to do anything to weaken the present Government, though he disapproved of Palmerston's conduct as much as Aberdeen himself. He said that Peel thought of nothing but the progress and development of his Free Trade measures; that the present Government alone could and would carry them out, and therefore he strenuously supported them, being perfectly conscious that he had no party, and consequently no power. This was just what I believed to be the case in reference to Peel's sentiments and conduct. He considers his own reputation as a Statesman staked on the success of these measures, and thinks of nothing else. This is, however, a disagreeable prospect for those of his adherents who followed his fortunes to the last, and are now left high and dry. Aberdeen spoke much of the Q. and P., of course with much praise. They had seen with great satisfaction the downfall of the Hungarian cause, and chuckled not a little at the idea of its being a mortification to Palmerston. He said the Prince's views were generally sound and wise, with one exception, which was his violent and incorrigible German unionism. He goes all lengths with Prussia; will not hear of the moderate plan of a species of federalism based on the Treaty of Vienna and the old relations of Germany; and insists upon a new German Empire, with the King of Prussia for its Head. I saw by his conversation at dinner that his opinions were just what Aberdeen represented them to be.

John Russell and I left Balmoral, and travelled together as far as Perth on Friday morning. We discussed Palmerston, his policy, his character, and his conduct, fully and freely. John endeavoured to argue the Spanish and Sicilian cases against me and my papers, but he really had nothing to say in defence of P., or in opposition to my

charges and assertions; and by degrees, as we talked on, he came to admit that P. was justly chargeable with the faults that I had imputed to him. He told me, moreover, of a case in which he had been obliged to interfere not long ago. When the question of the Piedmontese indemnity was in discussion, our Government, as well as the French, endeavoured to persuade that of Austria to reduce the amount they at first demanded. With this object Palmerston wrote a despatch; but he thought fit to put into it, that the Austrians were the more bound to do this, as the war itself was their own fault, for if they had sent Ambassadors to the Congress that was to have met at Brussels, as they ought to have done, it would never have taken place. John said he thought this very useless and inexpedient, and insisted on its being struck out. Palmerston maintained that it was true. John said, true or not, there was no use in saying it, and it was struck out, much to Palmerston's dislike. This was exactly of a piece with his usual behaviour, but it seems to me nothing but a piece of stupid, wanton impertinence.

In the course of our conversation John told me something about the famous despatch of July 19,¹ curiously illustrative of his *laissez aller* way of doing business. After acknowledging it was very injudicious, he said, 'I remember the despatch was brought to me on a Sunday morning, just as I was going to Church. I read it over in a hurry; it did not strike me at the moment that there was anything objectionable in it, and I sent it back. If I had not gone to Church, and had paid more attention to it, it would not have gone'; and upon this despatch, thus carelessly read and permitted to go, hinged the quarrels with France and with Spain, the Montpensier marriage, and not impossibly, though indirectly, the French Revolution itself.

John and I parted at Perth. He went on to Edinburgh and I to Drummond Castle, where I staid two nights. It is a grand place; the finest on the whole I have seen in Scotland. The gardens, which are so celebrated, really are fabulous, and unlike any others I ever saw. From Drummond Castle I went to Tullyallan for one night; thence to Drumlanrig for two. This is a magnificent place, the situa-

¹ This was the celebrated despatch with reference to the marriage of the Queen of Spain, in which Lord Palmerston named the Coburg Prince as one of the candidates for her hand. R.

tion of the Castle unrivalled, and presenting a noble object in a hundred different views. The gardens are more extensive and more enjoyable, but not so curious as at Drummond Castle. I went on Wednesday to Worsley, and on Thursday returned to town, excessively amused and interested with my expedition, and more than ever delighted with Scotland.

1850

January 16th, 1850.—Since I first began to keep a journal I do not believe so long an interval has ever elapsed as between the last time I wrote anything and now. Without there having been any matter of great importance, there have been fifty small things I might have recorded at least as interesting as one half that these books contain; but I know not why, I have never felt the least inclination, but, on the contrary, a considerable aversion, to the occupation. I have over and over again resolved to recommence writing, and as often have failed from an inexplicable repugnance to execute my purpose. I am at last induced to take up my pen to put down what has taken place in the case of Gorham and the Bishop of Exeter,¹ because this is a matter which excites great interest, which will not speedily be forgotten, and on which it is desirable there should be some authentic account, especially in respect to those parts of the proceedings which are not publicly known. The details of the case itself are to be found in a hundred publications, and I shall therefore confine myself to what passed behind the curtain. Jenner having given judgement in the Court of Arches in favor of the Bishop, Gorham appealed to the Privy Council. We first had to consider what steps we should take to form a competent Court. It was immediately settled that the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London should be invited to attend, and I wrote them letters, setting forth the clause in the Act of Parliament (Privy Council Act) by which the Queen was authorised to summon them, telling them they could not vote, but signifying the desire of the Lord President they would attend to give their opinions to the Judicial Committee. The two Archbishops wrote answers that they would come; the Bishop of London sent no answer, and I found out afterwards that he would have preferred the attendance of the Prelates being dispensed with. We then considered whom we should

¹ George Cornelius Gorham (1787-1857), Curate of Clapham, 1818-27; Vicar of St Just's, Cornwall, 1846-7, and of Bramford Speke, 1847-57; refused institution by Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, on account of his Calvinistic views on baptismal regeneration, 1848; won his case against the Bishop in the Privy Council, March 8th, 1850; finally instituted to his living, August 1851.

get to form the Court, and after a consultation with Lord Lansdowne, it was settled that the whole of the Judicial Committee should be summoned, but with an intimation that while it had been considered advisable to send summonses to every member of the Court on account of the importance of the question, their attendance was not imperative. It was also deemed very desirable to have at least one Common Law Judge there. In the Court of Delegates a C.L. Judge was always indispensable, and Baron Parke had often pronounced a strong opinion that one ought always to be present in those Appeals to the J.C. which formerly went to the Delegates. We had, however, great difficulty in getting one; neither Wilde nor Pollock would consent to attend, and Parke had made an engagement to go into the Country. At length, finding that unless Parke agreed to come we should have no C.L. Judge, I wrote him a strong and pressing letter, urging him to attend; and having got the Lord President to back me up, he agreed to give up his engagement and assist at the hearing of the cause. The Court was finally composed of Lords Langdale and Campbell, Baron Parke, Vice-Chancellor Knight Bruce, Dr. Lushington, and Pemberton Leigh. Lord Lansdowne came the first day and opened the proceedings; made a short speech, stating that H.M. had been advised to summon the Prelates in so important a case, stated that he did not contemplate attending throughout the hearing, as he did not consider himself competent to act as a Judge in that Court, though always ready to render his assistance in arranging their proceedings, and then having fairly launched them he went away. The cause was very elaborately and very ably argued by Turner¹ for Gorham, and Baddeley² for the Bishop. The Court was crammed full almost every day, and the interest very great. It was conducted with great moderation and decorum on all sides, with one exception. At the end of his speech Baddeley very injudiciously and very indecently made a personal attack on the Archbishop of Canterbury. He charged him with having given a living to a man holding Gorham's opinions, and therefore being prejudiced in this case. The

¹ George James Turner (1798-1867); Q.C., 1840; M.P. for Coventry, 1847-51; Vice-Chancellor and knighted, 1851; Lord Justice of Appeal, 1853.

² Edward Louth Badeley (d. 1868); ecclesiastical lawyer with Tractarian leanings, 1841-51; as a result of the Gorham decision by the Privy Council, withdrew to the Church of Rome in company with Cardinal Manning.

Prelate, with some emotion, but very mildly, explained that he had given the living to the Clergyman in question before he had published the book in which these opinions were said to be enuntiated, and that he knew nothing about them. Baddley made a sort of apology, and Campbell rebuked him with some severity, but at the same time acknowledged the ability of his speech, and, with this exception, its moderation and becoming tone. When the arguments were over, the Lords remained in discussion for some time. The Prelates all said they should like to take time to consider their opinions, and then to give them in writing. It was therefore agreed that they should meet again on the 15th (yesterday), when they would read their written opinions to the Judicial Committee; and it was also settled that Lord Langdale should draw up the Report. There was not much discussion, but it was evident from what passed that the judgement would be reversed. Yesterday afternoon they assembled again. The Archbishop of Canterbury began. His paper was excellent. He showed that opinions, if not identical, yet very like, those of Gorham had been held by a host of great and good Churchmen, and he was strongly of opinion that the Bishop was not justified in refusing to induct him. The Archbishop of York followed. He gave the same opinion, but in a much less able paper. Then came the Bishop of London. He said he entirely agreed with the two Archbishops so far as they had gone; intimated that his first impression had been the same as theirs, but in looking more closely into Gorham's doctrine he had arrived at the conclusion that he had gone considerably beyond what had ever been held by any of the eminent persons whom the Archbishop had quoted, and that he had distinctly laid down positions wholly inconsistent with the efficacy of the Baptismal Sacrament, and that this he could not get over. He therefore gave an opinion, though it did not seem to be a very decided one, against Gorham. The Lords thanked the Prelates, and begged for copies of their several papers, and then they proceeded very briefly to state their own views. Lord Langdale said a very few words against the judgement of the Court below. Baron Parke said he had written his opinion, and they begged him to read it. It was a very good argument, of which, however, he did not read the whole, and he agreed with Lord Langdale. Campbell neither made a speech nor read a paper, but took a similar view. Lushington said he had

written out his opinion, but had not brought his paper with him. He made, however, a short speech, very good indeed, in which he pronounced a strong opinion against the Bishop, commenting in severe terms upon the nature of the examination,¹ and setting forth the great danger to the peace of the Church which would result from a judicial declaration on their part that Gorham's opinions were clearly proved to be heretical. After him came K. Bruce, who read a paper of moderate length, but strongly condemnatory of Gorham, and for affirming the judgement of the Court below. P. Leigh was the last. He said he had not been prepared to express any opinion, having conceived that they were only to meet to hear those of the Prelates; but he made a very short speech, in which he gave a very decided opinion for reversing the judgement; and he showed very clearly that if there were some answers of Gorham's which appeared to bear out the Bishop of London's view of the matter, there were others by which they were neutralised, and in which he gave his unqualified assent and consent to those doctrines of the Church which the Bishops alleged that he rejected. Some conversation, all very amicable, then ensued, and the question was settled. Lord Langdale undertook to prepare the judgement. The Bishop of London said he hoped nothing would be said in it condemnatory of the Bishop of Exeter's doctrine, at which they all exclaimed that they would take care nothing of the kind was done; they would steer as clear as possible of any declaration of opinion as to doctrine, and found their judgement on this, that it had not been proved to them that Gorham had put forth any doctrine so clearly and undoubtedly at variance with the Articles and formularies as to warrant the Bishop's refusal to induct him. Lushington said he had the greatest difficulty in making out what Gorham's doctrine really was, and he was much struck with the fact that in no part of the Bishop's pleadings did he say explicitly with what he charged him. They then separated, no time having been fixed for giving judgement. But for K<night> B<ruce> it would be unanimous; but he will never give way, and this will prevent their declaring that they are unanimous.

January 23rd.—If I had not been too lazy to write about anybody

¹ The Bishop's examination of Gorham, after which he refused to institute him, lasted for 52 hours.

or anything, I should not have suffered the death of Alvanley to pass without some notice. The world, however, has no time to think of people who are out of its sight, and a long illness which had confined him entirely, and limited his society to a few old friends, caused him to be forgotten, and his departure out of life to be almost unobserved. There was a time when it would have been very different, during those many years when his constant spirits and good humour, together with his marvellous wit and drollery, made him the delight and ornament of society. I know no description of him so appropriate as the character of Biron in 'Love's Labour's Lost':—

A merrier man,
 Within the limits of becoming mirth,
 I never passed an hour's talk withal:
 His eye begets occasion for his wit,
 And every object that the one doth catch
 The other turns to a mirth-moving jest,
 Which his fair tongue (conceit's expositor)
 Delivers in such apt and gracious terms,
 That aged ears play truant at his (tales),
 And younger hearings are quite ravished;
 So sweet and voluble is his discourse.

He was originally in the Army, came early into the world, and at once plunged into every sort of dissipation and extravagance. He was the most distinguished of that set of roués and spendthrifts who were at the height of the fashion for some years—consisting of Brummel, Sir H. Mildmay,¹ Lord Sidney Osborne,² Foicy, John Payne, Scrope Davies, and several others, and when all of them were ruined and dispersed (most never to recover), Alvanley still survived, invulnerable in his person, from being a Peer, and with the means of existence in consequence of the provident arrangement of his Uncle, who left him a considerable property in the hand of trustees, and thus preserved from the grasp of his Creditors. He was naturally of a kind and affectionate disposition, good-natured, obliging, and inclined to be generous; but he was to the last degree reckless and profligate about money; he cared not what debts he incurred, and he made nothing of violating

¹ Sir Henry St John Mildmay (1787–1848), fourth baronet; succeeded his father in the baronetcy and the St John, Carew and Mildmay estates, 1808; committed suicide to avoid arrest for debt.

² Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne (1789–1861), third son of the fifth Duke of Leeds.

every sort of pecuniary engagement or obligation. He left the friends who assisted him in the lurch without remorse, and such was the *bonhomie* of his character, and the irresistible attraction of his society, that they invariably forgave him, and after exhausting their indignation in complaints and reproaches, they became more intimate with him than before. Many a person has been astonished, after hearing the tale of Alvanley's abominable dishonesty and deceit, to see the Plaintiff and the culprit the dearest friends in the world. He was a great example how true it is that—

L'agrément couvre tout, il rend tout légitime;
 Aujourd'hui dans le monde il n'y a qu'un seul crime,
 C'est l'ennui: pour le fuir tous les moyens sont bons.

When I recollect his constant treacheries, and the never-failing placability of his dupes, I always think of the story of Manon l'Escout, of whom he appears to me to have been a male prototype. It would be very difficult to convey any idea of the sort of agreeableness which was so captivating in him. He did not often say very witty things; it was not uproarious mirth, and jokes exciting fits of laughter like Sydney Smith; he was unlike any of the great social luminaries of his own or of bygone times; but he was delightful. He was so gay, so natural, so irresistibly comical, he diffused such cheerfulness around him, he was never ill-natured; if he quizzed anybody and bantered them, he made them neither angry nor unhappy; he had an even and constant flow of spirits, and (till his health became impaired) you were *sure* of him in society. He was vain, but it was a harmless and amusing vanity, which those who knew him well understood and laughed at. He had rioted in all the dissipations of play, wine and women, and for many years (a liaison which began when neither were very young, and was the *réchauffé* of an earlier affair, before She was married) he was the notorious and avowed lover of Lady Fitzroy Somerset. What Burke says with a sort of mock modesty of himself, was true of Alvanley—he had 'read the book of life for a long time, and other books a little.' For the first years of his life he was too entirely plunged in dissipation and debauchery to repair in any way the deficiencies of a neglected education; later, he read a good deal in a desultory way, and acquired a good store of miscellaneous information. At one period

he addicted himself to politicks, but he never made any figure in the House of Lords, having no parliamentary experience, no oratorical genius, and no foundation of knowledge. But it was during this period that he signalised his courage in his duel with young O'Connell. Before that event, for no particular reason but that he was only known as a voluptuary, no very high idea was entertained of his personal bravery; but on this occasion it shone forth with great lustre, for no man ever exhibited more resolution or indifference to danger. For the last four years of his life he was afflicted with painful diseases, and his sufferings were incessant and intense. He bore them all with a fortitude and cheerfulness which never failed him, and which excited universal sympathy and admiration.

February 2nd, Saturday.—The Session opened on Thursday, and Ministers got a great victory in the H. of Lords the same night, and yesterday another in the H. of Commons so signal and decisive as to leave no uncertainty in respect to the agricultural questions, or the stability of the Government. After all the sound and fury which have pervaded the country, and formidable attitude they assumed, they entered on the parliamentary contest in a very feeble and apparently undecided, if not disunited manner. And nothing could be more striking than the contrast between the rage and fury, the denunciations and determinations of the Protectionists all over the country for months past, and the moderate language and abstinences from all specific demands on the part of the Leaders in both Houses. Stanley, who has never said or written a syllable during the recess, and kept aloof from all agitation, made a very reasonable speech, disclaiming any wish to interrupt the experiment, which he was sure would fail, and only requiring that if it did fail, we should retrace our steps. This was very different from Richmond, who was coarse and violent, and declared he wanted to turn out the Government, and restore Protection at once. In the other House, Disraeli was very bad, and there was no possibility of making out what he meant or was driving at. Cobden was very good, and had much the best of him. All this disunion and weakness ended in good divisions, an exposure of the weakness and inefficiency of the Tory party, and apparently putting the Government at their ease and into smooth water.

But in the midst of all this apparent prosperity many people (of

whom I am one) are far from easy at the state of affairs. The Opposition are rabid, and bent on annoying and damaging the Government in every way they can. The Radicals are lying in wait to take advantage of their resentment and turn it to their own purposes. It is impossible not to feel that the experiment,¹ as it is called, is a fearful and a doubtful one; and even supposing it to succeed (as I think it will in the long run), there are so many weak and vulnerable both landlords and tenants, that there will be a great deal of intermediate havoc and distress; and the Farmers have been so terrified and excited by their Leaders and Orators, that there is good reason to fear, when they find Protection cannot be had, that they will become financial reformers, break through all the old patriarchal ties, and go to any lengths which they may fancy they can make instrumental to their relief. The Protectionists have had the folly to poison and pervert their minds, and to raise a spirit they will find it difficult either to manage or subdue. In short, the country is in a greater state of fermentation and uncertainty than I have ever known it, and its conservative qualities, and faculty of righting itself, and resisting extreme dangers, will be put to a severe test.

February 10th.—The brightness of the Ministerial prospect was very soon clouded over, and last week their disasters began. There was first of all the Greek affair, and then the case of the Ceylon witnesses—Palmerston and Grey. The Greek case will probably be settled, thanks to French mediation, but it was a bad and discreditable affair, and has done more harm to Palmerston than any of his greater enormities.² The other Ministers are extremely annoyed at it, and at the sensation it has produced. The disgust felt at these bullying and paltry operations is great and universal, and it will of course tend to make us still more odious abroad. As far as P. himself is concerned, he will as usual escape unscathed, quite ready to plunge into any fresh scrape tomorrow, uncorrected and unchecked; he bears a charmed life in politicks, he is so popular and so dexterous that he is never at a loss, nor afraid, nor discomposed. He is supported by his own party; the

¹ I.e. of Free Trade.

² Don Pacifico had been the victim of a riot at Athens on Easter Sunday, 1847. He claimed £31,500 from the Greek Government, a sum largely in excess of his losses, but Palmerston originally backed this exaggerated claim. The final award to him under the Drouyn de Lhuys Convention was some £6000, including interest.

Pecities will not attack him for fear of hurting the Government; and he is the pet of the Radicals, to whom he plays continual court, giving them sops in the shape of Liberal speeches, Hungarian sympathies, and clap-trap unmeaning verbiage of different sorts.

Very different is the case of Grey. He is as unpopular as the other is popular. The H. of Commons swarms with his bitter enemies, and he commands very few friends. Notwithstanding his great and undeniable abilities, he is always committing blunders, which proceed from his obstinacy and conceit—his contempt for the opinion of others, and the tenacity with which he clings to his own; and while those who know him are aware that a man more high-minded, more honorable and conscientious does not exist, he has contrived to make himself pass for a shuffling trickster whose word cannot be relied on.¹ This last affair of the Ceylon witnesses is indeed well calculated to confirm such an impression, and to heap additional odium on his head. It is wholly without excuse, damaging to him, damaging to the Government, and will animate and embitter the personal hostility with which he is pursued to a degree that will probably bring him to grief in the course of this Session, and perhaps the whole Cabinet with him.² The Government was only saved from a defeat on Wednesday morning by the bad tactics of Disraeli, who moved so strong a resolution that few would support it. Bright then moved one more moderate, and was only beat by nine; had the more moderate one been moved at first, it would have been carried. These two incidents have been vexatious and injurious, and were not improved by an angry personal squabble between Horsman on one side and J. Russell and Sir G. Grey on the other, in which, however, the former is undoubtedly in the wrong.

Stanley has taken up Roden's cause,³ and is going to attack the

¹ For an appreciation of Lord Grey's important tenure of office as Colonial Secretary, see W. P. Morrell's *Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell*.

² A Select Committee of the House of Commons had been appointed to enquire into the grievances alleged to exist in Ceylon, especially with reference to the means taken by the Governor to quell the recent insurrection in that island, and an understanding had been arrived at in the preceding session, that certain witnesses should be brought over from Ceylon on the reappointment of the Committee. These witnesses were not forthcoming, and condemnatory motions were made by Mr Hume, Mr Disraeli, and Mr Bright, but rejected by the House of Commons. R.

³ In the affray at Dolly's Brae a procession of Orangemen, 1500 strong, visited Lord Roden on his birthday to offer him their congratulations. The Ribandmen gathered along their route, and a collision was inevitable. When the firing began, the Orangemen charged

Irish Government, much to my surprise, for he told me himself at Newmarket that he thought Roden quite wrong, and that Clarendon could not help dismissing him. But what he may have said or thought all goes for nothing when he can find an opportunity of making an assault on the Government, or 'giving them a gallop,' as he told Clanricarde he was going to do, when he gave notice of his motion.

February 14th.—There has been a grand discussion whether Clarendon should come over to meet Stanley and Roden on Monday next. He was greatly against coming, and so were several of his friends; but John Russell, G. Grey, and Ld. Lansdowne all thought he had better come, and he acquiesced, though reluctantly, and retaining his opinion that it was not expedient. Stanley told Granville yesterday that he was not going to defend Orange processions, and had only taken up the matter for the purpose of preventing personal matters between Clarendon and Roden being mixed up with the discussion on the Processions Act, and to have those personal matters settled beforehand; au reste, that he had at first thought C. had been quite in the right, but since he had seen all the evidence and read the papers he had changed his opinion; he gave up Mr. Wm. Beers altogether, but thought Roden and the other Beers had been hardly treated. C. himself wrote me word he was convinced Stanley only brought forward this matter to satisfy his Irish adherents, who had been urging him to do it. It is most probable that he finds himself in a scrape with his party, who must be excessively disappointed and disgusted at his very lukewarm advocacy of Protection in his speech on the first night of the Session, and indeed at the way, he has kept aloof from all their agitation; and he finds it necessary to do something to satisfy them in other ways. So he will take every opportunity he can find of attacking the Government, and try to excite and assure his party by such field-days as Dolly's Brae, and by working the Greek question and anything else he can lay his hands on.

This Greek question is the worst scrape into which Palmerston has

their antagonists and killed or wounded about forty of them. Lord Clarendon ordered a Commission of Inquiry and appointed Walter Berwick, an Irish Q.C., as President. As a result of the inquiry Lord Roden was removed from his position of Lord-Lieutenant; and William Beers and F. Beers, two Justices of the Peace who took part in the procession, were deprived of their rank.

ever got himself and his colleagues. The disgust at it here is universal with those who think at all about foreign matters; it is past all doubt that it has produced the strongest feelings of indignation against this country all over Europe, and the Ministers themselves are conscious what a disgraceful figure they cut, and are ashamed of it. Labouchere came into my room yesterday and let loose about it without reserve. He said it admitted of no excuse, and that John Russell, who alone could have prevented it, was inexcusable for not having done so; that it ought to have been brought regularly and formally before the Cabinet, who ought all to have known precisely what it was Palmerston proposed to do. Papers indeed were sent round in boxes, and Palmerston defended himself on this ground, and asked why they did not read them; but (said Labouchere) how was it possible for men who had large departments with a vast deal of business of their own, to read all the papers which were brought round in circulation? They neither did nor could. It was quite clear from all this that the Greek affair was not a measure well considered, discussed, and agreed on by the Cabinet, but done in the true Palmerstonian style, offhand, partly and casually communicated to his colleagues, but so managed as to be his own act, to which they indeed became parties, completely implicated, but in which they were not really consulted, and which passed under their eyes without entering into their serious thoughts. Now that the whole magnitude of the scrape is revealed to them they are full of resentment and mortification. Graham told Arbuthnot the other day that he thought the breaking down of the Government would be the greatest of evils, and he would do anything to support them, but that it was impossible for them to go on with two such men as Grey and Palmerston.

Sunday, 17th.—Breakfasted with Senior yesterday, Macaulay, Hallam, Van de Weyer, etc.; had some talk with the latter about Greece. Of course, he expressed himself with reserve, but he owned it was a very bad affair, and could not end either creditably or well. He said he thought there was a good chance of patching up the quarrel with Spain, which was in the hands of his King. After breakfast went to Kent House, where I found Clarendon arrived the night before in very good spirits. He gave me an outline of his case, and told me several facts, very important and available, and I am sanguine as to

his coming well out of it, if he can manage his materials adroitly. On the other hand, the Stanleians and Rodenites give out that they have a great case, the first on constitutional, and the last on personal, grounds; but both profess an intention to be moderate in their mode of pressing it. Grey has had a success in the Ceylon Committee in the evidence of Captain Watson, who proved the proclamation attributed to him to be a forgery; and he threw so much discredit on Baillie's evidence¹ that Graham told me he thought it would be fatal to his case; but Charles Villiers, who is on the Committee, says that this does not affect the question of Torrington's incapacity and unfitness for his post which will infallibly be proved by unexceptionable witnesses.

⟨February⟩ 19th.—Stanley brought on the Dolly's Brae affair last night in a long, clever, and artful speech, delivered in his best style. But it was the speech of a clever Nisi Prius advocate, and consisted principally of an ingenious dissection of Berwick's report and the evidence, and a bitter attack upon him. The useless and unmeaning character of this display was very apparent when he announced his intention of doing nothing, and asking no opinion of the House. Clarendon rose after him. He made a very good case, his points told remarkably well, and, on the whole, he acquitted himself successfully, and to the satisfaction of his friends; but, coming after Stanley's practised and brilliant declamation, his style appeared tame and feeble. It was easy to see that he was no debater, and that his parliamentary inexperience diminished his force and efficacy. For a little while I was in great alarm for him, and thought he was going to break down; but he recovered, and got through his speech very well. If he had had more artistic power, he would have made his excellent materials much more effective than they were. In such hands as Stanley's they would have been crushing; they would have been very powerful if Lord Lansdowne had had them; but as it was, it did well enough. There was no personality introduced into the debate; the rival speakers were very civil and complimentary to each other; and Roden, throughout his dull and inaudible harangue, called Clarendon his noble friend, to which C. of course responded in his short second speech. Before it began Stanley and Clarendon rushed to each

¹ Henry James Baillie (see note on p. 158) produced the evidence in the House of Commons on which the Select Committee was appointed.

other across the House, and shook hands very cordially, like a couple of boxers before setting to.

(February) 20th. -Clarendon called on me yesterday, very happy at his success the night before. There is a pretty general opinion that he made out a very good case, and that Stanley's was a failure. The latter made one or two great mistakes, and was detected in one very discreditable attempt. He quoted from an Act of Parliament, reading an extract from it, but stopping short at that part of the clause which would have upset his own argument. By a great piece of good luck, the Chancellor Brady¹ had anticipated the possibility of this Act being alluded to, and had sent it over to Clarendon, pointing out this clause, and C. only received it two hours before the debate came on.

C. told me he expected the Encumbered Estates Act would prove the regeneration of Ireland, and that this measure was entirely done by himself. When he was here last year he saw Peel, who said he would give up his own scheme if C. could accomplish (as he proposed) something of this kind. C. spoke to John Russell about it, who said legal reforms were impossible; the Lawyers never would carry them out. C. replied, 'Only lend me your Solicitor-General, and I will do it all.' Romilly went over to Dublin, the Chancellor was cajoled, and the (Irish) Attorney- and Solicitor-Generals were frightened into acquiescence, and Romilly drew the Bill with their concurrence, which was passed last Session, and is now working with extraordinary effect. The Lord-Lieutenancy is to be abolished on January 1, 1851, and the Bill to be brought in this Session. C. will then be Secretary of State for Ireland.

We had some (only a little) talk about our foreign affairs, especially Greece, of which he had himself only heard a little. I had heard that Palmerston had been making some fresh proposal to the Cabinet, at which they had kicked, and he told me what it was. So little disposed is he, notwithstanding all the feelings and opinions that have been manifested, to recede, that he proposed that instructions should be sent to Wylde (Wyse) to insist that the French Minister² (or agent of the *bons offices*, whoever he may be) should be obliged to require of

¹ Sir Maziere Brady (1796-1871); Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1847-52, 1853-8 and 1859-66; created baronet, 1869.

² At Athens.

the Greek Government an immediate compliance with the whole of our demands. This the Cabinet refused to do, but Lord Lansdowne owned to Clarendon that he was by no means sure that they were apprised of all the instructions that had been sent, or that this requisition might not have gone out, though the Cabinet had refused its consent to it. C. told Lord L. that he hoped he was not insensible to the state of public opinion on this matter, and he said he was fully aware of it.

(June 15th, 1858. †Not very interesting, but readable.†) (March 6th, 1863.) <C. C. G.>

<End of Vol. I of Additional MS. 41118.>

February 22nd, Friday.—On Wednesday, as I was crossing the Park, I fell in with Sir Robert Peel, and turned back with him to Charles Wood's, where he was going, after which we went towards his home, and walked up and down behind Whitehall for half an hour or more, talking of all sorts of things. He began about the Roden affair, on which he thought there was no case against Clarendon, but that he might have made more clearly known to Lord R. his dislike to the procession, and considering the friendly terms they had been on, that there was some want of courtesy in making no communication to him before the notice of dismissal, particularly after Roden had offered to resign if it would be of any use to him that he should do so. I explained all these matters to him, and showed him that Clarendon had said and done all he could, and that no blame attached to him. He said he had known nothing of the matter but what Jocelyn had told him.

He then spoke of foreign affairs, and did not spare Palmerston. He reviewed the general course of our proceedings, and especially the Greek affair, which he thought very bad; but what was still worse, was our having sent our fleet into the Dardanelles, having no right to do so, and then asserting we were driven there by stress of weather, which was a pretence and a falsehood. This was very disgraceful, and the use to which our fleet had been put very shameful. That Palmerston had met with nothing but failures from Lisbon, where he first sent the fleet, and where his enemy Cabral¹ had been ever since in

¹ Antonio da Costa Cabral (1803-89); instigated the insurrection at Oporto in 1842; Dictator of Portugal, 1842-6, and again 1849-51; driven from power in 1851 by an insurrection headed by Marshal Saldanha.

power down to the present occasion. Brunnow had spoken to him the other day, and talked very good sense. Said the Emperor of Russia would not quarrel on this matter, not having done so on our fleet going to the Dardanelles; he would not on account of two uninhabited islets, but he would feel it. He alluded to the Emperor's sarcastic remark on the story of our fleet being compelled to take shelter in the Dardanelles; that he had always understood our fleets were most ably and powerfully manned, their tactics very superior, and that Sir William Parker was a very skilful officer; but that *his* Fleet, though lying in that sea for many months, had never found itself under any such necessity. Brunnow said it was a great pity somebody could not represent to Palmerston the impolicy of the course he had been pursuing all over Europe; that it was evident his real motive and intention in this Greek affair had been to bring about a revolution there, and that he had expected, when his fleet appeared, there would be a rising against Otho,¹ who would be expelled; that when Europe was only just emerging from a state of general revolution, and order was only lately restored, what folly it was to provoke a fresh revolution, and to reopen an important question, the settlement of which might lead to the greatest difficulties! Brunnow always defends Palmerston, and affects to make light of all the *accidents* that arise, but he speaks his real sentiments to Peel and Aberdeen. Peel thinks Grey has been concerned in this affair as much as Palmerston, and that he wanted to resent some interference on the part of Greece in the Ionian insurrection. He said he had seen a letter from somebody (I did not hear correctly who) in Parker's fleet, representing that the Admiral was exceedingly disgusted at the business put into his hands. We occupied so much time in discussing Ireland and Greece, that there was none to go into other matters, though I should have liked to hear his opinion of the state and prospects of the country.

Last night I met Clarendon at dinner at Bath House, when I told him what had passed between Peel and me. He told me also that Roden had behaved shabbily to him, when he quoted in the House of Lords the letter he had written, offering to resign the Magistracy, but

¹ Otto I, King of Greece (1815-67), second son of King Ludwig I of Bavaria; selected as King by the London Conference of the Powers, 1832; retired to Bavaria after the revolution of 1862.

concealing the latter part of the same letter in which he said that he hoped he would not accept it if he thought it would be any triumph to the Catholics, for they had now got them down, and they should be able to keep them down. This, C. said, he felt tempted to read himself, as Roden chose to read the first part, but he abstained.

He then gave me an account of what had passed between the Queen and Prince and himself. He dined at the Palace on Tuesday. I told him they were sure to talk to him on foreign affairs, but he said he should avoid it. However, he could not avoid it. The moment he came into the drawing-room after dinner the Queen exploded, and went with the utmost vehemence and bitterness into the whole of Palmerston's conduct, all the effects produced all over the world, and all her own feelings and sentiments about it. He could only listen and profess his own almost entire ignorance of the details. After She had done Albert began, but not finding time and opportunity to say all he wished, he asked him to call on him the next day. He went and had a conversation of two hours and a half, in the course of which he went into every detail, and poured forth without stint or reserve all the pent-up indignation, resentment, and bitterness with which the Queen and himself have been boiling for a long time past. He commented on Palmerston's policy and conduct much in the same terms in which the 'Times' does, and as I and others do. But what he enlarged upon with the strongest feeling was the humiliating position in which the Queen was placed in the eyes of the whole world. The remonstrances and complaints, the sentiments and resentments of other Sovereigns—of the King of Naples, and of the Emperor of Russia, for instance—directly affected her dignity as the Sovereign and Representative of this Nation; and the consciousness that these Sovereigns and all the world knew that She utterly disapproved of all that was done in her name, but that She was powerless to prevent it, was inconceivably mortifying and degrading. Albert said he knew well enough the Constitutional position of the Sovereign of this country, and that it was the policy and measures which the Nation desired and approved which the Government must carry out; but that the Nation disapproved of P.'s proceedings, and so did his own colleagues, Lord Lansdowne particularly; but that by their weak connivance he was allowed to set at defiance the Sovereign, the

Government, and public opinion, while She could get neither redress nor support from John Russell, and was forced to submit to such degradation. He then mentioned various instances in which the Queen's remonstrances and suggestions had been disregarded. Minutes submitted to her in one form and changed by Palmerston into other forms; the refusal of Austria to send any Ambassador here, because He could not transact business with her Secretary of State. Ciarendon asked him if he had ever endeavoured to influence Palmerston himself, and remonstrated with him on those matters which had justly excited the strong feelings of the Queen and himself. He said that he had done so repeatedly, and for a long time; that he always found him easy, good-humoured, very pleasant to talk to, but that it was utterly impossible to turn him from his purposes, or to place the least reliance on anything he said or engaged to do, and that at length the conviction which had been forced upon him of the uselessness of speaking to him had caused him entirely to leave it off, and for above a year past neither the Q. or He had ever said one word to him; that it was in vain they had appealed to John R. He supposed it was the etiquette for Cabinet Ministers never to admit there was anything censurable in the conduct of each other, for though he was certain many things were done of which J. R. could not approve, and for which he was unable to make any defence, he never would admit that what had been done had been wrong; that the consequence of this had been to impair considerably the relations of confidence and openness which ought to exist between the Queen and her Prime Minister, and to place her in an unsatisfactory position vis-à-vis of him. After dilating at great length on this topic, he said something from which C. inferred that his object was to make *him* a channel of communication with John Russell, and thus to make their sentiments known to him more clearly and unreservedly than they could do themselves, and he means to tell John all that passed. He said the Prince talked very sensibly and very calmly, very strong, but without excitement of manner. I shall be curious to hear what John says to it all; but though it can hardly fail somewhat to disturb his mind, I don't believe it will make the least alteration in his conduct, or change an iota of the 'unconquerable will and study of revenge' of Palmerston, or prevent his doing just what he pleases in spite of all the

world. Peel told me he understood we were sending to Leghorn to make demands of some sort there, which he concluded was done to annoy Austria.

February 23rd, Saturday.—The division in the H. of C. on Thursday night was hailed with vociferous cheers by the Protectionists, who considered it a great victory and the harbinger of future success.¹ Everybody was taken by surprise, for though it was known that the Opposition would muster strong, nobody imagined there would be so small a majority as 21, the Government expected about forty. Graham spoke very well, and so did Gladstone *in reply to him*, the part the latter took exciting a considerable sensation. Disraeli was good, both in his opening speech and reply. Graham told me he was much improved, and his taste and tone far better than formerly. Peel was long and heavy, talked of himself too much, and made one of those defences of his former conduct which he might as well let alone, for they are superfluous with one half of the House and country, and useless with the other. He had much better, as Disraeli told him, do like Cosmo de Medici, and leave his character to posterity; he unwisely enough noticed a very warm and unjust attack which Henry Bentinck had made upon him at some public meeting. H. B., like a true member of his family and own Brother to George, instead of recanting or apologising, insinuated his disbelief in what Peel said, and was as offensive as the clamour and displeasure of the House and his own inarticulateness allowed him to be. In the afternoon yesterday Graham called on me to speak about the Australian Bill which was to have come on next Monday, and on which he said Government would infallibly be beat, which following up the quasi defeat of Thursday would be very awkward. I suggested (after talking the matter over) that He and Peel might give them some help, which he said they would do, but must know what Government themselves meant to do. I undertook to find out, but in the meantime John R. put off the Bill.

February 28th.—Before Clarendon left town he saw John Russell, and told him all that had passed between him and the Prince, and

¹ On February 19th Mr Disraeli moved for a Committee to revise and amend the Poor Laws for the purpose of affording relief to the agricultural classes. Mr Gladstone voted for the motion, though it became virtually a Protectionist demonstration. The resolution was defeated by 273 to 253—only 20 majority for Government.—R.

that he was quite certain it had been said to him for the express purpose of its being repeated to John. He also told him that it was fit he should understand the strong and unusual feeling that existed on this subject, assuring him that He had not met with one single individual of any party or condition who did not regard it with disgust and displeasure. He then adjured him, whatever else he might do, to cultivate better *personal* feelings, and more confidential relations with the Q. and P., to be more open with them, and to enter into their feelings, and this John (who seems to have taken what he said in very good part) promised he would not fail to do.

C. had also long conversations with Peel and Graham, who were both very complimentary and satisfactory about his case in the House of Lords, and Peel talked to him a great deal about affairs, both English and Irish. He was as confident as ever in the impossibility of the restoration of Protection, and the disastrous (and in the end abortive) effects of any attempt to do so by a Stanley and Disraeli Government, if by any possibility they could force themselves into office. He is evidently much disgusted with Gladstone and Goulburn, who have given indubitable signs of forsaking him, and advancing towards the Protectionists, and Graham said Stanley would now be able to offer the Queen a list, which would not be an insult. But Gladstone, though he has twice voted with the Opposition, loudly declares that he has not changed an iota of his Free Trade opinions, and has no thoughts of joining the other party. They think they can have him whenever they may vouchsafe to take him. There is a considerably prevailing opinion of the diminished vigour as well as of the diminished influence of Peel. His speech the other night was laboured and heavy, and not judicious. Then the House was much struck by the unusual spectacle of Peel and Graham both rising to speak together, and both persisting to await the Speaker's call instead of Graham's giving way to Peel, as he would have done formerly. It was probably the first time Peel ever rose in the H. of C. to speak, and had to give way to another Speaker. The House called for the one as much as for the other, and Graham made incomparably the best speech of the two. Ever since their large minority, the Protectionists have been in a very rampant and excited state, overflowing with pugnacity and confidence; but they made a great mistake in opposing very furiously and

factly the Irish Voters Bill, and the Government think that that night was exceedingly serviceable to them, by rallying back a great many of the Irish Members, who were out of humour, and disposed to go against them in the matter of protection and relief.

I was last night elected at Grillon's Club, much to my surprise, for I did not know I was a Candidate.

March 8th, Friday.—Dined on Wednesday at Grillon's, and received with vast civility and cordiality. A large party, much larger than usual—amongst them Harrowby, Granville, Graham, Sir T. Fremantle, Rutherford, Pusey, Sir T. Acland, etc. Sat next to Graham, and had much talk on affairs. I told him that Labouchere had told me a day or two before that John Russell was uneasy about the H. of Commons, and expected that he should be beat on more than one item in the financial accounts; that people told him he must expect to be beat; but that he said repeated defeats on such details materially impaired his influence and authority in the House, and made it difficult to carry on the business. Graham said this was very true, and that he probably would be beat. He thought the position of the Government unsatisfactory and precarious; they had got into some scrapes about both Army and Naval estimates, unnecessarily and injudiciously. Then there were the questions of the African squadron and the Greek business behind. Stanley very bitter and active, and eager to fight. He thinks Gladstone, Goulburn, and Aberdeen would all join Stanley in taking office. I asked him how it was possible. He said the Protectionists would make some concessions, and for various reasons and on different pretexts they would be easily satisfied. He congratulated himself on his foresight in refusing to take office. This Greek question was just one of those cases in which he must have refused to obey the orders of the Foreign Office, very different now from Lord Grey's time. Then when He was First Lord of the Admiralty, he used to be every day at the Foreign Office, and Lord Grey was paramount, allowing nothing to be done without his full knowledge and assent, and constantly altering Palmerston's despatches as a Tutor might a boy's exercise. He talked a good deal about the abolition of the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, of which he approves, but said the arrangement of the details, especially about the Chancellor, would be very difficult. Arbuthnot told me the other day

that the Protectionists are doing all they can to disgust the Yeomanry with the service, and to induce them to resign, not without success. This is their patriotism.

I met Brunnow a few mornings ago coming from Palmerston, where he had been (though he did not say so) to present the Emperor's indignant note. He was laughing as he always does when he speaks of Palmerston; said of this affair, 'que c'était une bêtise; qu'il ne pouvait pas faire comprendre à Palmerston l'humiliation de l'affaire.' So far from acknowledging this, or evincing the least sign of regret or shame, when Hume asked him a question in the House the other night, he replied with the utmost effrontery, and with rather more than his usual insolence and audacity. As on every occasion, the House laughed and nobody said a word. All that relates to him, his character, conduct, and career, will hereafter form one of the most curious passages in history and the most astounding and unaccountable.

March 9th. Yesterday judgement was given in Gorham's case at the Council Office. The crowd was enormous, the crush and squeeze awful. I accommodated my friends with seats in court, and there were Wiseman and Bunsen sitting cheek by jowl, probably the antipodes of theological opinions. The Lords met an hour before. They made some alterations in the judgement, and some judicious omissions. The Bishop of London, after much vacillation, half assenting and half dissenting, being on and off, by turns against Gorham and against the Bishop, disagreeing with everybody and everything, finally sent his determination through Lushington, and announcing (as was said in the judgement) that he could not concur. He did not, however, concur in the statement of Gorham's doctrine as gathered by the Lords, a difference of construction which shows how impossible it would have been to condemn Gorham on the score of heterodox (if not heretical) opinions, when a number of very able men, Laymen and Clergymen, after careful examination, could not agree what his opinions really were. Knight Bruce dissented altogether, wrote to Lord Langdale to that effect, and declined coming. The Archbishops agreed in both judgement and reasons. There was a preliminary discussion about costs. Langdale, Campbell, and Lushington were for giving Gorham costs in the Court below; Pemberton Leigh was

against it; and the three eventually yielded to the one, and it was agreed to say nothing about costs. Langdale read the judgement well, and the people who heard it (at least those I talked to) thought it able and judicious; but of course all the Highflyers and Puseyites will be angry and provoked, and talk of schisms and secessions, which will be, I am firmly convinced, *bruta fulmina*.

Reeve received yesterday afternoon *from Guizot* the Russian Note—not *the Note* itself, but the whole substance of it, textual evidently, and copied from the note.¹

March 19th, Monday <Tuesday>.—Last Friday Aberdeen and Stanley had determined to bring on the Greek affair in the H. of Lords, and S. gave notice to Ld. Lansdowne he would ask for information. Ld. L., however, before S. rose, got up and begged he would not discuss a question which was in course of negotiation, and Stanley was obliged to acquiesce. They were both of them provoked and disappointed, but there was no help for it. Stanley then contented himself with asking for the date of the orders to Parker to stop coercive measures, and it turned out that Palmerston had delayed sending them for a week upon miserable pretexts. Lord L., as usual, attempted some lame excuses, and there the matter ended.

To-night comes on the question of the African squadron, on which the Government have acted a very unwise part.² They have determined (of course in obedience to Palmerston's will and pleasure) not only to make it a Government question, but to stake their existence on it; and they have been moving heaven and earth to obtain support and avert the defeat with which they were threatened. Their representations and appeals will probably succeed, but I have already seen several people who are excessively disgusted at being compelled to vote against their clear and strong convictions, and support what they think wrong and foolish in order to bolster up the Government and carry them through the difficulty in which they have been involved by their own perverseness and obstinacy.

March 20th.—John Russell convoked a meeting in Downing Street yesterday, and made them a speech which gave equal offence in

¹ This was a Note in which the Russian Government protested against the abuse of the maritime power of England to coerce small and unresisting States.—*R.*

² The maintenance of a costly squadron on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave trade had become very unpopular, even with the Liberal Party.—*R.*

manner and in matter. He told them if he was beat on Hutt's¹ motion he should resign. Palmerston made another speech, and announced the same intention. What passed however is given in a letter which I sent to the 'Times' last night. The people came away furious and indignant, and several came into my room complaining of the hardship of being compelled to vote against their conscientious opinions on such a question, and on the unjustifiable conduct of the Government in threatening to resign on it. It seems to me that John Russell is demented at taking this violent course in reference to so unpopular a question, and one so entirely fallen into disrepute. He has given deep offence and prepared great difficulties for himself hereafter. B. Wall told me he sent Labouchere to him the night before to remonstrate, but he made no impression, and his reply was too ridiculous; that he could not abandon the course pursued by *Mr. Fox* and all the great men of the time, who had striven to put down slavery. He succeeded in cajoling or frightening people into submission, and after a debate in which few people spoke, and Palmerston not at all, leaving it all to John, Hutt's motion was rejected by a majority of seventy. A great many were absent, not expecting a division, most of whom would have voted with Hutt. I never saw anything like the surprise of some people and the indignation of others at the course which John Russell took.

April 23rd. - More than a month without a single line. The Government are supposed to have been going on badly, having been left in minorities on several occasions, but it is of no real consequence. The most serious affair was the Stamps Bill, but it has been partly compromised and partly patched up, and Charles Wood does not seem to care.² I saw him the other day, when he said that he thought they should not be placed in any more difficulties, for some were ashamed and some were sorry for having done so already. They have made up their minds not to stand repetitions of this fast and loose treatment on the part of their friends and soi-disant supporters. Wood is uneasy about the continued low price of corn, and owned to me that it has continued much longer and had fallen lower than he had ever con-

¹ William Hutt (1801-82); M.P. for Hull, 1832-41, and for Gateshead, 1841-74; Paymaster-General, 1865; K.C.B., 1865; a leading member of the New Zealand Company.

² Ministers were defeated on April 15th on their Stamp Bill by a majority of 164 to 135. R.

templated or at all liked. All the accounts represent that the Farmers are behaving well, paying their rents, and employing the people; but there is a strong feeling of dissatisfaction and disaffection amongst them.

The Greek affair has dragged on, and wears rather a sinister appearance. Drouyn de Lhuys¹ fell in with Reeve on Sunday, took him into his house, and opened to him largely and bitterly on the subject. Yesterday Reeve dined with him, when he again renewed the discussion—two remarkable conversations. He complained in strong terms of Palmerston's conduct, said that France had exerted herself with great sincerity to arrange the affair, but had been met in no corresponding spirit here. He intimated that his Government would publish to the whole world what had taken place, and that the matter was assuming a very grave character towards both Russia and France. Instructions had, indeed, gone out to Athens, agreed upon between Palmerston and himself, but he seemed to regard it as very doubtful whether they would arrive in time—that is, before Gros² had returned home and Parker resumed hostilities. He repeated what Van de Weyer had said of the 'universal execration' in which we were held, and that no country could excite such a feeling with impunity. It is pretty clear that if this matter is not now settled there will be an explosion on the subject at Paris, and some very disagreeable passages between us and both France and Russia. My own conviction has all along been that Palmerston never intended anything but to hoodwink his colleagues, bamboozle the French, and gain time. By accepting the French mediation he prevented all discussion in Parliament; and as he took care to furnish no instructions to Wyse such as might enable him and Gros to come to terms, the affair could not fail to drag on, and every day that it did so was fraught with disastrous consequences to the Greeks. This was what he wanted; not to back out of it as decently as he could, not to defer to the wishes, opinions, and good offices of France, but by obstinacy and deceit to gain all his ends—to terrify and bully Greece into complete surrender, baffle

¹ Edmond Drouyn de Lhuys (1805–81); First Secretary of Embassy at Madrid, 1836–40; *député*, 1842–8; Foreign Secretary under Louis Napoleon, 1848–9, 1852–5 and 1862–6; Ambassador to London, 1849–51.

² Baron Jean Baptiste Gros (1793–1870); served in the French diplomatic service from 1823; sent as French Plenipotentiary to Athens to arbitrate between Greece and England, February 12th, 1850; Ambassador to London, 1862.

Russia, and make France ridiculous. D. de L'H. told Reeve that he and Brunnow were in constant communication and acting in concert, the latter as usual doing all in his power to pacify the Emperor at Petersburg, and to get Palmerston to be reasonable here.

April 28th.— C. Wood has got into a scrape with his Stamps Bill, not being able to frame his measure so as to work satisfactorily. These financial blunders are always injurious, and affect the credit and authority of a Chancellor of the Exchequer; but it does not really signify, for the Government cannot be shaken. John Russell made a slashing attack (in reply) on Disraeli on Friday, well enough done, with spirit and effect.

On Wednesday, Campbell gave judgement in the Court of Queen's Bench in the Gorham case, on the rule moved for by F. Kelly. The rule was refused unanimously. Campbell's judgement was very good, and much admired; he is doing exceedingly well in his Court. Martin told me he never heard anything better than the way in which he disposed of a variety of cases (motions for rules mostly) which were before him on Monday last. Baron Parke, too, who did not smile on the appointment,¹ said he was doing very well. He is not popular, and he is wanting in taste and refinement, but he is an able man and a great Lawyer; and already he appears to great advantage in contrast with the dignified incompetence of Denman, who was an honorable, high-minded gentleman, but no Lawyer, and one of the feeblest Chief Justices who ever presided over the Court of Q. B.

We may at last expect the Greek question to be settled, I suppose. The decision and alacrity of Palmerston last Saturday week form a curious contrast with his dilatory motions a few weeks ago. Then he could not manage to frame an instruction and despatch it in less than a week or more; but when matters were getting serious, and he found that he must finish the affair, he was quick enough. On Saturday morning he received the despatches announcing the difficulties at Athens. He sent for Drouyn de Lhuys, concerted with him what was to be done, wrote his instructions, laid them before the Cabinet, got all the forms through, and sent them off the same evening. The plain meaning of all this is that in the first instance his object was delay, and in the second his object was expedition.

¹ Campbell had been appointed Lord Chief Justice on March 5th, 1850.

May 14th.—I have written nothing here for many weeks, but no great loss, for I have not had much to say, if anything. I am tempted to resume my pen to record rather a curious account. I have heard this morning of a mission from Paris to Louis Philippe, and the result of it. The Leaders of the Conservative party there, all except Thiers, have come to a resolution that the only chance of restoring the Monarchy is by a reconciliation of the elder and the Orleans branches, by the recognition of H<enri> V, and by persuading L<ouis> P<hilippe> and his family to accept this solution of the dynastic question. They have accordingly sent over M. Malac to Claremont to communicate their sentiments to the King. He was authorised to tell him that the Legitimists were willing to acknowledge his title and his reign, and even the benefits that France had derived from his government. The King entered into the subject with great frankness, treating with indifference the offers which were personal to himself, saying he had no need of any recognition of his reign, of which history would bear sufficient record. He, however, acquiesced in the views of the party who sent M. Malac, and declared himself ready to agree to their terms, but he said that the women of his family would be the most strenuous opponents of such a compromise. He assembled a sort of Conseil de famille, consisting of the Queen and the Princes (not the Dss. of O<rleans>), and laid before them the proposal that had been made to him. The Queen declared against it, the Princes were all for it, and finally the Q. said she would defer to the opinion of the King. He then proposed to the Ambassador to go and talk to the Duchess of Orleans, from whom the greatest obstacles were to be expected. He declined to speak to her on the subject, but said he would go and see her, which he did. She received him, talked of all other subjects, but not a word about the succession. On reporting to H. M. what had passed, he said he would send for her and talk to her, and after having done so, he desired M. Malac to return and she would enter on the affair. He went to her again and spoke to her with great frankness, representing that the Orleanist party was by far the weakest in France, and that her religion would always make the people more or less, and the Clergy entirely, hostile to her. She was much startled and discomposed at hearing language to which she seemed not to have been accustomed; but though she did not avow it she was not

unmoved by his representations. He described various other meetings and conversations which had occurred in which the Q. of the Belgians took part (strongly averse to the proposal), and finally he departed, without indeed any formal acceptance of the overtures, but carrying back such expressions of opinion and disposition on the part of the family as amounted to a virtual acceptance, and leave no doubt that the bargain will be concluded. It is not intended to draw up any compact, nor to take any immediate steps in consequence. They have no intention of waging war with the Republic, and only contemplate waiting for the course of events in the hope that the evils of the country will eventually drive the masses to seek a remedy for them in the restoration of the Monarchy, and for this contingency to be prepared by merging the differences of the two branches and uniting the strength of both to re-establish the principle. It was Reeve who told me all this, having had it from M. Malac himself. He also brought over a letter from Guizot to R., in which G. alluded rather mysteriously to another combination that was possible, and that would be auxiliary to this scheme. This is a transaction with the President and Changarnier. Both of the latter are aware that L(ouis) N(apoleon) has no chance of perpetuating his own power either as President or Emperor.¹ He is overwhelmed with debts which he cannot pay, and the whole of his private fortune is sunk. In no case, therefore, could he retire to any other country, and he may naturally be willing to make terms for himself which, in the event of the Monarchy being restored, would place him in a position of ease and comfort. Besides his own political nullity, his family entourage present an insuperable bar to the revival of the Empire in his person. He is, indeed, himself by far the best of his family, being well-meaning and a gentleman; but all the rest are only a worthless set of canaille, altogether destitute of merit, and without a title to public consideration and respect.

May 17th, Friday. -- This has been a day of agitation. On Wednesday night all London was excited by the announcement at Devonshire House (where there was a great rout) that Drouyn de Lhuys had been recalled and was gone to Paris, and that neither Brunnow nor

¹ An unlucky prediction! As it seems that this wild scheme was communicated to me, I must be allowed to add that I never for an instant entertained or encouraged so preposterous a proposal, having known Prince Louis Napoleon far too well to suppose that he would relinquish the prize which was already within his grasp. — R.

Cetto¹ had been present at Palmerston's birthday dinner. Everybody was talking yesterday of these things and of the cause of them, which of course had to do with Greece. In the two Houses questions were put to Lord L. and to Palmerston, when both of them said that the French Government had desired the presence of Drouyn de Lhuys at Paris in order to explain matters, and they both said what was tantamount to a denial of his having been recalled. At the very moment that they were making these statements in Parliament, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs was reading in the tribune of the National Assembly the formal letter of recall which had been sent to their Ambassador, which he was instructed to communicate, and which he read to Palmerston on the preceding day, and he was at the same time explaining that the Ambassador had been recalled on account of the manner in which the English Government had behaved to that of France, which rendered it incompatible with the dignity of the Republic to leave any longer an Ambassador in London. The report of what had passed appeared in all the papers this morning, and Brougham again addressed an interpellation to Lord L. on the subject, while — <Disraeli> did the same to John Russell in the House of Commons, Palmerston not having chosen to be present. Both made what must be called shuffling, prevaricating answers, endeavouring by some clumsy and sophistical pretences to make out that the letter of recall was not a letter of recall. All this is very pitiable. After a series of blunders and a long course of impolitic and unjustifiable acts, Palmerston has contrived to involve us in a quasi quarrel with France, and to break up in the most wanton manner, and for the most ridiculous object, the good understanding which existed between the two countries. His colleagues, as usual, find themselves deeply plunged in the scrape into which they have permitted him to drag them, and obliged, as a hundred times heretofore, to make common cause with him, and to swallow all the dirt which he crams down their throats. While I am writing this they have brought me the newspaper with the report of what passed in Parliament, and Lord Lansdowne's and J. Russell's replies, and it really is melancholy to see two such men reduced to such discreditable shifts, trying to evade giving direct answers to plain questions, prevaricating

¹ Baron August von Cetto, Bavarian Minister at London, 1832-59.

and attempting to mislead without doing so, and only exposing themselves. I see already that the friends and adherents of Government are sadly perplexed and annoyed. Ben Stanley, who sat next Ld. L. in the H. of Lords and prompted him, told Granville 'he thought Palmerston could not have told his colleagues everything that had passed.' As to those colleagues, they deserve every mortification that can befall them, and are entitled to no pity. They have gone on submitting to all Palmerston's insolence and vagaries with full knowledge of having been repeatedly deceived by him, and not one of them has had spirit enough to cast off this disgraceful yoke. Instead of forcing him to show some regard to truth, he has broken them in to back his falsehoods, and one of the worst consequences that has been produced by his unfortunate administration is that the confidence and implicit reliance which ought to be placed on all that a Minister says in Parliament can no longer be felt. In this particular case it appears quite unaccountable that men not bereft of their senses should make statements which in 48 hours must be contradicted and proved to be untrue.

This is the greatest scrape into which Palmerston has ever got, and it will be curious enough to see how he gets out of it. Our Government stands charged by that of France with breach of faith and violation of compact. We shall see whether he denies the facts. If He makes one statement, and Drouyn de Lhuys another, there can be no doubt which will be best entitled to credit. The latter had no motive to deceive his own Government, or to do anything but report faithfully what passed between P. and himself, while Palmerston never scruples to tell any lie that suits his own purpose and is capable of every sort of duplicity and deceit.

Sunday, 19th.—There is the devil to pay about this Greek affair, and at last there seems a tolerable chance of Palmerston coming to grief: 'Tant va la cruche à l'eau,' etc. Yesterday morning the D. of B. came here and gave me an account of the state of affairs. It seems Brunnow had written a long letter to John Russell, couched in very temperate terms, but setting forth all his complaints of Palmerston's behaviour, and especially of the language of that part of the press which was avowedly under his controul and direction, in reference to Russia, and he asked John to call upon him, he being confined with a cold.

John sent this letter to Palmerston, accompanied with one from himself, in which he said that He (P.) well knew how much he disliked such articles and such use of the Press, and a good deal more (the details of which the D. could not remember) indicative of displeasure. Palmerston wrote an answer defending himself, and the very same evening there appeared in the 'Globe' another article not less offensive than the preceding ones, greatly to the indignation of John. He called on Brunnow, who repeated what he had before said in his letter, and announced that he must go away, for he would not stay here to be on bad terms with Palmerston, and it was impossible for him to remain on good terms. Meanwhile, John had seen Drouyn de Lhuys before his departure, and from him he learnt what (according to his version) had passed between himself and Palmerston, that is, about the pledge which D. de L. affirmed Palmerston had given him that hostilities should not be renewed. The statement of D. de Lhuys did not correspond with the accounts which Palmerston had given his Colleagues of what had passed, and John at once saw that there was no avoiding the unpleasant dilemma of the two Governments being at issue on a matter of fact which involved the good faith of ours. All this, together with what had already passed, had raised John's resentment and disgust to a high pitch, and the Duke said that John had at last resolved not to stand it any longer, although (he added) he could not feel complete confidence in his firmness and resolution after all he had seen on various occasions.

John said that the first thing to be done was to settle this matter as they best might; that they must support Palmerston's assertions, to which they were bound to give credit; but that when this business was concluded, in about a month perhaps, he would bring matters to a crisis, that is, announce to Palmerston that he could not go on in the Foreign Office. John is at present very angry, and therefore very stout but I never can feel very sure of him. He is to see the Queen on Tuesday, who will of course be boiling over with indignation, and if she finds John at last disposed to take her views of the matter, the affair may possibly be settled between them.

Meanwhile no words can describe the universal feeling of reprobation, and almost of shame, with which the replies of Ld. Lansdowne and John were heard on Friday night. The morning arrivals from

France had clearly shown that Ld. L. in one House, and John Russell in the other, had tried to deceive and mislead by what they had said on Thursday. On Friday Palmerston did not make his appearance; but the figures which Ld. L. cut in the Lords and John in the Commons were most deplorable and humiliating; such shuffling, special pleading, and paltry evasions were never before heard from public men of their eminence and character; and of all that has occurred this discreditable exposure appears to many friends of the Government to be the most painful part. It appears inconceivable that any men should make statements the falsehood of which were shown in less than forty-eight hours; but the explanation is this. In the first place, Palmerston gave to his colleagues an imperfect and unfaithful account of Drouyn de Lhuys's communication to him. They were themselves not aware of the whole truth; but besides this Palmerston gave them to understand that D. de L. had carried with him such explanations, verbal and documentary, as would he hoped satisfy his Government, and consequently that the letter of recall might probably be cancelled, and the affair arranged. Hoping therefore for this result, they ventured to deny the recall altogether, but were completely confounded and exposed by the revelations of Lahitte¹ in the tribune the very same day; and then they had nothing for it but to try and shuffle out of it in the way they tried but miserably failed to do. It would have been far better to have spoken the plain truth, or to have declined to answer till the next day.

May 22nd.--I have read the long series of despatches published by the French Government, and the result in my mind is that they do not make out a case of breach of faith against our Government, supposing Palmerston's instructions to Wyse to have been in conformity with what was agreed upon between the two Governments here. This (the most essential) part of the case lies in a narrow compass. It was all along perfectly understood that if Gros threw up his mission, being unable to induce the Greek Government to consent to equitable terms, our Minister was at liberty to recommence the coercive measures without any further reference to his Government; but if the negotiation came to a standstill in consequence of Gros and Wyse not

¹ Jean Ernest Ducos de Lahitte (1786-1878); distinguished himself in Algeria, 1839; lieutenant-general, 1840; Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1849-51; senator, 1852-70.

being able to agree, then the difference between them was to be referred for the decision of the two Governments upon it, and in this case the coercive measures were not to be renewed. The French maintain that the last of these contingencies occurred, Palmerston contends that it was the first. It is possible that Wyse may have received instructions conformable with this arrangement, and that he may have thought that the course which Gros took brought the case within the former category. This may have been an unsound opinion, but if such was the case it exonerates the British Government from the charge of having violated an engagement to that of France. But in order to make this defence valid, it will be necessary to prove that the instructions given to Wyse were such as the French had a right to expect. It does not appear that these instructions were ever imparted to them. These are minute (however important) points; but emerging from the confusion and perplexity of dates and circumstantial details, the question is, what is the general impression as to the whole conduct of the two Governments, more particularly of our own, throughout the transaction. I reserve the consideration of this till I have seen Palmerston's case as set forth in the papers that are to be laid before Parliament, and in the long and able despatch which he is said to have written in explanation and defence of his conduct. En attendant I may return to John R. and his animus. The D. of B. saw him after he had seen the Queen on Monday, but Charles Wood was there and he heard but little from him. He was surprised to find C. W. much in favor of Palmerston on this occasion, which he has not usually been on former occasions of scrapes and misdeeds.

May 25th.—The morning before yesterday (I have not had time to write it before) the Duke <of Bedford> came here again. He had seen John since, and heard what passed with the Queen. She was full of this affair, and again urged all her objections to Palmerston. This time she found John better disposed than heretofore, and he is certainly revolving in his mind how the thing can be done. He does not by any means contemplate going out himself, or breaking up the Government. What he looks to is this, that the Queen should take the initiative, and urge P.'s removal from the F.O. She is quite ready to do this as soon as she is assured of her wishes being attended to. For various reasons it would not do to put Clarendon in his place.

C. would not like it, and it would make P. furious; therefore this is out of the question. The only possible arrangement is that John should himself take the Foreign Office, provisionally. Lady John is not without alarm, but he is quite prepared to take it. I told the Duke I entirely agreed that this was the only feasible arrangement, and I did not apprehend any danger to John, because he would do the business in a very different way, and manage to lighten the burthen both by his mode of transacting it, and by delegating many details to his Under-Secretary, instead (like Palmerston) of doing everything himself. There certainly never appeared to be so good a chance of getting the F.O. out of P.'s hands as now; but long experience of his boldness and success, and of the pusillanimity and weakness of his colleagues, make me feel very doubtful and uncertain as to the result. If the thing is done, they mean to propose to him to take another office instead; not to turn him out. I don't know how they think of managing this, but he is sure to refuse to give up the F.O. and take another instead of it. He would consider this a degradation, and a sort of pleading guilty to the charges that are brought against him. If he will lend himself to this change, so much the better; if He does not go out, the Duke thinks (not without reason) that it will be almost impossible for Clarendon to come in, and that he ought not; his opinions on foreign affairs are so strong, that he could not join the Cabinet while P. was at the F.O. without the certainty of either very soon quarrelling with him, or of being obliged to make concessions against his conscience and real opinions, and which would therefore be discreditable to him.

Meanwhile Palmerston has made his explanation in the H. of Commons. There is much difference of opinion as to how it was received, but I gather that it was a good deal applauded by the Radicals and his own people; it was clever as he always is, but it was weak. As the case more develops itself (for now all the Blue Books are out, French and English), it resolves itself into a very small point: Did P., or did he not, send instructions to Wyse in conformity with what was agreed upon (and over and over set forth and explained) between him and D. de L.? This is what the French have a right to ask: if He did, let him show these instructions; if he did not, he broke faith with the French Government. By Wyse's letter of the 15th, it seems pretty clear he did not send any such instructions. I do not see how volumes

of Blue Books, or all the conferences and debates imaginable, can put the case in a clearer light, or bring it to a more direct issue than this.

June 2nd.—I was never able to plunge into the Blue Book till Epsom races were over, but I have now done it, and have gone through both that and the French Book. The case is quite complete, and it is not difficult to extract from the mass of details with which the former is uselessly encumbered a clear view of the case. The result is a conviction in my mind that the French Government acted with amity and good faith, and that the conduct of Gros at Athens was irreproachable. He did his best to bring about an arrangement, and he failed because the requisitions of the English Minister were such as in honor and conscience it was impossible for him to support, sanction, or recommend to the Greek Government. If Stanley works this case well, he will make a great affair of it, for his materials are ample and excellent. Palmerston's Blue Book is just like former productions from the Foreign Office under him, voluminous details of matter quite uninteresting and beside the question, and the absence of those documents which we most require to see, and on which the whole case turns, his instructions to Wyse and Parker—none of which (or scarcely any) are given.

The night before last was remarkable for the maiden speech of young Stanley¹ in the House of Commons. It was very successful. He spoke with great fluency, and gave promise of being a debater. I dined with Sir R. Peel yesterday, who said he heard him, and he spoke in terms of great commendation of the speech. It was on the West Indian question, on which he had just published and circulated a pamphlet, and it was remarkable (and showed a confidence in his own powers) that his speech did not appear to be a repetition of any part of his pamphlet.

June 6th, Thursday.—On Monday last Graham called on me at the Council Office, and after talking about the Greek affair and Stanley's motion, he proceeded to other matters about which he had come expressly to speak to me as a channel of communication with J. Russell.

¹ Edward Henry Stanley (1826–93) afterwards 15th Earl of Derby, eldest son of fourteenth earl; M.P. for Lyme Regis, 1848–69; Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1852; Colonial Secretary, 1858; Secretary for India, 1858–9; Foreign Secretary, 1866–8 and 1874–8; Colonial Secretary, 1882–5; succeeded to the earldom, 1869.

With reference to the first matter, he said that a negotiation was evidently going on between Stanley and Aberdeen, and that the latter was to support some of Stanley's domestic questions, and in return Stanley would fight vigorously the foreign policy. I did not pay much attention to this, for Graham is always dreaming of this connexion and its results. He then went on to say, that if there was (as there very probably would be) an adverse vote in the H. of Lords on Friday, the Government would be very unwise if they attempted to procure a counter vote in the H. of Commons; and if they tried it, he thought they would fail; but that they must counteract the effect in another way; and that John had now an excellent opportunity of acquiring reputation for himself and strength for his Government, by proposing very important reforms of an administrative kind, and which he was enabled to do by the abolition of the Lord-Lieutenancy and the resignation of Lord Cottenham.¹ What he wants him to do is this-- to give up the idea of a fourth Secretary of State, to take away the criminal business from the Home Secretary and give it to the new Lord Keeper, or whatever the great legal functionary to be created may be called. He thinks a fourth Secretary objectionable on many accounts, and that Government would have great difficulty in carrying it. He gave many reasons for this opinion which seemed to me sound enough. Then he proposes that all the Chancellor's ecclesiastical patronage shall be taken from the Great Seal and made over to the Prime Minister; the livings to be sold as they become vacant, and the proceeds handed over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to be applied to ecclesiastical purposes, which he says would be an immense boon to the Church, and by these means funds might be raised which are greatly wanted, but for which it would be impossible to apply to Parliament with any hope of success. He urged these reforms with great energy, and set forth all the advantages which might be derived from them, and said Peel was still more eager (especially about the Church patronage) than he was.

The same evening I told the D. of Bedford all that had passed, and he said he would see John the next morning and speak to him. He did so, and came to me afterwards on Tuesday morning. He said he had

¹ The resignation of the Great Seal by Lord Chancellor Cottenham was announced on May 28th: the Seal to be put in Commission. - *R.*

told John all that Graham had said, that he thought G. was always rather too much disposed to be running before what he thought was public opinion; that with regard to the fourth Secretary he was quite bent upon it, thought it absolutely necessary (as did Clarendon also), and he was determined to adhere to it. With respect to the question of the Chancellor's livings, he agreed with Graham, and he had brought before the Cabinet a scheme founded on G.'s recommendations, but that it had been rejected by the Cabinet *unanimously*. They thought it very objectionable to part with so much patronage. However, though John could not under these circumstances press the matter at present, he will not give it up, and still meditates some measure of this character, though probably one less extensive. Yesterday morning I called on Graham and told him what had passed, at which he expressed great disappointment and regret, and after as much talk as we had time for (for I was going out of town), I left him provoked and disheartened. He said he could take no interest in a Government which rejected unanimously such a proposition as this, and which had rejected unanimously the French invitation to abide by the London Convention.¹ I had told him this which Beauvale told me, and which (as well as I recollect) I have not noted down. He said that when the French made this proposal, Palmerston drew up a paper placing it before the Cabinet with the reasons for accepting, and those for rejecting it, and desired them to determine, himself taking no part; and that they had unanimously agreed to refuse, so that it was their act and not his.

June 8th.—Graham called on me again yesterday morning. He had had a long conversation with J. R. in the H. of Commons on Wednesday (sought by J. R.), in which he repeated to him at greater length all he had said to me. The discussion was very frank and friendly, but John told him he could not give up the fourth Secretary, and gave his reasons for thinking it necessary, which G. said were very weak ones. So they parted, G. hoping that he would at all events take time for consideration, but he was much surprised and annoyed at hearing him, without saying one word to him (G.), give notice he should bring

¹ This refers to the arrangements concluded in London between the Great Powers for the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish dominions, which were afterwards so shamefully violated and abandoned.—R.

on the Lord-Lieutenancy Bill on Monday (to-morrow). He thought this very uncourteous, and it had thrown him into perplexity as to the course he ought to take. He had a strong opinion upon it, and he was convinced that if he opposed it, and stated his reasons to the H. of C., the clause would be thrown out; that he neither liked going against his own decided opinion, nor against the Government, and he did not know what to do. From me he went to Lyndhurst, and then to Peel, and then came back to me. Lyndhurst (blind, but full of vigour and spirit) is full of the new arrangements about the Great Seal. John has consulted him on the subject, and he is going to call on him. L. is against giving up the ecclesiastical patronage. Peel regrets Lord John's determination, but Graham said he is so bent on carrying the Government through the Session, that he will not oppose them on anything. He thinks of nothing but securing a fair trial for Free Trade, and keeping the Protectionists out. I told the D. of B. afterwards all that Graham said, and he will tell John.

To-day I called on Id. Lyndhurst, found him in great force. Brougham, Baron Alderson, Stuart¹ (the Protectionist Chancellor), Brodie, Hatherton, and Strangford were there. They were all discussing the legal reforms, and Brougham broke out about Cottenham's Earldom. Cottenham (he said), wrote to him, lamenting that he disapproved of this honor, which had been conferred on him as a mark of the Queen's confidence and approbation of his services. B. wrote in reply that he should not talk such 'Morning Post' twaddle, and that he knew very well the Queen neither knew or cared about his services, and that he had got it because he insisted on having it!! The new appointments which are beginning to be known don't please. Jervis to be Chancellor and at the Head of the H. of Lords and Judicial Committee seems strange.²

(September 23rd, 1858. †Details about Palmerston and John Russell, etc., etc., which are rather interesting.†) (March 6th, 1863.) (C. C. G.)

(End of Vol. II of Additional MS. 41118.)

¹ John Stuart (d. 1876); Q.C., 1839; Vice-Chancellor, 1852-71; knighted, 1853; member of the Judicial Committee, 1871-6.

² This appointment was never made. Sir Thomas Wilde, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was made Lord Chancellor on July 15th and created Baron Truro.

Tuesday, June 18th.—The great debate in the H. of Lords came off last night in the midst of immense curiosity and interest. The House was crowded in every part; I never saw so many Peers present, nor so many Strangers. There were various opinions about the result, but the Government was the favourite. Bear Ellice offered to lay two to one they had a majority. Most people thought the same, but everybody was agreed that go which way it would, the division would be a very close one, and the majority small. Malmesbury, Stanley's Whipper-in, counted on fifteen on his side. Stanley spoke for two hours and three-quarters. He has made more brilliant speeches, but it was very good, moderate and prudent in tone, lucid, lively and sustained. I heard him, and then was so tired of standing, I was obliged to go away, and did not return. The Government made but a poor defence. Canning made a capital speech, and placed himself in a high position. He had taken great pains with it, and it was very effective, every word told. Granville told me Eddisbury was good too, and it was the most important speech he ever made. I never was more amazed than at hearing the division, never having dreamt of such a majority;¹ *reste à savoir* what Government (and P. especially) will do. If he was disposed to take a great line he would go at once to the Queen and resign, at the same time begging her not to accept the resignation of his colleagues if they tendered it. This would be creditable to him, and he owes them all the reparation in his power for the hot water he has kept them in, and the scrapes he has made for them for many years. They have over and over again allowed themselves to be dragged through the mire for him, and since they have refused now and heretofore to separate themselves from him, the least he can do is to separate himself from them, and to insist upon being the only sacrifice.

⟨*June*⟩ *19th.*—There was a Cabinet yesterday, of course for the purpose of considering what they should do, and the resolution they came to was *to do nothing*. Labouchere saw Granville before the Cabinet, and told him that *He* was all for resigning, but he feared there was a disposition to *stick* amongst his colleagues, and, as he thought, particularly in Charles Wood; but Delane, who saw C. W. after the Cabinet, was assured by him that *He* would have preferred to

¹ The division resulted in a majority of 37 against Ministers.—*R.*

resign, but that he was overruled by the majority of his colleagues. This is all I know of the matter, but it by no means surprises me to find that they have resolved to take no notice of the buffet they got from the Lords, and go on. I now expect that John R. will lay aside all thoughts of getting rid of Palmerston, and the ricketty concern will scramble on as heretofore. Nevertheless it is impossible this event and great majority should not produce sooner or later very considerable effects. It will abroad if it does not here. As to Palmerston's being corrected and reformed, I don't believe a word of it— but the Foreign Office will inevitably find itself in a situation of great difficulty and embarrassment, and our relations with the rest of Europe will in all probability assume a character mischievous, dangerous and intolerable.

⟨June⟩ 20th.—It seems that the Ministers' minds misgave them, and yesterday they began to doubt whether they ought not to do *something*. Roebuck gave notice of a question, and John R. told him he would give him an answer this evening. J. Abel Smith¹ went and proposed that they should make a sign of intention to resign, and that a vote of *general* confidence should be moved in the H. of C., on which they should stay in. Many of the friends of Government (some in office) are for resignation. [The consequence of this is that there is to be another Cabinet to-day at which the question will be mooted and decided, and J. R. will say what he means to do.] It is no doubt embarrassing, but I am against their resignation. If Palmerston was disposed to take a high and creditable line, he might extricate them from the difficulty by voluntarily sacrificing himself. This is what he ought to do, but I don't hear that he has evinced any disposition of the sort. He did indeed offer to resign at the Cabinet, but this of course (as he well knew) they could not listen to.

⟨June⟩ 21st.—John Russell made his statement last night, giving the reasons why he did not resign, quoting two precedents, one above a century ago, and one in '33, for not resigning in consequence of an adverse vote of the *H. of Lords*. I concur in the constitutional doctrine he laid down on that score, but the rest of what he said was very imprudent and ill-judged. He has now committed himself more than

¹ John Abel Smith (1801–71), a banker; Whig M.P. for Chichester, 1831–59 and 1863–8.

ever to Palmerston, and has thrown down a defiance to all Europe, announcing that they will make no difference whatever in their administration of foreign affairs. He alluded to that part of Stanley's resolution which laid down the right and duty of this country, etc.; asserted that the words of it limited those rights and duties within bounds he could not admit, and by implication at least asserted propositions against which foreign nations will infallibly kick. It was very imprudent to raise incidentally this very difficult and important question, and he might easily have avoided such dangerous ground. Then he finished by a very miserable and injudicious clap-trap, which will be as offensive as possible to foreign Powers; in short, he evinced little judgement and taste. It is clear enough that he is now resolved to adhere to Palmerston, and that his intention is, if he can get a majority next Monday, to disregard the H. of Lords and their opinions, and to set all Europe at defiance by giving them notice that they must have Palmerston to deal with and nobody else. The conclusion to which he came a few weeks ago is evidently thrown aside. All his indignation against Palmerston, his determination to endure it no longer, his bold resolution to take the labour of the F.O. on himself, have all evaporated, and are as a dream, and the fact of a large majority of the H. of Lords having condemned P.'s proceedings, language, and conduct, instead of affording an additional reason, and confirming him in the course he had thought of pursuing, seems to have made him angry and obstinate, to have caused a reaction in his mind, and engendered a determination to cling more closely than ever to P., and fight his battle at all risks, any cost, in everything and against everybody. The other day there was a general opinion that if a vote of approbation was moved in the H. of C. it would not be carried. This was Graham's opinion, and so entirely did J.R. himself concur in it, that he declared it should not be attempted, if the vote of the Lords was adverse. All that is suddenly changed. He now tries this experiment, and all the people I have seen say Government will carry it. Bernal Osborne told me it was certain, for the Whigs and the Radicals united could not be beat, and all the Radicals but four or five would support the Government. Never was there such a state of difficulty and confusion in my recollection. It is at last come to what I long ago predicted, and Palmerston is proving the ruin of the Government.

(June) 24th.—Nothing of course thought of but the division on Roebuck's motion.¹ The general opinion is that there will be a majority of about forty, but nobody knows what Peel will say or do, and many votes are quite uncertain. That there will be some such majority none doubt, and it is put about by the Government that they will resign if their majority is less than that in the Lords against them, which I don't believe, and it would be very absurd to make it turn on a mere question of numbers. Lady Palmerston and her belongings continue to make an active canvass. On Saturday afternoon the news came of the difference being settled, by our conceding to the French all they demanded—that is the Treaty of London,² or so much as remained of it. Nobody seems to care, or it would be a mortifying and a ridiculous conclusion, for we have not only agreed to what we at first refused to the French Government, but we have in fact gone back (with some modifications as to detail) to Gros's propositions to Wyse, which the latter so obstinately refused, and on his rejection of which the blockade at Athens recommenced, and the quarrel with France was based.

Meanwhile something that has occurred and is occurring serves to show how little the animus of Palmerston is changed, and how hopeless it is to look to him for such *procédés* as will reconcile our Government with Europe. He committed a very impudent and unjustifiable act in publishing Wyse's attack on Gros the day after the Lords debate, after Lahitte had explained the matter and when he must have been in possession of that explanation. This of course irritated and disgusted the French. Lahitte had sent to Marescalchi³ his explanation, but M. made no use of it. On the 21st this same paper was thrown into the form of an official note and given to Normanby, who

¹ Mr Roebuck moved a resolution applauding the principles which have hitherto regulated the foreign policy of the Government, to countervail the recent vote of the Lords. A great and memorable debate followed, in which Lord Palmerston delivered his ablest speech, and Sir Robert Peel his last. The debate ended by a Ministerial majority of 46, so that for the time, the supporters of Lord Palmerston were completely victorious; yet in that majority a large number of votes were given by those who most condemned his high-handed proceedings.—R.

² This was the Convention of London concluded between Drouyn de Lhuys and Palmerston on April 19th, eight days before the settlement at Athens, which was more unfavourable to Greece.

³ Marescalchi had been appointed First Secretary of the French Embassy at London in December 1849. During the withdrawal of the Ambassador in May June, 1850, he acted as *Chargé d'affaires*.

of course sent it home (it might be supposed) directly. On Saturday, after receiving the news of the settlement, Marescalchi called on P. at the F.O. (about another matter) and wished him joy. P. said he knew nothing of it. This was odd, but possible. Yesterday morning M. heard from his Government that this Note had been presented on the 21st, and he was very anxious that it should be published before the debate to-night. He came to me to consult me about having it published in the 'Times.' I dissuaded him, telling him he ought to let our Government have the grace of publishing it themselves as they were bound to do. After a good deal of discussion (in the midst of which Granville came in, and who, on being told the subject, agreed with me), it was settled that he should go to Eddisbury not officially and beg that as Wyse's letter had been published this might be also. He saw E., who said they had not received the Note but as it might arrive in the course of the day he should hear from him. He saw him again later, when E. told him that P. declined publishing this note at present as he should have occasion to make some reply to it. It was not clear whether the reply related to the Note or to the new Convention (the make up) which had arrived at the same time. This was ungracious and unconciliatory, but it turned out to be immaterial, for the Note was published at Paris in the *Patrie* and translated into the 'Times.'

⟨June⟩ 25th.—Little progress was made in the debate last night; Graham made a strong speech. In the morning I rode with Brunnow and had much talk with him. He spoke out about Palmerston, though with great regret; said he had done all he could in the way of warning and advice, to prevent his running this headlong course; but he never could make the least impression on him. He thinks there will be a calm of a few months' duration, but that it will be impossible for Palmerston to go on *long* at the F.O. He complained of the great interests of the world having been sacrificed to this miserable affair, especially the Denmark question; that it might have been settled long ago; and if we had pacified France by accepting the London Convention, the three Powers would have immediately set to work to bring this knotty point to an end. He goes to Petersburg in August. The Emperor (he told me) cannot comprehend our political condition, and is at a loss to know why the Queen does not dismiss

Palmerston; and when he hears of the division in the H. of Lords, he will fancy that the Government will resign in consequence of it.

⟨June⟩ 29th.—I have been for two days in the country, while the great debate was going on. Palmerston came out the second night with prodigious force and success. He delivered an Oration four hours and three-quarters long, which has excited universal admiration, boundless enthusiasm amongst his friends, and drawn forth the most flattering compliments from every quarter. It is impossible to deny its great ability; parts of it are strikingly eloquent and inimitably adroit. It was a wonderful effort to speak for nearly five hours without ever flagging, and his voice nearly as strong at last as at first. The ability of it is the more remarkable, because on an attentive and calm perusal of it, the insufficiency of it as an answer and a defence against the various charges which have been brought against him is manifest; but it is admirably arranged and got up, entirely free from the flippancy and impertinence in which he usually indulges, full of moderation and good taste, and adorned with a profusion of magnificent and successful clap-traps.¹ The success of this speech has been complete, and his position is now unassailable. John Russell may save himself the trouble of considering, when this is all over, how he may effect some change involving the withdrawal of the F.O. from Palmerston's hands, for they are now all tied and bound to him in respect to the future as completely as to the present and the past. These discussions and attacks, which were to have shaken him in his seat, have only made *him* more powerful than he was before; but whether they have strengthened or weakened *the Government* is another question. It now remains to be seen what the attitude and animus of foreign Powers will be, and what the character of his future proceedings. The debate was on the whole very able. Cockburn made a slashing speech, which will probably procure for him the post of Solicitor-General. Graham's and Gladstone's speeches were the best on the other side. Peel was very moderate, and refused to go into the details or to attack the Government on them. The majority (forty-six) was rather more than was expected by either party.

July 1st.—The day before yesterday Sir R. Peel had a fall from his

¹ In this speech Palmerston, in a famous passage, introduced the phrase 'civis Romanus sum.'

horse and hurt himself seriously. Last night he was in imminent danger. His accident has excited the greatest interest, and his doors are beset with enquirers of all parties without distinction. He was in high spirits that day, for he was pleased with the division which saved the Government, and with his own speech, which *for his purpose* was very dexterous and successful.

I rode with Grey yesterday in the Park, when we talked over the debate and present state of affairs. He said that it was remarkable that this discussion, which was intended to damage Palmerston, had left him the most popular man in the country; that of this there could be no doubt. Bright had said that his vote had given great offence at Manchester, and that Cobden's vote and speech would probably cost him the West Riding at the next election; that amongst all the middle classes Palmerston was immensely popular. He spoke of P.'s speech as having been not only of consummate ability, but quite successful as a reply, and he insisted that their side had much the best of the argument. I denied this, but acknowledged the ability of Palmerston, and his success, though his speech was very answerable, if either Peel or Disraeli had chosen to reply to it, which neither of them would. It is beyond all contestation that this great battle (fought on two fields) has left the Government much stronger than before, and demonstrated the impossibility of any change, and it has as incontestably immensely strengthened and improved Palmerston's position; in short, he is triumphant, and nothing can overthrow him but some fresh acts of violence and folly, of insolent interference, of arrogant dictation or underhand intrigue, which may be so flagrant that his colleagues or some of them will not stand it, and so a quarrel may ensue. But he has achieved such a success, and has made himself so great in the Cabinet, and so popular in the country, and made the Government itself so strong, that if he turns over a new leaf, takes a lesson from all that has happened, and renounces his offensive manners and changes his mode of proceeding abroad, he may consider his tenure of office perfectly secure. Even the 'Times' is prepared to abandon its opposition to him, and is seeking for a decent pretext to do so. I suspect they have found out that they have gone too far, and that their violent and sustained vituperation of Palmerston (who is liked) and of his policy (which is not understood) are not favorably received, and instead of

carrying public opinion with them, they have produced a good deal of resentment and disgust. The truth is that Reeve's bitterness has made him overdo it on several occasions, and I have very little doubt that he has had a hint to that effect.

July 6th, Saturday.—The death of Sir Robert Peel (which took place on Tuesday night) has absorbed every other subject of interest. The suddenness of such an accident took the world by surprise, and in consequence of the mystery in which great people's illnesses are always shrouded, the majority of the public were not aware of his danger till they heard of his death. The sympathy, the feeling, and the regret which have been displayed on every side and in all quarters, are to the last degree striking. Every imaginable honor has been lavished on his memory. The Sovereign, both Houses of Parliament, the Press and the people, from the highest to the lowest, have all joined in acts of homage to his character, and in magnifying the loss which the nation has sustained. When we remember that Peel was an object of bitter hatred to one great party [and one great interest], that he was never liked by the other Party, and that he had no popular and ingratiating qualities, and very few intimate friends, it is surprising to see the warm and universal feeling which his death has elicited. It is a prodigious testimony to the greatness of his capacity, to the profound conviction of his public usefulness and importance, and of the purity of the motives by which his public conduct has been guided. I need not record details with which every newspaper teems. Those who were opposed to him do not venture or are not inclined to try and stem the current of grief and praise which is bursting forth in all directions, and most assuredly no man who in life was so hated and reviled was ever so lamented and honored at his death. I am not capable of describing him with any certainty of doing justice to his character and delineating it correctly; but as there are several notices of him not very favorable in preceding pages, at such a moment it becomes a duty to qualify what may have been misrepresented or exaggerated (on the information of others) by expressing my own doubts as to the perfect accuracy of the statements that were formerly made to me. The Duke of Wellington pronounced in the House of Lords a few nights ago a panegyrick on his love of truth, and declared that during his long connexion with him he had never known him to deviate from

the strictest veracity. This praise would be undeserved if He had ever been guilty of any underhand, clandestine, and insincere conduct in political matters, and it leads me to suspect that resentment and disappointment may have caused an unfair and unwarrantable interpretation to be put upon his motives and his behaviour on some important occasions. My acquaintance with Peel was slight and superficial. I never associated with him, and never was in his house except on two or three occasions at rare intervals. He scarcely lived at all in society; he was reserved but cordial in his manner, had few intimate friends, and it may be doubted whether there was any one person (except his wife) to whom he was in the habit of disclosing his thoughts, feelings, and intentions with entire frankness and freedom. In his private relations he was not merely irreproachable, but good, kind, and amiable. The remarkable decorum of his life, the domestic harmony and happiness he enjoyed, and the simplicity of his habits and demeanour, contributed largely without doubt to the estimation in which he was held. He was easy of access, courteous and patient, and those who approached him generally left him gratified by his affability and edified and astonished at the extensive and accurate knowledge, as well as the sound practical sense and judgement, which he displayed on all subjects. It was by the continual exhibition of these qualities that he gained such a mastery over the public mind, and such prodigious influence in the H. of Commons; but it is only now manifested to the world how great his influence was by the effect which his death has produced, and by the universal sentiment that the country has to deplore an irreparable loss. Nothing but a careful and accurate survey of his career, an intimate knowledge of the secret transactions of his political life, and a minute analysis of his character, can enable any one to form a correct judgement concerning him. He might easily be made the subject of a studied panegyrick or as easily of a studied invective; but either the one or the other would of necessity be exaggerated and untrue. The sacrifices which he made upon two memorable occasions, upon both of which he unquestionably acted solely with reference to the public good, forbid us to believe that he was ever influenced by any considerations but such as were honest and conscientious. Notwithstanding his great sagacity, it may, however, be doubted whether his judgement was not often faulty, and

whether in the perplexity of conflicting objects and incompatible purposes, he was not led to erroneous conclusions as to the obligations imposed upon him, and the course which it was his duty to pursue. It is very difficult to account satisfactorily for his conduct on the Catholic question. We must indeed make great allowance for the position in which he was placed by his birth, education, and connexions. His Father was a Tory, imbued with all the old Tory prejudices, one of those followers of Mr. Pitt who could not comprehend and never embraced his liberal sentiments, and who clung to the bigoted and narrow-minded opinions of Addington and George III. It is no wonder then that Peel was originally an Anti-Catholic, and probably at first, and for a long time, he was an undoubting believer in that creed. The death of Perceval left the Protestant party without a Head, and not long after his entrance into public life, and while the convictions of his youth were still unshaken, he became their elected Chief. For about fourteen years he continued to fight their battle in opposition to a host of able men, and in spite of a course of events which might have satisfied a far less sagacious man that this contest must end in defeat, and that the obstinate prolongation of it would inevitably render that defeat more dangerous and disastrous. Nevertheless, the man who eventually proved himself to be one of the wisest and most liberal of Statesmen maintained for years a struggle against religious liberty, a struggle by which he was involved in inconsistencies injurious to his own character, and which brought the Kingdom to the brink of a civil war. It is now impossible to fathom the depths of Peel's mind, and to ascertain whether during that long period he had any doubts and misgivings as to the cause in which he was embarked, or whether he really and sincerely believed that Catholic Emancipation could be resisted and prevented; that he did not perceive the contest to be hopeless, and that such a contest was more perilous than any concession could possibly be. He declared that up to the period of Lord Liverpool's death his opinions were unchanged, and that he thought the prolongation of this contest was not unreasonable. I do not see how he can be acquitted of insincerity but at the expense of his sagacity and foresight. His mind was not enthralled by the old-fashioned and obsolete maxims which were so deeply rooted in the minds of Eldon and Perceval [and George III];

his spirit was more congenial to that of Pitt; and if he had let his excellent understanding act with perfect freedom, and his opinions take their natural course, it is impossible to doubt that he would have concurred and co-operated with the able men of different parties who were advocates of Emancipation, instead of continuing to encourage and lead on those masses of bigotry and prejudice whose resistance produced so much direct and indirect mischief. The truth is that he was hampered and perverted by his antecedents, and by the seductive circumstances of his position; and having become pledged and committed in the cause, it was a matter of infinite difficulty for him to back out of it, to recant his opinions, and change his course. Although any one who watched the signs of the times (and no man watched or studied them more carefully than Peel), might have seen that Catholic Emancipation was steadily but surely progressing towards its consummation, for a long time no events occurred so striking and important as to produce a new state of things, and to scare by their disturbing force those theories and principles, with which the Anti-Catholics blindly imagined they could plod on for ever. To change the whole mind of Peel, and bring about an abandonment of his long-continued policy, something more was required than the accustomed signs of agitation, parliamentary debates chequered by alternate victory and defeat, and the accumulated power of eloquent speeches and able writings. At length the crash came by which the moral revolution was effected. The Clare election did what reason, and eloquence, and authority had failed to do. The Duke of Wellington and Peel simultaneously determined to strike their colours, to abandon a cause which they had sustained at great risks and by enormous sacrifices, and to carry out the measures which their whole lives had been spent in opposing, and which they had denounced as incompatible with the safety of the country. Historical justice demands that a large deduction should be made from Peel's reputation as a Statesman and a Patriot on account of his conduct through the last twelve years of the Catholic contest. It may be doubtful in what respect he erred the most; but whatever his motives may have been, it is indisputable that he was the principal instrument in maintaining this contest, which terminated in a manner so discreditable to the character, and so injurious to the interests, of the country. For his share in this

great transaction from first to last, he must be held responsible to future generations. But whatever his errors may have been, he made a noble atonement for them, and having once changed his mind, he flung himself into his new career with a gallantry and devotion deserving of the highest praise. It would be easy to show that if Peel had been actuated by selfish motives, by regard for his own political interests and views of personal ambition, other courses were open to him far better calculated to promote such objects, and which he might have adopted without any inconsistency; but he cast aside all personal considerations and thought of nothing but how he could most effectually serve the State. He encountered without flinching the storm which he knew would burst upon him, and bravely exposed his character and reputation to suspicions, resentments, and reproaches, which might for aught he knew be fatal to his future prospects [and by the destruction of all confidence in his integrity and his judgement ruin his influence as the Leader of a party.] Upon this occasion indeed, He shared the obloquy with the Duke of Wellington, upon whom as Prime Minister the responsibility principally rested. But the indignation and resentment of the Tories fell (though unjustly) much more upon Peel than upon the Duke. Peel was more emphatically the Chief of the Anti-Catholic party, and in him it appeared a far greater dereliction of principle. The authority of the Duke was so great, and his followers were accustomed to look up to him with such profound deference and submission, that they could not bring themselves to attack him as the Prime mover in this obnoxious measure, and they therefore made Peel the scapegoat, and vented upon him all the exuberance of their wrath.

Their ill-humour and resentment led to the destruction of the Duke's Government, and the change of Ministry brought about the Reform Bill and the overthrow of the Tory party. It is difficult to discern any proofs of sound judgement and foresight in Peel's conduct in regard to Parliamentary Reform. If He had adopted the same course as Huskisson on the East Retford question, and manifested a disposition to concede some moderate and reasonable reforms as fit occasions presented themselves, it is by no means improbable that the Country might have been satisfied; but his opposition to the transfer of the East Retford franchise to Birmingham, together with the Duke's

celebrated declaration that the representative system could not be improved, and that as long as he was in office he would oppose any measure of Parliamentary Reform, convinced the Reformers that they were resolved to make no concessions, however slight, and not to suffer any change to be made in the existing representative system. Peel evidently made an incorrect estimate of the state of the public mind upon the question of Parliamentary Reform. He could not indeed foresee the French Revolution or its contagious effects here; but unless the Country had been already combustible, it would not have been so inflamed as it was; and if he had been aware of its temper and disposition, he never would have opposed the general sentiment so pertinaciously as he did. I think, therefore, that his course in respect to Reform exhibits a deficiency in sagacity and foresight, and must be accounted one of the blemishes of his political career. He fought the Reform battle with extraordinary energy, and the skill and perseverance with which he afterwards rallied the broken forces and restored the fallen spirits of his party were admirable. In 1835 the rash and abortive attempt of Wm. 4th to get rid of the Whigs made Peel the Minister of a hundred days. This was the most brilliant period of his life, and it was during that magnificent campaign that he established the vast reputation which, while clouds of suspicion and distrust, of enmity and dislike, were all the while gathering about him, made him for nearly twenty years by far the most conspicuous, important, and powerful of English Statesmen. He not only reorganised his party, but he revived its political influence, and laid the foundation for regaining its former power. His policy was as successful as it was wise. He flung himself cheerfully and confidently into the new order of things, associated himself with the sentiments and the wants of the nation, and day by day saw his reputation increasing both in Parliament and throughout the country. The Tories abandoned themselves to his guidance with a mixture of passive reliance and admiration and of lurking resentment for the past and distrust and suspicion for the future. They rejoiced in the Chief who made them once more powerful, and led them on to victory; but they felt that there were no real sympathies between themselves and him. While he was boldly advancing with the spirit of the age, they were lagging behind, gloomily regarding his manifestation of Liberal principles, in which

they did not participate, and lingering on those traditions of the past which they saw that he had entirely forsaken.

At length, ten years after the Reform Bill, the Whig Government was overthrown, and Peel became Minister. At this time the great bulk of his supporters coveted power principally for the sake of Protection. They believed that it was the duty, the inclination, and the intention of Peel to maintain the Corn Laws, and they had a right to think so. He had been the vigorous and ingenious Advocate of the Protective system, not, however, without some qualifications and reservations, which (though they were enough to excite the jealousy and mistrust of the most suspicious) were still insufficient to neutralise the effect of his general professions. It is almost impossible to discover what the process was by which he was gradually led to embrace the whole doctrine of Free Trade. We cannot distinguish what effect was made upon his mind by the reasoning, and what by the organisation and agitation, of the Anti-Corn Law League. It would be interesting, if it were possible, to sum up periodically the exact state of Peel's opinions upon commercial and fiscal questions, and to know how he combined them with other political as well as party considerations which he was obliged constantly to keep in view. No man but himself could explain and vindicate the whole course of his conduct. It may safely be assumed that when he began to reorganise the Conservative party, he did not contemplate a repeal of the Corn Laws, and that it was by a severely inductive process of study and meditation that he was gradually led to the conception and elaboration of that commercial system which the last years of his life were spent in carrying out. The modification, and possibly the ultimate repeal, of the Corn Laws must have formed a part of that system, but what he hoped and intended probably was to bring round the minds of his party by degrees to the doctrines of Free Trade, and to conquer their repugnance to a great alteration of the Corn Laws, both by showing the imprudence of endeavouring to maintain them, and by the gradual development of those countervailing advantages with which Free Trade was fraught. That (I believe) was his secret desire, hope, and expectation; and if the Irish famine had not deranged his plans and precipitated his measures, if more time had been afforded him, it is not impossible that his projects might have been realised. He has

been bitterly accused of deceiving and betraying his Party, of 'close designs, and crooked counsels,' and there is no term of reproach and invective which rage and fear, mortification and resentment, have not heaped upon him. He has been unjustly reviled; but, on the other hand, it must be acknowledged that (wise as his views, and pure as his motives may have been) his manner of dealing with his party in reference to the changes he contemplated, could not fail to excite their indignation. If they were convinced that the Corn Laws were essential, not merely to the prosperity, but to the existence, of the landed interest, he had been mainly instrumental in confirming this conviction. It was indeed a matter of extraordinary difficulty and nicety to determine at what precise period he should begin to disclose to his supporters the extent of the plans which he meditated. His reserve may have been prudent, possibly indispensable; but although they were not unsuspecting of his intentions, and distrusted and disliked him accordingly, they were wholly unprepared for the great revolution which he suddenly proclaimed; and at such a moment of terror and dismay it was not unnatural that despair and rage should supersede every other sentiment, and that they should loudly complain of having been deceived, betrayed, and abandoned.

The misfortune of Peel all along was, that there was no real community of sentiment between him and his party, except in respect to certain great principles, which had ceased to be in jeopardy, and which therefore required no united efforts to defend them. There was no longer any danger of organic reforms; the House of Lords and the Church were not threatened; the great purposes for which Peel had rallied the Conservative Interest had been accomplished; almost from the first moment of his advent to power in 1841 He and his Party stood in a false position towards each other. He was the liberal Chief of a party in which the old anti-liberal spirit was still rife; they regarded with jealousy and fear the middle classes (those formidable masses, occupying the vast space between aristocracy and democracy) with whom Peel was evidently anxious to ingratiate himself, and whose support he considered his best reliance. His treatment of both the Catholics and Dissenters was reluctantly submitted to by his followers, and above all his fiscal and commercial measures kept them in a state of constant uncertainty and alarm. There was an unex-

pressed but complete difference in their understanding and his of the obligations by which the Government and the party were mutually connected. They considered Peel to be not only the Minister, but the creature, of the Conservative Party, bound above all things to support and protect their especial interests according to their own views and opinions. He considered himself the Minister of the Nation, whose mission it was to redress the balance which mistaken maxims or partial legislation had deranged, and to combine the interests of all classes in one homogeneous system, by which the prosperity and happiness of the whole commonwealth would be promoted. They thought of nothing but the present sacrifices which this system would entail on the Proprietors of land, while he thought only of the great benefits which it would ultimately confer upon the people at large. Whether in 1847⁽⁵⁾ he was prepared for the unappeasable wrath and the general insurrection of the Protectionists, I know not; but even if he viewed it as a possible alternative, involving the loss of political power and a second dissolution of the Conservative party, I believe he would have nevertheless encountered the danger and accepted the sacrifice. If his Party were disgusted with him, he was no less disgusted with them, and it is easy to conceive that he must have been sickened by their ignorance and presumption, their obstinacy and ingratitude. He turned to the nation for that justice which his old associates denied him, and from the day of his resignation till the day of his death he seemed to live only for the purpose of watching over the progress of his own measures, in undiminished confidence that time and the hour would prove their wisdom, and vindicate his character to the world. Though he was little beholden to the Whigs in his last struggle in office, he gave John Russell's Government a constant, and at the same time unostentatious support. That Government alone could preserve the integrity of his commercial system, and to that object every other was subordinate in his mind. He occupied a great and dignified position, and every hour added something to his fame and to the consideration he enjoyed; while the spite and rancour of the Protectionists seemed to be embittered by the respect and reverence by which they saw that he was universally regarded. His abstinence from political conflicts, his rare appearance in debate, and the remarkable moderation of his speeches made some fancy that the vigour

of his faculties was impaired; but if this was at all the case, it was only by negative symptoms that it appeared, and was by no means suspected by the community. Nevertheless, though his death was so sudden and premature, and he was cut off in the vigour of life, he could not have died at a moment and in circumstances more opportune for his own fame; for Time and political events might perhaps have diminished, but could not have increased, his great reputation.

It is impossible to foresee the political effects of Peel's death. To John Russell and his Government it is a great loss, and the time may come when his absence will be severely felt. Standing aloof from parties, known to have no views of personal ambition, and giving them the benefit of his influence and countenance, he would have been able to afford them efficacious aid in the event of any Radical pressure, and as long as he had lived he would have proved a powerful coadjutor in resisting any attempts to assail or undermine the Monarchy or the Constitution. It is against the Radical supporters of the Government, and not against the Protectionist Opposition, that he would have been mainly serviceable. So far as these are concerned his death is more likely to remove than to create difficulties in the way of Lord John, inasmuch as he becomes more indispensable than ever; and the certainty that there is no alternative between him and Stanley—no Peel who in a great emergency might have been called in—will certainly strengthen his tenure of office. He is a great loss to the Queen, who felt a security in knowing that he was at hand in any case of danger or difficulty, and that she could always rely upon his devotion to her person and upon the good counsel he would give her. But his relations with the Court at <a> different period are amongst the most curious passages of his political history. In 1838<9>, when the Bedchamber quarrel prevented his forming a Government, there was probably no man in her dominions whom the Queen so cordially detested as Sir Robert Peel. Two years afterwards He became her Prime Minister, and in a very short time he found means to remove all her former prejudice against him, and to establish himself high in her favor. His influence continued to increase during the whole period of his administration, and when he resigned in 1846 the Q. evinced a personal regard for him scarcely inferior to that which she had manifested to Lord Melbourne, while her political reliance on

him was infinitely greater. To have produced such a total change of sentiment is no small proof of the tact and adroitness of Peel; but it was an immense object to him to ingratiate himself with his Royal Mistress; he spared no pains for that end, and his success was complete.

He appears to have suffered dreadful pain during the three days which elapsed between his accident and his death. He was sensible, but scarcely ever spoke. He had arranged all his affairs so carefully that he had no dispositions to make or orders to give. Sir B. Brodie says that he never saw any human frame so susceptible of pain, but his moral and physical organisation was one of exquisite sensibility. He was naturally a man of the most violent passions, over which he had learnt to exercise an habitual restraint by vigorous efforts of reason and self-controul. He was certainly a good, and in some respects a great man; he had a true English spirit, and was an ardent lover of his Country; and he served the public with fidelity, zeal, and great ability. But when future historians shall describe his career and sum up his character, they will pass a more sober and qualified judgement than that of his admiring and sorrowing contemporaries. It is impossible to forget that there never was a Statesman who so often embraced erroneous opinions himself, and contributed so much to mislead the opinions of others. The energy and skill with which he endeavoured to make the worse appear the better cause were productive of enormous mischief; and if on several occasions his patriotism and his ability were equally conspicuous, and he rendered important public service, his efforts were in great measure directed to repair the evils and dangers which he had been himself principally instrumental in creating.

⟨July⟩ 16th. -- I have seen Graham once or twice lately, when we have talked over his own position and the state of affairs. He told me he had had very friendly communication with J. R., who had intimated to him that Peel's death would necessarily place him in a position more important and responsible. G., however, repudiated the notion of his accepting any such position, and declared that he was quite unfit to influence the opinions and regulate the conduct of other men. He thought Peel was not unconscious of the power he possessed in the country, and he had not long ago announced with

great energy that if any attempt was made in any shape to reimpose a duty on Corn, there was nothing he would not do to oppose it; and he thinks that he would not have shrunk from any means he might have deemed conducive to that object; that he would have taken office if necessary, or have allied himself with any person or party; in short, shrunk from *nothing* in the most extensive sense of the term. Graham is much alarmed at the reckless course Stanley is taking in the H. of Lords, especially with reference to the Irish Franchise Bill, and augurs some very serious consequences therefrom.

July 19th.—Clarendon arrived from Ireland a few days ago. He told me he had only seen John R. for a few minutes (in a great hurry as he was going to the Cabinet), when these few words passed about foreign affairs. C. said 'they had got well out of their difficulties on that score.'

J.—Yes, I think it did—very well.

C.—Yes; but don't misunderstand me. If what has passed serves as a lesson to P., and induces him to begin another course of conduct, I shall think you got very well indeed out of it; but if he only regards what has happened as a triumph, and as sanctioning and approving all his previous proceedings, then I shall think you got very ill out of it, and that your success was a misfortune; but I hope the former alternative is the truth.

J.—I hope so, too; but it is very difficult to get any man who has long pursued any particular course to change that course, more especially when that man is Palmerston.

From this C. inferred that P. means to go on just as before and will not take a lesson from what has occurred, and he is confirmed in this idea by something Charles Wood said to him in the same strain.

Yesterday Normanby came to take leave of me before returning to Paris. He has been very much dissatisfied and annoyed at P.'s goings on, and at the rôle which was imposed on him, and he told me he did not like P.'s tone, which was much too triumphant, and he was very much afraid he would not change his ways of proceeding. His best hope was that no case would occur to elicit any fresh conduct or language of his of a questionable nature.

I entertain some faint hopes from the anxiety he has evinced to make it up with the 'Times,' and even to be on good terms with

Reeve, who has long been the *bête noire* of P. and Lady P. There has been a good deal of small coquetry between the parties, for Reeve is himself frightened at the odium he has excited and is not at all unwilling to sheathe the sword and accept the olive branch. Charles Wood spoke to Delane; asked him if he was inclined to desist from his hostilities; and on Delane's saying he had no desire to continue them if P.'s conduct did not compel him, he asked if he would see Palmerston. This Delane refused; said it would be too ridiculous, but he might tell him what he said and that henceforward it should depend on P. himself whether they attacked or defended him. Since that, some sort of indirect explanations have passed through Fleming¹ between P. and Reeve, which were communicated to Lady Palmerston; and she told Fleming she should be glad to have Reeve introduced to her whenever they happen to meet. This looks as if they meant to be more moderate for the future, for they are so mighty cock-a-hoop, so elated by self-satisfaction and all the adulation they receive that they might, if they chose, set all the world at defiance; and their showing a disposition to conciliate their enemies instead of trampling them underfoot is rather a good sign.

July 28th.— This day week the Radicals gave Palmerston a dinner at the Reform Club. It was a sorry affair—a rabble of men, not ten out of two hundred whom I know by sight. They asked John Russell who would not go, and then they thought it better to ask no more of P.'s colleagues. Neither John nor any of them liked it, but of course they said nothing. P. would have done better to repose on his H. of C. laurels, and find some pretext for declining this compliment. The Court are just as much disgusted with him as ever, and provoked at his success in the H. of Commons.

The end of the Session promises to be more stormy than ends usually are, with the Ceylon Committee, the Irish franchise and Rothschild's seat, all troublesome and difficult. The Jew has behaved very ungratefully to John R., but it serves John right for his weakness

¹ 'He was very small and lively, and Mrs Grote called him The Flea. He was introduced to society by Charles Buller, whose great friend he was, and made his way by his pleasant manners and amusing gossip. It was said that when Lady Palmerston wanted to know which way the political wind blew, she sent him out on a horse in the Park.' (M. C. M. Simpson, *Many Memories*, p. 115.)

Fleming was unofficially connected with the Foreign Office in 1851. (*Letters of Greville and Reeve*, p. 205.)

in suffering himself originally to be dragged into a fellowship with him. Peel's loss will now be felt; he would have been of great use in discussing these several matters and interposing his influence and advice.

July 28th.—Last night I met Clarendon at dinner, after which he took me into the next room and told me that there is a fresh *to do* about Palmerston, rather more embarrassing than anything that has yet occurred. He heard it all from the D. of Bedford, who is come up to town from Endsleigh (where he has been vegetating these two months) in a state of great excitement and alarm. It seems that the Court are more exasperated and annoyed than ever since P.'s H. of C. success. The Queen had flattered herself that when this affair was over, by hook or by crook she should obtain her deliverance from P., but She now finds herself farther than ever from such a consummation, though without any disposition to submit to the necessity. Accordingly she has given vent to her feelings to John Russell and required him to fulfil his promise or, if promise is too strong a word, the sort of engagement he made to her when the Greek business was settled, to take measures to get P. out of the F.O.¹ J.R. acknowledged that in a moment of great dissatisfaction and annoyance he had given her some such engagement, but he pleaded his inability, as circumstances are, to fulfil it in any way but by resigning himself. This would of course be the dissolution of his Government. The Prince said that would not do at all, inasmuch as the Queen could not tell her story; and he afterwards told John that the vexation she endured and the sense of degradation from all She was obliged to submit to from Palmerston began to have a very serious effect upon her health; and he urged this consideration upon him with great seriousness. I had only time to gather these few particulars and one or two things more, but I shall hear it all from the D. of B. next week.

¹ In her letter to Lord John, of July 28th, 1850, the Queen said: 'Lord John may be sure that she fully admits the great difficulties in the way of the projected alteration, but she, on the other hand, feels the duty she owes to the country and to herself, not to allow a man in whom she can have no confidence, who has conducted himself in *anything but* a straightforward and proper manner to herself, to remain in the Foreign Office... There is no chance of Lord Palmerston reforming himself in his sixty-seventh year, and after having considered his last escape as a triumph... The Queen is personally convinced that Lord Palmerston at this moment is secretly planning an armed Russian intervention in Schleswig, which may produce a renewal of revolutions in Germany, and possibly a general war.' (*Letters of Queen Victoria.*)

It seems John talked to them of going to the H. of Lords; but then that Palmerston was to lead the Government in the H. of C. This the Q. said nothing should induce her to consent to. In this difficulty it is settled that the D. of Bedford shall go to Osborne (after Goodwood) and talk matters over with the Q. and P. and see if he can by any means pacify them.

August 6th.—At Goodwood all last week. D. of B. took into his head to be mysterious, and when I asked him what it was (which I knew all the time) he had alluded to when I had met him at dinner, he said he could not tell me *then*. I was provoked but amused, and said no more to him on that or any other subject. Yesterday I saw Clarendon, who had meanwhile been at Osborne himself, when of course he had much talk with the Prince about P. and foreign affairs among other things;¹ and before he went he had a good deal of communication with John Russell, who is much occupied with this matter and very anxious to get rid of his uncomfortable position vis-a-vis of the Queen. C. has also had some conversation with Lansdowne on the same subject. Before he went himself to Osborne he had written a very long letter to the D. of B. to serve as a sort of brief to him, when he went to Osborne, in which (for I suppose he wrote what he told me he meant to do) he took a very just view of the relative positions of all parties, of the state of affairs and of the course which ought to be pursued; the whole founded on the impossibility of removing Palmerston and the inexpediency of attempting it. This letter he showed to John Russell, who said he agreed in every word of it. At Osborne he found the Prince (and the Q. and He are one) in the same sentiments, but disposed to be reasonable and practicable; and C. seems to have given him very good advice which was taken in very good part. The P. said he had always disapproved of Stanley's motion in the H. of Lords, foreseeing that it would produce the effects which it did, and that the result had been advantageous to nobody but to Palmerston, who had been the object of attack, while he had come out of the fight triumphant and with an immense addition to his own influence and power.

The Queen has for a long time ceased to have any direct communi-

¹ On August 4th. The Prince's memorandum of these conversations with Lord Clarendon and the Duke of Bedford is printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, August 5th, 1850.

cation with P., everything relating to the F.O. going through John Russell; and the P. said it was impossible to have any with P., because truth was not in him and they could not believe a word he said; and he bitterly complained that P. made no scruple of making misrepresentations injurious to the Q. herself, when it suited his purpose, of which he gave an instance:—In one of the Greek discussions in the H. of Lords, Lord L., in attempting to excuse some delay of P.'s in sending out instructions, said that one cause of the delay was the time spent in sending the despatch in question to the Queen and its being returned by her. This was false; and the P. reproached Ld. L. with having said it, when he was obliged to own that the excuse had been put into his mouth by Palmerston only a minute before and just as he was going to speak.

The Prince in his conversation with C. (who had expressed an opinion that P. might be induced to turn over a new leaf) asked him if he really believed that anything could make him adopt a different line of conduct or bring him under the controul of his colleagues. C. said he did think so. The P. replied 'No more, you may depend upon it, than you could stop the tide which is now flowing'; and he then told him an anecdote which is amusing. Lord Lansdowne had said to him a little while ago that he thought H.R.H. might henceforward rely on there being no more of the unpleasant occurrences which had been so annoying and embarrassing on many occasions, for that it had been settled that nothing whatever should be said or done by Palmerston without the full knowledge and consent of himself and John Russell, and he thought they had provided a sufficient guarantee for the maintenance of this understanding. 'Indeed,' said the Prince, 'it is I suppose some little time that this arrangement has been in force.' Ld. L. replied in the affirmative. 'O, will you then have the goodness to tell me what your opinion is touching certain communications of Lord P.?' (mentioning to Ld. L. some matters which he did not specify to C.). Lord L. was obliged to confess he had never heard of them. The Prince laughed and said:—'He coloured very much when he made the acknowledgement and I quite pitied the poor man.'

The Q. and P. both talked with much feeling and deep regret about Peel; said they had been used to consult him about everything, and

on every subject were certain to receive from him sound, honest and well-considered advice, so that his death was an irreparable loss to them.

I had said to Clarendon that I thought it would not be difficult to put matters on another footing with Palmerston and to put a bit in his mouth, if John R. and Ld. L. would together speak out and take a decided course with him, declaring their resolution not to endure a repetition of such scrapes as he had got them into; and, while abstaining from all reference to the past, acquaint him with their own determination to resign, if they were again implicated in proceedings of his, of which they had no cognisance and which they did not approve. He agreed in this, said as much in his letter to the D. of B., and told Ld. L. and J.R. the same thing. Ld. L. said J.R. was the person to say all this to P., but that he had already said it; that he had written him a long letter with all this in it (or at least something of this sort), and having made use of Ld. L.'s name, he had told P., if he preferred to speak to Ld. L. on the subject instead of replying to him, he might do so. John never received any answer, and some time after he asked Ld. L. if Palmerston had ever spoken to him. Ld. L. said he had not; so the fact was that P. thought it best to take no notice whatever to either of his colleagues of the communication; and there the matter ended. Such facility on their part and such impudence on his invariably leave him Master of the situation. But J.R. told C. another anecdote of P. (and he could not help laughing heartily as he told it), showing all his impudence and his cleverness too.

While the Fleet was in the Dardanelles, and when instructions were to be sent out for its removal, Palmerston wrote a despatch which he sent to J.R., who was to send it on to the Queen. J.R. made several alterations in it and sent it to H.M. She wrote back in reply that she did not approve either of the despatch or of the alterations; but inadvertently, and contrary to her custom, She sent back the box direct to P. instead of to J.R. P. of course read the remarks and coolly said to J.R. 'I think the Queen is quite right, her remarks are very just and both the despatch and the alterations are objectionable and had better not be sent'; and accordingly he sent no instructions at all, which was the very thing he wanted to do.

August 11th, Sunday.—The Duke of Bedford went to Osborne and had a great deal of conversation with Queen and Prince. They in-

sisted on the fulfilment of John's engagement to them, and upon his trying to get Palmerston to take some other office. The Duke (speaking from the brief Clarendon had put into his hands) argued the matter with them and endeavoured to convince them that any such change was impossible. But they stuck to their point and still insisted the attempt should be made. The D. came to town and went to Clarendon before he saw John and told him what had passed. C. advised him to tell John everything, and to recommend him since they insisted on it, to make the attempt, and speak to Palmerston—it would not succeed, but it would satisfy the Q. and P. that everything had been done that was possible, and C. thought (as no doubt was the case) that they themselves did not expect any different result, though they wished the experiment to be made. The D. saw John, and He agreed to speak to Palmerston, and accordingly he did so. He made a clean breast of it, told him all that had passed, set forth all the Queen's feelings, and the many subjects of complaint she had against him, and asked him if he would comply with her wishes and take another office.¹ He received the communication with perfect good humour, and made just such a reply as might have been expected. He said John must be aware that what he proposed was impossible—that everything that had occurred, particularly the division in the H. of Commons, and the certainty that any such move would be considered (as in fact it would be) a degradation, made it impossible he should consent to exchange the F.O. for any other; that with regard to the Queen's complaints, he must certainly be much to blame if he had given occasion for them, but if he had, it was inadvertently, and he would be careful nothing of the kind should happen again.² In

¹ A memorandum by Prince Albert of Lord John's account of this conversation with Palmerston is printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, August 8th, 1850, and contains the following: 'He (Lord Palmerston) than repeated his complaints against that plot which had been got up in this country against him and urged on by foreigners, complained particularly of Lord Clarendon, Mr Greville of the Privy Council, Mr Reeve, ditto, and their attacks upon him in the *Times*, and of Mr Delane, the editor of the *Times*, of Guizot, Princess Lieven, etc. etc. etc.'

² On August 12th the Queen wrote as follows to Lord John Russell: 'With reference to the conversation about Lord Palmerston which the Queen had with Lord John Russell the other day, and Lord Palmerston's disavowal that he ever intended any disrespect to her by the various neglects of which she has had so long and so often to complain, she thinks it right, in order to prevent any mistake for the future, shortly to explain what it is she expects from her Foreign Secretary. She requires: (1) That he will distinctly state what he proposes in a given case, in order that the Queen may know as distinctly to what she has given her Royal sanction; (2) Having once given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered

short the communication ended exactly as everybody concerned foresaw that it would; but the question is set at rest, and to a certain degree all parties—Queen, John and Palmerston—are in a better position; this will be taken as somewhat in the shape of a reconciliation, and there is some chance of its producing an effect on Palmerston's future conduct. The Queen told the D. of B. that what provoked her more than anything was the necessity she was under of defending Palmerston against the reproaches and complaints that were addressed to herself, for she was compelled to defend all the things she disapproved of, to avoid the mortification of acknowledging that though done in her name it was in spite of her wishes and opinions. After all this, Clarendon had another conversation with Lansdowne, whom he strongly urged not to allow this chapter to be closed and the Cabinet to separate, without imparting his own sentiments to Palmerston, and giving him to understand that he could not, and would not, continue to subject himself to such humiliating positions as those in which he had so often found himself. He said that John Russell had now done all *he* could, and it remained for Lansdowne to follow it up, as he had so good a right to do; and he asked him if it was not true that he had on many occasions suffered the greatest annoyance from the difficulty of his position, and the consciousness of being dragged through the mire. He replied with a groan that indeed it was so, and he said he would speak to Palmerston, but C. did not seem to think it sure he would muster up resolution to do so.

We have long been accustomed to admire the dexterity and good fortune of Palmerston, which have enabled him to get out of every scrape and get rid of every difficulty in which his impudence or his passions ever involved him, but nobody could have anticipated that out of this Greek mess circumstances would not only enable him to emerge unhurt but that his position would become even stronger than it was before. His great speech immensely exalted his capacity, and placed him in the highest rank as an Orator, and the division in the

or modified by the Minister; such an act she must consider as failing in sincerity to the Crown, and justly to be visited by the exercise of her Constitutional right of dismissing that Minister. . . . ' This important minute, which was based upon a memorandum drawn up by Baron Stockmar on March 12th, 1850, and led to the dismissal of Lord Palmerston in the following year, was sent by Lord John Russell to Lord Palmerston, who acknowledged it as follows: 'My dear John Russell.—I have taken a copy of this memorandum of the Queen and will not fail to attend to the directions it contains. . . .' (*Letters of Queen Victoria.*)

House of Commons gave him the semblance at least of great political power. His triumph was so loudly trumpeted forth, and there were such clouds of jubilation and flattery raised by the breaths of his admirers and parasites that the world was made to regard the success as far more considerable than it really was. It was convenient as much as possible to lose sight of the fact that all the most considerable men (out of the Government pale) in both Houses of Parliament had pronounced a condemnation of his conduct. Such is the importance of a vote of the House of Commons that the moral effect of these concurrent opinions was sunk in the political effect of a majority of 46. Having gained this victory, and made the most of it, He and his invaluable confederate his wife wisely set about conciliating their enemies, and endeavouring to neutralise future opposition. With this view they began with the 'Times' and after an overture to Delane which was civilly received, a treaty of peace and amity was brought about between them in which Reeve, the object of their especial abhorrence and dread, was included. And now has followed this transaction with the Queen, which will to a certain degree mitigate her resentment, or if it does not do that, will at least induce her to desist from the sort of war which she and Albert have been waging against their obnoxious Minister, for they appear to be fully conscious that they cannot get rid of him. His position is now so good, and if he pleases so safe, that he has no need to court the Radicals, and make unworthy concessions to secure their support. It is difficult to speculate on Palmerston's conduct, because it is almost impossible to make out what his objects and desires really are, or whether he has any fixed idea and acts upon any system. Hitherto he has appeared to be continually influenced and stimulated by caprice, passion and personal animosities, and all his astuteness has been employed in worrying and injuring those he disliked, and extricating himself from embarrassments of his own making. We shall now see if he has had enough of this sport, and whether he will think it worth while to make it up with those whom he has offended, and turn over a new leaf.

(September 25th. †Continuation of Palmerstoni⟨a⟩ and his troubles and triumphs. Greek affair. Death of Peel.†) (March 17th, 1859. †Not bad.†) ⟨C. C. G.⟩

⟨End of Vol. III of *Additional MS.* 41118.⟩

Brighton, August 25th, Sunday.—Here for a week past. On Sunday last the death of Arbuthnot took place at Apsley House, where he had been gradually sinking for some time. He is a great and irreparable loss to the Duke who is now left alone in the world. Arbuthnot was almost always with him, he had his entire confidence. The Duke told him, and talked to him, about everything, and on the other hand, all who wanted to approach the Duke for whatever purpose, communicated through Arbuthnot. The Duke, who has for a long time been growing gradually more solitary and unsocial, more irritable and unapproachable, is now left without any friend and companion with whom he can talk over past events, and to whom he can confide present grievances and complaints. He will feel it as acutely as at his age and with his character he can feel anything.

Arbuthnot's career has been remarkable. He had no shining parts, and never could have been conspicuous in public life; but in a subordinate and unostentatious character he was more largely mixed up with the principal people and events of his time than any other man. He might have written very curious and interesting memoirs if he had only noted down all that passed under his observation, and the results of his political information and connexions, for few men ever enjoyed so entirely the intimacy and unreserved confidence of so many Statesmen and Ministers, and therefore few have been so well acquainted with the details of secret history. He was successively the trusted adherent and intimate friend of Liverpool, Castlereagh, and the Duke of Wellington, and more or less of almost all their colleagues, besides being on very good terms with many others with whom he had no political opinions in common. He had in fact a somewhat singular and exceptional position; much liked, much trusted, continually consulted and employed, with no enemies and innumerable friends. This was owing to his character, which was exactly calculated to win this position for him. Without brilliant talents, he had a good sound understanding, a dispassionate judgement, liberality in his ideas, and no violent prejudices. He was mild, modest, and sincere; he was single-minded, zealous, serviceable, and sympathetic (*simpatico*) and he was moreover both honorable and discreet. The consequence was that everybody relied upon him and trusted him, and he passed his whole life in an atmosphere of political transactions and secrets.

After the death of his wife he lived at Apsley House when in London, and during a great part of the rest of the year with the Duke at Walmer and Strathfieldsaye, and he went hardly at all into the world; but he rather extended than contracted the list of his personal and political friends, for as the Whig Ministers had often business to transact with the Duke, they generally found it convenient to communicate with Arbuthnot too; and, as he was always ready to render any service, public or private, in his power, he made many acquaintances and acquired friends in that party, especially the Duke of Bedford, with whom he had long been intimate, and who was in the habit of communicating with him very unreservedly on political matters. The preceding pages exhibit many proofs of Arbuthnot's familiarity with the political history of his time, as well as of his good sense and liberality. He was buried at Kensal Green, and the Duke is said to have been very much affected at the funeral.

August 27th.—Yesterday morning L<ouis> P<hilippe> expired at Claremont quite unexpectedly, for though he had been ill for a long time, it was supposed he might still live many months. Not long ago his life was the most important in the world, and his death would have produced a profound sensation and general consternation. Now hardly more importance attaches to the event than there would be to the death of one of the Old Bathing-women opposite my window. It will not produce the slightest political effect, nor even give rise to any speculation. He had long been politically defunct. The effect that presents itself as most likely is its paving the way to a reconciliation between the two branches of the Bourbons, and a fusion of their interests; but as the late King had consented to this fusion and desired it, while the Duchess of Orleans was opposed to it, this consummation is more likely to be prevented than brought about by his death. His character has been often described with more or less of truth and justice, and of course there will be many fresh descriptions of it now. I cannot attempt it, for I never knew anything of him except at second-hand. He had certainly many good qualities and an amiable disposition, and probably no vices but selfishness and insincerity. These were, however, universally ascribed to him, and consequently out of the limited circle of his own family and a few friends and Old Servants, who were warmly attached to him, he inspired neither affection

nor respect. The worst Kings have seldom been destitute of many devoted adherents; but in his day of tribulation, although he may rather be accounted amongst the best than the worst, he was abandoned by all France, and his fall was not only unresisted, but suffered to take place with scarcely a manifestation of sympathy or regret.

November 10th, 1850.—After a lapse of nearly three months I resume my notices of past and present events, these three months having furnished very little matter worth recording nearly up to the present time; and whatever may have been passing in the interior of the Government, the total cessation of my communication with the D. of Bedford (whom I have seldom seen and never corresponded with) has prevented my knowing anything about it. For the last month, however, the world has been sufficiently agitated, on different accounts and in different places, to afford ample opportunity for either description or comment even to the most superficial observer. I might, however (I have very little doubt) write that which would be acceptable to one person or another by recording my own personal experiences and the communications that I have with different people on different matters, which certainly are ludicrously miscellaneous. Some people like politics, some gossip, and almost all like political gossip. I have had within these few weeks consultations and communications on the most opposite subjects: men coming to be helped out of scrapes with other men's wives, adjustments of domestic squabbles, a grand bother about the Duke of Cambridge's *status* in the H. of Lords, into which I have been dragged, a fresh correspondence with Lady Palmerston about the 'Times' attacking her husband, communications from Cardinal Wiseman about the troubled state of ecclesiastical affairs, and so forth; odds and ends, not altogether uninteresting, and making a strange miscellany in my mind. It is needless to attempt to say anything about the solution of the German question, touching which I have no private information whatever.¹ It is a drama, at which all the world is audience, and I have not been behind the scenes. I think we have played a very paltry part in it, and Palmerston's policy and conduct are so unintelligible to me that I will say

¹ The German question relates to the proceedings which had arisen out of the Frankfort Convention, the Schleswig-Holstein quarrel, and the dispute in Hesse, which nearly led to war. Lord Palmerston was strongly opposed to the views taken by the Court on these German questions. R.

nothing about them. I agree in all that the 'Times' has written thereon, and its strictures have hit hard, as is evident by the resentment expressed by Lady P. and the remonstrances She has addressed to me.

The Duke of Cambridge and his family have been, and still are in a terrible fuss about the place he is entitled to occupy in the H. of Lords,¹ and they are very angry with me because I said, in my pamphlet on P. Albert's precedence ten years ago, that he was only entitled to sit as D. of C(ambridge) according to the date of his Peerage, and this I adhere to now. It is incredible what importance they attach to this nonsense. The Duchess of Gloster sent to me to beg a copy of that old pamphlet, and afterwards the Chancellor did the same. I have had a correspondence with Redesdale about it, who has taken up the Duke's cause, and sustained it by some very bad arguments and very inapplicable precedents. I have stuck to my original opinion, but nevertheless am now endeavouring to help the Duke to attain his purpose, and have furnished him with a better precedent than He and his Advisers have been able to find for themselves.

But such trifles as these, and such serious matters as an impending German war, are uninteresting in comparison with the No Popery hubbub which has been raised, and which is now running its course furiously over the length and breadth of the land.² I view the whole of this from beginning to end, and the conduct of all parties with un-mixed dissatisfaction and regret. The Pope has been ill-advised and very impolitic, the whole proceeding on the part of the Papal Government has been mischievous and impertinent, and deserves the severest censure. Wiseman, who ought to have known better, aggravated the case by his imprudent manifesto. On the other hand, the Protestant demonstration is to the last degree exaggerated and absurd. The danger is ludicrously magnified, the intention misunderstood, and the offence unduly magnified. A No Popery cry has been

¹ H.R.H. Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge, youngest surviving son of George III, died in July 1850, and was succeeded by his son, Prince George of Cambridge. A question arose as to his precedence; but H.R.H. sits in the House of Lords as fourth Peer of the Blood Royal, the Duke of Cumberland not having taken the seat to which he has an hereditary right.—*R.*

² On September 29th the Pope issued a brief whereby England was divided up into Roman Catholic bishoprics, and Dr Wiseman was created Archbishop of Westminster and a cardinal. Lord John Russell wrote a letter on November 4th to the Bishop of Durham describing this papal aggression as 'insolent and insidious.'

raised, and the depths of theological hatred stirred up very foolishly and for most inadequate cause. John Russell, who acted prudently in declaring his Protestant sympathies, joining the public voice in condemnation of the Pope's proceedings, and clearing himself and his Government from any suspicion of being indifferent to them, nevertheless wrote a very imprudent, undignified, and (in his station) unbecoming letter. He might have said all that it was necessary to say without giving any offence; he might have taken the movement into his own hands, and satisfied the Protestants, and at the same time not dissatisfied the Catholics, pouring oil on the waters, and moderating the prevailing effervescence. But his letter has had a contrary effect. On one hand it has filled with stupid and fanatical enthusiasm all the Protestant Bigots, and stimulated their rage; and on the other it has irritated to madness all the zealous Catholics, and grieved, shocked, and offended even the most moderate and reasonable. All wise and prudent men perceive all this, and strongly disapprove of his letter; all his colleagues with whom I have spoken, and I have no doubt all the rest, do so; and Clarendon writes me word that the effect it has produced in Ireland is not to be told. I have already had a practical proof of the mischief it has done. Two days ago Bowyer¹ came to me from Cardinal Wiseman (who was just arrived) to ask my opinion whether anything could be done, and what. I said if he had sent to me some time ago and told me what was contemplated, I might have done him some service by telling him what the consequences would be; but that now it was too late to do anything, John Bull had got the bit in his mouth, and the Devil could not stop him. He told me the Cardinal was drawing up a loyal address to be signed by Ecclesiastics and Laymen, and asked me to look at it. I agreed, and he brought it the next day. I said it was very well as far as it went, and only suggested that the new Bishops should take care to sign their names only, and omit all allusion to their Sees. This he engaged for. I then talked over the case, and what might be done. I said of course we could not expect the Pope to retract; but that if he was really desirous of doing what could be done to allay the prevailing irritation, he had better do

¹ George Bowyer (1811-83), afterwards seventh baronet; called to the Bar, 1839; joined the Church of Rome, 1850; Liberal M.P. for Dundalk, 1852-68, and for Wexford, 1874-80; succeeded his father in the baronetcy, 1860.

that which he still could consistently; that he had not yet pronounced any decision as to the Irish Colleges, and he might either give one in their favor, or at least abstain from giving any at all, and the Cardinal would do well to urge this at Rome. Bowyer replied that this might have been possible before, but Lord John's letter had made it impossible now, and that this letter would be regarded as so insulting at Rome, and such a proof of the hostility of the B<ritish> G<overnment> to the R. C. religion, that they would put no trust in the writer of it, and it would be impossible to ask the Pope, nor would he be induced, to do anything in deference to the objects or wishes of this Government.

This odious agitation will continue till it is superseded by something else, or expires from want of aliment more solid than fanatical denunciations. Already sensible people, even those who are indignant at the 'Papal aggressions' as they are termed, begin to think the clamour exaggerated, that we are going too far, and raising a spirit of theological and sectarian hatred and enmity, which is dangerous and will be very troublesome. They begin to reflect that a great movement without a definite and attainable object is a very foolish thing, and as it is quite certain that the Pope will not retract what he has done, and that we can neither punish him nor frighten him, that his ecclesiastical arrangements will be carried into execution here whether we like it or not, and that as we shall take nothing by all our agitation and clamour, we shall probably end by looking very foolish. At present everybody, Protestants, Puseyites, and Catholics, are all angry, excited, and hostile. Some affect to be very angry and make a great noise because they think it answers an end. Johnny is something in this way, for I don't believe he *really* cares much; the 'Times' newspaper does the same, and blows up the coals for the sake of popularity; but Delane, who begged me not to write (as I was inclined to do) something in mitigation of the movement, told me he thought the whole thing gross humbug and a pack of nonsense.

21st.—The Protestant agitation has been going on at a prodigious pace, and the whole country is up: meetings everywhere, addresses to Bishops and their replies, addresses to the Queen; speeches, letters, articles, all pouring forth from the press day after day with a

vehemence and an universality such as I never saw before. The Dissenters have I think generally kept aloof and shown no disposition to take an active part. A more disgusting and humiliating manifestation has never been exhibited; it is founded on prejudice and gross ignorance. As usual the most empty make the greatest noise, and the declaimers vie with each other in coarseness, violence, and stupidity. Nevertheless, the hubbub is not the less mischievous for being so senseless and ridiculous. The religious passions and animosities that have been excited will not speedily die away, nor will the R. C. forget the insults that have been heaped on their religion, nor the Vatican all the vulgar abuse that has been lavished on the Pope. In the midst of all this Wiseman has put forth a very able manifesto, in which he proves unanswerably that what has been done is perfectly legal, and a matter of ecclesiastical discipline, with which we have no concern whatever. He lashes John Russell with great severity, and endeavours to enlist the sympathies of the Dissenters by contrasting the splendour and wealth of the Anglican Clergy with the contented poverty of the Romanists, and thus appeals to all the advocates of the voluntary system. His paper is uncommonly well done, and must produce a considerable effect, though of course none capable of quieting the storm that is now raging. It does not evince any intention of receding in the slightest degree, but on the contrary there appears to lurk throughout it a consciousness of the impregnable position they occupy, round which the tempest of public rage and fury may blow ever so violently without producing the slightest effect.

Meanwhile the Government are, I suspect, in a great fix. They are all disconcerted and perplexed by John's letter. When the Cabinet met and this letter was shown to them, Lord Lansdowne asked whether the letter had been already sent, and when informed that it had, he declined saying anything. As it was sent and published they thought it necessary to do something, and the law officers were accordingly desired to look into the law on the subject. There can be little doubt that the law will not touch the case, and they will hardly have the egregious folly to propose fresh laws which would be quite inoperative. Violence, menaces, and abuse never made any people flinch from their religious opinions or abandon any line of conduct they might have adopted in relation to them. The Catholics know

very well that in these days any serious persecution is not to be apprehended, and, even if it were, the R. C. Clergy, to do them justice, have never shrunk from enduring any sufferings or privations to which they were exposed. They would probably rather like than not to see some attempt made here to revive penal laws, and to be exhibited to the civilised world in the character of martyrs. From the beginning I foresaw that we should cut a poor figure in this affair, and this is sure to be the result, whether we do anything or nothing. There is great difference of opinion whether this agitation will prove favorable or the reverse to the R.C. religion in England, that is, to its extension. The R.C. themselves evidently think we have by our violence been playing their game and that it will promote their proselytising views. Time alone can show how this will be. The Queen takes a great interest in the matter, but She is much more against the Puseyites than the Catholics. She disapproves of John's letter. I find their aversion to Palmerston is rather greater than ever, for to his former misdeeds is now added the part he takes about German affairs, on which Albert is insane; so that they hated him before for all he did that was wrong, and they hate him now for doing what is right. However, their love or their hate makes no difference to him. The Duke of Bedford, who has shown some symptoms of a disposition to renew our correspondence to which I have not responded, wrote me word the other day that John would like to take Graham into the Cabinet if he could, but that there was no way of making a vacancy. I don't suppose G. would come, if there was one.

November 26th.—At Bocket from Saturday till Monday. Nobody there; found Beauvale¹ in good humour with Palmerston, who, he assured me, had acted a very proper and a very spirited part in reference to German affairs, having had to fight against the violent and inveterate prejudices of the Court, to which some of his colleagues were not disinclined to defer. He said that although the Court were quite powerless in such matters as the Greek or the Sicilian questions, they could do a great deal of mischief in Germany, for being in constant communication with their relations and connexions there, they

¹ Mr Greville was much more intimate with Frederic than he had ever been with William Lamb, and he continued, during the remainder of Lord Beauvale's life, to be a frequent guest at Bocket. He generally called his friend by his former name or title, though he was, in fact, Viscount Melbourne after his brother's death.—*R.*

could exercise a good deal of indirect influence, and he thinks they have not scrupled to encourage the King of Prussia in his absurd conduct. The Queen wrote a letter to Palmerston, which was of course Albert's production, in which She talked of Denmark wresting Schleswig from Germany, and that the triumph of Austria would be fatal to the constitutional cause. P. treats their opinions and interference with great contempt and says 'What can they do?' He replied that he had never heard that Schleswig belonged to Germany, and as to the constitutional cause it was more in danger from the King of Prussia, whose conduct was putting all thrones in jeopardy. It was to this effect, as B. told me—not exactly. He also showed me a letter from Berlin in which the writer said that nothing was more important there than the English press; and B. begged me, as P. was really now doing all he could in the right direction, to get the 'Times' to support him; and I accordingly spoke to Reeve and Delane about it. Nobody knows whether all this will end in war or peace. Palmerston, always sanguine, says *peace*; and Beauvale thinks, when Russia, France and England are all trying to avert war, that it cannot ensue.

The Protestant movement goes on with unabated fury, and the quantity of nonsense that has been talked and written, and the amount of ignorance and intolerance displayed, exceed all belief, and only show of what sort of metal the mass of society is composed. Of all that has been written and spoken there has been nothing tolerable but the Bishop of Oxford's speech, which was very clever; the letter of Page Wood¹ in the 'Times' in answer to Wiseman; and everything without exception which has emanated from the Archbishop of Canterbury. He has displayed a very proper and becoming spirit with great dignity, moderation, and good sense. All the rest is a mass of impotent fury and revolting vulgarity and impertinence, without genius or argument or end and object—mere abuse in the coarsest and stupidest shape. It is not a little remarkable what a strong anti-Papist Clarendon is. He writes to me in that sense, but not so vehemently as he does to others; and I see how his mind is inflamed, which is odd in so practical a man.

¹ Sir John Page Wood (1796-1866), second baronet, son of Alderman Wood; succeeded to the baronetcy, 1843; Rector of St Peter's, Cornhill, 1824-66.

December 1st, Sunday. Went to Bocket again on Wednesday, and returned Thursday. Pam. and Lady P. there, but had no talk with her. Beauvale told me that he was acting with good faith, and doing what he could to avert war. Cowley had written from Frankfort that it was reported there that in the event of war we should support Prussia. Palmerston wrote back that we certainly should not, and desired him to contradict any such report. He sent his letter to the Queen by way of an intimation of his course. Meanwhile Radowitz¹ arrived, and had hardly set foot in England before he was invited to Windsor, the pretext being that he brought over a letter from the King. It was considered by everybody a very indecent and unbecoming proceeding to have him at Windsor, considering the part he has been and is still acting, which our Government considers as mischievous and profligate. Palmerston too was not there, and John Russell left the Castle the day he arrived. The consequence of this ill-timed invitation was a rattling article in the 'Times' on Friday, which will have fallen like a shell on the breakfast table at the Castle and put them in a great rage. This article gave great satisfaction at Bocket, made a great sensation here, and was very generally approved of. It is a very good thing that there should be some channel through which truth is forced upon these great ones; and such articles as this, in such a paper as the 'Times,' do not fail to produce an effect.

December 11th.—I could no longer stand the torrent of nonsense, violence and folly which the newspapers day after day poured forth, and resolved to write a letter, which was published in the 'Times' the day before yesterday, and signed 'Carolus,' for I did not venture to put my own name to it. Delane could not bear publishing it, because it was in opposition to the *strong* line the paper has taken; and he told me beforehand he must attack me. Accordingly they replied to the article they published, but in very complimentary terms and with very feeble arguments. Labouchere told me last night he thought this letter must do good, and make people think calmly. However, the agitation continues with unabated violence, and it is no wonder the masses are so intemperate and absurd, when we see how ignorant and

¹ Lieutenant-General Joseph Maria von Radowitz (1797-1853); Prussian Minister to Baden, 1842-7; Chief Prussian Commissioner at the Frankfurt Diet, 1849-50; Foreign Minister, September-November, 1850.

senseless men are who ought to know better, and who pass for being clever and well-informed; and hear the unreflecting nonsense they talk, and the extravagant views they entertain. Bear Ellice, who is by way of being wiser than anybody, and thinks it is his vocation to advise everybody, told me on Monday that he had *advised* Charles Wood what to do, and this notable scheme was to place matters by *legislation* on the same footing here that they had been placed on in Prussia by *Concordat*. I told him it was impossible; and when he insisted, I asked him if he knew what the state of things was in Prussia: to which he was obliged to admit that he knew nothing about it! Charles Villiers won't hear of doing anything against the Catholics, but would wage war against the Puseyites; and he wishes to select the practice of confession as recommended by them and *abolish* it by *Act of Parliament*! To my remonstrances against this, urging arguments too obvious to need being stated here, he would only reply that 'the people' would not endure the practice of confession and that it must be got rid of! Then we see the Head-Master of Rugby School¹ petitioning the Postmaster-General to remove a letter-carrier because He is a R. Catholic! Clanricarde writes a very good answer, which is in the 'Times' of yesterday. Graham came to town yesterday in his way to Windsor, where he is asked to stay three nights, and he came and passed two hours with me yesterday morning. His opinions are precisely like my own, and he has written a letter to Howard of Greystock² exactly in the same spirit as 'Carolus'; he is not only very sensible but very bold on the subject, and quite prepared to confront public opinion in defence of the principles of religious liberty. We discussed the whole subject at great length. He acknowledged that the difficulty of the Government was very great. I enlightened his mind as to the part Palmerston has recently been playing in German affairs, which he was by no means aware of, and I hinted to him that his joining the Government would not be disagreeable. He owned that Palmerston would no longer be an insuperable objection, but that he could not be a party to any measures savouring of religious persecu-

¹ Edward Meyrick Goulburn (1818-97); Headmaster of Rugby, 1849-57; Dean of Norwich, 1866-89.

² Henry Howard (1802-75), of Greystoke Castle, Cumberland, nephew of twelfth Duke of Norfolk. The letter referred to, from Sir James Graham, is printed in *Life of Sir James Graham*, vol. II. pp. 113-14.

tion, or even restriction. The Queen's answers to the addresses will have satisfied him, and all reasonable and moderate people; but I expect the zealots will cry out. Nothing certainly ever was more guarded.

13th.—At Windsor yesterday for a Council. My letter 'Carolus' has made a decided hit. Delane told me yesterday that it had certainly produced a considerable effect, as he could tell from the innumerable letters he received about it, some for and some against. The Ministers were for the most part *shy* of talking to me about it; but John Russell came up to me and said, 'Well, I have derived a great deal of information from your letter. I think it is very good.' I laughed, and said, 'I'm glad you like it; you ought to be pleased, because I have praised you up to the skies, and described your speech as a model of wisdom.' He laughed too, and said, 'Yes, but that was not the part of it I liked the best.'

I brought Palmerston from the station in my brougham; all very amicable. We talked about Popery and Germany, and agreed very well; He mighty reasonable. I asked him if he had had any conversation with Radowitz. He said none, except of the most general kind. He thought R. had been advised to absent himself from Prussia, and that the King, for the present at least, was entirely with Manteuffel.¹ I then asked him what Albert said to the turn affairs had taken. He said Albert was reasonable enough; that he condemned the King of Prussia as much as anybody could; that he had been in favor of strengthening Prussia, and against the old Federation, because He thought the influence of Austria in it was too great, and that it was mischievously exercised; that the condition that no organic change could take place there, without an unanimous vote, could not be endured; and that he thought, while the influence of Austria remained paramount, the liberal cause, and all advances in civilisation and general improvement, must be paralysed; and this was to a certain degree true. I said no doubt it was desirable to see changes and improvements, and for various reasons that Prussia should be powerful, if her power was only acquired by fair means, and without tramping on the rights of others, and on all obligations human and divine.

¹ Baron Otto Theodor von Manteuffel (1805-82); Prussian Minister of the Interior, 1848-50; Foreign Minister, 1850-8.

He said, 'Exactly, that is the real case; but her conduct has been so wanting in prudence, in consistency, and in good faith, that she has arrayed against her those who wish best to her.' He told me the Pope had expressed great surprise at the effect of his measures, and disclaimed any intention of affronting the Queen or this country. The Pope said he had been induced to take the steps he had done by advice from this country, and P. thinks that Wiseman was probably at the bottom of it all. Bennett's¹ resignation (with the correspondence between the B. of London and him) was the event of yesterday, and I am in hopes that this victim may have some effect in satiating the public appetite.

I went last night to the Royal Academy to hear an anatomical lecture by a Mr. Green.² It was on *expression*, and very well done. I never heard a man more fluent; he was very lucid in his expositions and illustrations, and really very eloquent.

Bowood, December 26th, Thursday.—Went on Tuesday week last to Panshanger, on Saturday to Brocket, Monday to London, and Tuesday here; very merry at Panshanger. The House and its Lord and Lady furiously Protestant and anti-Papal; so we had a great deal of wrangling and chaffing; all in good humour and amusing enough. At Brocket nobody but the Bear (Ellice), who talked without ceasing, and told me innumerable anecdotes about Lord Grey's Government, and different transactions in all of which he had himself played a very important part, and set everything and everybody to rights with his consummate wisdom. He is a very good-natured fellow, entertaining and tiresome, with a prodigious opinion of his own savoir faire, vain and conceited, though not offensively so; clever, friendly, liberal, and very serviable. They put me at Brocket in Melbourne's room, and

¹ Rev. William James Early Bennett (1804-86); Incumbent of St Paul's, Knightsbridge, 1840-50; instituted Ritualistic practices, which provoked complaints from the Bishop of London and disorders outside the church; resigned the living, December 4th, 1850; Vicar of Frome, 1852-86; prosecuted for heresy and acquitted, 1870.

² Mr Joseph Henry Green, F.R.S. and D.C.L., was Professor of Anatomy in the Royal Academy of Arts—a very eloquent and remarkable man, but little known by the public. He was born in London on November 1st, 1791, and died at Hadley on December 13th, 1863. Mr Green was equally distinguished as a surgeon and as a metaphysician. He had been the most intimate friend of the poet Coleridge in his later years, and he was engaged down to the close of his own life in the preparation of a work entitled *Spiritual Philosophy founded on the teaching of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. This book was published in 1865, after the death of the author, by Mr John Simon, F.R.S., his friend and disciple.—R.

there I found a MS. book, containing copies of letters written by him to Lord Anglesey, while Lord A. was Lord-Lieutenant and He was Chief Secretary—very familiar and confidential. They were very frank, and giving Lord A. a good deal of advice, which on some occasions he seemed to require. Their good sense struck me extremely. There was a detailed account of the Huskisson quarrel, and the resignations thereupon, but it contained nothing that was new to me. William Lamb (as he was then) thought both the Duke and Huskisson were in the wrong; but he resigned with the others, because, he said, ‘he had always thought that it was more necessary to stand by his friends when they were in the wrong, than when they were in the right.’ Poking about to see what else I could find, I lit on two very different MS. One was a book which I suspect had belonged to Pen Lamb,¹ containing entries and pedigrees of hounds and horses; and the other was a commonplace book of Melbourne’s (which I had not time to examine much) full of quotations, criticisms, comments and translations, exhibiting various and extensive reading, especially of Greek literature. When I go there again I will look at it again.

¹ Peniston Lamb (1773–1805), elder brother of second Viscount Melbourne; M.P. for Herts, 1802–5.

London, February 20th, 1851.—I broke off what I was writing two months ago, having been attacked by a severe fit of the gout, which has tormented me on and off ever since, partly deterring and partly disabling me from writing anything whatever. Indeed I have been in a hundred minds whether I should not here and now close my journalising, for I don't feel as if I had, or was likely to have, anything more to say worth writing about. It is perhaps no loss to have omitted any notice of the meeting of Parliament, and what has taken place with reference to the Papal Bill, and other matters. Are not these things amply narrated in all the newspapers of the day?—and I do not think I have acquired any knowledge or information besides, or at least none of any importance. I shall therefore not attempt to go over the ground or any part of it, that we have been travelling over for the last two months; but I am induced to forego my purpose of shutting up my books and abandoning this occupation, partly from reluctance to quit it entirely, and partly because I think we are in a very precarious and difficult state, and that a crisis seems imminent, fraught with great interest and great danger. In such circumstances I like to write what I know and hear, and to record my own impressions and opinions.

Brocket, Sunday.—Events have come quickly on us. On Thursday night Locke King¹ brought on his annual motion for extension of the suffrage—leave to bring in a bill. John opposed it, but pledged himself that he would bring in a measure next Session, if he was still in office. Nevertheless he was beat by two to one—100 to 52. The Conservatives went away, no trouble was taken, and this was the result. The conduct of the Radicals was offensive. L<ocke> K<ing>, after John's promise, wanted not to divide; but Hume, Bright, etc. insisted on dividing, and one of them (I think Bright) insultingly said, 'If you don't divide and beat him, he will throw over his promise and do nothing.' It must be owned that he gave some colour to this

¹ Peter John Locke King (1811-85), second son of seventh Baron King; Radical M.P. for East Surrey, 1847-74. He was responsible for securing the passage of an Act of Parliament, bearing his name, which deals with mortgages on land.

suspicion by his conduct. A few nights before Hume asked him if he was going to bring in any measure *this year*. He said he was not, but that he still intended to do so, at what he should deem to be a fit time for it: not a word of *next year*. This looks very much as if his promise on Thursday was an impromptu got up for the occasion. Still not a creature in or out of the House expected he would regard such a defeat as this as a matter of any importance, and great and general were the surprise and consternation when on Friday John got up (just when the Budget was to have come on) and made an announcement which was tantamount to resignation. The House dispersed in a state of bewilderment, and the town was electrified with the news. At night there was a party at Lady Granville's, and there it was known that the Government was in fact out. It seemed the more unaccountable because Stanley had sent them word what had been resolved at his meeting, which was neither more nor less than a sham attack on the Income Tax, which they neither expected nor intended to succeed. John, however, had resolved to resign after Friday's check, not on that account only, but on the cumulative case of many unmistakable symptoms of the hostility of the H. of C. and the impossibility of his going on. So he thought he had better 'do early and from foresight that which he should be obliged to do from necessity at last,' as Mr. Burke said on a different occasion. Nobody knew what he was going to do,—none of his followers and subordinates. He saw the Q. in the morning, to whom he no doubt imparted his intention; then he assembled the Cabinet, where it must have been settled, and then he saw the Queen again. Ld. Lansdowne was at Bowood, and ignorant of this decision. Carlisle was engaged in the City, not at the Cabinet, and heard from Grey when he came into the H. of Lords that they were out. In the evening I was at home and upstairs, and many of the men came up to talk it all over. Ellice said John was quite right. However, I think such was not the general opinion, nor is it mine. Looking at the state of the country and the obvious difficulty, if not impossibility, of forming any other Government, still more of forming one entitled to, or which could obtain, the confidence and support of the Crown and the country, I am very strongly of opinion that he ought to have fought the battle for some time longer, not to have yielded to any hostile manifestations, or to the probability, however

great, of damaging or fatal defeats, but to have encountered without flinching all the opposition he might meet with, and not to desert his post till the worst he apprehended should actually occur. Many people think that, in spite of appearances, he would have weathered the storms; and though in the midst of great difficulties, he would eventually have evaded or surmounted them all.

The conduct of the Protectionists about the Income Tax showed how uncertain and little adventurous they were. This is partly explained by the revelation that has been made of the opinions of some of their leading men. It has been for some time apparent that there is great ambiguity in the conduct of the party, different members of which hold the most discordant and inconsistent language. D'Israeli the other night declared he was not going for Protection, that it was out of the question in this Parliament, and that the *country* must settle the question. Granby directly afterwards says he is for Protection. In the H. of Lords, on a motion of Lord Hardwicke's when a great Free Trade debate was expected, and when it was well known that Stanley had been preparing a great speech, he never opened his lips, and the whole thing ended briefly and flatly. But Richmond made one of his furious harangues, pointed to Stanley as 'the Leader of the Protectionist party,' and gave an eulogistic commentary on D'Israeli's speech, asserting that he only meant that the battle of Protection must be fought on the hustings, where it not only would be fought, but would be won. Still Stanley was silent, and did not utter a word in approval or in repudiation of these sentiments and intentions. Notwithstanding these ambiguities, people still talked of the probability or the possibility of a Protectionist Government. It was said that Stanley had made up his mind to take it, if he could get it, and that he was of opinion that, great as the risks and serious as the consequences might be, it was better to encounter them all than to let slip the best opportunity they should ever have of ousting the Whigs, turning back the current of Free Trade, and restoring the Protective system. Everybody was looking with anxious curiosity for the decision of Stanley's meeting on Friday morning, as to the course they should adopt in reference to the Income Tax; and when it was known (which it was not generally till after J. Russell's announcement in the H. of C.), the impression was that they were afraid to fight on that question;

but at night I heard a very strange thing, which placed the condition and prospects of that party in quite a new light. Two of the best men they have in the H. of C. are Walpole¹ and Henley,² especially the first. Walpole told Jocelyn in the H. of C. that he would have nothing to do with any Government that would attempt to reimpose any duty on foreign corn, and he added that Henley was of the same mind; and so, in fact, were at least half the members of his party. This statement Walpole made twice over to Jocelyn, and he said the same thing to others besides. If such were the sentiments of some of their best men, what was to become of Protection? how was the battle to be fought on the hustings? and how was Stanley ever to form a Government, and on what principles?

However, the Government had resigned; somebody must be sent for, and something must be done. Oddly enough, while all this was going on in the H. of C., Stanley was dining at the Palace. Yesterday morning the 'Times' (whose Editor was at Ly. Granville's party) announced the news to the astonished town. I went to my office, where presently Labouchere, Carlisle, Granville, and Evelyn Denison came into my room. Labouchere gave John R.'s reasons for resigning, which to me seemed quite insufficient, and I told them why. Carlisle said nothing, and I suspect agreed with me. Denison did entirely. I then came down here, where I found Brougham full of indignation and disapprobation of the hasty resignation, and talking mighty good sense about the whole question and the aspect of affairs. We heard this morning that Stanley had been with the Queen, had refused to take office for the present, but said he did not refuse absolutely if no other Government could be formed; and that J. Russell, Aberdeen, and Graham met afterwards at the Palace. So matters stand up to this time.

I have seen a great deal of Graham lately, and he has talked to me with considerable openness about the state of affairs, present and prospective; the condition and prospects of the Government, and their recent conduct, pointing out many of the faults they have committed,

¹ Spencer Horatio Walpole (1806-98); Q.C., 1846; Conservative M.P. for Midhurst, 1846-56, and for Cambridge University, 1856-82; Home Secretary, 1852, 1858-9 and 1866-7.

² Joseph Warren Henley (1798-1884); Conservative M.P. for Oxfordshire, 1841-78; President of the Board of Trade, 1852 and 1858-9.

and what they might have done. He found great fault with Charles Wood's Budget, and his general opinion was that the Government could not go on, and coûte que coûte that we must pass through the ordeal of a Protectionist Government—not that he thought it would stand long, and he was aware that the experiment would be attended with great peril to our institutions, and might lead to very serious consequences. Still that it was inevitable. He said that his joining the Government now would be of no use to them whatever, and he should only involve himself in, without averting, their fate. He was evidently much pleased and satisfied with his own speech on D'Izzy's motion.¹ He was conscious of its success, and of the great service he had rendered the Government; for, while disapproving of much that they have done, he is now desirous of reconciling himself with his old friends, looks hereafter to coming into power with them, and is excessively pleased at having put himself on amicable terms with J. Russell. He told me that he had said to J.R. the other day, that though circumstances had separated them, and placed them for a long time in opposition to each other, it would always be satisfactory to him to remember, that on the three great questions which he regarded as the most important of his political life, they had been agreed, and had taken the same part, sometimes together and sometimes independently. These were the Catholic Question, Reform in Parliament, and Repeal of the Corn Laws.

I have found Graham in very low spirits, and full of disquiet and apprehensions about the future prospects of the country. This is generally his disposition, and he has communicated much of his alarm and anxiety to me. On Friday morning, after L. King's division, and before he knew anything of J.R.'s intention, I received a note from him in these terms: 'My anticipations are most gloomy. I foresee nothing but confusion; there are no means of escaping it; everything will be shaken, and something more than a Government, I fear, will fall. The "Times," I see, has passed sentence of death on the Administration this morning. It is most likely it will be executed speedily, and I doubt whether for their sakes it may not be said, the

¹ Lord Stanley said of this speech of Graham's that it was very bitter but very telling; and it convinced him that the Tories had nothing to hope for from the leading Peelites but opposition.—R.

sooner the better. They have lost all command over the H. of C., and indistinct promises of democratic change when made by a Prime Minister are most dangerous, for vagueness encourages hope, and the hope is deferred. This state of doubt and fear cannot last much longer; the public on all hands would greatly prefer a struggle and a settlement.' When he wrote these lines J. R. had already made up his mind to resign.

London, <February> 25th.—Came to town yesterday morning—found everything unsettled: Aberdeen, Graham, and J. R. trying to agree upon some plan, and to form a Government. At half-past four Delane came into my room, straight from Aberdeen. A. told him he was still engaged in this task, but, he owned, with anything but sanguine hopes of success. D. said to him he hoped if he did succeed he would not overlook the numbers and importance of the Liberal party. A. replied, 'You may rest assured that I am well aware of their importance, and I believe I am at least as *Radical* as any of those who are just gone out.' Went to Brooks's, found it very full and excited; some persuaded Graham and Co. would come to terms and patch the thing up. Bear Ellice and others thought it impossible, and Stanley inevitable. In the H. of C. J. R. made his statement, and when he had made it D'Israeli, without tact or decency, denied that it was correct. J. R. was not very discreet in what he said. He ought not to have said a word (nor need he) of what passed between S<tanley> and the Q. D'Israeli disgusted everybody by what he said, and his manner of saying it. Lord Lansdowne, Carlisle, and Labouchere dined here (B<ruton> Street), and about eleven o'clock a box was brought to Ld. L. It was a circular from J. R. announcing the final failure of the Graham negotiation, and that everything was at an end. It broke off on the Papal Question, on which they could not come to an agreement, though J. R. was ready to make some concessions. I don't think Graham wished to complete any combination, and preferred throwing the thing back on Stanley. His extreme timidity and his inveterate habit of magnifying dangers and exaggerating difficulties are very unfortunate and seriously mar his efficacy. If he had some of the confidence and sanguine disposition of Palmerston—if he could only bring himself to think that 'dangers disappear, when boldly they are faced,' it would be better for the

country and for himself. Gladstone is expected to-morrow; Sidney Herbert says he will not join a Stanley Government. Everybody goes over the lists of Peers and Commoners whom Stanley can command, and the scrutiny presents the same blank result of men without experience or capacity, save only Herries, who is past seventy, and has been rusting for twenty years and more; and D'Israeli, who has nothing but the cleverness of an adventurer. Nobody has any confidence in him, or supposes he has any principles whatever; and it remains to be seen whether he has tact and judgement enough to lead the H. of C. It seems that in these negotiations everybody has behaved well. There have been no difficulties about persons, no pretensions, no selfishness, no vexatious obstacles from or in any quarter. Had the thing been patched up, C. Wood was resolved to go. They wanted him to change his office, but he would not hear of it, said he would not face Halifax. He thought both Grey and Palmerston ought to go out with him, but they declare that one and all were ready to make any sacrifice that might be required.¹

26th.—Nothing more known yesterday except that Stanley had accepted the task of *trying* to form a Government. From the Q. he went to Aberdeen, and from him to Canning. As I don't know what passed, I will say no more. This morning Ld. Lansdowne sent for me, and on leaving him I met John Russell. He told me Stanley was to give his answer to the Q. *to-day* (though Gladstone is not come). I asked him what he thought would be the result. He was inclined to think it would be *No*.

27th.—It appears that Stanley was to say yesterday whether he would *try* or not. He is trying. Canning and Gladstone having refused, it remains to be seen if he can and will make a Government out of his own party. Most people think he will not. Everybody asks, nobody can tell, whether he will throw over Protection or go for it. His followers now say nothing about *Protection*, but ask for *confidence*! His rabble are very violent, and abuse him for not at once taking the

¹ The details of this negotiation between the Whigs, Lord Aberdeen and Sir James Graham have been published in an article on the 'Correspondence of Lord Aberdeen,' which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for October 1883. The insurmountable objection of the Peelites to the Anti-Papal Bill was the deciding cause of the failure; but the transaction is interesting, because it was the forerunner of the Coalition ultimately formed between the Whigs and the Peelites in 1852.—R.

Government. This does not make his position easier. D'Israeli has behaved very well and told S. to do what he pleased with him; he would take any office, and, if he was likely to be displeasing to the Q., one that would bring him into little personal communication with her.¹ If he could get anybody essential to his Government to join (Gladstone, of course) he would act under him. All along everybody seems to have acted personally well. The town is in a fever of curiosity, incessant enquiries and no answers, heaps of conjectures and lies. I dined at Grillon's last night; Graham in the chair, in high spirits. He said, if Stanley took the Government, he *must* dissolve on Friday night. But even if disposed, it is said that this would be impossible, and that he must get the Mutiny Bill and a money vote before he dissolves.

Friday, <February 28th>.—Met Gladstone yesterday morning. From the tone of his conversation his negotiation with Stanley must have been very short indeed.² He said he had come over entirely on account of the Papal Bill. After another day of curiosity, and rather a growing belief that Stanley would form a Government, it was announced in the afternoon that he had given it up. He had a meeting of some of his principal friends, and they agreed with him in the propriety of his resigning the task. Great excitement at night, and the Whigs in extraordinary glee, foreseeing the restoration of Johnny and Co. The Ministers were all to meet at Lansdowne House this morning and determine on the next move. John, who is rather sore, and not unconscious of the blame that attaches to him, said with some bitterness to Granville yesterday, 'Lady Palmerston called on Ly. John for the purpose of telling her that all that has happened is my fault. Ly. J. might have told her that if Palmerston had chosen to be present on L<ocke> K<ing>'s motion, and have spoken, it probably would not have happened at all.' Ly. P. is evidently provoked that P. has not been thought of to form a Government in all this confusion, and at hearing so much of Clarendon and Graham, and nothing of her husband.

Sunday, March 2nd.—I went to the H. of Lords on Friday to hear

¹ Disraeli's own characteristic account of the matter is printed in Buckle's *Life of Disraeli*, vol. III. ch. x.

² The two statesmen had met on February 26th and Gladstone had declined to join Stanley's Government unless it completely abandoned Protection. Gladstone's account of the interview appears in Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, vol. I. pp. 406-7.

Stanley's statement. He made a very good speech and a lucid statement. Nothing could be more civil and harmonious than all that passed; great moderation and many compliments. The impression on my mind was that Stanley was sick to death of his position of Leader of the Protectionists, and everybody agrees that he has been in tearing spirits these last days, and especially since the announcement of his failure. His conduct seems obnoxious to no reproach, and he did what he was bound to do with reference to the Queen and his party. They would have been intolerably disgusted if he had left untried any means of forming a Government, and though there will be some grumbling and much mortification and disappointment amongst them, they have no cause for complaint. He tried everything and everybody, as I believe, without either the desire or the expectation of succeeding. Nothing surprises me more than that anybody (and many very acute people did) should think he could form a Government. What happened was almost sure to happen—the fear and reluctance of many of his own people to undertake a task for which they were conscious they were unfit. A man must be very ambitious and very rash and confident, who, when it comes to the point, does not hesitate to accept a very important and responsible office without having had any official experience, or possessing any of the knowledge which a due administration of the office demands. It was not, however, without some appearance of sarcasm and bitterness that Stanley spoke of the men of his own party, who for various reasons had declined to take office. The man whose private affairs prevented him was Tom Baring; the modest man was Henley, who is said to have told Stanley that he would not *disgrace* his Government by presenting himself to the H. of C. as Home Secretary; the man who thought it would not last is said to be Thesiger. Sugden accepted the Great Seal, and the D. of Northumberland¹ the Admiralty, for which nobody imagines that he has any qualification whatever; and it shows what slender materials Derby could command when he applied to such a man.²

¹ Algernon Percy (1792–1865), fourth Duke of Northumberland, brother of third duke; created Baron Prudhoe, 1816; succeeded to the dukedom, 1847; rear-admiral, 1850; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1852; K.G., 1853.

² This last sentence appears to have been added by Greville after June 30th, 1851, the date of the death of the thirteenth Earl of Derby.

John Russell made a poor speech in the other House, and his peroration was a failure. The speeches of Aberdeen and Graham showed that any coalition is out of the question, and nothing will induce them to be parties to the Papal Bill. I think them too stiff on this question, and can see no reason why they should not consent to be parties to a measure which they admit to be indispensable. It would have been one thing to consent to its introduction, but it is another to consent to its going on (and with great modifications) after it had been once introduced.¹ *Fieri non debuit, factum valet.* But Graham has all along had a fixed idea that we must pass through what he calls the ordeal of a Stanley Government, and he has been continually hoping, and partly expecting, that Stanley would make the attempt. His object was reconciliation with J. R. and the Whigs, and ultimate junction with them, after Stanley should have failed, and I can't help thinking these notions and views have confirmed him in scruples he might otherwise have got over.

On Friday morning the Queen resolved to send for the D. of Wellington, which, however, was in reality a mere farce, for the Duke can do nothing for her, and can give her no advice but to send for J. R. again. He was on Friday at Stratfieldsaye receiving the Judges and the County, so he only came to town yesterday. I do not know what passed between H. M. and H. G., but Lord Lansdowne went to her again in the afternoon, and so matters stand at present, nobody doubting that the Government will stay in as they are, and without any change. Labouchere confided to me that the majority of the Cabinet did not wish for any renewal of negotiation or any coalition with Graham, though he did himself, which does not at all surprise me. No reconciliation, no necessity for his co-operation, and no manifestation of goodwill on his part, will do away with all the jealousy and dislike with which many of the Whigs regard the Peelites.

I have been annoyed and disgusted at the part the 'Times' has taken latterly, turning round upon the Government (and upon John Russell in particular) with indecent acrimony. Having been instru-

¹ Lord John Russell introduced the 'Ecclesiastical Titles Bill' in the House of Commons on February 7th, 1851. The Bill was a reply to the alleged Papal Aggression, and made it illegal in future for Roman Catholic ecclesiastics to assume territorial titles in England and Ireland. The Bill became law in August 1851.

mental to bringing Delane into social intercourse with the Whigs, I am shocked at the paper taking a course which everybody without distinction of party thinks odious and discreditable. They have attempted a defence of their conduct, but it is a very lame one, and they have been very severely and very justly handled by the other papers, especially the 'Daily News.' No doubt John Russell has committed great errors, and may be reproached for carelessness and bad management. He has incurred much odium with certain parties; he has lost a good deal of his authority and influence in the H. of C.; but he is not a man to be flung aside as damaged and used up, nor can his faults and mistakes, either of omission or commission, cancel the antecedents of a long political life or deprive him of the great position which, in spite of them and of appearances, he still holds in the estimation of the Whig party and the country. Nobody can be more sensible of the faults of his character and of the blunders he has committed than I am; but he has still great qualities, and I do not believe the Government could go on without him.

I heard last night the details of the Notts election, which appears to have been lost by bad management. It was a very foolish thing in Lord Manvers to put up his Son¹ at all, but having done so, he ought to have left no stone unturned to secure the victory. The effect of this contest and the breach between Landlords and Tenants, unless it can be repaired, presents the most alarming sign of the times.

February <March> 4th. —The last act of the drama fell out as everybody foresaw it would and must. The Duke of Wellington advised the Q. to send for John again. He was sent for, and came back with his whole Crew, and without any change whatever. This was better than trying some trifling patch-up, or some shuffling of the same pack, and it makes a future reconstruction more easy. Last night it was announced to both Houses, and coldly enough received in the House of Commons. There can be no doubt that John returns damaged, weak, and unpopular. His personal and social qualities are not generally attractive, and this is a great misfortune in such circumstances of difficulty. It is very difficult to say how they will be able to go on, and

¹ Sydney William Herbert Pierrepont (1825–1900), Viscount Newark and afterwards third Earl Manvers, only surviving son of Charles, second Earl Manvers (1778–1860); defeated at the by-election of 1851 but elected for South Notts, 1852–60.

what sort of treatment they will experience from the H. of C. The only thing that will obtain for them anything like forbearance and support will be the very general dread of a dissolution, and the anxiety of members to stave it off. This may get them through the Session; but their friends are nervous, frightened, and uneasy, and the general opinion is that they will break down again before the end of the Session. If they do, they must dissolve, for that is the only alternative left.

Granville dined at the Palace last night, and the Q. and Albert both talked to him a great deal of what has been passing, and very openly. She is satisfied with herself (as well she may be) and hardly with anybody else; not dissatisfied (personally) with Stanley, of whom she spoke in terms indicative of liking him. She thinks J.R. and his Cabinet might have done more than they did to obtain Graham and Co., and might have made the Papal question more of an open question (in which I think her wrong); but G. says that it is evident she is heart and soul with the Peelites (so strong is the old influence of Sir Robert), and they are very stout and determined about Free Trade. The Q. and Prince think this resuscitated concern very shaky, and that it will not last. Her favourite aversions are: first and foremost, Palmerston, whom she seems to hate more than ever, and D'Israeli next.¹ It is very likely that this latter antipathy (which no doubt Stanley discovered) contributed to his reluctance to form the Government. Among many other things Albert said that he had earnestly pressed Palmerston to send a Minister to Rome to negotiate with the Pope, but that he never would, and he was convinced that P. had only refused because *he* had pressed it. Such is the feeling about him in their minds. It is difficult to penetrate P.'s conduct and motives during the late crisis; but I am much inclined to think he was playing, or at least looking for an occasion to play, a part of his own.

The 'Times' has been attacking or sneering at the Government, and J.R. particularly, in a very brutal and odious manner, and yet Lady P. has taken this moment to try and get Delane, the Editor, to her house. She begged Granville to invite him last Saturday. G. sent

¹ The Queen said to Lord Stanley: 'I always felt that if there were a Protectionist Government, Mr D. must be the leader of the House of Commons: but I do not approve of Mr D. I do not approve of his conduct to Sir Robert Peel.' (Buckle's *Life of Disraeli*, vol. III. p. 290.)

her word he had some doubt whether he would like to be invited; and he told her afterwards that he thought, considering how they had lately written, it was not quite prudent to ask him just now. She replied 'Perhaps not, *but he has certainly hit the right nail on the head.*' She is very silly and imprudent, but it is impossible not to regard her as in some degree indicating her husband's animus. Certainly his colleagues have not derived much benefit from his Radical connection.

⟨*March*⟩ 8th, Saturday.—At Brocket from Tuesday till Thursday. In the morning saw Graham and had a long talk with him, principally about the Papal Bill. I asked him why he could not make up his mind to support the amended and curtailed Bill, which would not be inconsistent with his original objection to any measure; but he went into the whole question and satisfied me of the impossibility of his supporting and defending (as he must have done) any measure whatever. The truth moreover is, that he was not sorry to have this excuse for keeping aloof, for if he could have got over this, there still remained behind the great difficulty of Palmerston. This was never touched upon at all, and consequently they were all able to say there were no *personal* difficulties; but Graham was satisfied that if he had joined them, he and P. should have speedily disagreed, and I do not think any coalition will ever be possible which embraces P.'s remaining at the F.O. My own opinion is that Graham wished Stanley's Government to be formed; and am confirmed in this view by the remarkable fact of he and Aberdeen having *advised* Canning to accept Stanley's offer. Canning told Granville this, and I asked Graham if *Aberdeen* had advised C. to do so, and why. He replied, rather evasively, that it was a great temptation; that C. was not committed to Free Trade; and that A. had suggested there was no objection if he was disposed etc. It was, however, very strange advice. G. thinks very ill of the prospects of the Government, and has no reliance on their *savoir faire*. Meanwhile there they are again, having lost something in reputation, while it is questionable whether they have gained much in support; but, I think, *something*. There is a greater disposition to toleration, and to let them work through the Session, for everybody dreads a dissolution. The 'Times' has gone into furious and vexatious opposition, and attacks them day after day in bitter and mischievous articles. There is an universal feeling of doubt, disquiet, and in-

security. Parties are dislocated; there is no respect for, or confidence in, any public men or man. Notwithstanding the creditable manner in which every actor in the late crisis is said to have played his part, the fairness, unselfishness, public spirit, and mutual urbanity and politeness displayed by all, there lurks under this smooth surface no little jealousy, dislike and ill-will; in truth, in all that passed, nobody was *in earnest*. The Government threw up their offices not wishing to resign. Stanley did not desire, and did not intend (if he could possibly avoid it) to form a Government; Graham did not wish to coalesce with the Whig Government, nor they with him. J. R. would have taken him in, if they could have agreed; but most of his Colleagues hated the idea of coalition; he would have been ill received by most of the adherents of Government, and he is himself persuaded that he should not have gone on long without a difference of some sort. Many great difficulties, as they would have proved, were never touched upon, particularly who were to come in, and who were to go out.

Monday, <March 10th>.—I was interrupted, as I was writing, by the arrival of Graham himself, who staid two hours, talking over everything. He left no doubt about his wishes for Stanley's forming a Government, for he told me that he never was more sorry for anything than for his failure. He still contemplates the great probability of such a Government, supposing a dissolution to take place, and the return of a Parliament prepared to vote for an import duty, and his mind is still bent on a joint action between himself and the Whigs *in opposition*. This is what he wants. He is not aware of the antipathy there is towards him on the part of many of them. Grey, for example, is very bitter against him, and tantum mutatus, that he is now the warmest supporter and most zealous colleague of Palmerston! John Russell told Graham that last year Palmerston strongly urged him to get Graham to join them and take office, if he could be persuaded to do so. This is curious enough.

G. again entered at great length into all the objections against the Papal Bill, and the bad policy and mistakes of the Government. He thought it was one to have put up G. Grey to usher it out, when J. R. had himself ushered it in;¹ for he said it was both evident and

¹ The provisions of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill were considerably curtailed when Sir George Grey moved the next stage of the proceedings on this measure.—*R.*

notorious that G. Grey was in favor of stringent measures, and his speech was one in favor of the clauses the omission of which he was announcing. He said the announcement was very ill received, and he thinks the Bill will not pass. He fancies the Protectionists will throw it out, in which I disagree with him. There is an idea that they will try and make it more stringent, by proposing to retain the clauses or some other way; but this would be the best thing for the Government, and would bring Whigs, Radicals, and Irish all together. Meanwhile *the effect* of all that has happened is as bad as possible. I said in my letter (Carolus), 'We shall assuredly look very foolish if all the hubbub should turn out to have been made without some definite, reasonable, and moreover attainable object; and yet we appear to be in imminent danger of finding ourselves in this perplexing and mortifying predicament.' Never, I may make bold to say, was any prediction more signally accomplished than this. Everybody seems disgusted, provoked, and ashamed at the position in which we are placed. The R. Catholics alone are chuckling over their triumph and our perplexity. They see that we have plunged ourselves into a situation of embarrassment, which leaves us no power of advancing or receding without danger or disgrace. Our Government, and especially its Chief, have gone on from one fault and blunder to another. They manage to conciliate nobody, and to offend everybody. Their concessions are treated with rage and indignation on one side, and with scorn and contempt on the other. The Bill is reduced to a nullity, but this does not appease the wrath of the Irish and the Catholics; though what is left of it will do them no injury, they still oppose this remnant with undiminished violence, determined if possible to make us drain the last drop in the cup of mortification and shame. It is not unnatural that people should be indignant with a Government whose egregious folly has got us into such an unhappy and discreditable dilemma. We are in such a position that the R. Catholics and the Radicals are alone the gainers; and accordingly, while all others are disturbed and terrified at such a state of things, they are delighted, and confidently expect their several ends and objects will be advanced by the confusion, disunion, and discontent which prevail.

(R<ead> December 23rd, 1858.) (March 11th, 1863.) <C. C. G.>
 <End of Additional MS. 41118.>

London, March 18th.—Everything still going on as bad as possible. The Government is now so weak and powerless that its feebleness is openly talked of in Parliament, as well as derided in the press. A day or two ago we appeared to be on the eve of an immediate crisis. Baillie gave notice of a motion of censure on Torrington and Grey on which J. R. declared he would not go on with the Budget or any public business with this vote hanging over their heads (which if carried involved resignation) nor till it was decided. Last night Baillie withdrew it, and business will go on. Nothing is more extraordinary than the conduct of many of their own friends, and the levity with which almost everybody follows his own particular inclination or opinion, regardless of the condition of the Government and of the grave questions which are looming in the distance.

Of all strange and unaccountable things the conduct of Graham is the strangest with reference to his ultimate views, objects and expectations. On Lord Duncan's¹ motion about the Woods and Forests, he ostentatiously marched out first to vote against them; on the Naval Estimates he went away. All this exasperates and disgusts the Whigs, with whom he looks forward hereafter to acting, and whose chief he means to be. On Duncan's motion, J. R.'s Brother-in-law, Romilly, voted against him; his Nephew, H. Russell,² was in the House and did not vote. Hayter³ told J. R. that when such men acted thus, he could not ask independent members to come down and support the Government.

18th.—I called on Graham yesterday, found him in a state of great disgust at the Solicitor-General's speech the night before, against the violence and imprudence of which he bitterly inveighed. That Stanley was preparing resolutions, and he had contemplated having to fight side by side with J. R., and the Government against them the battle of religious liberty; but that this speech perplexed him, and left him

¹ Adam Haldane-Duncan (1812-67), Viscount Duncan and afterwards second Earl of Camperdown; Liberal M.P. for Southampton, 1837-41, for Bath, 1841-52, and for Forfar, 1854-9; Lord of the Treasury, 1855-8; succeeded his father in the earldom, 1859.

² Francis Charles Hastings Russell (1819-91), son of Lord William Russell, and afterwards ninth Duke of Bedford; M.P. for Bedfordshire, 1847-72; succeeded his first cousin in the dukedom, 1872.

³ William Goodenough Hayter (1792-1878); Q.C., 1839; M.P. for Wells, 1837-65; Judge-Advocate-General, 1847-9; Liberal Whip, 1850-8; created baronet, 1858.

in doubt what he ought to do or what he was to expect. Did J. R. adopt all the furious No Popery of his law officer, and was he prepared to legislate in that sense? If so, he would oppose him totis viribus. I told him I did not believe J. R. (who was not present) by any means concurred with Cockburn, whose speech he must only regard as an individual effusion, singularly injudicious. He talked a great deal about this and on other things. I asked him why he had voted against the Government on Duncan's motion, and told him that his doing so had greatly annoyed them. He said they were to blame to fight such a bad case; that he could not but vote with Duncan, having put his name to an instrument (I forget what and when) together with several other eminent persons he named, recommending this very principle; and that the Government ought to have shown more deference for the opinion of Parliament and less condescension to the Court, to please which this proposition had been resisted. He ridiculed the argument of Parliamentary controul being useless and inefficient, as Seymour pretended. Moreover, he said he had told Tufnell how he was going to vote. I told him that as he contemplated at some future time the dissolution of this Government, and its reconstruction with a large Liberal infusion, including himself, a combination devoutly to be desired, and as the great Whig Party must constitute the main strength of such a Government, it was very desirable that he should avoid giving umbrage to them, and exciting hostile feelings against himself as much as he could, and that I wished, when he thought himself obliged to oppose them, that he would tell them so fairly and amicably. He might prevent many things being done, and at all events it would obviate much of the bitterness that otherwise was sure to arise, and that as he was now on such good terms with J. R. he could very easily do this, and could speak to him at any time. He said He and J. R. were very good friends, but that all the rest hated him. He had nothing to complain of on the part of J. R. in the last transactions, but he thought he had on that of the others, and he knew very well they did not desire his junction with them, and were very glad it had failed. And while he took the same view that I do of the necessity of widening considerably the basis of the Administration, and taking in men from the Liberal ranks, he said nothing of the kind was contemplated the other day. We had a great deal of talk, and I gathered that

the present state of his mind and opinions is this. He thinks Stanley is ready to take the Government, but not just yet; that he is prepared to push the Ministers later in the Session, and drive them out; then to dissolve, and if such a Parliament as he hopes and expects be returned, that Palmerston will join him and lead the House of Commons, Stratford Canning taking the F.O. (as he fancied) till Palmerston joined—but, as I told him, I thought (supposing all this to happen) to act there as Palmerston should direct him (He <Palmerston> leading the H. of C., which would be incompatible with the business of the F.O.; besides by such an arrangement the Q.'s objections to P. would be removed). He agreed to this. We parted, and I undertook to find out for him what the Government really meant to do, and whether they did intend strenuously to resist any attempt to make the <Papal> Bill more stringent, and he promised that he would communicate more frankly and freely with J.R. in respect to any matters of difference and when he was disposed to take any adverse part.

March 22nd.—I told Labouchere what had passed between Graham and me, and suggested to him to speak to J.R. about it, which he said he would do; and this morning I have a note from J. desiring me to call on him. Labouchere told me that it was very true, that most of his colleagues disliked and distrusted Graham, and they all seem aware that his object is to see the Government broken up, it being necessary that the old house should be pulled down before the new one can be built in which he intends to live. He told me, moreover, that half the Cabinet were disposed to make up to the Protectionists, but that *he* considered such policy equally false and discreditable. This is very curious, however, and as I cannot doubt that Palmerston is one of this half, it looks very much as if he would join Stanley whenever circumstances permitted this junction.

March 24th.—Yesterday morning Graham called on me, said he heard his speech had greatly offended the Ministerialists, he thought without reason; that he had studiously avoided saying anything disagreeable to John Russell, and had not touched on his letter or certain passages in his first speech which might have provoked comment; that he had stated his views and his case against the Bill very strongly, as he was obliged to do. For having refused to join the Government

expressly and exclusively on account of his invincible objections to this Bill, he was compelled to show all the strength and force of these objections. He then dilated afresh on the whole question, much as he had done before. I told him that it was true they resented his speech, which they characterised as one of bitter hostility to the Government, and that it was so considered by some who did not belong to the Government, such as C. Villiers, e.g., and they coupled this with his previous vote on Duncan's motion, and inferred that he was actuated by a desire to do them all the mischief he could; besides which they thought he was much to blame in certain topics he had urged in reference to the possibility of an Irish rebellion. I reminded him of what I had said to him the other day, and of the bad impression he was making on the minds of the Whigs, and how serious this was in reference to the possibility of any future coalition.

He then talked in his usual way about Stanley and the Government he is to form; said Walpole had made so good a speech that it put him up very high, and would enable S. to make him Secretary of State; and then he told me of a sort of overture or feeler which Walpole had the night before made to him. It was at the Speaker's levée, where they were conversing on the state of affairs and the prospects of the country, when W. said, 'The only thing would be for you and Ld. Stanley to shut yourselves up in a room together, when you might come to an understanding.' G. replied it was impossible; Ld. S. was a man of honor, who would abide by his pledges and declarations; and he must, if he came into power, propose a duty on corn. W. said if there was a majority against it S. had said he would give it up, and at all events it would only be a duty for revenue, and not for protection. G. replied that was all nonsense. Let it be called what it would, it was and was meant to be Protection; and in no way and under no name would he ever be a party to any duty whatever on foreign corn. Besides, there was the Papal question. He opposed the Government Bill, and S<tanley> and W<alpole> were prepared to carry legislation still further; therefore these two important questions rendered any understanding between him and S. impossible. I told him I was going to J.R., and that I was pretty sure he had sent for me to talk to me about him.

In the afternoon I called on John, and found him in very good

spirits and humour. It was as I expected, and he said to me exactly what I had already said to Graham, that since the conference which had taken place, at which time there was a general acquiescence (though with some a reluctant one) to his joining the Government, circumstances had very materially altered, and that his recent conduct had produced so much irritation and estrangement that any coalition with him for some time to come would be very difficult. Time and other circumstances might again render it possible, but now it was out of the question; this it was fit Graham should know, and as he did not like to say it to him himself, he wished I would. I told him I was not surprised, and that I had already said as much to him, and had pointed out to him the inevitable consequences of the course he had adopted. The truth is they, most of them, dislike and fear him. They dread his propensity to truckle to the Radicals and to popular clamour, above all as to economy; and John told me that Palmerston, who had urged him at the close of the last Session to get Graham to join him, had this year said he did not think he would be safe, for he would probably insist on cutting down our establishments to some dangerous extent. I told John all I had said to Graham about communicating with him, etc., etc., and he said that he personally felt no resentment towards him; he acknowledged that he had not said anything offensive or hostile to him personally, and that he should be very glad to talk to him, particularly about the Budget, which was not definitely settled, and he desired me to propose to Graham to let him call on him for that purpose. This ending was not very correspondent to the beginning of the communication I was to make to him, but I said I would tell him, which I shall do, softening the hard part as much as I can.

In the afternoon I called on Ld. Lyndhurst, whom I found very flourishing. Brougham was there, and they were full of talk, chiefly about law, and agreeable enough. I asked Lyndhurst what would happen, and he said he really did not know from any communication he had had with Stanley or anybody, but his belief was that Stanley was prepared to take the Government, whenever the way was made clear for him by the necessary money being voted, Mutiny Bill passed, etc. This is now the general opinion.

<March> 27th, Thursday.—On Monday I called on Graham, and

found J.R. had already been there. G. was dressing, and could not see him, but made an appointment to call in Chesham Place at three o'clock. I told G. (with a good deal of *ménagement*) what J.R. had said, and I added as much as I could, in addition to what I had said to him before about his relations with the Government. He insisted that J.R.'s people hated him, and he said there were people about him who hated them; and then he added that he could do nothing *alone*. I had little difficulty in perceiving what is passing in his mind, and by what considerations and with what views he is actuated. He thinks he can rally round himself a body of supporters, of men who will look up to him as a Leader, and, by so doing, when there is a break-up, he may play the part of a Political Potentate, and, in the event of the construction of a Liberal Government, that he may have a large share of influence, and make his own terms. He knows or suspects that the Whigs want nothing of him, but that he should singly join them to help them out of their difficulties, thereby giving up altogether any claim he might have to be a political Leader, and all distinctive character as such. This intention of theirs he both resents and abhors, and though he is really anxious to be on good terms with John Russell, with whom he wishes hereafter to act, he can neither conceal his desire nor abstain from his efforts to upset his Government. He is the strangest mixture of timidity and rashness I ever saw. He is generally afraid of everything, and sees many unnecessary and imaginary dangers; nevertheless, he is prepared to hazard almost anything to bring about that consummation on which his thoughts and his heart are fixed, but which can only be worked out by the downfall of this, and the experiment of a Stanley Government. He gave me to understand that it was probable that those who opposed the second reading of the Papal Bill would take no part in the Committee, and leave the Government to be beat there on the clauses, in order to compel them to vote against the third reading of their own Bill; and he would do this, although the effect would be to leave the question unsettled, and to render a terrific No-Popery agitation the principal ingredient of a general election. His conduct and his views appear to me greatly deficient in sagacity, and besides being mistaken and mischievous, to be somewhat tortuous and insincere. One thing is certain, that he has excited a strong sentiment of disapprobation and

distrust amongst all but the Radicals and the Irish, who probably care very little for him, except so far as he plays their game. While he is quite right in the main on the Papal question (and probably on some others likewise) he pursues these particular objects at the expense of sacrificing or endangering far greater, more important, and more permanent interests.

The great debate terminated yesterday morning, after a magnificent speech from Gladstone, and a very smart personal attack of D'Israeli on Graham, which was done with his usual sarcastic power, and was very generally cheered. As they left the House, Disraeli said to John Russell, 'I could not help attacking your *Right Honourable friend*, but I don't suppose you are very angry with me.' 'No,' he replied, 'I am not angry with you, but he did not say anything of which I have any reason whatever to complain.' The debate was on the whole very able, but a preponderance of argument on one side as great as the majority was on the other. Roundell Palmer,¹ Graham, Fox, and Gladstone made admirable speeches; while, except Walpole's, there was nothing very good on the other. D'Israeli did not attempt to argue it.

April 2nd, Wednesday.—Graham called on me on Sunday; said he had had a most agreeable conversation with J.R., who was very friendly, and even confidential; in short, G. appeared in much better humour than before, and he said he had engaged, and was resolved, to do all he could to help them in the Budget. I asked him if he could not do something with the Irish members, whose cause he had espoused with so much gallantry and devotion, and he said he thought he could, had a channel of communication through Sir J. Young, and he would try. He then talked of the Chancery measure, which would not do, and advised that John should consult Turner² about it, who thought it was in the right line, though not the right thing, and that with some alterations it might be made into a good measure. G. thought Stanley quite ready to take the Government, and that Ceylon was the case on which he meant to give them the mortal stab. But it

¹ Roundell Palmer (1812-95), afterwards first Earl of Selborne; M.P. for Plymouth, 1847-52 and 1853-9, and for Richmond, 1861-72; Q.C., 1849; Solicitor-General, 1861; knighted, 1861; Attorney-General, 1863-6; Lord Chancellor, 1872-4 and 1880-5; created Baron Selborne, 1872, and earl, 1882.

² George Turner, Esq., Q.C., afterwards one of the Lords Justices in Equity.—R.

remains to be seen whether Torrington's successful defence of himself last night will not defeat this scheme if it really existed. I told J. R. what had passed between G. and me about Turner. This move of his about the Chancery Reform has been another blunder. The measure is scouted, and the Government do not themselves think it will do. I told Wood and John R. that it would not. The former replied, 'I don't think it will, but the H. of C. must be taught that if good services are to be performed they must be paid for'; and this was again John's notion, and he acknowledged to me that 'he supposed it would not do.' He was going to see Pemberton Leigh, and he told me afterwards he had seen him, and that he disapproved. Why not have seen and consulted him before producing his scheme instead of after? And why assume that the H. of C. would be niggardly, instead of framing the best measure they could, and casting on the H. of C. the responsibility of refusing the necessary funds to carry out a proper and desirable arrangement? All this is miserable bad management. The other night Lyndhurst came out for the second time, and made an attack on the Chancery scheme; very well done, marvellous, considering his age and his recent illness. The Chancellor replied well enough, and Grey very unwisely spoke after him. He is leading the Lords now that Ld. Lansdowne is away, but by no means with the same tact and discretion.

Torrington made his speech last night, and did it very well, making a very favorable impression, and a good case for himself. Nobody said anything, and all would have ended there, and ended well, if Grey had not unwisely got up and made a bitter speech against the Committee, and on the case generally, in the course of which he said something about martial law, and the D. of Wellington's administration of it in Spain; on which the Old Duke rose in a fury, and delivered a speech in a towering passion, which it would have been far better for Torrington to have avoided. The Duke was quite wrong, and Grey made a proper explanation, but the incident was disagreeable.

April 10th.--At Newmarket on Sunday, and returned yesterday, disappointed and disgusted. It was worth while to be there to see Stanley. A few weeks ago he was on the point of being Prime Minister, which only depended on himself. Then he stood up in the H. of Lords, and delivered an oration full of gravity and dignity, such as became

the man who had just undertaken to form an administration. A few days ago He was feasted in Merchant Taylors' Hall, amidst a vast assembly of Lords and Commoners, who all acknowledged him as their Chief. He was complimented amidst thunders of applause upon his great and Statesmanlike qualities, and he again delivered an oration, serious as befitted the lofty capacity in which he there appeared. If any of his vociferous disciples and admirers, if some grave Members of either H. of Parliament, or any distinguished foreigner who knew nothing of Lord Stanley but what he saw, heard, or read of him could have suddenly found themselves in the betting room at Newmarket on Tuesday evening and seen Stanley there, I think they would have been in a pretty state of astonishment. There he was in the midst of a crowd of blacklegs, betters, and loose characters of every description, in uproarious spirits, chaffing, rowing, and shouting with laughter and joking. His amusement was to lay Ld. Glasgow a wager that he did not sneeze in a given time, for which purpose he took pinch after pinch of snuff, while Stanley jeered him and quizzed him with such noise that he drew the whole mob around him to partake of the coarse merriment he excited. It really was a sight and a wonder to see any man playing such different parts, and I don't suppose there is any other man who would act so naturally, and obey all his impulses in such a way, utterly regardless of appearances, and not caring what anybody might think of the Minister and the Statesman so long as he could have his fun.

April 14th.—Graham called on me yesterday. He generally comes every Sunday now; talked gloomily about everything, and seemed to think it very doubtful if the Government would get through the Session. On D'Israeli's motion the other night, on which there was only a majority of thirteen, he said Gladstone had a great mind to vote against them, and if he had, others of the Peelites would have gone with him, and the Government would have been in a minority; that D'Is. had managed his matters very ill, and had made a very bad speech. If he had proposed to apply the surplus to a partial reduction of the Malt Tax, he would have put the Government in a great dilemma, and they probably would have been defeated. I told him I did not think he could have done this, or could have got a majority on it, for nobody ever dreams of abolishing the Malt Tax. He told

me that Gladstone was disgusted with the Government, and determined to turn them out if he could; and from what he said of the disposition of the Peelites, I infer that they are disposed to take Gladstone as their Leader, and that they are animated with the same spirit of hostility to the Government. Their views are these: they think that when they have got the Government out, and there shall have been a general election, Stanley will find there is so small a majority for Protection, or none at all, that He will give it up, and then Protection being abandoned, that they may join him, and the old Conservative party may be thus rallied and reunited. Such is the view of Gladstone, and the D. of Newcastle and Sidney Herbert go along with him. Then as to the Papal Bill, he returned to what he had before mentioned to me, the notion of throwing all things into confusion in Committee; that the Stanleyites will oppose the withdrawal of the clauses, the opponents of the second reading take no part, the Government be beat, and then the Government and the *Anti-Billites* together throw it out on third reading. This accomplished, he fancies there will be no more question of any Bill whatever, that Stanley will give the go-by to legislation by appointing a Committee, and so this great difficulty will be got rid of. I would not listen to this fine scheme, which involved a whole series of discreditable inconsistencies, He and those who were opposed to penal legislation refusing to assist in expunging those clauses of the Bill which had such a character for the chance of indirectly getting rid of the whole, and Stanley's coming into power and throwing over both Protection and Papal aggression, after having fought his way to office upon nothing but the assertion of these two principles. I urged him as strongly as I could to be no party to any such schemes, but to co-operate in getting this odious and mischievous question settled and disposed of in the best and only way that circumstances now admitted of. He is evidently much perplexed, conscious he is in a false position, and does not see his way clearly as to the best course for him to adopt. He said he was satisfied Stanley was determined not to come into office if he could possibly avoid it, and could find pretexts for refusing it; but his followers are so eager and impatient, and he has led them on so far, that it is become difficult for him to avoid it if fresh opportunities present themselves.

May 10th.—Journal in arrear. The day of the opening of the

Exhibition¹ I went into the Park instead of the inside, being satisfied with fine sights in the way of procession and royal magnificence, and thinking it more interesting and curious to see the masses and their behaviour. It was a wonderful spectacle to see the countless multitudes, streaming along in every direction, and congregated upon each bank of the Serpentine down to the water's edge; no Soldiers, hardly any Policemen to be seen, and yet all so orderly and good-humoured. The success of everything was complete, the joy and exultation of the Court unbounded. The Queen wrote a touching letter to John Russell, full of delight at the success of her husband's undertaking, and at the warm reception which her subjects gave her. Since that day all the world has been flocking to the Crystal Palace, and we hear nothing but expressions of wonder and admiration. The frondeurs are all come round, and those who abused it most vehemently now praise it as much.

Government has been again defeated in the H. of Commons, and the state of affairs is worse than ever. The apathy, indifference, and careless disposition of almost everybody is as strange as it is disgusting. One can't make out what people want. The mass of the Protectionists know what they want—to turn out the Government, get in themselves, procure (as they expect) a majority on a dissolution, and then restore Protection. Stanley is hanging back as much as he can, evidently (and no wonder) shrinking from committing himself to the desperate experiment of such an attempt; but his éager followers push him on, and he has gone too far with them now to hang back. There was a considerable expectation of Government being defeated on Urquhart's motion last night; but though he had cunningly worded his resolutions so as to catch a variety of votes, he was defeated by a large majority. On the whole I think the Government will still scramble through the Session, but scramble it is. John Russell made one of his very best speeches the other night, in reply to Roebuck, who urged him to resign. But non est qualis erat, he has committed great blunders and has been very neglectful. Tufnell told me last night, he had observed for the last two years that his personal influence was waning. There seems no doubt that Protection has gained many advocates of late, and that in the event of a dissolution most of the

¹ May 1st.

Counties and the agricultural boroughs will return Protectionists. It is therefore probable that there may be a majority in favor of some import duties; still it is not likely that the change can be so great as to give more than a bare majority to a Protectionist Government, and such men with such a majority can hardly hope to succeed in reversing the whole of our commercial policy and restoring the old system. But the contest will be very alarming, and nobody can tell what will come out of the new Reform Bill, and above all out of the restless spirit of change and progress which has been put in motion. I can't help fearing that we are approaching times of difficulty and danger, the more difficult and dangerous from the lack of Statesmen who have either capacity to deal with political exigencies, or who possess the confidence and regard of the country sufficiently to be enabled to take the conduct of affairs into their own hands, who will be followed, listened to, and obeyed.

May 31st.—I have been too much occupied, even absorbed, by my Derby concerns to trouble myself about anything else, but I have been at least occupied to some purpose, for I won the largest sum I ever did win on any race—not less than £14,000, the greatest part of which I have received, and no doubt shall receive the whole. Meanwhile the world seems to have thought of nothing but the Exhibition, and all politics have appeared flat, stale, and unprofitable. This has turned to the advantage of the Government, who after weathering other storms were finally set on their legs by the excellent division they got on Baillie's motion about Ceylon. Everybody now admits that they are quite safe for this Session, after which we shall see; but though they are considered, and really are, a weak Government, their weakness is strength compared with that of the other party, which is hopelessly distracted and disorganised. They have no unity of purpose, object, or opinion, no reliance on their Leaders; there is no mutual confidence and esteem amongst them; and their Great Man, Stanley, has been all along making game of them, humbugging them and laughing in his sleeve. He has never really intended to turn out the Government, nor to take office himself, and his whole object has been to pretend to aim at both these things, taking all the time especial care to avoid being successful. I am now told that they are beginning to open their eyes to what has long been obvious to all cool observers.

All this could hardly be otherwise; Stanley could not fail to be disgusted with a party which suffers itself to be in great measure represented by such men as G. F. Young¹ and Ferrand.

June 8th.—I broke off what I was writing to go to Ascot. There is a picture in 'Punch'² of the shipwrecked Government saved by the 'Exhibition' Steamer, which really is historically true. Thanks in great measure to the attractions of the Exhibition, which have acted upon the public as well as upon Parliament, the attacks upon the Government have for some time past become so languid, and there has been so much indifference and insouciance about politics and parties, that Johnny and his Cabinet have been relieved from all present danger. The cause of Protection gets weaker every day; all sensible and practical men give it up as hopeless; nevertheless that party will make a desperate struggle when the elections take place, and though they will infallibly fail in bringing back Protection, they will probably have success enough to make Government if possible more difficult than it is now.

Thiers has just been over here for a week. He came to see the Exhibition, and was lodged at Ellice's house. He was indefatigable while he was here, excessively amused and happy, and is gone back enchanted at his reception in the world, and full of admiration of all he saw. He was met by great and general cordiality, invited everywhere, had long conversations with Palmerston, John Russell, and Aberdeen, dined with D'Israeli to meet Stanley, who, however, did not come, and he was the only conspicuous man he missed seeing. He was presented to the Queen at the Exhibition. Hearing he was there (for he usually went early every morning like herself) she sent for him, was very gracious, and both She and the Prince talked to him a good while. He talked very conservative language while he was here and did not abuse anybody.

July 5th.—Journal again dropped for some time past, simply because I have nothing to say—know, hear and care for nothing. Politics are stagnant; the Government has had no difficulties, and they are gliding through the Session with an ease and safety which was

¹ George Frederick Young, a London shipowner; M.P. for Tynemouth, 1832-8, and for Scarborough, 1851-2.

² The publication of *Punch* began in 1840. John Leech, author of the cartoon here mentioned, was the main cartoonist on the paper until his death in 1864.

not promised at the beginning of it. Their Enemies have done more for them than their friends. Lord Derby's¹ death has taken Stanley out of the field for a time. D'Israeli made a foolish motion and bad speech. Government had a good majority; nobody took the least interest in the proceeding. Protection falls lower and lower and becomes every day more obviously hopeless; and this really is about all there is to say. The great question of Law Reform seems to have a chance of being taken up in earnest; the new Government Bill is rather popular, and has been well received, and there appears to be something like a stir in the public mind and a disposition to insist on an attempt being made to cleanse this Augean stable. The question that most interests the public is that of the retention or removal of the Crystal Palace. Curiously enough, the Prince, whose child it is, and who was so earnestly bent on keeping it in existence, has now turned round, and is for demolishing it.

The Papal Bill passed the other night, Thesiger having succeeded in getting in some amendments, apparently making it more efficient and stringent; but I don't believe (though they had better not be there) that it will make any difference. While it was receiving its finishing touches in the Commons, another rescript of the Pope made its appearance with a fresh creation of Bishops in England! The opponents of the Bill had intended to make one more grand display (Gladstone especially) on the third reading; but by some blundering or negligence they lost the opportunity. Gladstone made a short but good speech as it was.

London, July 25th.— Nothing to say for many weeks past. Went to Liverpool for the races; staid there to assist at a great fête given by Mr. Brown² (M.P. for Lancashire) on board the 'Atlantic,' to Exhibition Commissioners and foreigners. The 'Atlantic' magnificent, fitted up like a luxurious house, all painting, gilding, silk and velvet, and with every sort of comfort. Went all about the river and the docks. Foreigners much struck with all they saw, there and elsewhere. Thence started on an expedition to the Lakes, got to Bowness,

¹ Edward Smith Stanley (1775-1851), thirteenth Earl of Derby; M.P., 1796-1832; succeeded his father in the earldom, 1834; K.G., 1839; an enthusiastic zoologist. Charles Greville said that 'he spent half a million in kangaroos' (Henry Greville's *Diary*, I. 392).

² William Brown (1784-1864); M.P. for South Lincs, 1846-59; created baronet, 1863; a liberal benefactor to Liverpool.

found nothing but torrents of rain, a hurricane of wind, cold and discomfort; so came back to town after taking a look at Windermere, without going on to Derwentwater and Ullswater, as I had intended. Found London expiring, and the Session drawing to a close; Government safe if not sound; two election defeats, Knaresborough and Scarborough, have a bad aspect; John Russell mortified at the last and disgusted with Londesborough,¹ whom he made a Peer, and whose Agents took active part in favor of G. F. Young. Ecclesiastical Titles Bill passing Lords by enormous majority, after a tolerable debate. Brougham and Derby both absent. Jews again defeated, and kicking and plunging in the H. of Commons, and going to try their case in a Court of Law.² They will not take the oath as it stands, which I would do if I were a Jew. They have so far committed themselves against that course, that they perhaps cannot now take it without inconsistency and dishonor; but it would have been their best course if they had thought of it at first. As it is, the Lords will not give way, but it is an awkward question to have continually agitated. I have not seen Graham for many weeks, but J.R. told me he had been acting a very friendly part.

The only thing I have heard worth recording is a strange matter enough regarding the Duke of Wellington. He has got himself (at 82 years of age) into, if not a scrape, an embarrassment with Lady Georgiana Fane, who is half-cracked. It seems that he has for some years past carried on a sort of flirtation with her and a constant correspondence, writing her what might be called love letters, and wofully committing himself. He has now broke with her, and She persecutes him to death. She is troublesome and He is brutal. He will not see

¹ Albert Denison (1805-60), first Baron Londesborough, son of first Marquess Conyngham; M.P. for Canterbury, 1835-41 and 1847-50; assumed the name of Denison on inheriting his uncle's estates, 1849; created baron, 1850.

² Lord John Russell again introduced a Bill in the session of 1851, to relieve Jews elected to Parliament from the necessity of taking the oath of abjuration. The Bill successfully passed the Commons, but was thrown out by a majority of 144 to 108 in the House of Lords, on July 17th. Mr David Salomons, the newly elected M.P. for Greenwich, attempted to take his seat in the House on July 18th without taking the oath, but was ordered by the Speaker to withdraw. Three days later he entered the House again and took a seat but was required to withdraw by a vote of the House, proposed by Lord John Russell. Mr Salomons having voted while in the House, his supporters endeavoured to force the Government to prosecute him, but were defeated on a vote by 118 to 71; and Lord John Russell carried a resolution expressly prohibiting Mr Salomons from sitting until he took the oath.

her or have anything to do with her. She tries to get at him, which it seems she can only do as he comes out of Church (early service) at St. James's; and she made a scene there not long ago. She says all she wants is that He should behave *kindly* to her, which is just what he will not do. Meanwhile she has placed his letters in the hands of her Solicitor, Mr. Frere (an outrageous thing), who tells her they are sufficient to establish a case against him for a breach of promise of marriage. Nothing of this queer but lamentable affair seems to have got out, and for the credit of the Duke it is to be hoped it may not. It would be painful to see him: an object of ridicule and contempt in the last days of his illustrious life. My mother told me this story. She had it from Lady Georgiana Bathurst, to whom Lady Georgiana Fane herself told it and showed her the Duke's letters, wanting her to get the Duchess of Gloster to read them, who however declined to do so. He has always had one or more women whom he liked to talk to and go to and be intimate with, and often very odd women too; but the strangest of all his fancies was this tiresome, troublesome, crazy old maid.

The Grove, September 7th.—After four years' absence (during Clarendon's Viceroyalty) I find myself here again, glad to revisit a place where I have passed so much agreeable time, glad to be in my old room, and look upon the pictures, which are like old and familiar acquaintances. My journalising has grown very slack; instead of one book in three months or four, I have written half a book in six. I had contemplated a summary of the Session, but abandoned it in disgust, and I have never met with anybody or heard anything sufficient to rouse me from my idleness and indifference for weeks or even months past. I did indeed breakfast at Grote's one morning to meet Léon Faucher,¹ the French Minister of the Interior, and had some talk with him about French politics, from which I brought away nothing particular except his defence of centralisation, and his confident prediction that L<ouis> N<apoleon> would be re-elected. I have myself been so occupied with racing (at which I have been generally successful) that I have hardly thought of politics. For a long time I had

¹ Léon Faucher (1803-54), Editor of the *Courrier Français*, 1839-42; *Député* for Rheims, 1847-8; Minister for Public Works, 1848-9; Minister of the Interior, 1849-50 and April-October 1851; retired from politics after the *coup d'état*.

not seen Graham. The D. of Bedford and I have ceased to correspond, and we seldom met, so that my sources of political information have been nearly dried up. One day, however, not long ago, the D. of B. came to me and told me that John had a great disposition to invite Graham to join the Cabinet, and asked me what I thought of it. I said that I was against it, and thought he had better strengthen his Government by his own friends; that a Cabinet could only become stronger by the accession of persons who would be well received, and between whom and those they joined there would be feelings of cordiality and mutual confidence, which would not be the case between Graham and the Whigs; that they disliked him, and had no mind to have him; while he was not only aware of, but exaggerated, their repugnance and dislike of him. The Duke said he took the same view that I did, and should tell John so. Some time after (about a fortnight ago) he came to me again and said John had made up his mind to make an overture to Graham, had broached it to the Cabinet, who had consented, that others were to be invited with him, but it was not settled who. Some were for Gladstone, some for Newcastle, almost all for Cardwell; but what he had particularly to say to me was this, that John felt the difficulty and delicacy of this intended negotiation with Graham; that he should not like to make an offer and be refused; and as much discussion would be necessary he wished it to be carried on through me, and that I should undertake to make the overtures. I said that I should of course be ready to do anything John wished in the matter, and I suppose it will end in my having to undertake the negotiation.

September 23rd, Wednesday <Tuesday>.—At the Grove on Saturday last, where I heard (with some surprise) that George Lewis had been sent to Netherby a day or two before with John R.'s proposals to Graham. He took a memorandum with a frank and friendly offer, but I was quite sure it would not be accepted, when I learnt that it was the Board of Control for himself, and the Under-Secretaryship of the Colonies for Frederick Peel. He was informed that all the Cabinet concurred in the offer, and wished him to join them; and their idea was, that if he was not indisposed, *the office* would not signify, besides that the India Board would be important next year, because the Charter¹

¹ Of the East India Company.

had to be renewed. As G. had said he had no connexions, and the only man he cared about was Peel, they offered him this office in place of Hawes, which would be of consequence, as he would have to do all the H. of C. work. It seems G. Lewis himself did not expect this offer would be accepted, nor did Clarendon, who told me when I got to the Grove on Saturday. Accordingly, the next morning (Sunday) a letter arrived from G(eorge) L(ewis) to his wife, informing her that Graham had declined, and this is all I have as yet heard about it.

I went last week to Hickleton Hall for Doncaster Races, but there was nobody there, and I had little or no conversation with Charles Wood. Lady Mary¹ spoke to me about John Russell, and lamented that he was so careless and indifferent in his relations with the Court, exhibiting such a contrast with Sir Robert Peel, who was so full of zeal and attention, and ready on all occasions to give the Queen advice and assistance in whatever way she might require it. This was apropos of their having asked him for his opinion and advice on some matter, when he sent no answer at all. She thought very justly that this was impolitic as well as wrong.

September 27th.—G. Lewis called on me the other day, and told me all that passed between Graham and him. He had written to him previously, saying he had a message to deliver him from J.R., and asking him to receive him at Netherby. They met at Carlisle, and G. L. says he is sure G. guessed the purport of his visit, and had already made up his mind to decline. He proposed forthwith to open the matter to him, but G. would not let him, and said, 'We will talk of business to-morrow.' He evidently shirked the subject, evinced no curiosity to hear his errand, and tried to put off the éclaircissement. The next day after breakfast G. proposed a walk, when G. L. opened the business, saying he was sent to ask him to join the Government. G. immediately began to make all sorts of objections, talked of various matters and made many criticisms, and said it was out of the question. L. argued the point with him, without making any impression, and at last said, 'Well, but you had better let me tell you what the offer is.' G. replied he did not want to hear it, and it was better he should not

¹ Lady Mary Wood (1807-84), afterwards Viscountess Halifax; fifth daughter of the second Earl Grey; married Charles Wood, 1829.

tell him. The other insisted, saying he should not have fulfilled his mission unless he communicated the offer, when G. agreed to hear it. L. says *he thinks* he was rather pleased than otherwise with the offer, particularly with that part of it which concerned F. Peel. He said this was a very advantageous offer to him. However, it made no difference, and ultimately he came away, bringing with him a memorandum for J. Russell which Graham wrote, setting forth the reasons of his refusal. I was not sorry to hear that on the subject of reform he was an Alarmist, and only afraid lest Ld. John should go too far. So ends this negotiation, and I am glad that Lewis was sent instead of me upon so abortive a mission.

September (October) 10th.—Granville returned to England a few days ago, when I told him what had passed about Graham. He told me that he had known what had taken place on the subject some time ago, when the resistance in the Cabinet was so great to his being invited that it was given up. The man most against it was Palmerston, and he wanted offers to be made to *Gladstone* instead. If Graham had known this, it would have served to confirm his disposition to decline the offer.

London, November 8th.—I was not aware till I opened this book that two months had elapsed since I had written a line in it. I do not know that there has been anything worth writing about until now. My own itinerary has been according to my usual custom. Doncaster, where I went to Charles Wood's at Hickleton Hall; then Newmarket, all three meetings—London between 1st and 2nd—Livermere between 2nd and 3rd. At Newmarket I seldom hear or think of politics, but this time an incident occurred in which I took a part, and which was very near leading to serious consequences. About three weeks ago Kossuth¹ arrived in England, and was received at Southampton and Winchester with prodigious demonstrations and a great uproar on the part of Mayors and Corporations, the rabble and a sprinkling of Radicals, of whom the most conspicuous were Cobden and Dudley

¹ Louis Kossuth (1802–94), the Hungarian patriot; by profession a barrister; imprisoned for contravening the censorship of the press at Budapest, 1837–40; elected to the Hungarian Diet, 1847; Finance Minister in the Batthyani Ministry, March–September 1848; President of the Hungarian Defence Committee, September 1848; proclaimed the independence of Hungary, April 14th, 1849; in face of the Russian invasion withdrew into Turkey, where he was interned, 1849–51; liberated by English and American intervention; lived in exile the remainder of his life in America, at London and finally at Turin.

Stuart. While Kossuth was still at Southampton, but about to proceed to London, on Monday, November (October) 24th, I received a letter from my Brother Henry, informing me that he had just received a letter from Lady Cowper, saying that Palmerston was going to receive Kossuth, and he entreated me, if I had any influence with the Government, to try and prevent such an outrage, and that he believed if it was done Buoi would be recalled. I could not doubt that the information from such a quarter was correct, and it was confirmed by a notice in one of the pro-Kossuth papers, that Lord P. was going to receive Mr. K. 'privately and unofficially.' Thinking that it would be an outrage, and one in all probability attended with serious consequences, I resolved to write to John Russell at once. I sent him a copy of my brother's letter, only putting the names in blank, said that the authority on which this was notified to me compelled me to attend to it, and added, 'I send you this without comment; you will deal with it as you think fit, "liberavi animam meam."' I had sealed and directed my letter when on second thoughts I resolved to send it to the D. of Bedford open. I did so, desiring him to read it and either to forward it or make whatever use he thought best of the information it contained. I received an answer from him on Wednesday, saying he entirely agreed with me and that he had forthwith sent my letter on to his brother. On the Friday following he came to Newmarket, when he told me that he had not received any answer whatever from John, from which we both inferred that the thing was true, as he would probably (if he could have done so) have contradicted the report.

On Saturday I came to town. On the Tuesday following (Tuesday last) there was a chapter of the Garter at Windsor, which the Duke of Bedford attended. On Wednesday morning he came up from Windsor, when he called on me and told me the sequel of this affair. He had neither seen nor heard from John; but at Windsor, in the afternoon of Tuesday, he was sitting in his dressing room, when there was a knock at his door and the Prince came in. After a great deal of conversation upon various subjects, particularly about the new Reform Bill (on which H.R.H. seems to entertain very sound and moderate views), he said, just as he was going away, 'Lord Palmerston has been behaving infamously to your Brother.' But this was all he said

and the Duke did not ask for any explanation of his words. At dinner he was desired to go and place himself next to the Queen, and there H.M. gave him an account of what had passed. She of course did not know (at least so the D. supposed and I suppose) anything of my letter, but (as I can have no doubt) upon the receipt of it, J.R. wrote to Palmerston.¹ I do not know what he wrote, but evidently an enquiry and a remonstrance. To this letter Palmerston wrote the most insolent answer. The Queen said she could not recollect the whole of it but she recollected this much—‘I will not be dictated to, and shall receive whomsoever I please in my own house. If you are dissatisfied, my office is at your disposal and you may do with it what you please.’² On receiving this letter, John instantly summoned the Cabinet, and 13 of his colleagues came together on Monday last.³ He laid the matter before them; all *but one* sided with him (I don’t know who that one was), and the end was that Palmerston (as he has invariably done on all other occasions, when tackled and driven to submit or resign) knocked under, and agreed not to receive Kossuth.

The Queen told the Duke this story with strong expressions of indignation, and said that Lord John had never shown sufficient firmness and had been too lenient in dealing with Lord P. The matter thus patched up, and a rupture which would most likely have broken up the Government averted, all will go on as before. Palmerston will not care a straw and will not be deterred from doing whatever his fancy, caprice or impertinence may prompt him to do on the next occasion that presents itself. They are naturally very anxious to prevent this affair being known; as well they may, for they have all reason to be ashamed of tamely submitting to all Palmerston’s vagaries. The Duke told me yesterday he had heard from John (to whom he had imparted what the Queen said to him), who entreated him not to mention the matter to anybody, and said he had intended to tell him all about it when he saw him, but that he did not like to commit it to paper.

¹ He really wrote in consequence of a letter to him from the Queen herself, written on October 24th, begging him to prevent Lord Palmerston from receiving Kossuth (*Letters of Queen Victoria*).

² The actual words were: ‘There are limits to all things. I do not choose to be dictated to as to who I may or may not receive in my own house. . . . I shall use my own discretion. You will, of course, use yours as to the composition of your Government. October 30th, 1851, 6 p.m.’ (*Walpole’s Life of Lord John Russell*, vol. II. p. 133.)

³ November 3rd, 1851.

They are in great perplexity about this new measure of Reform, and how to concoct it. John, who hates details, and the collection and examination of statistics, chose to entrust the first consideration of it to a Cabinet Committee, consisting of Minto, Carlisle, and C. Wood. The first two are of course inefficient (strange men to appoint) and the whole business was in fact committed to Wood. He undertook to collect the necessary statistics, and he began by expressing an opinion that they should commence the work by *disfranchisement*, get rid of such small boroughs as still remained—a new Schedule A. This the D. of Bedford strongly combated. Since that C. Wood says the more he goes into the matter the more difficulty he finds. He is, however, to lay his statistics before John, and it will probably end in the latter concocting some scheme. There have been reports rife of dissensions in the Cabinet about Reform, which is quite untrue, as no discussion has yet taken place. I told J.d. Lansdowne that many people were alarmed at the prospect of a new Reform Bill, but still relied upon him, and considered his being in the Cabinet a guarantee that no strong measure would be proposed. He replied, ‘They may rely with entire confidence on me, for you may be sure that if any strong measure was to be contemplated by the Cabinet, I should immediately walk out of it.’

November 16th. I have been reading Senior’s Roman Journal, and he gives in it an account of a sermon he heard preached by a Capuchin Friar upon the subject of the real presence, which appears to me so good and entirely to the purpose that I am tempted to take a copy of it. He says:—‘After breakfast I went to the chiesa nuova and heard a sermon from a Capuchin. His pulpit was a platform with a chair, on which he sat at first, but as he warmed he rose and walked up and down. His action was free and noble, and his enunciation so good that I could follow every word. His subject was the real presence, which he had to defend (he said) not only against the blasphemy of infidels, not only against the errors of Protestants, who appear to believe so far as their belief is intelligible both in its existence and in its non-existence, who affirm that the sacred elements remain bread and wine and yet that the faithful really eat the body and drink the blood of Christ, but also against the doubts of Catholics. These doubts arise from their not perceiving that faith is rather a matter of feeling than

of reasoning, rather the business of the heart than of the intellect. If a person who had never heard of Christianity were required to believe on the authority of books written 1800 years ago that the Being who created the world came himself to live on it, passed his youth as the Son of a Carpenter, his manhood in hardships and wanderings, and at length died by the hands of men, no mere arguments would convince him. It is through the divine grace working in our hearts that we believe, and it is to the divine grace, not to human writings or to human conversation, that we ought to have recourse when we are tormented by doubts. Pray earnestly for faith, and by your conduct deserve to obtain faith, and your prayers will be answered. You will find that you believe, though you may not be able to explain the grounds of your belief to a captious enquirer; nor is it necessary that you should do so. The Holy Church is commissioned by God to tell you what to believe. It is your duty to obey her, as it is the duty of a child to obey its parents, of a soldier to obey his general, without asking the motives of her commands. This was Christ's meaning when he declared that whosoever shall not receive the Kingdom of God as a little child shall in no wise enter therein. Pray to God, I repeat to you, to enable you to believe all that the Church teaches, and He will listen to your prayer.'—

At Windsor for a Council on Friday. There I saw Palmerston and John mightily merry and cordial, talking and laughing together. Those breezes leave nothing behind, particularly with Palmerston, who never loses his temper, and treats everything with gaiety and levity. The Queen is vastly displeased with the Kossuth demonstrations, especially at seeing him received at Manchester with as much enthusiasm as attended her own visit to that place.¹ The numbers and the noise that have hailed Kossuth have certainly been curious, but not one individual of station or consideration has gone near him, which cannot fail to mortify him deeply. Delane is just come from Vienna, where he had a long interview with Schwarzenberg, who treated (or at least affected to do so) the Kossuth reception with contempt and indifference.

Saturday, November 22nd.—At Bocket on Tuesday and Wednesday last. I found Beauvale knew all about the Palmerston and Kossuth

¹ In the autumn of this year.

affair, and was of course mightily pleased at his Brother-in-law's defeat, and at the interview not having taken place. But on Wednesday afternoon we were both of us astounded at reading in the paper the account of the deputation to Palmerston, the addresses and his answers.¹ We both agreed that he had only reculé pour mieux sauter, and that what he had now done was a great deal worse and more offensive than if he had received Kossuth. The breach of faith and the defiance towards John Russell and his colleagues are flagrant, and the whole affair astonishing even in him who has done such things that nothing ought to astonish one. I am waiting with the greatest curiosity to see what John Russell will do, and how he will take it, and how it will be taken by the Queen and the Foreign Courts and Ministers. To receive an address in which the Emperors of Russia and Austria are called Despots, Tyrants, and odious assassins, and to express great gratification at it, is an unparalleled outrage, and when to this is added a speech breathing Radical sentiments and interference, it is difficult to believe that the whole thing can pass off without notice. But I have seen such repeated instances of lukewarmness and pusillanimous submission to Palmerston that I have little or no expectation of John or his colleagues taking it up seriously; and if they do stir in the matter Palmerston, with his usual mixture of effrontery, falsehood and adroitness, will contrive to pacify them, get rid of the whole thing, and then go on as before. I think, however, this is on the whole the worst thing he has ever done. The public do not know how bad it is, because they do not know what had previously passed, of the Cabinet, and its consequences. In the great squabbles on the Syrian question, and again on the Greek, he had a great advantage because they were all committed with him and could not consistently go against him, but this is a very different affair in all its bearings. The ostentatious bidding for Radical favour and the flattery of the democracy, of which his speeches were full, are disgusting in themselves and full of danger. It is evident that he has seized the opportunity of the Kossuth demonstrations to associate himself with them, and convert the popular excitement into political capital for himself. He

¹ On November 18th a deputation from Finsbury and Islington waited upon Lord Palmerston to congratulate him on the liberation of Kossuth. Lord Palmerston took the opportunity of expressing his strong sympathy and that of the British nation with the Hungarian cause. —R.

thinks to make himself too formidable, by having the masses at his back, for his Colleagues to dare to quarrel with him, and by this audacious defiance of them he intends to make himself once for all Master of the situation. If they endure this tamely He will be their Master, and henceforward they must do his bidding, be it what it may.

Kossuth is at last gone, but promising to return in a few weeks, and openly announcing that he does so for the purpose of stirring up war against Austria, and a great democratic movement for the liberation of Hungary and all other countries under absolute Governments, in which he expects England to take a conspicuous part; and his last injunction and entreaty to his friends is to agitate for this purpose. His last speech is by far the most open and significant that he has delivered, and exhibits his confidence (well or ill founded) in the progress he has made. That he is very able, and especially a great Speaker, cannot be denied; but I take it that a more hypocritical, unscrupulous, mischievous Adventurer never existed. His speeches here have been very clever, but I derive a higher idea of his oratorical power from a speech, reported in the 'Times' on Wednesday last, which he made in the Hungarian Diet upon the question of employing Hungarian Troops in Italy, which was admirable, and reminded me of Plunket in lucidity and closeness of reasoning. The 'Examiner' criticises this speech and says it is obscure. I don't think so; but the rest of its criticism is not unjust. Still, *for Kossuth's purpose*, it was an able speech.

November 24th.—Yesterday morning Disraeli called on me to speak to me about his work, 'The Life of George Bentinck,' which he has written and is just going to bring out. I read him a part of my sketch of his character. I found that he meant to confine it to his political career of the last three years of his existence, and to keep clear of racing and all his antecedent life. He seems to have formed a very just conception of him, having, however, seen the best of him, and therefore taking a more favorable view of his character than I (who knew him longer and better) could do. I asked him, supposing G.B. had lived, what he thought he would have done, and how he would have succeeded as a Minister and Leader of a Government in the H. of C. if his party had come in. He said he would have failed. There was besides the defects of his education, a want of flexibility in his

character. In his speaking there were physical defects he never could have got over, and as it had been proved that he could not lead an Opposition, still less would he have been able to lead a Government. He said, what is very true, that he had not a particle of conceit; he was very obstinate, but had no vanity. D. thinks Henry Bentinck very clever too. He told me his book was to contain a character of Peel which had never been described. I asked him if he would like to see what I had written about him. Very much, he said; so I gave it to him.

I find there are not two opinions about Palmerston's conduct, and those who think so are ignorant how bad it is, because they know nothing of what passed between John and him. I have had two long letters from Graham all about Palmerston and the new Reform Bill. With regard to the latter he is full of gloomy apprehensions, and seems in a state of contradiction with himself, desperately afraid lest John Russell should go too far, and equally afraid he should not go far enough. With all his ability he is a most strange and inconsistent politician. It is impossible to know what he will do, and I suspect he does not know himself. He writes to me one day full of alarm lest the Queen's Speech should contain anything binding the Government to go considerable lengths, and expressing strong hopes that the Court will resist any proposal of the sort. The next day he says, unless they disfranchise I know not how many boroughs, they will give no satisfaction, be deserted by the Radicals, and he is not at all sure that the Conservatives will support them; in short, his fears assume the most different shapes, and it is pretty clear that whatever the Government proposes he will find fault with their plan.

December 2nd, Tuesday.—I was at the Grange last week from Wednesday to Saturday. There I met Walewski,¹ who talked to me a great deal about Palmerston, whose character he seems to understand pretty well. He said that nothing could be more *aimable* than he was to him personally, or more civil and obliging in their intercourse, but from the experience he had already had of him he was convinced that, if France got over her present difficulties and acquired a settled and permanent Government, so as to be able to attend to Foreign affairs, in which her domestic troubles now prevented her from exercising any

¹ Count Walewski was accredited Ambassador to England, July 7th, 1851.

influence, six months would not elapse without a quarrel of some sort taking place between the two Governments. He then spoke of his interference, his procédés, and his invincible obstinacy, which made it impossible to make any impression on him, and he told me of two recent cases, one regarding Greece, the other Sicily.

It seems that many months ago Wyse wrote an account to Palmerston of the frightful brigandage that was going on in Greece, not, however, pretending that there was any complaint to make on the part of British subjects. On this Palmerston wrote a despatch in his usual style of insolent objurgation, bitterly reproaching the Greek Government for not putting the brigandage down. The Greek Government, angry and frightened, appealed to the French and the Russian, from whom of course they received sympathy and comfort, and recently the Greek Minister has sent 'a very strong' answer. This fresh squabble is probably by no means distasteful to either the French or Russian Governments, particularly the latter, and will have the effect of throwing Greece into the arms of the Emperor. I do not know what the political effect of such dependence may be, nor how British interests may be affected by it, but this result is almost inevitable, and, whatever the consequences may be, is owing to Palmerston's violence.

The case of Sicily is eminently characteristic. During the troubles in '48 a destruction occurred of the property of English and other foreigners, both at Naples and in Sicily, for which their respective Governments required an indemnification. A Commission was appointed, consisting of the French, Austrian, and English Ministers, and I think the Russian. All the claims were laboriously investigated, and after above a year of enquiry, the Commissioners came to a decision, and allotted the amount of compensation they thought due, which was to be paid in inscriptions (stock) in the Grand Livre or Neapolitan funds. This award was regularly drawn up and signed by Temple. It was sent home, when, after some delay, Palmerston sent it back and said the money was not enough, and he arbitrarily fixed a higher sum to be given to the English. Of this the Neapolitan Government bitterly complained, and the other Commissioners considered it unwarrantable and unfair. After a great deal of remonstrance and discussion, Palmerston proving inexorable, the

Neapolitans gave way. They then considered the affair settled; but not at all. P. then sent it back again, and said the allotted sum should not be paid in stock, but in money. Walewski told me this as I have written it down. In the course of the dispute he arrived here, and very soon had to discuss the matter with Palmerston. He represented to him that the English claims had already been treated with peculiar favor and a very large indemnity granted, that Temple was quite satisfied, and has subscribed to the award, and he pointed out the injustice of fresh demands being superadded from hence. He had a conversation of two hours with P., who listened with great politeness, appeared struck by W.'s representations, and ended by saying, 'Well, I will write to Temple about it.' W. went away, fancying he had produced a great effect, and that P. was going to write to Temple to relax the rigour of his exactions; but he did not then know his man, and was only undeceived when he found afterwards that he had written to Temple, but only to desire him to press his demands, and exact a concession to them to the uttermost farthing.

(March 12th, 1863. <C. C. G.>)

<End of Vol. 1 of Additional MS. 41119.>

December 2nd.—The Palmerston affair is the old story over again. A day or two after it happened, Brunnow arrived. He went immediately to Carlton Terrace, and his amicable relations with P. were never interrupted. Whether he ignored the whole thing or accepted P.'s excuses, I know not, but certainly *He* has made no stir. John Russell wrote to his brother in these terms:—'P. had better not have received the addresses in the public way he did, but I don't see that he approved of the language they made use of. On the contrary, he repudiated it.'—no more; showing clearly that (as on former occasions) he had knocked under. I find, however, that he has had a correspondence with P. on the matter, but I do not as yet know what passed. It is clear that P. himself was alarmed at the lengths he went by his making the 'Morning Post' and 'Globe' deny the accuracy of the statement which appeared in all the papers. This was very humiliating and rather base, for it took nobody in except those who thought it their interest to be deceived by it. And what makes the contradiction the more ridiculous is that the 'Morning Post' got its intelligence from the same reporter who made the communication

to the 'Times,' and the identical report, only the 'Times' inserted it as it was and the 'Post' garbled it according to order. The addresses were sent to the F.O. before they were presented, and if P. did not read them he might have done so. But the termination of this affair is just what might have been expected. Palmerston has shocked and disgusted everybody but remains as before, with the triumph (such as it is) of having with complete impunity outraged all good feelings and every sense of decency and propriety and acted a part, which is not only impolitic and unbecoming, but ungentlemanlike and vulgar.

December 3rd.—At twelve o'clock yesterday morning the wonderful Electric telegraph¹ brought us word that two hours before the President had accomplished his Coup d'État at Paris with success.² Everybody expected it would happen, nobody that it would happen so soon. Madame de Lieven wrote to Beauvale on Sunday, giving him an account of the efforts that were making by the Moderates, Guizot at the head of them, to bring about a reconciliation and compromise with the President and auguring success. She says, 'Beaucoup de personnes prétendent que, tout en ayant l'air de s'y prêter, le Président n'a pas grande envie de ce moyen; un coup d'état le ferait mieux arriver: il s'y est tout préparé, la troupe est à lui, le pays aussi.' She little thought that in twenty-four hours the coup d'état allait éclater, and that all was in preparation for it, while he was amusing the 'Bourgeois and Moderates' with negotiations and pourparlers, in which he was never serious.

Panshanger, <December> 14th.—Naturally the French Revolution has absorbed all interest. The success of L. N.'s coup d'état has been complete, and his audacity and unscrupulousness marvellous. The French are indeed a strange people, so restless, fierce, and excitable that they are ready to upset Governments with the smallest possible show of reason or necessity—with cause as in 1830, or without cause as in

¹ Morse opened the first public telegraph line, between Washington and Baltimore in the United States, in 1839. On October 13th, 1851, the submarine telegraph cable between England and France began working.

² At 6.15 a.m. on December 2nd, 1851, the leading members of the Opposition in the French Assembly were arrested in their beds. At 7 a.m. the Assembly was proclaimed dissolved by Louis Napoleon and the Assembly building occupied by troops; and before nightfall, over 250 députés were in prison. The *coup d'état* was endorsed by the French nation on December 21st by an overwhelming majority.

1848—and they acquiesce without a struggle, and tamely endure the impudent and vulgar democratic rule of the blackguards and mountebanks of the Provisional Government at the latter period, and now the unlimited and severe military despotism of Louis Napoleon. The Press in this country has generally inveighed with great indignation against him, and the 'Times' particularly, very much overdoing the case. Society in general is in a rather neutral state. Few can approve of his very violent measures and arbitrary acts, but on the other hand there was such a general feeling of contempt for the Constitution, and of disgust at the conduct of the Assembly and the parties which divided it, that nobody lamented their overthrow, or regarded with the slightest interest or compassion the leaders who have been so brutally and ignominiously treated. Everybody rejoices at the misfortunes of Thiers, who is universally regarded as the evil genius of France and the greatest maker of mischief who ever played a part on the stage of politics. Flahault, who has been the Agent and confidant of the President, writes word that He has saved France, and it is the object of his adherents to make the world believe that his measures were rendered necessary by a Socialist plot, which he has saved the country by putting down; and besides this we hear of an Orleanist plot, and of the violence the Assembly was about to have recourse to against him, if he had not anticipated them. These seem to be, and probably are, mere pretences, got up to cover his violence with something plausible, and which the world may swallow; the truth being that He prepared all that he has done with singular boldness, secrecy, adroitness, and success, amusing his enemies with the semblance of negotiations which he never meant seriously to carry out to an end, and relying (as it has turned out that he could do) upon the Army, by whose aid he has taken all power into his own hands. Having done so, he resolved to do nothing by halves, and certainly by the prompt, peremptory, and arbitrary measures he adopted he has secured present success, given confidence as to the stability of his Government, raised his own reputation for energy and ability, and in all probability has prevented a great amount of disorder and bloodshed, which would have taken place if his success had been less complete than it was.

December 19th.—Disraeli sent me his book, which, though principally recording very dry Parliamentary debates, he has managed to

make very readable.¹ He does ample justice to his Hero, but I think without exaggeration; and he certainly makes him out to have been a very remarkable man, with great ability and a superhuman power of work. It is the more extraordinary because for above forty years he was indolent, and addicted to none but frivolous pursuits, though he always pursued his pleasurable occupations in a business-like and laborious manner. The character of Peel in this book is curious, but I do not think it is unfair, and it is in a becoming spirit of seriousness and even respect, fully acknowledging his great qualities, but freely criticising his character and his career. The Jewish episode is amusing, and I like it for its courage.

Something, but I know not what, has happened about Palmerston. There will be no quarrel with Austria, because Buol² has dined with P., and the Emperor has (at last) received Westmorland; but the D. of Bedford, who is by turns confidential and mysterious, and who delights in raising my curiosity and then not satisfying it, has written to me thus. After a good deal about John's defending P. and his not approving (in one strain one day and another the next), he said there had been a correspondence between them on the subject, which he was to see. He never said more about it, and to a question I put to him thereon he sent no answer. In another letter I alluded to this, but added that it did not now much signify, on which he writes: 'You attach no importance to the correspondence I told you of, and do not now care to know about it, but if I am not mistaken you will ere long change your opinion.'

December 22nd.—A Cabinet has been suddenly called to-day, which is about the matter the Duke alluded to—foreign matters.

I met Disraeli and told him what I thought of his book. It is difficult to know what he is at, for, although he knows my opinion of G.B. and of Peel and of Free Trade, he nevertheless wanted me to review his book in the 'Times,' and through Delane he made a sort of indirect overture to me for the purpose. Of course I said it was out of the question. Graham is very indignant with Dizzy, and treats his character of Peel as a great and malignant outrage. In my opinion he

¹ *Lord George Bentinck: A Political Biography*, was published in December 1851, though the first edition bears the date 1852 on its title-page.

² Count Karl von Buol (1797-1865); Austrian Ambassador to Russia, 1848-50; Ambassador at London, 1851-2; Austrian Foreign Minister, 1852-9.

is quite wrong. I sent him my own sketch, which he says is in a more kindly spirit; but he is evidently not satisfied with it. He tells me one curious anecdote, if it be true. I have criticised Peel's conduct about the East Retford franchise just before the Reform Bill, and said he ought to have gone with Huskisson, etc. Graham says that he wished to do more than Huskisson; that Peel in the Cabinet supported the more Liberal measure, but was overruled, and he yielded to the opinion of the majority, whereas Huskisson took the other side in the Cabinet, but got frightened afterwards, and supported in the H. of C. what he had opposed in the Cabinet. If this be true, it was very disgraceful of H., but it does not exonerate Peel. On the contrary, I think it makes his case worse. He clearly ought to have resigned rather than take the course he did, if such were his opinions.

On Friday last Luttrell died, at the age of eighty-one, having been long ill and confined to his bed with great suffering. When I first came into the world, nearly forty years ago, he was one of the most brilliant members of society, celebrated for his wit and repartee, and for a great many years we lived in great intimacy and in the same society. He was the natural Son of Old Lord Carhampton,¹ but was always on bad terms with his Father ([the celebrated] Colonel Luttrell, the opponent of Wilkes). He was a member of the Irish Parliament, and obtained a place (afterwards commuted for a pension), on the emoluments of which he lived. He never took any part in public life, was always in narrow circumstances, and had the air, and I think the feeling, of a disappointed man. He was, in fact, conscious of powers which ought to have raised him to a higher place than that which he occupied in the world. Why he never did advance, whether it was from pride and shyness, or from disinclination, or the unkind neglect of those who might have helped him on, I know not. As it was, he never had any but a social position, but that was one of great eminence and success. He was looked upon as one of the most accomplished, agreeable, and entertaining men of his day; he lived in the very best society, was one of the cherished and favored habitués of Holland House, and the intimate friend and associate of Sydney Smith, Rogers, Lord Dudley, and all the men most distinguished in

¹ Henry Lawes Luttrell (1743-1821), second Earl of Carhampton; Tory M.P. for Middlesex, 1769-74; had no legitimate children.

politics, literature, or social eminence. Rogers and Luttrell especially were always bracketed together, intimate friends, seldom apart, and always hating, abusing, and ridiculing each other. Luttrell's bon mots and repartees were excellent, but he was less caustic, more good-natured, but in some respects less striking in conversation, than his companion, who had more knowledge, more imagination, and, though in a different way, as much wit. His literary performances were few and far between consisting of little more than occasional verses, and 'Crockford House,' an amusing but rather flimsy satire. His contribution to the pleasure of society was in talk, and he was too idle and too much of a Sybarite to devote himself to any grave and laborious pursuit. There are, however, so many more good writers than good talkers, and the two qualities are so rarely found united in the same person, that we owe a debt of gratitude to Luttrell for having cultivated his conversational rather than his literary powers, and for having adorned and delighted society for so many years with his remarkable vivacity and wit. It used to be said that he was less amusing, though in the same style, as his Father; but of this I cannot judge, as I do not remember Lord Carhampton. Luttrell had excellent qualities, was an honorable, high-minded gentleman, true and sincere, grateful for kindness and attentions without being punctilious or exacting, full of good feelings and warm affections, a man of excellent sense, a philosopher in all things, and especially in religion. For several years past he had disappeared from the world, and lived in great retirement, suffering under much bad health and bodily pain, but cheerful and in possession of his faculties nearly to the last. His death has removed one of the last survivors of a brilliant generation, a conspicuous member of such a society as the world has rarely seen, nothing approaching to which exists at present, and such as perhaps it will never see again.

December 23rd.—Palmerston is out!—actually, really, and irretrievably out. I nearly dropt off my chair yesterday afternoon, when at five o'clock, a few moments after the Cabinet had broken up, Granville rushed into my room and said, 'It is none of the things we talked over; Pam is out, the offer of the F. Office goes to Clarendon to-night, and if he refuses (which of course he will not) it is to be offered to me!!' Well might the Duke of Bedford say I should 'change

my opinion,' and soon think this correspondence did signify, for it was on the matter which led to the fall of Palmerston. Granville came to town on Saturday, not knowing (as none of the Ministers did) what the Cabinet was about. On Sunday he received a note from J. Russell, begging him not to come to it, and telling him he would afterwards inform him why. This of course surprised him, but after going about amongst such of his colleagues as were here, he arrived at the conclusion that the matter related to foreign affairs, that Normanby was to be recalled, and the Paris Embassy offered to him, or that he was to be sent to Paris on a special mission. We discussed these contingencies together with all others (changes of office) which occurred to us, but we neither of us dreamt of the truth. It now appears that the cause of Palmerston's dismissal (for dismissed he is) is his having committed the Government to a full and unqualified approval of N.'s coup d'état, which he did *in conversation* with Walewski, but so formally and officially, that Walewski wrote word to his own Government that ours approved entirely of all that L.N. had done. Upon this piece of indiscretion, to which it is probable that P. attached no importance, being so used to act off his own bat, and never dreamt of any danger from it, Johnny determined to act. I do not know the details of the correspondence, only that He signified to Palmerston his displeasure at his having thus committed the Government to an approbation he did not feel, and it ended in his turning Palmerston out, for this was in fact what he did. But though this was the pretext, the *causa causans* was without any doubt the Islington speech and deputations, and his whole conduct in that affair. The Queen had deeply resented it, and had had a quarrel with John about it, for he rather defended Palmerston, and accepted his excuses and denials. It is evident that he did this, because he did not dare to quarrel with him on grounds which would have enabled him to cast himself on the Radicals, to appeal to all the Kossuthian sympathies of the country, and to represent himself as the victim of our disgraceful subserviency to Austria. But having thus passed over what would have been a sufficient cause of quarrel, he at once seized upon one much less sufficient, but which was not liable to the same difficulties and objections. In fully approving L.N.'s coup d'état, P. has taken a part against the feelings of the Radicals, and if the cause of the quarrel is made

public, their approval will ad hoc be rather with John R. than with him.

December 24th.—To my unspeakable astonishment Granville informed me yesterday that Clarendon had refused the Foreign Office, and that he had accepted it. John must have given notice to Clarendon the day before the Cabinet that he was going to propose him, or they could not have heard yesterday. Clarendon declined, and advised John to offer it to Granville, which he instantly did, and the thing was settled at once. I have not yet heard from C., and am curious to know his motives for refusing an appointment which I should have thought would be not only peculiarly agreeable to him, but which would have enabled him to quit Ireland in so honorable a manner. In no other way could he have left his present post, just after the recent trial of *Birch v. Somerville*, and this trial with its disclosures must render it particularly irksome to him to stay there.¹ Granville, albeit conscious of the greatness of the weight, accepted the office without a moment's hesitation.

Brocket, Christmas Day.—I received a letter from Clarendon yesterday afternoon with his reasons for declining. They are very poor ones, and amount to little more than his being afraid of Palmerston, first of his suspecting it was an intrigue to get rid of him, and secondly, of the difficulties Pam would throw in his way at the F.O. He had advised John to take Granville, but he said if it was absolutely necessary, he would accept. I can't help thinking he will be mortified at his refusal and his advice being so immediately taken. His conduct has been to my mind very pusillanimous and unworthy of him.

Beauvale has had a long letter from Lady Palmerston with her version of the whole affair, which is true in the main, but as favorably coloured towards Pam as the case will admit of. She is in a high state of indignation and resentment, and bitter against John and the colleagues who did not support P. They evidently expected when the Cabinet met the other day that the Colleagues would have pronounced John's ground of quarrel insufficient, and protested against his dis-

¹ In the *Birch v. Somerville* case heard in the Court of Queen's Bench, Dublin, on December 5th, 1851, James Birch, editor of the *World* newspaper, claimed £6500 from the Chief Secretary for Ireland as a subsidy for his support of the Government from 1848 to 1851. Lord Clarendon admitted in court that he had paid the man £3700 out of his own pocket for services rendered. The jury found for the defendant.

missal, and they are extremely mortified that nothing of the kind was done. She complained that Pam's best friends were absent. Not one person at the Cabinet said a word for him or made an effort to keep him, but this she does not know. Her account is as follows. On December 3rd Palmerston told Walewski *in conversation* that he thought the President was fully justified in his coup d'état, *as plots were hatching* against him. *He says* that he expressed his approbation in this conditional form. Walewski wrote to Turgot¹ what Palmerston had said, and at the same time P. wrote a very strong letter to Normanby, finding fault with his conduct, and advising him to hold language calculated to satisfy the President that he was not unfriendly to him, as he had reason to believe that the President did regard him as so inimical, that he was meditating an application to the British Government to recall him. (Whatever P. really did say to Walewski, we may safely assume that W. made the most of it to Turgot, and that he did convey to him the unqualified approbation of the English Government, and Turgot probably communicated Walewski's despatch to Normanby.) Normanby was exceedingly annoyed at this communication, and wrote to John Russell, conveying to him what had passed, and complaining of the ill-usage he had received. (John upon this must have gone to the Queen, and settled with her what was to be done.²) John shortly after wrote to Palmerston, sent him a Minute of the Queen's, in which H.M. expressed her displeasure at Palmerston's having committed her Government by an unqualified approbation of the President's measures, and he added from himself that he agreed with her, and thought Palmerston had acted with great indiscretion, that he was tired of these repeated difficulties and disputes, and he had to inform him that it was the wish of the Queen to transfer the Foreign Office to other hands. Palmerston wrote a reply, stating his readiness to give up the seals whenever his successor should be appointed. He defended his own conduct, denied that he had committed the Government, and said he had only expressed his own individual opinion, and that a qualified one, and then set forth the inconvenience there would be if a Minister could not hold friendly

¹ Louis Félix, Marquis de Turgot (1796-1866); French Foreign Minister, December 2nd, 1851; July, 1852; Ambassador to Spain, 1853.

² In reality it appears to have been the Queen who first drew Lord John's attention to Lord Palmerston's action, in her letter of December 13th (*Letters of Queen Victoria*).

communication with an Ambassador in his own person, without being supposed to commit the whole Cabinet, in mere conversation.¹ It did not appear to me that the excuses he made, according to her <Lady Palmerston's> own account of them, were very good ones, and they were not likely to produce any effect upon John, who had evidently already determined to get rid of him. What more passed I do not know, but from her letter they clearly entertained some hopes that Palmerston's position was still retrievable; that when the Cabinet met, his colleagues would make an effort to retain him; and that in spite of what John had written to him he would have kept his post if he could. It seems incredible that any man of high spirit and with a spark of pride should consent to stay in office after being told by the Prime Minister that he had been indiscreet, that the P.M. was tired of his repeated misconduct, and that the Q. wished to get rid of him. But it seems by what Lady P. says, that he would have swallowed all this if he could have made it up. She writes in a spirit of great bitterness and resentment, hints at conspiracies, and intimates her belief that the ground taken by John was merely a pretext, and not the real cause of what had been done. In this She is quite right. The case is cumulative, and the Islington deputations is the *causa causans*, though the Paris communication is made the pretext of John's coup d'état. Beauvale thinks the last and ostensible cause is insufficient, and that John would have done better to act at once on the matter of the deputations. I am inclined to think it is sufficient, though far less strong than the other, and it would have been more straitforward as well as bold to have acted on the first, and I believe it would have been quite as safe. Labouchere (a very honorable man) told me, when all was known, he thought John's conduct would come out in a very favorable light. So probably there are circumstances which Lady P. suppresses, which would not improve P.'s case. The most striking circumstance in all this affair is the conduct of John Russell. He took it up, and without imparting what he was about to any one of his colleagues, leaving them all completely in the dark, He and the Queen settled the whole thing between them. For nearly three weeks a correspondence was going on between the Q., J., and P., of which not one word transpired, and which was known to nobody but the D.

¹ The letters are printed in full in Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. 1. ch. vii.

of Bedford. None of the Ministers had the least idea why they were summoned. Lords Grey and Lansdowne and Sir F. Baring all came up together from the Grange, asking each what it was about; nor was it till they were all assembled in the Cabinet room in Downing Street that they were apprised of the astounding fact that Palmerston had ceased to be their colleague. The secret was as well kept as Louis Napoleon's, and the coup d'état nearly as important and extraordinary.

⟨December⟩ 27th.—Council at Windsor. Palmerston did not come, but desired Stanley ⟨Lord Eddisbury⟩ to send the seals to Ld. John. Nevertheless he was expected, and the Queen would wait for him above an hour. It now turns out that the F.O. was not offered to Clarendon at all. In his letter to me he says, it cannot be said that I refused what was never offered me. John wrote him word on Sunday¹ that it would be offered him; but the offer, which Granville told me on Monday afternoon was gone, never did go.² All along the Q. and J. wished to have G⟨ranville⟩ instead of C⟨larendon⟩. He tells me when I know all that has passed between J.R. and himself, I shall see he could not possibly accept it. Ld. Lansdowne was evidently put out by what he heard yesterday. He said to me, 'You know it was offered to Clarendon.' I said, 'He does not so consider it.' 'Oh! it certainly was. It was clearly so understood in the Cabinet, when I left it on Monday, and I wrote to him myself.' I said he had better enquire, and he would find no offer was sent. He then talked to J.R. and Grey, and I asked him afterwards, when he shrugged his shoulders and said I was right; but he did not understand it.³ The truth is oozing out by degrees. Grey and I had some talk about it, when I told him that I thought the former ground ⟨the deputations⟩ the stronger of the two, and I should have turned him out then, and he said he agreed with me. Madame de Lieven writes in transports of joy, and on the whole the satisfaction seems very general. Granville is very popular at Manchester and with the Free Traders, which is a great thing; and

¹ In reality, Saturday (December 20th).

² The correspondence between Lord John and Lord Clarendon (which entirely bears out Greville's account of what passed) is printed in *Life and Letters of Lord Clarendon*, vol. 1. pp. 334-9.

³ The explanation is that Lord John, after consulting the Queen and Prince Albert, did not immediately communicate the decision of the Cabinet of the 22nd to Lord Clarendon. In reply to Lord John's letter of the 20th, in which he suggested that Lord Clarendon might succeed Palmerston, the latter stated that he did not wish for the Foreign Office.

as he is more of a Reformer than Palmerston, he will not be attacked in that quarter. Brooks's and the ultra Whigs and Radicals are sulky, but don't quite know what to make of it. It seems John struck the blow at last with great reluctance; but having made up his mind, he did it boldly.

Bunsen told Reeve a version of the story, which he got from Stockmar, and which came direct from the Court. Normanby wrote home for instructions. At a Cabinet (on the 8th) it was determined that he should be instructed to abstain from expressing any opinion, but to act with perfect civility and every expression of international amity towards the President, but with reserve. John went down to Osborne on the 9th, and informed the Q. of the resolution of the Cabinet. If, as Ly. P. says, the conversation with Walewski had taken place before, he did not tell the Cabinet what he had said to him; but, be this as it may, they say he did not act in the spirit of the Cabinet resolution, but in that of his own communication, which was very different. I expect that it will not be easy to make a good case out of this, especially as the Queen's name must not be brought in. Pam, who is so adroit and unscrupulous, will deny half that he said, and find plausible excuses for the other half, and will probably make it appear that the ostensible *casus querelæ* was not the real one. However, in matters of this sort, John is tolerably dexterous too, and he may have better materials than I am aware of to employ.

Flahault arrived last night, and came here this morning to talk to Granville. He said that Palmerston's dismissal and the cause of it, as hinted at in the newspapers, had produced a disagreeable impression at the Elysée, especially after all the violence of the press. He said he had told the President that what he had done could not fail to shock English feelings and prejudices, and the Press was sure to hold such language. He received from Granville assurances as pacific as he could desire, and he will probably have little difficulty in satisfying the President and his Government that they will lose nothing by the change. I have seen to-day an admirable letter of Guizot's, full of a melancholy and dignified resignation to a state of things he abhors, commiserating and ashamed of the condition of his country. He says if he was disposed to triumph over his enemies *il a bien de quoi*. Where, he asks, is Thiers, where is the Republic, where is Palmer-

ston? France is now so frightened at Socialism, and so bent on averting the peril of anarchy, that she will submit to anything. But this panic will one day pass away, and Government cannot be carried on for ever by Soldiers and Peasants, and in spite of all the intellect and all the elevated classes in the country.

Sunday. --Yesterday Granville was with Palmerston for three hours. He received him with the greatest cordiality and good humour. 'Ah, how are you, Granville? Well, you have got a very interesting office, but you will find it very laborious; seven or eight hours' work every day will be necessary for the current business, besides the extraordinary and Parliamentary, and with less than that you will fall into arrears.' He then entered into a complete history of our diplomacy, gave him every sort of information, and even advice; spoke of the Court without bitterness, and in strong terms of the Queen's 'sagacity'; ended by desiring G. would apply to him when he pleased for any information or assistance he could give him. This is very creditable, and (whatever may come after it) very wise, gentleman-like, becoming, and dignified.¹ Meanwhile his family are furious and open-mouthed. Ly. P. says She can neither eat nor sleep, and they raise already the cry of 'foreign influence.' Nobody can yet make out what the real cause of it all is.

¹ When G. came out of Pam's room and went into the dining room to get his hat, he found Peter Borthwick waiting; and the next day there was a bitter and malignant article in the *Morning Post* very characteristic! G.

Peter Borthwick (1804-52); M.P. for Evesham, 1835-47; Editor of the *Morning Post*, 1850-2.

January 2nd, 1852.—Though I have given the story of the late rupture in scraps, and have not made many mistakes, I can now state the case in a more clear and connected manner, and though this entails repetition I am going to do it. It is best to go back to the first Kossuth affair. I need only say as to this, that when John brought it before the Cabinet he was supported against P. by every member of it except one, and that was Lord Lansdowne. It is clear enough why he took P.'s part. He had already committed himself by receiving Pulszky¹ at Bowood, two years ago. This made some noise at the time, but it passed off. But he no doubt thought it would be inconsistent to find fault with P. for doing what he had already done with regard to a refugee less celebrated, but not less obnoxious than Kossuth. Then came the Islington deputations and the speeches. Upon this, though very indignant, more than I was aware of, John did not think it safe and therefore expedient to quarrel with him, but he had a correspondence with him, in which he expressed his opinion; and at the end of it he (in the language of the D. of B.) 'drew a moral, which P. accepted, as the rule for his future conduct.' That is, he gave him to understand that if he continued his separate and independent action without the knowledge, and often against the opinions, of his colleagues, it was impossible to go on. I do not know the words he employed, but am confident this was the sense. Palmerston acquiesced in his reply, and said what John considered to be tantamount to a promise or engagement that the like should not happen again. It was about a week after, on 3rd December, that Walewski went to P. and asked for an expression of his opinion upon the President's coup d'état.² P. gave his unqualified approbation, which, of course, W. instantly wrote off to Turgot. Very soon after, if not before, Normanby wrote home for instructions as to his conduct in the new state

¹ Francis Pulszky (1814–97); elected to the Hungarian Diet, 1839; appointed Foreign Minister by Batthyani, 1848; sent to England to rouse foreign sympathy with the revolutionaries, 1849; lived in exile, 1849–66; took part in Garibaldi's expedition to Calabria, 1862; Director of the National Museum at Budapest, 1869.

² Flahault told me this, and that Walewski ought not to have asked any opinion of P.—G.

of things. The Cabinet met on the 8th, and there it was agreed that he should be instructed to adopt a friendly but reserved tone, and abstain from any expression of opinion one way or another on the acts of the President. On receipt of this he went to Turgot, and when he spoke to him in the prescribed tone the French Minister said he was already acquainted with the sentiments of the British Government, and he produced Walewski's despatch informing him of Ld. Palmerston's unqualified approval of all that had been done. Of course Normanby was thunderstruck at this communication, which revealed a complete difference between Palmerston's assurance to Walewski and his instructions to him. Indignant at this, and smarting under Palmerston's rebukes, he wrote to John Russell and told him what had occurred. When the Queen learned what had passed, She was furious, and resolved to insist upon John's taking this occasion to get rid of him; but Stockmar very wisely advised her to do nothing, and told her, that the case was so flagrant, John was almost sure to propose it to her, which was much better than her proposing it to him.¹ She took this advice, and accordingly John did come to her, and said this could not be endured, was besides a breach of faith, and he himself proposed to the Q. that he should be dismissed from the F.O. About the same time, too (on the 12th), the Notes of the three Powers about the refugees had been presented to Palmerston, and he had never said a word about them. Then ensued the second correspondence, in which there seems to have been great asperity on both sides. Probably Palmerston never dreamt of any danger from his conversation with Walewski, and his surprise was, therefore, as great as his indignation. He defended himself, as I have already stated, and he refused somewhat scornfully the Lord-Lieutenancy. He said that J. R. knew very well there were reasons why he could not accept it, and he endeavoured to turn the offer itself against John, by saying that it was in itself a sufficient answer to his charge of indiscretion.

January 8th.—Graham came to me last night (laid up with the gout) at a quarter past nine, and went away at twenty minutes after one. In the course of these four hours we discussed every subject of interest that now engages attention and (as may be imagined) pretty

¹ The Queen did write to Lord John (see note on p. 318), but (no doubt owing to Stockmar's advice) did not suggest the removal of Lord Palmerston.

fully. The Palmerston catastrophe, its circumstances, merits, bearings and probable results, Disraeli's 'Life of G. Bentinck,' in the course of which he mentioned a great many things about Peel, and, lastly, the political circumstances of the Government, its condition and prospects, together with his own and those of the party with which he is connected, or rather some of the leading men of it. It would be impossible, even were I so disposed, to give even an outline of our long conversation. It will be sufficient to preserve its general features, and his views on the present state of things. I have never known him so confidential and unreserved, nor has he ever before in his previous communications with me spoken out so entirely. I gathered from him some things I only imperfectly knew before of John R.'s proceedings with a view to strengthen himself. What he has done has been through the D. of Newcastle entirely, first through the D. of Bedford, and then by direct communication himself. Newcastle came to Graham as soon as he arrived in town and told him all that had passed. He had invited him to take office, which N. declined, and he asked him to find out what S. Herbert's disposition was. With regard to Gladstone (whom N. had alluded to), he had said that he was fully aware of his great abilities, and should be glad if it was in his power to offer him office, but he did not see how it could be done, intimating, with expressions of respect, his disinclination to any connexion in that quarter. With Cardwell it was different. He asked the Duke to make a communication to Cardwell, but he would only consent to convey to Cardwell that he might expect (at some indefinite time) an offer to be made to him. This communication, together with what was intended, seems rather strange; it was to this effect, that Lord Panmure¹ would probably very soon die (being very old and very ill), and when he died and Fox Maule must in consequence quit the War Office, John would offer Cardwell that place and a seat in the Cabinet. Graham remarked that this was a strange proposal, considering that the life of Panmure (who has been continually dying and recovering for years past) is a better one than the life of the Government, the latter being the more sick of the two.

Then as to himself. The Duke said J. Russell had asked him to find

¹ William Maule (1771-1852), first Baron Panmure, second son of eighth Earl of Dalhousie; M.P., 1796-1831; created baron, 1831.

out what his (G.'s) disposition was. He would not say to 'sound him,' for he had made no use of such a term, though he would do so for shortness. To this G. replied that the best answer he could make was to tell him what had passed in September last, and to show him the memorandum of Lord John to him, and his in return (which he had never mentioned before but to Ld. Aberdeen and one other person), and that the sentiments he had then expressed he still retained. As the Duke of N(ewcastle) went to Windsor yesterday, where he was to meet Lds. John and Lansdowne, he will no doubt have told them what passed, and to-day at the Cabinet John will have to announce that his attempts to strengthen himself have failed.

Graham's opinions on the whole matter are pretty much the same as those which Ellice has been circulating amongst his friends. He thinks the present Government will not get through the next Session; that weak and unpopular as they are (and still further weakened by the loss of Palmerston), and surrounded by dangers and enemies on all sides, they must fall; and he does not think that his joining them, or some of the other Peelites doing so (with or without him), would save them. It will not do to try and patch up the old garment. This Government must be broken up completely, there must be a *tabula rasa*, and then an attempt made to construct another on a wider and more comprehensive plan. J.R. ought to go to the Q. and tell her he cannot go on, and then She ought to send for Aberdeen and him together, and desire them to set about the formation of a Government. I suggested it would never do to send for Aberdeen in this way; it would be taken as an insult to Palmerston, and exasperate one half of the Whigs and render them unmanageable. She might indeed send for Aberdeen alone, and He might decline everything for himself, refuse to take office (as no doubt he would), but advise her to send for John and Graham, and bid them form a Government. He agreed to my amendment; acknowledged the antagonism of P. and Aberdeen would make a difficulty; and pursued that they should be empowered to make a Government of men of Liberal-Conservative principles, of which J. Russell must himself be the Head; that it should be understood that they had *carte blanche*. Nobody was to have pretensions or quasi right to office on account of previous tenure, but that they were to make the best and strongest Administration they could,

taking in any efficient men who might be ready to unite with them on the principles above mentioned. He thought the best thing for the country would be that this *break up* should happen now, before Parliament met, and the attempt at reconstruction made, while people were still free and uncommitted; but he owned that it would be very difficult for John R. (after what had recently passed) to take such a course. He would not do so in his place, and could not expect him <to do so>. He might indeed have consistently given the thing up when he quarrelled with Palmerston, because he had always said, and repeated it a hundred times, that without Palmerston he could not go on. But after the Cabinet had agreed to go on, and to support him in what he had done, it was very difficult for him without any fresh incident to turn round on them, say he had changed his mind, and break up the Government. (I suggested this last view, which he concurred in.) The end of it was, he said, that John would be obliged to meet Parliament, fight his battle as best he could, and he would die in the open field with harness on his back. The result, sooner or later, he considers certain. As to himself, besides his general objections to join the Government, he is deeply impressed with the difficulty of the new Reform Bill. He could not, he says, be a party to advising the Queen to announce in her Speech that the present system is all wrong, and must be amended, which he assumes must and will be done. He recurs again and again to the folly of having moved this matter, 'set a stone rolling' which they have no power to stop. I differed from him considerably in what seemed to me the exaggerated view he takes of this question, and said I did not see why any such announcement need be made in the Queen's Speech. But he is evidently afraid to encounter and be mixed up with this matter, on which he feels deep displeasure, dislike, and much apprehension. He spoke amicably of J.R., but was not pleased with his sending Lewis down to him, and could not believe he ever seriously expected him to accept an invitation at that time, and, he contemptuously added, to such a place; and he rather complained of the formality and stiffness of John's memorandum on that occasion. But he appears to have been still more nettled at having been 'sounded' by Newcastle on the part of John. 'Why,' he says, 'did not John ask him to come to Chesham Place, and talk the whole matter over with him frankly?' They have

had so many and such confidential and friendly communications at different times, that this would have been a most natural and becoming course, or John might have spoken to me about it; but to get the D. of N., with whom he was on no terms of intimacy or confidence, to 'sound him,' was not the way he might expect to be dealt with. I think this is a pretty faithful summary of the essential part of what passed between us on this the most important head. If and as other things occur to me of any interest, I will subjoin them.

January 11th.—Graham came to me again last night. He was more gloomy in his expectations, and saw nothing but dangers ahead. He had seen G. Lewis and told him all he had said to me. G. L. had seen J. Russell, and of course repeated it all to him, and the result was at all events amicable, for he told me that John had sent him a message by G. Lewis to say if he would come to town a day or two before Parliament met he would tell him what he was going to do. He now thinks that if this Government is defeated and resigns, John will refuse to have anything to do with the formation of another, and this might again bring about a fresh Protectionist attempt. He wavers between his apprehension of Palmerston joining the Protectionists, and his doubts of the possibility of such an alliance, in the teeth too of the Queen's antipathy to P.; but he is not at all sure the next election may not make the Protectionists numerically strong enough to undertake the task they failed in accomplishing last year. It is not worth while to record a conversation which was to a certain degree a repetition of the last, and without any novel matter. He shakes his head at the prospect of explanations, and thinks J. R. will have a good deal of difficulty in making out his case.

Then he is moved by the letters written by Lansdowne, Grey, and C. Wood to P(almerston) expressive of regret at parting with him. It is pretty evident, that however plausible may be the scheme of a comprehensive administration, the personal predilections and antipathies will create enormous difficulties. The Whigs generally hate the Peelites, and Graham especially. The Peelites hate the Whigs. Mutual dislike exists between Graham on one side, and Newcastle, Gladstone, and S. Herbert on the other. The three latter are High Churchmen of a deep colour, which makes it difficult to mix them up with any other party, so that the Peelite leaders are extremely divided,

and the party is so scattered that it can hardly be called a party. The Whigs, who really are a party, and, though in a state of great insubordination, do generally consider themselves one army and under one chief, don't at all like the idea of treating with the Peelites on anything like equal terms. If ever the time comes I fully expect they will all resist any such basis of arrangement, and that John Russell will not be disposed to agree to a Government being formed by himself *and* anybody else. These difficulties and causes of future bickering looming in the distance present themselves to me. I only hope they may prove visionary.

There is certainly a great deal of sulky disapprobation at Pam's dismissal, and all sorts of stories, and as many lies are rife about it. The Palmerstons affect moderation, but their rage and resentment overflow in every direction. He puts a good face on it, and appears calm and cheerful; she holds different language to different people, but loses no opportunity of getting up all the steam she can against John. Meanwhile Granville is doing well in his office, and the staff there, who have been so long accustomed to Palmerston and are critical Judges, think so. Cowley told me he had seen some of his papers, and they were very good, and he particularly mentioned one to Russia. The Emperor has sent over to say that it is very possible L.N. may any day be proclaimed Emperor, and that all the Powers were bound by the Treaty of Vienna not to acknowledge any one of the family as such, and he begged, should this event arrive, that we would do nothing about it without previous communication with him, so that England and Russia might act in concert. G<ranville> replied with great civility, and expressed a concurrence in the desire that England and Russia should act in concert, but declined to engage that this Government would wait till communication could be had with Russia, representing that the news of any change in France would reach London in an hour, and the official notification thereof in a day, and that it might be necessary for us to come to some early decision, whereas a communication with Russia would take several weeks; and he also pointed out that we had a much greater and more immediate interest than Russia in what was passing in France, and must act for ourselves in certain cases which might occur.

<January> 13th.—Normanby came to me yesterday to talk over his affairs. No love lost between him and Pam. I asked him to tell me

frankly what he had ever said or done to provoke the enmity of L(ouis) N(apoleon), and he declared that he was not conscious of having done anything whatever; that he had continued to live as heretofore with his old friends, and that was all. The President had always been as civil and cordial in his manner as ever, and if he had any enmity towards him he must be a great hypocrite, as he never testified any. When he last saw him he begged L.N. if he heard anything of him that he thought he had a right to complain of, that he would tell it himself frankly. L.N. replied that la franchise was always best, and he would. N. complained much of P(almerston), not only for this last affair but on various occasions, when he had given just offence to France by his procédés. He laughs at the notion of a plot, and says the best proof that it was an afterthought is that when Turgot immediately after it gave him the reasons for what the President had done, he never alluded to any plot; and whereas it has been supposed that the refusal of the Chamber to vote the revision of the Constitution was one of the causes, Turgot told him that one cause was their having ascertained that the revision would be carried, as the Reds were going to vote for it. They intended to take this course, because they believed that with universal suffrage another Assembly would be returned of their colour, and for the same reason therefore L.N. hurried on his coup d'état.

January 14th.—Granville brought me yesterday a paper which by the Queen's desire, communicated through I.d. John, he has been obliged to draw up. It is a development of what the foreign policy of this country ought to be. He read it to me that I might criticise it. He has not yet had practice enough in composition to write well; but it is clear, sensible, and right. But after all it was a series of common-places, for the simple reason (as I have long opined) that there is not only nothing mysterious and abstruse in the foreign policy of this country, but in truth in the substance of it that there can be little or no difference between different Governments or men. There was not a word in Granville's paper to which both Palmerston and Aberdeen might not both subscribe. In diplomacy, above everything, c'est le ton qui fait la chanson, and it has been Palmerston's tone and manner which have done much more harm than his acts; they have undoubtedly been very often unjustified and offensive to a great degree;

but they have been rendered ten times more so, and, therefore, ten times more mischievous than they would have been by his animus and his language. Besides laying down the rights and the duties of this country, which he very properly states may be resolved into the moral axiom of doing as we would be done by, he enters upon a new subject, and that is the improvement of the material of our diplomacy—the advancement of men of ability, and who display qualities which will fit them for high posts abroad. He tells me, too, that he meditates a system of examination, which will no doubt please the educational propensities of Albert.

15th.—Dined with Ellice yesterday—a *partie carrée*—himself, Thiers, Mrs. Grote,¹ and myself. It was very amusing. The little man was intarissable, and gave us an account of all that had happened to him from the moment of his arrestation to that of his expulsion from Brussels—for such it really was, though he went voluntarily, and the Belgian Ministers told him they would not expel him if he chose to stay, and would refuse compliance with the demands of the French Government. He has some idea of writing a narrative of the last two months, and we encouraged him to do so. He positively denies not only that there was any plot whatever, but that there was any intention of taking active measures against the President; they only contemplated defensive ones, and their object was to surround themselves with a military force to protect the Assembly against the coup d'état which the President was meditating, and which he was enabled to execute because they were unprotected. The French Troops will always obey their Commanders, and this accounts for the complete success of L.N.; but 'les pantalons rouges' will not fire upon 'd'autres pantalons rouges'; and if the Assembly had had its guard, the Troops under the order of the Minister at War would not have attacked their Comrades. Thiers knew of this intended coup d'état for a long time before (in the beginning of October), and told us how it came to his knowledge. M. de Lariboisière² (Son of Napoleon's

¹ Harriet Grote (1792–1878), married George Grote, 1820; a friend of Mendelssohn; published *Memoir of Ary Scheffer*, 1860.

² Honoré Baston, Comte de La Riboisière (1788–1868), son of the General Jean de La Riboisière, who died in the retreat from Moscow; orderly officer to Napoleon during the Hundred Days, 1815; *député*, 1828–35; *pair de France*, 1835–48; member of the Legislative Assembly, 1849–51; senator, 1852–68. His wife endowed the Hospital La Riboisière at Paris with three million francs in 1854.

General, and a rich man, was sent for by the President about the end of September. He told him his project, asked him to join and take office. Lariboissière declined, and went back to his house in the country. Being a great friend of Thiers, he thought he could not leave him to get into the scrape that was preparing for him, and he accordingly employed a Lady who was staying with him to go to Paris and give Thiers a *hint*, merely that he had better quit Paris, or he would get into trouble. Thiers knew perfectly well what this meant, and did all he could to make his friends aware of the danger that was impending over them, and to take precautions instead of being caught 'comme des nigauds,' as they eventually were. He declares that he was quite certain of the plot the President was hatching for a long time before; and he scouted the idea of *their* having any plot, which, he says, was unnecessary as they had only to entrench themselves behind legality, and defend themselves against the attacks the President was meditating by purely legal measures. He spoke with prodigious contempt both of the character and the talents of Louis Napoleon.

January 28th. I have had two long conversations with the D. of Bedford, who has been very open and communicative, though I don't know that he told me much that I did not know before. He gave me some minute details, which were perhaps rather different from previous statements I had heard and noted, but not materially so. These corrigenda related principally to the communications between John and Palmerston, and are hardly worth noticing except for the sake of circumstantial accuracy. He said that in the first Kossuth question his first communication with P. was personal, and at Windsor; and on Palmerston's persisting in his intention to see him, he wrote, and then on getting his impertinent answer he summoned the Cabinet. After the Islington deputations he wrote again to Palmerston in excessively mild terms, but took that opportunity of remonstrating with him against his habit of separate and independent action, and it was then he received what he considered tantamount to an engagement that he would cease to pursue that course. It was a week after that, while he was at Woburn, that he received from Normanby the information which he conceived to be a violation on P.'s part of the engagement; and then he said to the Duke that he could stand it no longer, and would get rid of him. He accordingly wrote at once to

Palmerston, recapitulated his subjects of complaint, and asked him to authorise him to lay his resignation before the Queen. His first step, therefore, was with P. himself, and not with the Queen. Having received the authority (which P. could not refuse), he proceeded to communicate with the Queen, and the reply expressed the great astonishment of both H.M. and the Prince, as they had both taken for granted that this difference, like all preceding ones, would be patched up. I told the D. that I had reason to believe the Q. was displeased at the offer of Ireland being made to P. à son inscu; but this was a mistake. He did communicate to her immediately the letter he wrote to P., containing not *an offer*, but an intimation that he would propose it to her if He was disposed to accept it. It seems they had said that they should have disapproved of it very much if he had been inclined to accept it; to which John had responded that he should nevertheless have felt it his duty to press it, and if H.M. had declined to agree to it, to resign himself. This was certainly the proper and constitutional course for him to take. He does, indeed, understand his duty in this respect, and is very different from Palmerston; he never conceals anything from the Q., and invariably enters into her objections, admitting or refuting them, when She makes any. P.'s way was to make no answer whatever when She made objections; to take no notice; a practice which John had himself blamed, and remonstrated with him upon it. This, and the still more monstrous habit he had of treating with contempt alterations that had been prescribed to him, and sending despatches from which the Q. or John had struck out certain passages with the same restored, had excited her resentment to a high pitch.

I find Normanby has been in fact *recalled*, though it is agreed that he is to *resign* so as to be let down easily. He puts a good face on it, but is very indignant, and thinks himself very ill-used. His vanity is very amusing, for he talks of his great influence, and the respect and consideration in which he was universally held, when everybody knows that there never was an Ambassador so generally disliked and despised. It was intended to send Clanricarde there, but it was altered (I do not know why)¹ and Cowley appointed, to his great

¹ The Queen absolutely refused to sanction the appointment of the Marquess of Clanricarde.—R.

delight and astonishment, and to mine. Cowley, who was at Windsor the other day, told me he saw a most curious and interesting paper there which Stockmar showed him. It was a report from Van de Weyer to King Leopold of his interviews with the President while he was at Paris. He complained very much of the English newspapers, as well as of our Queen's hostile feeling towards him. V. d. W. told him he must not be surprised if in a constitutional country like England the press spoke the language it did; and as to the Queen's friendship for the Orleans family, his own chivalrous feeling could only approve of her continuing to them in their adversity the friendship which had been formed in their prosperous days. It seems L.N. had promised to leave Leopold alone, and not meddle with Belgium, but held threatening language towards Switzerland and Piedmont.

February 5th.—I might have saved myself the trouble of writing down scattered and imperfect notice of the Palmerstonian dismissal, since J. R. told the whole story on Tuesday night. The public interest and curiosity to hear the 'explanations' were intense. Up to almost the last moment the confidence and the *jactance* of the Palmerston clique were boundless. At length the moment arrived. In all my experience I never recollect such a triumph as J. R. achieved, and such complete discomfiture as Palmerston's. John made a very able speech, and disclosed as much as was necessary, and no more. Beyond all doubt his great *coup* was the Queen's Minute in 1850, which was absolutely crushing.¹ Some grave persons think the introduction of her name was going too far, but it was irresistible. The effect was prodigious. P. was weak and inefficient, and it is pretty certain that he was taken by surprise, and was unprepared for all that J. R. brought forward. Not a man of weight or influence said a word for him, nobody but Dicky Milnes and Dudley Stuart, one the laughing stock, the other the bore of the House. The Queen's letter was decisive, for it was evident that his conduct must have been intolerable to elicit such charges and rebukes; and it can't fail to strike everybody that no man of common spirit, and who felt a consciousness of innocence, would have brooked anything so insulting. Such a man would have indignantly resigned, and have demanded what J. R.

¹ See note on p. 247.

meant by making himself the organ of such accusations; but he submitted to them.

March 26th.—I was taken ill before I had time to finish what I was writing, and have been laid up ever since with a violent attack of gout and fever, from which I am now slowly recovering. During all the time of the change of Government¹ I was in my bed, and not allowed to see anybody; but for the last five weeks I have been able to come into my drawing-room and receive visitors, who have come in great numbers, and of every imaginable variety, to see me, so that I have had enough of occupation and amusement. I cannot pretend to write any account of what has been passing, and not having recorded, as I heard them, the scraps of unknown matters, I am now unable to do so. The new Government is treated with great contempt, and many of the appointments are pitiable; the most striking perhaps is that of Malmesbury at the Foreign Office, so ignorant and so mediocre as he is.² But, while it is the fashion to exalt Derby himself, and treat with great scorn almost all his colleagues, I think Derby himself is quite unfit for the post of P<rime> Minister as any of them can be for those they occupy. His extreme levity and incapacity for taking grave and serious views, though these defects may be partially remedied by the immensity of his responsibility, will ever weigh upon his character, and are too deeply rooted in it to be eradicated. His oratory is his forte, and without that he would be a very ordinary man. His speeches since he took office have been excellent, and in a very becoming tone

¹ On February 16th Lord John brought in a Militia Bill, to which Palmerston, who was burning with a desire to revenge himself for his dismissal, moved an amendment, which he carried against the Government by a majority of nine. On this John Russell resigned, and Lord Derby was sent for. The resignation of the Russell Government was announced to both Houses on the 23rd, and Derby's first exposition of policy as Prime Minister was made on the 27th.—G.

Lord Palmerston's amendment was carried on February 20th. This was his famous 'tit for tat with Johnny Russell.'

² The Cabinet composed by the Earl of Derby in 1852 consisted of Earl of Derby, First Lord of the Treasury; Lord St Leonards, Lord Chancellor; Mr Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Earl of Lonsdale, Lord President of the Council; Marquess of Salisbury, Lord Privy Seal; Earl of Malmesbury, Foreign Secretary; Sir John Pakington, Colonial Secretary; Mr Spencer Walpole, Home Secretary; Earl of Hardwicke, First Lord of the Admiralty; Mr Herries, President of the Board of Control; Lord John Manners, First Commissioner of Works.—R.

This was the 'Who? Who?' Ministry—so called because the Duke of Wellington, partly from deafness and partly from lack of acquaintance with the new men, kept exclaiming 'Who? Who?' as the Prime Minister, in the House of Lords, repeated to him, one by one, the names of his colleagues.

and spirit; but the notion, which is generally entertained, of his being so high-minded and chivalrous, and a pattern of integrity and honor, is a complete mistake. He is not so in private life—that is, in his transactions on the turf, where he is avaricious and unscrupulous—and it is not likely that a man should be one thing in private, and another in public, life. Here is a proof that he is the same in both:—When Lord Naas¹ found that he had incurred great odium by his personal attack on Clarendon (in fact he lost his election by it), he did not scruple to declare that he had done it unwillingly, but was compelled by his Party, especially by Derby himself. Some allusion was made to this in the H. of Lords, when Derby rushed over to Clarendon and said ‘I hope you don’t believe that I had any concern in it.’ C. replied ‘Yes, I do’; on which D. protested that he had never seen *the resolutions but once and had taken no part in the attack*. Clarendon said ‘Then you may thank your own Secretary for the imputation, for he tells everybody that he only did it by compulsion and at your instigation’; Derby said no more. It is impossible to doubt that what Naas said was true, and the fact is that Derby has not forgotten his own abortive attack about Dolly’s Brae 2 years ago and was anxious thus to revenge his former defeat.

The great object of interest and curiosity this Session has been Palmerston; everybody anxious to see to which side he leaned. A short time ago he evinced a disposition towards reconciliation with John Russell. The latter invited him to his meeting at Chesham Place; P. did not go, but was rather pleased at being invited; and soon after J. R. went to one of Ly. P.’s parties, and talked to P. a good while. But at this time his resentment was still unappeased, for he got Clarendon to hear all his complaints, and showed him all the correspondence. With his usual unfairness and want of truth, he complained to everybody of John’s having so unexpectedly sprung upon him the Queen’s Minute in the discussion on his dismissal, and he even did so to Clarendon; whereas, so far from any surprise, John wrote him word three days before that he was going to read it in the House, and offered him any papers he might desire to have. C. asked

¹ Richard Southwell Bourke (1822-72), Lord Naas, and afterwards sixth Earl of Mayo; M.P. for Kildare, 1847-52, for Coleraine, 1852-7, and for Cockermonth, 1857-68; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1852, 1858 and 1866; succeeded his father in the earldom, 1868; Viceroy of India, 1868-72; assassinated in the Andaman Islands.

him if he had not received such a communication, and then he was forced to own he had. C., however, did his best to bring about a renewal of their intercourse, personal and political. P. said J.R. had given him his independence, and he meant to avail himself of that advantage. The Whigs expect and desire that he will return to them, and, in the event of a change, come again into office, but not the F.O., which he says himself he does not again wish for. Derby offered him office, which he at once refused, on hearing that Protection was not given up; but many think he will after all join Derby, as soon as this question is finally disposed of. I doubt it, for he would not serve under Disraeli, and Diz would hardly give up the leadership having once enjoyed it. The Peelites sit together, all except Graham, who has regularly joined J.R., and sits beside him. Nobody knows what they mean to do, nor which party they will eventually join. At present Gladstone's speeches do not look like a junction with Derby, but nothing is more possible than that, as soon as the great stumbling-block is removed, they will go over to this Government, and the Leaders take office. They most of them hate the Whigs, and there is certainly no great (if any) difference of opinion between them and the Derbyites, except on the question of Free Trade. Graham rather expects this result. I asked him if he thought Dizzy would consent to resign the lead to anybody. He thought not, certainly not to Gladstone; possibly he might to Palmerston. There are great complaints of Diz. in the H. of Commons. They say he does not play his part as Leader with tact and propriety, and treats his opponents impudently and uncourteously, which is egregiously foolish, and will end by exposing him to some great mortification; the H. of C. will not stand such behaviour from such a man.

May 2nd.—I have been for some time past so disgusted with politics and politicians, and have been driven to take such a gloomy view of affairs and of our prospects, that I could not bring myself to resume my task of noting down such matters as might appear not wholly unworthy of being recorded. At last I have resolved to run over the principal occurrences of the last few weeks. The Derby Government had been sinking more and more in public opinion. The shuffling and reserve of Derby in the H. of Lords, coupled with the declarations on the hustings of his adherents, especially Kelly, Solicitor-General, and

the extraordinary and still unexplained escapade of Walpole in the H. of Lords <Commons> about giving votes to the Militia,¹ had all tended to bring them into discredit and contempt. The Opposition were much elated at seeing the Government in this state, and in fact they had a very good game to play, when the petulance, obstinacy, and imprudence of John Russell brought upon them a disastrous defeat, and set up the Government completely. Without concert with his followers, and against the advice and remonstrances of those who were apprised of his intention, he came down to the House, and opposed the second reading of the Militia Bill. The fault was enormous, for the inconsistency was glaring. Palmerston instantly fell upon him with the greatest acrimony, and lashed him with excessive severity, carrying the House along with him, and evidently enjoying the opportunity of thus paying off old scores. Seymour spoke against John, and many of his own friends and supporters voted against him, so that there was a majority of two to one in a full House.² Nothing could exceed the exultation of the Ministerialists, but the resentment and indignation of the Opposition, who saw all their hopes and prospects marred by this extraordinary blunder on the part of their Chief. J. R. was denounced as unfit to lead a party; still more, again, to be at the head of a Government. His best friends could not defend him, and, while he has done irreparable damage to his own political character and influence, he has thrown the Opposition into such disorganisation and confusion, that it will be difficult for them to act any more with union or effect. The Peelites are of course disgusted, and, never liking J. R., will be less than ever inclined to form a junction with him. Palmerston's conduct in this debate paves the way for his joining Derby if he chuses it, and it is by no means improbable that a large proportion of the Peelites will do the same.

The probability of this is increased by Disraeli's speech the night before last, on bringing on his Budget. This was a great performance, very able, and was received with great applause in the House. But

¹ Mr Walpole, the Home Secretary in Lord Derby's Administration, had announced that he should move on bringing up the Militia Bill the insertion of a clause, 'That any person who shall serve in the Militia for two years shall be entitled to a vote in the county in which he resides.' This proposal excited a good deal of ridicule, and was subsequently withdrawn. The Militia Bill passed the House of Commons on June 7th, and the House of Lords on the 21st of the same month. R.

² The second reading was carried by 355 to 165.—G.

the extraordinary part of it was the frank, full, and glowing panegyric he passed on the effect of the Free Trade measures of Sir R. Peel, proving by elaborate statistics the marvellous benefits which had been derived from his tariffs and reductions of duties—not, however, alluding to Corn. All this was of course received with delight and vehemently cheered by the Whigs and Peelites, but in silence and discontent by his own side. It was neither more nor less than a magnificent funeral oration upon Peel's policy, and as such it was hailed, without any taunting, or triumphing, or reproaches, on account of his former conduct to Peel, except a few words from Hume and Wakley. It is difficult to say what may be the effect of this speech, but it seems impossible that any sort of Protection in any shape can be attempted after it; and it certainly opens a door to the admission of any Peelites who may be disposed to join a Conservative Government, for even their personal feelings against Dizzy will be mitigated by this speech. Graham has not been in the House all this time, being laid up with the gout at Netherby.

I have been much annoyed at the strange conduct of the Duke of Bedford in sending young George Byng¹ as his candidate to Tavistock, knowing the Radical opinions which he announced in his address and at the public meeting there, especially about ballot. I warmly remonstrated with him and asked him how he expected people to believe in the sincerity of his own Conservative professions and of his opposition to the ballot, when he produced such a candidate as this. He had no defence to make and could only say that, though he was against ballot, he was not *so much* against it as John.

(March 7th, 1863.) <C.C.G.>

<End of Vol. II of Additional MS. 41119.>

May 12th, 1852, Wednesday.—On Monday night came on the trial of strength, which the Opposition had determined to have with the Government, and which the latter very unaccountably provoked.²

¹ George Henry Charles Byng (1830–98), afterwards third Earl of Strafford, eldest son of George Stevens Byng; M.P. for Tavistock, 1852–7, and for Middlesex, 1857–74; succeeded his father in the earldom, 1886.

² The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed on May 10th to transfer the four vacant seats for Sudbury and St Albans to the West Riding of Yorkshire and the Southern Division of Lancashire. Mr Gladstone moved the previous question, which was carried by 234 to 148.—R.

The Leaders made great exertions to bring the several sections of parties together, and completely succeeded. The only doubt was about the 'Brigadiers,' as the Irish squadron are called, who it was feared might refuse to go into the same lobby with John Russell on any terms, but it ended in their adhesion. The D. of Newcastle told me they hoped for a majority of fifty, therefore eighty-six was far beyond their most sanguine expectations. No immediate consequences will follow, but it was a severe check to the Government, and the more important from the circumstance of Gladstone's being the Leader of the Opposition, and Palmerston voting with the majority. Derby affected indifference, and said to John Russell at the Queen's ball the same night, 'What will you get by all this?' It will probably accelerate the dissolution, for which they must now themselves be anxious, to put an end to the present state of affairs, and relieve them even for a time from the position into which their embarrassment and all their shuffling and double dealing have placed them.

The conduct of the Government is regarded with indignation and contempt by all thinking people, out of the pale of their own thick and thin supporters; but it does not seem to make much impression upon the country at large; nobody appears to care one straw about anybody or anything. There is very general prosperity and contentment, and people are indifferent about politics, and who is in or out of office. There is no public man who enjoys any popularity, or has a hold upon the regard or the good opinions of the masses. If Derby remains in power it will be from the enormous difficulty of forming any other government, for, strangely enough, while a short time ago everybody said a Derby Government was impossible, it now appears to be the only Government which is possible. All, however, is confusion and uncertainty, and so will remain till the next Parliament meets, and the state and relative strength of parties is manifested.

The object of the Ministerialists is to catch votes by representing themselves as Conservatives, and creating as much doubt and uncertainty as they can about their intentions on the most exciting topics, such as Free Trade, Popery, etc. It is supposed that there is under a smooth exterior considerable discord in the Protectionist ranks, and even in the Cabinet. Disraeli's Free Trade speech on the Budget evidently gave deep offence to his party, for he felt himself

obliged to make a sort of recantation a night or two afterwards; and Derby took the very unusual course of making a political speech at the Mansion House dinner, and in it, with much show of compliment to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, did his best to neutralise the Budget speech of the latter by a long and laboured exposition of the doctrine of compromise, which he said entered practically into all the policy and even institutions of the country—all which meant to convey that he meant to strike a balance, in some protective shape, between the manufacturing and agricultural interests. This speech which was not particularly good, has been universally considered as a snub to Disraeli.

Last night Spooner¹ brought on his motion for an enquiry into Maynooth, when Walpole made a strong anti-Maynooth speech, going much farther in that direction than Derby had ever hinted at in the H. of Lords; but such is their language at different times and in different places, that it is utterly impossible to guess what they think, mean, or intend; a studied ambiguity conceals their principles and their policy, if they have either. It would, however, look as if they meant to pander to the No Popery rage which is now so rife, and to make the country believe they intend to give effect to the passionate desire, which no doubt largely prevails, to attack the Catholics in some way. This desire is very strong and general in this country, but in Scotland it is universal. Aberdeen told me the whole country was on fire, and they would like nothing so much as to go to Ireland and fight, and renew the Cromwellian times, giving the Papists the option of going to 'Hell or Connaught.' As Ireland is equally furious, and the Priests will send sixty or seventy Catholic members equally full of bigotry and zeal, all ready to act together under the orders of Cullen² and Wiseman, we may look for more polemical discussion, and that of the most furious character, than we have ever seen before, even during the great Emancipation debates.

Bath, July 7th.—Another interval of two months; such fits and starts render one nearly useless, and I do not know why I don't give up the old habit of scribbling once for all, for I never have anything to write worth the trouble of recording. A lingering reluctance to

¹ Richard Spooner (d. 1864); M.P. for Birmingham, 1844-7, and for Warwickshire, 1847-64.

² Paul Cullen (1803-78); Rector of the Propaganda College at Rome, 1848-9; Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, 1849-52; Archbishop of Dublin, 1852-78; Cardinal, 1866.

abandon a practice maintained through so many years, although in such a desultory and uninteresting way, still compels me from time to time to resume the occupation.

The elections are now begun,¹ and a few days will disclose whether Derby's Government will be able to stand its ground or not. Both parties are excessively confident, for at this moment the world may be divided between the supporters and opponents of the present Government, though the latter will be split into a dozen different factions when Parliament meets. The first act of the Derby drama has been curious enough; they have in some respects done better and in some worse than was expected of them. Derby himself has shuffled and prevaricated and involved himself in a studied and laboured ambiguity, which has exposed him to bitter taunts and reproaches, and Disraeli has been a perfect Will-o'-the-wisp, flitting about from one opinion to another, till his real opinions and intentions are become matter of mere guess and speculation. He has given undoubted proofs of his great ability, and showed how neatly he could handle such a subject as finance, with which he never can have been at all familiar; but having been well taught by his subalterns, and applying a mind naturally clear, ready, and acute to the subject, he contrived to make himself fully master of it, and to produce to the H. of Commons a financial statement the excellence of which was universally admitted and gained him great applause. Whatever his motives were—whether because it was all true, and he could not resist the force of truth, or that he thought *that* the best opportunity he could find for evacuating an untenable position, he pronounced such a full and unreserved panegyric on the *results* of Free Trade, and so clearly stated them in detail, that his speech was hailed as a practical conversion, and as such cheered vehemently by the Whigs, and received in gloomy silence by his own people. On subsequent occasions he attempted to shuffle out of his previous declarations, and as they cannot afford to quarrel with him, and a great many are like him and obliged to back out of Protection also, no schism has taken place. On all subjects of interest the Government have taken a doubtful, undecided course, and abstained from any bold enunciation of principles and course of action, always temporising, and trying to keep up the hopes

¹ Parliament was prorogued on July 1st and dissolved immediately afterwards.—R.

of every party and interest by their ambiguous language. On Maynooth, on the Education question, and the Privy Council minute, they did this, evidently for electioneering purposes: afraid in one case of affronting Protestant bigotry, and in the other wanting to stimulate the zeal of the Churchmen in their favor.

The appointment that created the greatest surprise, and was the most criticised, that of Sir John Pakington, has turned out, as far as it has gone, one of the best.¹ He has done his business in the H. of C. very fairly, has committed no glaring faults, and has a very tolerable character in his office for industry and apprehension. Walpole, who was thought one of the most capable, has been a failure. He had the folly to make a strong anti-Catholic speech on the Maynooth grant, and he got into the ridiculous scrape about the votes to Militiamen, which he was forced so awkwardly to withdraw amidst a storm of ridicule from every quarter, the real history of which has never yet been explained. Of all the conspicuous Ministers Malmesbury has cut the worst figure—so bad that if Derby stands he can hardly venture to retain him; and yet it will be difficult to cast him aside. The rest have appeared as mere dummies, and in the H. of Lords Derby has never allowed any of them to speak, taking on himself to answer for every department. Young Stanley does not seem to have had much success in the H. of Commons, nor to afford much promise of attaining excellence hereafter, at least as an Orator. The Chancellor has done very well in his Court, administering justice ably and expeditiously, and nolens aut volens he has concurred in carrying through Parliament some very important law reforms,² which will be followed by still more. It is by no means unlikely that more has been done in this way than if J. Russell's Government had not been thrown out. Lyndhurst came out with great force, and his speech on the Baron de Bode's case³ was a masterpiece, which was worthy of his

¹ The curious circumstances of this appointment are described in a memorandum by Disraeli, printed in Buckle's *Life* (vol. III, p. 345).

² Including Acts to diminish the technicalities of special pleading, to amend Common Law procedure, to reform the Court of Chancery, and to extend the jurisdiction of the County Courts.

³ Baron William Henry Otto de Bode (1778–1855). On June 11th, 1852, Lord Lyndhurst obtained a Select Committee to investigate the claims of the Baron de Bode, a British subject, who had for 35 years been claiming compensation for the confiscation of his ancestral estates in Alsace during the French Revolution. The Select Committee reported in favour of the Baron on June 28th.

more vigorous age, and drew general admiration. Brougham has been extremely quiet and reasonable, devoting himself almost entirely to law reforms, and doing great service, acting a very honorable and useful part. The Opposition have, on the whole, been very moderate and forbearing, with the sole exception of John Russell's opposition to the Militia Bill, which was a great blunder, and drew on him great obloquy with much resentment and disgust on the part of his own friends and adherents. They appear now to have in great measure forgotten and forgiven this unhappy blunder. Palmerston's course has been thoroughly eccentric, and to this hour nobody can make out what he is at, nor what are the motives and the objects of his conduct. At one time it looked as if he was aiming at a junction with Derby, but he voted with Gladstone in his great attack on the Government, and his language has been uniformly that of their opponent, and as if he still considered himself one of the Whig party, though a perfectly independent one. He has taken a pretty active part during the Session, and a very characteristic one, seldom losing an opportunity of saying something spiteful about his former colleagues, and dealing largely in those Liberal clap-traps which have always been the chief part of his political stock-in-trade. He wound up the Session by a bitter attack on Granville and John Russell, when the latter was not in the House, and the House of Lords had ended its sittings, so the former had no opportunity of answering him. He was quite wrong in what he said, and so far as G⟨ranville⟩ and J⟨ohn⟩ were concerned could have been easily answered; but he broke out in his old style about foreign politics and Austria, and had the assurance to allude to his own Italian policy, and the silly impertinence to say that Austria would have done much better to take his advice and relinquish all her Italian dominions—all of which was loudly cheered and greatly admired by his Radical friends, but the whole exhibition regretted and blamed by the more sensible of his own adherents. This speech proved that he has given up all idea of returning to the F.O., which indeed he professes not to desire.

The above is a very brief and imperfect sketch of the spirit in which the recent short Session has been carried on by the different parties and leaders, presenting a very unsatisfactory prospect for the future; for while a more disgraceful and more degraded Government than

this cannot be imagined, it is difficult to see (if they fall) how any fresh combination can be formed, likely to be efficient, popular, and durable. It will be equally difficult to do without, and to do with, John Russell. The Whigs will acknowledge no other Leader; their allegiance to him is very loose and capricious; he has lost his popularity and his prestige in the country, and has very little personal influence. Then the unappeasable wrath of the Irish Catholics, who will come to Parliament brigaded together, and above all things determined on his personal exclusion, will make any Government of which he is either the Head, or the H. of C. Leader, next to impossible. Nothing in the present balanced state of parties can resist a compact body of sixty or seventy men acting together by word of command, and putting a veto on one particular man. No past services nor any future expectations will atone for the Durham Letter, which they seem pledged to a man never to forget or forgive. The Country all this time seems to be in a state of complete indifference. The elections are carried on by the opposite parties, but there appears to be no strong current of public opinion in favor of or against any men or any measures. While the press thunders away against Derby and the deep dishonor of his political conduct, the masses seem mighty indifferent on the subject, and as the very conduct that is impugned is principally his shuffling out of his engagement to the cause of Protection, people only become more indifferent from seeing that Free Trade is virtually safe, and so long as the great prosperity (now prevailing) continues, the country at large does not seem to care a straw whether Lord Derby or Lord anybody else is in office. The zeal of the party in power is always greater (*ceteris paribus*) than that of those in Opposition, unless some great object is in agitation and at stake, and the Derbyites will make more strenuous efforts to keep the power they have got, than their opponents will to wrest it from them.

London, July 23rd.—After passing a fortnight at Bath, I returned to town (a fortnight ago). The Elections are now nearly over, all indeed except some of the Irish. They have been on the whole very unsatisfactory in every respect, and nothing can be more unpromising than our political prospects. The end has been a very considerable gain to the Government, one with which they profess to be perfectly satisfied, and they are quite confident of being able to defeat any attempts to

turn them out. In this, I think, they are right, for they certainly will have more than 300 in the H. of Commons, all Derbyites, staunch supporters, and moveable like a regiment. The Opposition will number as many, or perhaps rather more; but that is counting Whigs, Radicals (of different degrees), Peelites, and the Irish Brigade,—different factions, greatly at variance amongst each other, and who will rarely combine for any political object. There may be about fifty or sixty people who will not consider themselves as belonging to the Government nor to the Opposition, but of whom the majority will probably support the Government, except on particular questions. Disraeli boasts that he shall have 330 followers, and that he knows where to look for stray votes. He probably overrates his regular force, but he will no doubt get a great many of the neutrals. The most remarkable and most deplorable features of the recent election are the exclusion of so many able and respectable men; the malignant and vindictive as well as stupid and obstinate spirit evinced by the constituencies, especially the agricultural, and their bigotry and prejudices, as well as total indifference to character and intellectual eminence. The conduct of the Government and their supporters has been just what might have been expected from their language in Parliament: they have sacrificed every other object to that of catching votes; at one time and in one place representing themselves as Free Traders, and in another as Protectionists, and everywhere pandering to the ignorance and bigotry of the masses by fanning the No-Popery flame. Disraeli announced that he had no thoughts, and never had any, of attempting to restore Protection in the shape of import duties; but he made magnificent promises of the great things the Government mean to do for the Farmers and owners of land, by a scheme of the nature and details of which he refused to reveal anything whatever; and all those (comprising almost everybody) who have found themselves obliged to abandon Corn Laws, and to subscribe to the big loaf doctrine, have nevertheless talked largely of Protection in the shape of compensation and of justice to the landed interest by means of fiscal arrangements; and all this has so far succeeded, that, except in one or two counties, the Farmers have been as rabid against Free Trade and for Protection as if the Government had never renounced their old Protectionist principles, and there is no doubt that they have

everywhere supported the Derbyite candidates from a conviction that they are to derive some great though unexplained advantage from the Government. This, and the religious cry, and the utter insensibility of the constituencies to the insincere and shuffling conduct of the Ministers and their supporters, have produced the strong party which we shall see established on the right side of the Chair when Parliament meets.

There are also a good number of people who have supported Lord Derby from fear of a Radical alliance between J. Russell and Graham and the Manchester men, and the dread of their returning to power with a budget of new Reform Bills, and who really do believe that this Government is (as it pretends to be) a barrier against revolution. Indeed, the only satisfactory part of this general election is the undoubted proof it affords of the strength of the *Conservative* element in the country, and it is only to be regretted that it should be found all enlisted on the side of such a Government as this, and associated with so much of ignorance and fanaticism. These last qualities, however, are common to both parties; and if I had ever been impressed with any popular notions of what is called the good sense of the people, I should be quite disabused of them now; for whichever way we turn our eyes, whether towards those who call themselves Conservative, or those who claim to be Reformers, we find the same evidence of unfitness to deal with important political questions, and to exercise an active influence on public affairs, and on both sides we are disgusted with the profligate means employed by candidates, who pander to every sort of popular prejudice, and in rare instances have the courage and honesty to face them, and to speak out plain and salutary truths.

The only really creditable election is that of Edinburgh, where Macaulay was elected without solicitation, or his being a Candidate, and though he did not appear at the election, and the Constituency were well aware that his opinions were not in conformity with theirs on many subjects, especially on the religious ones, upon which they are particularly hot and eager. Nowhere else have character or ability availed against political prejudices and animosities. Distinguished men have been rejected for mediocrities, by whom it is discreditable for any great constituency to be represented. The most

conspicuous examples of this incongruity have been Lewis in Herefordshire, Sir G. Grey Northumberland, and Cardwell Liverpool. Pusey¹ was obliged to retire from Berks, and Buxton² was beat in Essex, victims of Protectionist ill-humour and revenge. Both were succeeded by far inferior men, who have no other merit than those Protectionist longings which they do not pretend they shall ever have the means of gratifying. The friends of the late Government and all who abhor this one are of course infinitely disgusted and disheartened at such a state of things, having been very confident that the Government would be in a considerable minority, and that they would be powerless to go on against a majority, which, though scattered, would be overwhelming whenever it could be brought into united action; they are now obliged to perceive that the Government will be much too strong to be speedily turned out; and even if this should happen, that they are too strong to admit of any other Government being formed with a chance of stability and power.

This state of Parliamentary parties has had the effect of reviving the resentment of the Libera's against J. Russell, as they attribute to him and his mismanagement the defeat they have sustained at the election and the present unpromising condition of the Liberal party. And the wisest and most moderate men are now only intent on restraining the impatience of those who would attack the Government as soon as possible, and are strenuously urging the policy of abstaining from all violent or vexatious opposition, and of giving the Ministry full leisure and opportunity of developing their policy and proposing their intended measures to the country. This policy will probably be adopted, for it appears to be the opinion of John Russell himself that it is advisable; but there is such a strong feeling against him that it is impossible to say what amount of influence he may be disposed or be permitted to exercise when the principal men of the various sections of opposition begin to consider of the tactics to be adopted. Brooks's grumbles audibly against John, and there is an evident indisposition to accept him again as Prime Minister. Fortescue came to the D. of

¹ Philip Pusey (1799-1855), brother of Dr Pusey; M.P. for Chippenham, 1830-1, for Cashel, 1831-3, and for Berks, 1835-52; became a Free Trader in 1847.

² Sir Edward North Buxton (1812-58), second baronet; M.P. for South Essex, 1847-52, and for East Norfolk, 1857-8; succeeded to the baronetcy, 1840.

Bedford the other day, told him this feeling was very strong and prevalent, and urged him to make it known to his brother.

The object of the malcontents is to prevail on Lord Lansdowne to put himself at the head of the party and the Government, if one can be made, not objecting to John's leading the H. of C. This is also the object of Palmerston, who would join *Ld. Lansdowne's* Cabinet, but would not serve *under* John R., though he would not object to serve *with* him.¹ The Duke <of Bedford> came here to talk it over with me, saying he did not think John would kick at this plan, but that Lansdowne would never consent to it. I told him I did not think Lansdowne's consent so impossible as he imagined, but of course he only could or would agree to it upon its being urged upon him by John himself, and as the only way in which the Liberal Party could be united and any Government formed. We agreed, however, and in this Clarendon strongly concurred, that it would be better not to write to John on the subject (who is in Scotland), but to wait till He and his Brother meet, when the matter can be talked over; for if it is broached now all will depend on the view which his wife and her family take of the proposal, and if they should be adverse to it, they would poison his mind and render him difficult if not impracticable. But even if he should fully assent, it would only get rid of one difficulty, and I much doubt whether with such a numerous and compact Ministerial party and such a divided Opposition (agreeing only in hostility to Derby, and split on almost every great subject) it would be possible to form any other Government, much less one with strong and harmonious action.

August 2nd.—At Goodwood all last week; glorious weather and the whole thing very enjoyable; a vast deal of great company—D. of Cambridge, D. of Mecklenburg,² D. of Parma,³ D. of Saxe-Weimar,⁴ Father of P<rince> Edward. Derby was there—not in his usual uproarious spirits, chaffing and laughing from morning till night, but

¹ Curious that this scheme was eventually realised, not under Lord Lansdowne, but under Lord Aberdeen.—G.

² George, Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (1779–1860), nephew of Queen Charlotte; stayed at Shanklin, Isle of Wight, July 1852. His eldest son, Frederick William, married Princess Augusta of Cambridge in 1843.

³ Charles III, Duke of Parma (1823–54).

⁴ Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, brother of the reigning Grand Duke Charles Frederick. His eldest son, Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar (1823–1902), was brought up in England by Queen Adelaide his aunt; joined the British army, 1841; married Lady Augusta Lennox, 1851; served in the Crimea, 1855; field-marshal, 1897.

cheerful enough, though more sedate than is his wont. We had no political talk at all, at least no general talk; but as the party was mainly Derbyite they communed no doubt amongst each other. They are by way of being very well satisfied with the result of the elections, and their adherents predict a long tenure of office. Derby, half in joke and half in earnest, talked of something that was to happen in a year's time, which he said would probably see them out again. It is not yet admitted as a fact what the gain to Government is, nor what the relative numbers are, but it may be taken roughly at about 300 and odd Derbyites, thoroughgoing supporters; 50 or 60 that cannot be reckoned as belonging to either party; and the rest divided into various sections of opposition and greatly at variance with each other, except in a common sentiment of aversion and determined hostility to the Government.

G. Lewis, whom I saw yesterday, gave me a deplorable account of the moral and intellectual state of the constituency of Herefordshire, enough to shake the strongest faith in popular institutions, and reliance on what is called the good sense of the people. In Herefordshire the battle was fought entirely upon the question of Free Trade. There was no religious element there. He was beat by the Farmers and the small Proprietors, men with small landed properties, by whom any diminution of rent was severely felt; and by the Clergy, who went against him to a man because their incomes had likewise suffered by the fall in the price of grain on which their tithes commutation is calculated. All these classes are animated with resentment against Free Traders, and deceived by the vague promises of the Government that some great relief is to be afforded to them in some unknown shape. The small freeholders were all for Lewis, and if they had voted for him as they had promised he would have gained his election; but no sort of intimidation and violence was spared towards them by the large Farmers, and they were frightened and driven to forfeit their pledges, and to vote against him. Their ignorance, he says, is complete. They never see a metropolitan newspaper, and the very little they read is in the local journals, which only seem to foster their prejudices and maintain their delusions. In many instances the voters did not know whom they were going to vote for, nor even who were the Candidates. They were made to vote against the Free Traders, and

sent to the poll with tickets for the three Protectionists. Out of all this chaos and confusion, so much delusion, such ignorance and easily excited bigotry, such vague and crude political ideas and wishes, the only wonder is that a House of Commons somehow emerges and presents itself which is tolerably respectable in character and ability, and able to discharge its constitutional duties with credit and efficiency.

August 9th, Monday.—I called on Graham on Friday and found the Duke of Bedford with him. He was exceedingly dejected at the state of public affairs and the result of the elections, which he considered as more favourable to the Government than he had ever anticipated they would be; thinks the amount of bribery and violence which have prevailed has given a great stimulus to the question of ballot, for which the desire is rapidly extending, and that it will be difficult to oppose it. At the same time he thinks the evil and mischief of the ballot enormous, and more dangerous in its democratic tendency than any other measure of reform. He said he was in constant and very friendly communication with John Russell, and he considers (in the event of a change of Government) that no arrangement will be feasible except placing him at the head of another Government. The Duke told him there was a scheme afloat to get Lord Lansdowne to take the chief place, which many of the discontented Liberals thought the only plan by which the party could be kept together, but Graham scouted this as impossible. This is what Palmerston wants, because it would remove his difficulty; but G. thinks it will be impossible for any real reconciliation to take place between J. R. and Palmerston, and that there would be so many other difficulties, especially with Aberdeen (whom the Peelites regard as their chief), that Palmerston's return to office at all is out of the question, and he evidently regards as no improbable contingency a junction between Palmerston and Derby, which, we both told him, was quite inconsistent with the language of both P. and Ly. P., who always talked as if he belonged to the Liberal Party, and evinced a great dislike and contempt for the Derby Government.

We then talked of the quarrel with America about the fisheries,¹

¹ In the summer of 1852 Sir John Pakington, as Colonial Secretary, addressed a dispatch to the Governor of Canada stating his intention to interpret the Fisheries Convention of 1818 with the United States in a manner more favourable to Canadian demands. This

which G. looked upon as very serious, being in the hands of such ignorant blunderers as Pakington and Malmesbury, whose precipitancy and imprudence had created the difficulty; and he contemplates the possibility of Palmerston, moved by hatred and rivalry of Aberdeen, making common cause with the Government and joining them on the pretext of taking up a national question and fighting a national battle; but neither the D. nor I would agree to this being likely. G. told us he had had a very friendly correspondence with Gladstone, to whom he had written to congratulate him on his election, and he read Gladstone's reply, which was very cordial and amicable.

The death of D'Orsay, which took place the other day at Paris, is a matter (not of political, but) of some social interest. Nature had given him powers which might have raised him to very honorable distinction, and have procured him every sort of success, if they had been well and wisely employed, instead of the very reverse. He was extremely good-looking, very quick, lively, good-natured, and agreeable, with considerable genius, taste for, and knowledge of art, and very tolerably well-informed. Few *amateurs* have excelled him as a painter and a sculptor, though his merit was not so great as it appeared, because he constantly got helped, and his works retouched by eminent artists, whose society he cultivated, and many of whom were his intimate friends. His early life and connexion with the Blessington family was enveloped in a sort of half mystery, for it was never exactly known how his ill-omened marriage was brought about; but the general notion was, that Lord Blessington and Lady B. were equally in love with him, and it is certain that his influence over him was unbounded.¹ Whatever his relations may have been with the rest of the family, he at all events devoted his whole life to her, and em-

pronouncement was followed up by the dispatch of a squadron to North American waters, with orders to prevent American fishermen from fishing in the disputed areas; and the ill-feeling thus produced in the United States was not dispelled until a new treaty was concluded in 1854.

¹ It was Lord Blessington who induced Alfred D'Orsay, then a very young man, to throw up his commission in the Guards of the King of France (for which the French never forgave him), and to become a member of the Blessington family. This was done with a formal promise to the count's family that he should be provided for, and a marriage was accordingly brought about between him and the only daughter and heiress of Lord Blessington by his first marriage, which turned out very ill. R.

ployed all his faculties in making Gore House (where they resided together for many years) an attractive and agreeable abode. His extravagance at one period had plunged him into inextricable difficulties, from which neither his wife's fortune, a large portion of which was sacrificed, nor the pecuniary aid of friends, on whom he levied frequent contributions, were sufficient to relieve him, and for some years he made himself a prisoner at Gore House, and never stirred beyond its four walls (except on a Sunday) to avoid being incarcerated in a more irksome confinement. Nothing, however, damped his gaiety, and he procured the enjoyment of constant society, and devoted himself assiduously to the cultivation of his talent for painting and sculpture, for which he erected a studio in the garden. He was extremely hospitable, and managed to collect a society which was very miscellaneous, but included many eminent and remarkable men of all descriptions, professions, and countries, so that it was always curious and often entertaining. Foreigners of all nations were to be met with there, especially Exiles and notabilities of any kind. He was the friend of Louis Napoleon and the friend of Louis Blanc, both of whom at different times I met at Gore House. He had a peculiar talent for drawing people out, and society might have been remarkably agreeable there if the Lady of the House had contributed more to make it so, but She was so vulgar, unrefined and unnatural, and so totally without grace and tact, that She was a drawback instead of an ornament and agrément to the society. Of course no women ever went there, except a few who were in some way connected with D'Orsay and Ly. B., and exotic personages, such as Madame Guiccioli, who lived with them whenever she came to England. There never was a foreigner who so completely took root in England as D'Orsay, except perhaps the Russian Matuscewitz. He spoke and wrote English perfectly, and he thoroughly understood the country. He was always ridiculing the crude and absurd notions which his own countrymen formed of England; they came here, and after passing a few weeks in scampering about seeing sights, they fancied they thoroughly understood the genius and the institutions of the country, and talked with a pretension and vain complacency which D'Orsay used to treat with excessive contempt, and lash with unsparing ridicule. He had in fact become thoroughly English in tastes, habits

and pursuits; his antecedent life, his connexion with Lady Blessington, and the vague but prevalent notion of his profligate and immoral character, made it impossible for him to obtain admission into the best society, but he managed to gather about him a miscellaneous but numerous assemblage of personages not fastidious, or troubled by any scruples of a refined morality, which made Gore House a considerable social notability in its way. Lyndhurst and Brougham were constant guests; the Buïwers, Landseer, Macready, all Authors, Artists, and men eminent in any liberal profession, mixed with Strangers of every country and colour; and D'Orsay's fashionable associates made the House a very gay and often agreeable resort. Whatever his faults may have been, and his necessities made him unscrupulous and indelicate about money matters, he was very obliging, good-natured, and serviable; partly from vanity and ostentation, but also in great measure from humane motives, he was always putting himself forward to promote works of charity and beneficence, and he exerted all the influence he possessed (which was not inconsiderable) to assist distressed genius and merit in every class. He was very anti-Orleanist during the reign of Louis Philippe, and though his connexions were Legitimate, his personal sympathies were enlisted on the side of L. Napoleon, with whom he had considerable intimacy here, and whose future greatness he always anticipated and predicted. When the derangement of Lady Blessington's affairs broke up the establishment at Gore House, and compelled her to migrate to Paris, D'Orsay naturally expected that the elevation of L.N. would lead to some good appointment for himself, and he no doubt was deeply mortified at not obtaining any, and became a frondeur in consequence. It was, however, understood that the President wished to give him a mission (and he certainly was very near being made Minister at Hanover) but that his Ministers would not consent to it. He was unpopular in France and ill-looked upon, in consequence of having quitted the army when ordered on active service, in what was considered a discreditable manner, and consequently his social position at Paris was not near so good as that which he enjoyed in England, though it was of the same description, as he lived chiefly with Authors, Artists, and Actors, or rather Actresses; but a short time ago, when the President was become omnipotent and could dis-

pense his patronage and his favors as he pleased, he created a place for D'Orsay¹ which exactly suited his taste, and would have made the rest of his life easy, if he had continued to live, and his Patron continued to reign.

August 11th.—A great deal of communication has been taking place between the D. of Bedford, Clarendon, and Graham, who are all in town, and between them, by correspondence, and John Russell, Lansdowne, Grey, and others; the result of the whole exhibiting a deplorable state of disunion and disorganisation in the Liberal party, and the prospect of enormous and apparently irreconcilable difficulties when they come together. John R. and Graham are upon very intimate and cordial terms, and so are John and Aberdeen. The Whigs are divided, some being entirely for John Russell, while others, still resenting his past conduct, and many personally dissatisfied with him, are strongly opposed to his being again Prime Minister. The Peelites (Graham thinks) would not consent to join a Government of which he was to be at the Head. The object of Fortescue and others is to reconstitute the Whig Party with additions, and Lansdowne at the head of it. In the course of a very friendly and frank correspondence Graham has lately intimated to John the objections that might be raised in certain quarters to his being again Prime Minister, to which he responded without any anger, but said he had long ago made up his mind not to belong to any Government unless he was replaced in his old post, and that he should consider it 'a degradation' to accept any other; but if a Liberal Government was formed under another Chief he would give it every aid in his power. Graham combated the idea of its being any degradation to take another office, and give way to another Chief, if circumstances imperatively demanded such a sacrifice of him, and said it could be no degradation to him to be what Mr. Fox was in 1806, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and leader of the H. of C. The D. of B. wrote to John on the same topic, and told him what he had heard from different quarters; but John took it ill, and wrote a much crosser letter than he did to Graham, and Lady John wrote a very angry one, so that it is evident the question of Headship will itself be very difficult to arrange.

Then there is the question of Reform in Parliament. To this John R.

¹ Connected with the Department of the Fine Arts.

is entirely and irrevocably committed, and Graham thinks he can return to office on no other terms, while Lansdowne and several of the leading Whigs are vehemently opposed to it, and the former would certainly not accept the office of Premier, probably not join the Government at all, except on an understanding that there should be no Reform at all, or a measure infinitely less than John R. is committed to. Then Palmerston is against Reform, and the Peelites are divided or undecided about it. Newcastle would go with J.R. and be a Reformer; Gladstone and Sidney Herbert might *probably* go the other way. The Whig Party are divided also, and I own I do not see how any other Government could by possibility be formed which could obtain Liberal support enough to stand, and yet agree on this question. In the event of a change another election would be indispensably necessary; and if the question of Reform was to be the one put before the country for its decision, it is as likely as not that the Country would decide against it. Most assuredly at the recent election 'Reform' found no very extensive favor among the constituencies, and a good deal of Derby's popularity arose from the notion that his is a Conservative Government, and a barrier against revolutionary measures. *At this moment*, while there is general prosperity and content, the country is in a Conservative humour, and does not wish for organic changes, nor will it wish for any such until pressure or distress of some sort shall occur, when it might be excited and deluded into a desire for change. What public opinion requires is reform of the law, and those amendments of an administrative kind which lead to practical results intelligible to all, and these the Derby Government may give the people, and will do so if they are wise. This Government is certainly on the whole rather popular than not, and its ambiguous and insincere conduct has failed to discredit it with those who were favorable to its advent to power. [Nobody seems to care for its base and mean conduct, and] it has got the whole body of the agriculturists, all the Church, and a large proportion of the wealthy middle classes on its side, at least 300 devoted adherents in the H. of Commons, and an Opposition in a state of disunion, without a Leader, and full of personal antipathies, and incompatible objects, opinions and pretensions. A more hopeless fix I never recollect. If this Government were better composed, and its members had more

experience and ability, and higher principles, it would have little difficulty in maintaining itself against such a discordant Opposition; but so far as one can judge, it seems probable that they will create great reverses for themselves by their blunders, and by the disgust which their dishonesty has given, and will give, to some of the more consistent or more obstinate of their own friends.

The Duke of Rutland confided to the D. of Bedford the other day that he is very uneasy about Granby, who is extremely dissatisfied with the course the Government is taking, and much inclined to give utterance to his feelings and opinions. His Father has done his best to pacify him, but finds him very difficult to move. The Duke of R. remonstrated that he would seriously injure the Government he was attached to, and his own brother, who was a member of it; to which he replied he would not abstain from attacking his own Brother if he chose to desert the principles he had always maintained. The D. of B. told the D. of R. he thought Granby's feelings did him great credit; that though his conclusions were unsound, his conscientious adherence to the principles he had always avowed, and still maintained, were very honorable to him, and so he should tell him when he saw him. This schism is important, and if they cannot muzzle Granby will prove very injurious to the Government; but I suppose they will talk him over before Parliament meets, and humbug him as they have done so many others, at least for a time. Meanwhile in the midst of such confusion and difficulty as the Liberal cause is involved in, John Russell has taken one step towards clearing the way, for he has requested Aberdeen to communicate with Gladstone, Newcastle, and Sidney Herbert, and ascertain what their disposition is concerning a junction, and what their views are. This may probably lead to something one way or another.

August 28th.—Went to Bolton Abbey for two days before York races, then to Nun Appleton for them; since that to Brocket, and back to town.¹ Found nothing new except a letter from J. R. to Clarendon, the contents of which greatly surprised C. and the D. of B., as he said

¹ In a letter to Mrs Henry Baring, dated August 26th, 1852, Greville writes: 'I had a very good week at York in a small way. . . I won, stakes and bets and all, about £5000 and ought to have won much more' (*Letters of Greville and Reeve*, p. 212). Greville's horse 'Frantic' won the Ebor St Leger and his 'Adine' the Yorkshire Oaks and the Great Ebor Handicap.

(in reference to Reform) that he was not disposed to insist on disfranchisement, and certainly should not propose it against the opinion and wishes of many of his friends. For this moderation and concession they were not prepared. The great question for the Liberal party to decide now is, whether they shall propose any amendment to the Address, and John Russell and Charles Wood both think this should not be done without absolute necessity, but that if anything is said in the Queen's Speech indicative of Protectionist intentions, or any slur thrown on Free Trade, then they cannot avoid some affirmative expression of their own principles and of the benefits resulting from them; but nothing will be decided on till Parliament meets and they know what Derby is going to do. They have made Granby Lord-Lieutenant of Lincolnshire, which will probably have the effect of stopping his mouth, if it does not remove his discontent.

Cowley has been to me to consult me about a communication he has had from Derby about his Proxy, which D. has desired to have placed in his hands. C., who accepted the post at Paris from the late Government on the express condition that it should not be a political appointment, and he not bound to support them in the H. of Lords, justly thinks it would be inconsistent with that understanding if he were now to join this Government and give them his proxy, and he has declined to do so. He had an interview with Derby, and told him all this. D. took it ill, drew up and said he thought this a different case, and that he ought to give him the Proxy. He added that he was placed in a very difficult position, not even knowing that he had a majority in the H. of L., and as he considered this the last chance of establishing a Conservative Government in this country he felt bound to make every exertion to maintain himself in power, and he *intimated* as much as that on his consent to give his proxy would depend his retaining the Embassy. C. and I concocted a letter to Derby, in which he gave his reasons for declining to do this, but that he would place it in the Duke of Wellington's hands. This is not of much importance; but it evinces (from Derby's tone as well as conduct) a sense of insecurity and difficulty as to his position greater than I thought he felt.

They don't appear to have so great a contempt for Malmesbury at the F.O. as I should have expected. Mellish of the Foreign Office told me the other day that he had one very good quality, firmness; that

his firmness brought about the settlement of the Danish question, and in the office he was evidently resolved to maintain his own authority against young Stanley who was disposed to encroach on it. He said he had seen Malmesbury put down Stanley with great tact, when the other showed a disposition to take upon himself. The fact is, he is not a stupid man at all, but ignorant and inexperienced to the greatest degree.

August 31st, Tuesday.—To Brocket with Clarendon on Saturday, and came back yesterday. Before I went, I saw Graham, and found him fully persuaded that a change is about to take place in the Government, which (if it does) he fancies he has indirectly been instrumental in bringing about. He said that Goulburn came to him the other day and told him Walpole (who is a great friend of Goulburn's) is very sick of his office, and annoyed at the mess he has got into about the Militia; that he wanted very much to be Solicitor-General originally, and that he now finds himself thrown out of his profession of the law, and holding a situation which he may lose any day, is thereby in fact ruined. Graham said, Why don't he take the vacant Vice-Chancellorship? and Derby may offer the Home Secretaryship to Palmerston, who is the man (if any can) to get them out of the Militia difficulty. Goulburn seemed to catch at this suggestion, and Graham has no doubt he suggested it to Walpole; and he has entirely persuaded himself that the arrangement will take place. He says Disraeli would concede the lead to Palmerston, and as P. would only join on Protection being formally abandoned, it would give Derby a capital opportunity of giving it up and of satisfying his party by giving them Palmerston, and with him a secure tenure of office. He says, if P. joined, Gladstone would probably follow, and then they would have a strong Government; all the Conservatives opposed to Reform would rally round it, and they would be able to go on. Clarendon and I talked it over, and without arriving at Graham's conclusions, we both agreed that this arrangement was not improbable. It seems to be the interest both of Derby and Palmerston to make it; and if Protection should be given up, there appears no difference between them, for Palmerston is a strenuous Anti-Reformer. It seems John Russell has written to Graham in the same terms as to Clarendon, and said he would not propose any disfranchisement

without the assent of his Whig friends. Graham sent him a letter of Joe Parkes' in which that worthy said the Radicals were well disposed towards John, and he sketched the sort of Reform Bill that ought to be proposed, to which John wrote rather a lofty answer, and in a more peremptory style than Graham liked. The truth is he is in this fix, that he cannot do much without offending the Whigs, nor little without alienating the Radicals; nor do I see how this difficulty is to be got over.

London, September 18th, Saturday.—It was at Doncaster on Wednesday morning last that I heard of the Duke of Wellington's death, which at first nobody believed, but they speedily telegraphed up to London, and the answer proved that the report was correct. Doncaster was probably the only place in the Kingdom where the sensation caused by this event was not absorbing and profound; but there, on the morning of the St. Leger, most people were too much occupied with their own concerns to bestow much thought or lamentation on this great national loss. Everywhere else the excitement and regret have been unexampled, and the Press has been *admirable*, especially the 'Times,' the biographical notice and article in which paper [have been exceedingly admired—they] were both composed many months ago, and submitted to me, the one by Delane and the other by Reeve, who wrote it in the course of the winter. But the notices of the Duke and the characters drawn of him have been so able and elaborate in all the newspapers, that they leave little or nothing to be said of him. Still, there were minute traits of character and peculiarities about the Duke which it was impossible for mere public writers and men personally unacquainted with him to seize, but the knowledge and appreciation of which are necessary in order to form a just and complete conception of the man. In spite of some foibles and faults, he was, beyond all doubt, a very great man—the only great man of the present time—and comparable, in point of greatness, to the most eminent of those who have lived before him. His greatness was the result of a few striking qualities—a perfect simplicity of character without a particle of vanity or conceit, but with a thorough and strenuous self-reliance, a severe truthfulness, never misled by fancy or exaggeration, and an ever-abiding sense of duty and obligation which made him the humblest of citizens and most obedient of subjects. The

Crown never possessed a more faithful, devoted, and disinterested subject. Without personal attachment to any of the Monarchs whom he served, and fully understanding and appreciating their individual merits and demerits, he alike revered their great office in the persons of each of them, and would at any time have sacrificed his ease, his fortune, or his life, to serve the Sovereign and the State. Passing almost his whole life in command and authority, and regarded with universal deference and submission, his head was never turned by the exalted position he occupied, and there was no duty, however humble, he would not have been ready to undertake at the bidding of his lawful superiors, whose behests he would never have hesitated to obey. Notwithstanding his age and his diminished strength, he would most assuredly have gone anywhere and have accepted any post in which his personal assistance might have been essential to the safety or advantage of the State. He had more pride in obeying than in commanding, and he never for a moment considered that his great position and elevation above all other subjects released him from the same obligation which the humblest of them acknowledged. He was utterly devoid of personal and selfish ambition, and there never was a man whose greatness was so *thrust* upon him. It was in this dispassionate unselfishness, and sense of duty and moral obligation, that he was so superior to Napoleon Bonaparte, who, with more genius and fertility of invention, was the Slave of his own passions, unacquainted with moral restraint, indifferent to the well-being and happiness of his fellow-creatures; and who in pursuit of any objects at which his mind grasped trampled under foot without remorse or pity all divine and human laws, and bore down every obstacle and scorned every consideration which opposed themselves to his absolute and despotic will. The Duke was a good-natured, but not an amiable man; he had no tenderness in his disposition, and never evinced much affection for any of his relations. His nature was hard, and he does not appear to have had any real affection for anybody, man or woman, during the latter years of his life and since the death of Mrs. Arbuthnot, to whom he probably was attached, and in whom he certainly confided. Domestic enjoyment he never possessed, and, as his wife was intolerable to him (though he always kept on decent terms with her, at least, ostensibly), he sought the pleasure of women's society in a

variety of capricious liaisons (from which his age took off all scandal), that he took up or laid aside and changed as fancy and inclination prompted him. His intimate friends and adherents used to smile at these senile engouements, but sometimes had to regret the ridicule to which they would have exposed him if a general reverence and regard had not made him a privileged person, and permitted him to do what no other man could have done with impunity. In his younger days he was extremely addicted to gallantry, and had great success with women, of whom one in Spain gained great influence over him, and his passion for whom very nearly involved him in serious difficulties. His other Ladies did little more than amuse his idle hours and subserve his social habits, and with most of them his liaisons were certainly very innocent. He had been very fond of Grassini,¹ and the successful lover of some women of fashion, whose weaknesses have never been known, though perhaps suspected. These habits of female intimacy and gossip led him to take a great interest in a thousand petty affairs, in which he delighted to be mixed up and consulted. He was always ready to enter into any personal matters, intrigues, or quarrels, political or social difficulties, and to give his advice which generally (though not invariably) was very sound and good; but latterly he became morose and inaccessible, and cursed and swore at the people who sought to approach him, even on the most serious and necessary occasions.

Although the Duke's mind was still very vigorous, and he wrote very good papers on the various subjects which were submitted for his judgement and opinion, his prejudices had become so much stronger and more unassailable, that he gave great annoyance and a good deal of difficulty to the Ministers who had to transact business with him. He was opposed to almost every sort of change and reform in the military administration, and it was a task of no small difficulty to steer between the exigencies of public opinion and his objections and resistance. And as it was always deemed an object to keep him in good humour, and many considerations forbade anything like a dissension with him, and an appeal against him to the public, the late Ministers

¹ Josephine Grassini (1773-1850); made her *début* as a *contralto* at the Scala, Milan, 1794; sang at the *fête nationale* in the Champ de Mars, Paris, 1800; spent two years in London, 1804-6; engaged by Napoleon as a Court singer, 1806-15; sang at Milan, 1817, but had lost her voice.

often acted, or refrained from acting, in deference to his opinions and against their own, and took on themselves all the responsibility of maintaining his views and measures, even when they thought he was wrong. His habits were latterly very solitary, and after the death of Arbuthnot he had no intimacy with any one, nor any friend to whom he could talk freely and confidentially. As long as Arbuthnot lived he confided everything to him, and those who wished to communicate with the Duke almost always did so through him.

Notwithstanding the friendly and eulogistic terms in which he spoke of Sir Robert Peel just after his death, it is very certain that the Duke disliked him and had a bad opinion of him, and during the latter part of their Administration he seldom had any communication with Peel except such as passed through Arbuthnot. The Duke deeply resented, and I believe never heartily forgave, Peel's refusal to have anything to do with the Administration he so unwisely undertook to form on Lord Grey's sudden resignation in 1832, in the middle of the Reform contest; but this did not prevent his advising King Wm. to make Peel Prime Minister, and taking office under him in 1835, and again in 1841. They acted together very harmoniously during Peel's Administration, but the Duke (though he sided with Sir Robert when the schism took place) in his heart bitterly lamented and disapproved his course about the Repeal of the Corn Laws, not so much from aversion to Free Trade as because it produced a fresh and final break-up of the Conservative Party, which he considered the greatest evil which could befall the country. But whatever may have been his real sentiments with regard to various public men, he never allowed any partialities or antipathies to appear in his manner or behaviour towards them, and he was always courteous, friendly, and accessible to all (especially those in office) who had recourse to him for his advice and opinion. He had all his life long been accustomed to be consulted, and he certainly liked it to the last, and was pleased with the marks of deference and attention which were continually paid to him.

His position was eminently singular and exceptional, something between the Royal Family and other subjects. He was treated with greater respect than any individual not of Royal birth, and the whole Royal Family admitted him to a peculiar and exclusive familiarity and intimacy in their intercourse with him, which, while he took it in

the easiest manner, and as if naturally due to him, he never abused or presumed upon. No man was more respectful or deferential towards the Sovereign and other Royal personages, but at the same time he always gave them his opinions and counsels with perfect frankness and sincerity, and never condescended to modify them to suit their prejudices or wishes. Upon every occasion of difficulty, public or private, he was always appealed to, and he was always ready to come forward and give his assistance and advice in his characteristic plain, and straitforward manner. If he had written his own memoirs, he might have given to the world the most curious history of his own times that ever was composed, but he was the last man to deal in autobiography. One of his peculiarities was never to tell anybody where he was going, and when my brother or his own Sons wished to be acquainted with his intentions or his whereabouts, they were obliged to apply to the Housekeeper, to whom he was in the habit of making them known, and nobody ever dared to ask him any questions on the subject. He was profuse but careless and indiscriminating in his charities, and consequently he was continually imposed upon, especially by people who pretended to have served under him, or to be the descendants or connexions of those who had, and it was very difficult to restrain his disposition to send money to every applicant who approached him under that pretence. Partly from a lofty feeling of independence and disinterestedness, and partly from indifference, he was a very bad Patron to his relations and adherents, and never would make any applications for their benefit. The consequence was that he was not an object of affection, even to those who looked up to him with profound veneration and respect. He held popularity in great contempt, and never seemed touched or pleased at the manifestations of popular admiration and attachment of which he was the object. Whenever he appeared in public he was always surrounded by crowds of people, and when he walked abroad everybody who met him saluted him; but he never seemed to notice the curiosity or the civilities which his presence elicited.

October 22nd.—As usual a long interval, for since the Duke's death I have had nothing to write about. The distribution of his offices and honors has not given satisfaction. The Prince has shown little judgment in making himself the Heir of his military appointments; and

there is something ridiculous as well as odious in his doing so. The appointment of Fitzroy Somerset would have been more popular than that of Hardinge to the command of the army, especially with the army; but I have no doubt the Court insisted on having Hardinge, who is a great favourite there.

Matters in politics remain much as they were. There has been a constant interchange of letters between John Russell and his leading friends and adherents, and conversations and correspondence between these and Palmerston, the result of the whole being a hopeless state of discord and disagreement in the Liberal party, so complete that there appears no possibility of all the scattered elements of opposition being combined into harmonious action, the consequence of which can hardly fail to be the continuance in office of the present Government. The state of things may be thus summed up: John Russell declares he will take no office but that of Premier, considering any other a degradation; but he does not want office, and if a Liberal Government can be formed under anybody else he will give it his best support. He resents greatly the expressed sentiments of those who would put him by and chuse another Prime Minister, and this resentment his belongings foster as much as they can. Palmerston professes *personal* regard for John, but declares he will never again serve *under* him, though he would *with* him, and his great object has been to induce Ld. Lansdowne to consent to put himself at the head of a Government (if this falls) under whom he would be willing to serve, and he would consent to John's leading the H. of C. as heretofore. This he communicated to the Duke of Bedford in conversation at Bocket, and he afterwards wrote a detailed account of that conversation to Lansdowne himself, which was an invitation to him to act the part he wished to allot to him. Lansdowne wrote him an answer in which he positively declined to put himself at the head of a Government, stating various reasons why he could not, and his conviction that John Russell was the only man who could be at the head of one hereafter. With regard to other opinions, Graham is heart and soul with John, and decidedly in favor of his supremacy. The Whig party are divided, some still adhering to him; others, resenting his conduct in the past Session and distrusting his prudence, are anxious for another Chief, but without having much considered how another

is to be found, nor the consequences of deposing him. The Radicals are in an unsettled and undecided state, neither entirely favorable nor entirely hostile to John; the Peelites are pretty unanimously against him, and not overmuch disposed to join with the Whig party, being still more or less deluded with the hope and belief that they may form a Government themselves. Graham has always maintained (and, as I thought, with great probability) that it would end in Palmerston's joining Derby, and at this moment such an arrangement seems exceedingly likely to happen. There were two or three articles not long ago in the 'Morning Post' (his own paper) which tended that way. I have just been for two days to Broadlands, where I had a good deal of talk with him and with her, and I came away with the conviction that it would end in his joining this Government. He admitted it to be a possible contingency, but said he could not come in *alone*, and only in the event of a remodelling of the Cabinet and a sweep of many of the incapables now in it. Sidney Herbert, who was there, told me he had talked to him in the same tone, and talked of eight seats being vacated in the Cabinet, and as if he expected that nobody should *certainly* remain there but Derby, Disraeli, and the Chancellor. It is evident from this that it depends on Derby himself to have him, and if he frames measures and announces principles such as would enable Palmerston with credit and consistency to join him, and if he will throw over a sufficient number of his present crew, he may so strengthen his Government as to make it secure for some time. It may, however, be a matter of considerable difficulty to turn out a great many colleagues, and as much for Palmerston to find people to bring in with him; for though he is very popular, and finds any amount of cheering in the House of Commons, he has no political adherents whatever, and if Derby was to place seats in the Cabinet at his disposal he has nobody to put into them, unless he could prevail on Gladstone, Herbert, etc. to go with him, which does not seem probable.

November 3rd.—Since writing the above, circumstances have occurred which may have an important influence on future political events. John Russell, whether moved by his own reflexions or the advice or opinions of others I know not, has entirely changed his mind and become more reasonable, moderate, and pliable than he has hitherto shown himself. He has announced that if it should here-

after be found practicable to form a Liberal Government under Lord Lansdowne, he will not object to serve under him, only reserving to himself to judge of the expediency of attempting such an arrangement, as well as of the Government that may be attempted to be formed. The letter in which he announced this to Lord L. was certainly very creditable to him, and evinced great magnanimity. He desired it might be made known to Palmerston, which was done by Lord L. and P. replied with great satisfaction, saying, 'for the first time he now saw daylight in public affairs.' Lord L. was himself gratified at John's conduct to him, but he said that it would expose him to fresh importunities on the part of Palmerston, and he seems by no means more disposed than he was before to take the burthen on himself, while he is conscious that it will be more difficult for him to refuse. He has been suffering very much, and is certainly unequal (physically) to the task, and (*le cas échéant*) he will no doubt try to make his escape; but, from what I hear of him, I don't think he will be inexorable if it is made clear to him that there is no other way of forming a Liberal Government, and especially if John himself urges him to undertake it.

The other important matter is a correspondence, or rather a letter from Cobden to a friend of his, in which he expresses himself in very hostile terms towards John Russell and Graham likewise, abuses the Whig Government, and announces his determination to fight for Radical measures, and especially the ballot. This letter was sent to Lord Yarborough, by him to the D. of Bedford, and by the Duke to John. He wrote a reply, or, more properly, a comment on it, which was intended to be, and I conclude was, sent to Cobden; a very good letter, I am told, in which he vindicated his own Government, and declared his unalterable resolution to oppose ballot, which he said was with him a question of principle, on which he never would give way. The result of all this is a complete separation between John and Cobden, and therefore between the Whigs and the Radicals. What the ultimate consequences of this may be it is difficult to foresee, but the immediate one will probably be the continuation of Derby in office. John is going to have a parliamentary dinner before the meeting, which many of his friends think he had better have left alone. He wrote to Graham and invited him to it. G. declined, and said he

should not come up to the meeting. To this John responded that he might do as he pleased about dining, but he warned him that his absence at the opening of the Session would give great umbrage to the party and be injurious to himself. G. replied that he would come up, but he has expressed to some of his correspondents his disapproval of the dinner. Charles Villiers agrees with him about it, and so do I, but the Johnians are very indignant with Graham, and consider his conduct very base, though I do not exactly see why.

The question of national defence occupies everybody's mind, but it seems very doubtful if any important measures will be taken. The Chancellor told Senior that the Government were quite satisfied with Louis Napoleon's pacific assurances, and saw no danger. It is not clear that John Russell partakes of the general alarm, and whether he will be disposed (as many wish that he should) to convey to Derby an intimation that he will support any measure he may propose for the defence of the country, nor is it certain that Derby would feel any reliance on such assurances after what passed when he came into office. On that occasion Derby called on John (who had just advised the Queen to send for him) and said on leaving him, 'I suppose you are not going to attack me and turn me out again,' which John assured him he had no thoughts of, and directly after he convoked his Chesham Place meeting, which was certainly not very consistent with his previous conduct, nor with his engagement to Derby.

(March 13th, 1863. (C. C. G.))

(*End of Vol. III of Additional MS. 41119.*)

London, November 11th, 1852. I passed two days at The Grove with John Russell the end of last and beginning of this week, when he was in excellent health and spirits, and a very reasonable composed state of mind. There were Wilson, Panizzi, G. Lewis, and the D. of Bedford; very little talk about politics, except in a general way. John has been engaged in literary pursuits as the Executor of Moore and the Depositary of Fox's papers, and he is about to bring out two volumes of Moore¹ and one of Fox,² but in neither is there to be much of his own composition; he has merely arranged the materials in each.

¹ *Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, edited by Lord John Russell, 8 vols. 1853 6.

² *Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox*, edited by Lord John Russell, 2 vols. 1853.

There has been great curiosity about the Queen's Speech, and a hundred reports of difficulties in composing it, and of dissensions in the Cabinet with regard to the manner in which the great question should be dealt with. As I know nothing certain on the subject, I will spare myself the trouble of putting down the rumours, which may turn out to be groundless or misrepresented. A great fuss has been made about keeping the Speech secret. They refused to communicate it to the newspapers, and strict orders were given at the Treasury to allow nobody whatever to see it. Derby, however, wrote to John that as he had always sent it to him, he should do the same, and accordingly he received it, and read it at his dinner, but those present were bound on honor not to communicate the contents of it. John and his friends have been all along determined, if possible, to avoid proposing an amendment.

There was a Peelite gathering at a dinner at Hayward's, the day before yesterday, at which Gladstone, S. Herbert, Newcastle, F. Charteris, Sir J. Young, and others were present; and Hayward told me they were all united, resolved to act together, and likewise averse to an amendment if possible; but from the manner in which they have dealt with Free Trade, it is very doubtful whether Cobden at least, if not Gladstone, will not insist on moving an amendment. A very few hours will decide this point.¹

<November> 12th.—The question of Protection or Free Trade, virtually settled long ago, was formally settled last night, Derby having announced in terms the most clear and unequivocal his final and complete abandonment of Protection, and his determination to adhere to, and honestly to administer, the present system. His speech was received in silence on both sides. There has not yet been time to ascertain the effect of this announcement on the various parties and individuals interested by it.

November 16th.—Went yesterday to the lying in state of the D. of Wellington;² fine and well done, but too gaudy and theatrical, though

¹ The new Parliament was opened by the Queen in person on November 11th.—*R.*

² The body of the Duke of Wellington was brought on November 10th from Walmer Castle to the hall of Chelsea Hospital, where it lay in state November 11–17th. On the 13th, the first day the general public were admitted, two women and a man were crushed to death. The funeral at St Paul's took place on the 18th, when it was estimated that a million and a half spectators were present.

this is unavoidable. Afterwards to St. Paul's to see it lit up. The effect was very good, but it was like a great rout; all London was there strolling and staring about in the midst of a thousand workmen going on with their business all the same, and all the fine Ladies scrambling over vast masses of timber, or ducking to avoid the great beams that were constantly sweeping along. These public funerals are very disgusting *meâ sentiâ*. On Saturday several people were killed and wounded at Chelsea; yesterday everything was orderly and well conducted, and I heard of no accidents.

Charles Villiers' motion, after much consultation and debate, whether it should be brought on or not, settled in the affirmative, was concocted by the Peelites at a meeting at Aberdeen's, Graham present. Nothing could be more moderate, so moderate that it appeared next to impossible the Government could oppose it. Yesterday morning there was a Ministerialist meeting in Downing Street, when Derby harangued his followers.

November 21st.-- I saw the Duke's funeral from Devonshire House. Rather a fine sight, and all well done, except the Car, which was tawdry, cumbrous, and vulgar. It was contrived by a German artist attached to the School of Design, and under Prince Albert's direction --no proof of his taste. The whole ceremony within St. Paul's and without went off admirably, and without mistakes, mishaps, or accidents; but as all the newspapers overflow with the details I may very well omit them here.

Now that this great ceremony is over, we have leisure to turn our thoughts to political matters. I have already said that Villiers proposed a mild resolution which was drawn up by Graham at Aberdeen's house, and agreed to by the Peelites.¹ Then came Derby's meeting, where he informed his followers that he must reserve to himself entire liberty of dealing with Villiers' resolution as he thought best, but if he contested it, and was beat, he should not resign. He then requested that if anyone had any objection to make, or remarks to offer, on his proposed course, they would make them then and

¹ On November 23rd Mr Charles Villiers moved resolutions in the House of Commons, declaring the adherence of Parliament to the principles of Free Trade and approving the repeal of the Corn Laws. Mr Disraeli moved an amendment, not directly adverse. But this amendment was withdrawn in favour of one more skilfully drawn by Lord Palmerston. On this occasion Lord Palmerston rendered an essential service to Lord Derby's Government. R.

there, and not find fault afterwards. They all cheered, and nobody said a word; in fact they were all consenting to his abandonment of Protection, many not at all liking it, but none recalcitrant. After this meeting there was a reconsideration of Villiers' resolution. Cobden and Co. complained that it was too milk and water, and required that it should be made stronger. After much discussion Villiers consented to alter it, and it was eventually put on the table of the House in its present more stringent form. John Russell was against the alteration, and Gladstone and the Peelites still more so; but C. V. thought he could not do otherwise than defer to Cobden, after having prevailed on the latter to consent to no amendment being moved on the Address. There is good reason to believe that the Government would have swallowed the first resolution, but they could not make up their minds to take the second; and accordingly Disraeli moved an amendment in the shape of another resolution, and the battle will be fought on the two, Dizzy's just as strongly affirming the principle of Free Trade as the other, but it omits the declaration that the measure of '46 was 'wise and just.' At this moment nobody has the least idea what the division will be, nor how many of the most conspicuous men will vote, nor what the Government will do if they are beat. Moderate men on the Liberal side regret that the original resolution was changed, deprecate the pitched battle, and above all dread that the Government may resign if they are beat, which would cause the greatest confusion, nothing being ready for forming a Government on the Liberal side, and the Government would go out with the advantage of saying that they were prepared with all sorts of good measures which the factious conduct of their opponents would not let them produce. Things have not been well managed, and I expect the result of all these proceedings will be damaging to the Liberal interest, and rather advantageous to Derby.

An incident occurred the other night in the H. of C., which exposed Disraeli to much ridicule and severe criticism. He pronounced a pompous funeral oration on the D. of Wellington, and the next day the 'Globe' showed that half of it was taken word for word from a panegyrick of Thiers on Marshal Gouvion de St. Cyr,¹ published in

¹ Marshal Laurent Gouvion St Cyr (1764-1830); commanded the French army in Catalonia, 1808-9; *maréchal de France*, 1812; Minister for War, 1817-19; died at Hyères, March 17th, 1830.

some French periodical. D'I. has been unmercifully pelted ever since, and well deserves it for such a piece of folly and bad taste. His excuse is, that he was struck by the passage, wrote it down, and, when he referred to it recently, forgot what it was, and thought it was his own composition.¹ But this poor apology does not save him. Derby spoke very well on the same subject a few nights after in the H. of Lords, complimenting the authorities, the people, and foreign nations, particularly France. It is creditable to L(ouis) N(apolcon) to have ordered Walewski to attend the funeral.²

On Saturday night, about twelve o'clock, Mary Berry died after a few weeks' illness, without suffering, and in possession of her faculties, the machine worn out, for She was in her goth year. As She was born nearly a century ago, and was the contemporary of my Grandfathers and Grandmothers, She was already a very old woman when I first became acquainted with her, and it was not till a later period (about twenty years ago) that I began to live in an intimacy with her which continued uninterrupted to the last. My knowledge of her early life is necessarily only traditional. She must have been exceedingly good-looking, for I can remember her with a fine commanding figure and a very handsome face, full of expression and intelligence. It is well known that She was the object of Horace Walpole's octogenarian attachment, and it has been generally believed that he was anxious to marry her for the sake of bestowing upon her a title and a jointure, which advantages her disinterested and independent spirit would not allow her to accept. She continued nevertheless to make the charm and consolation of his latter days, and at his death She became his literary Executrix, in which capacity She edited Madame du Defand's letters. She always preserved a great veneration for the memory of Lord Orford, and has often talked to me about him. I gathered from what She said that She never was herself quite sure whether he wished to marry her, but inclined to believe that she might have been

¹ The two passages are printed in Appendix C of vol. iii. of Buckle's *Life of Disraeli*.

² Count Walewski, then French Ambassador in London, expressed some reluctance to attend the funeral of the conqueror of Napoleon I, upon which Baron Brunnow said to him, 'If this ceremony were intended to bring the Duke to life again, I can conceive your reluctance to appear at it; but as it is only to bury him, I don't see you have anything to complain of.' -R.

his wife had She chosen it. She seems to have been very early initiated into the best and most refined society, was a constant inmate of Devonshire House and an intimate friend of the Duchess, a friendship which descended to her children, all of whom treated Miss Berry to the last with unceasing marks of attention, respect, and affection. She had been very carefully educated, and was full of literary tastes and general information, so that her conversation was always spirited, agreeable, and instructive; her published works, without exhibiting a high order of genius, have considerable merit, and her 'Social Life in England and France' and 'The Life of Rachel, Lady Russell,' will always be read with pleasure, and are entitled to a permanent place in English literature; but her greatest merit was her amiable and benevolent disposition, which secured to her a very large circle of attached friends, who were drawn to her as much by affectionate regard as by the attraction of her vigorous understanding and the vivacity and variety of her conversational powers. For a great many years the Miss Berrys were amongst the social celebrities of London, and their house was the continual resort of the most distinguished people of both sexes in politics, literature, and fashion. She ranked amongst her friends and associates all the most remarkable literary men of the day, and there certainly was no house at which so many persons of such various qualities and attainments, but all more or less distinguished, could be found assembled. She continued her usual course of life, and to gather her friends about her, till within a few weeks of her death, and at last She sank by gradual exhaustion, without pain or suffering of any kind, in possession of her faculties, and with the happy consciousness of the affectionate solicitude and care of the friends who had cheered and comforted the last declining years of her existence. To those friends her loss is irreparable, and besides the private and individual bereavement it is impossible not to be affected by the melancholy consideration that her death has deprived the world of the sole survivor of a once brilliant generation, who in her person was a link between the present age and one fertile in great intellectual powers, to which our memories turn with never failing curiosity and interest.

December 4th.—Last week the H. of Commons was occupied with the 'Resolutions,' the whole history of which was given by Graham,

and which need not be repeated here.¹ The divisions were pretty much what were expected, and the only interesting consideration is the effect produced, and the influence of the debate on the state of parties. Palmerston is highly glorified by his small clique, and rather smiled on by the Tories, but he has given great offence to both Whigs and Radicals, and removed himself further than ever from a coalition with John Russell and the Liberal party. John himself (who made a very good speech) rather gained reputation by his behaviour throughout the transaction, and is on better terms both with Cobden, Bright, and Co., and his own party, than he has been for some time past. Disraeli made a very imprudent speech, which disgusted many of his own adherents, and exposed him to vigorous attacks and a tremendous castigation on the part of his opponents, by Bernal Osborne in the coarser, and Sidney Herbert in more polished style. The Protectionists generally cut a very poor figure, and had nothing to say for themselves. 'If people wish for *humiliation*,' said Sidney Herbert, 'let them look at the benches opposite.' But all the dirt they had to eat, and all the mortification they had to endure, did not prevent the Derbyites from presenting a compact determined phalanx of about three hundred men, all resolved to support the Government, and to vote through thick and thin, without reference to their past or present opinions. The Ministerial papers and satellites toss their caps up and proclaim a great victory, but it is difficult to discover in what the victory consists. It certainly shows that they are strong and devoted if not united.

After the division there was a good deal of speculation rife as to Palmerston's joining the Government, which his friends insist he will not do. I am disposed to think he will. Since that we have had Beresford's affair in the H. of Commons, and Clanricarde's folly in the Lords. Cockburn produced a strong *primâ facie* case against Beresford, and the Committee has been appointed on his case, and proceeds to business on Monday.² Clanricarde chose *de son chef* to propose a resolution like that of the Commons, which Derby refused to

¹ After three nights' debate, the resolutions moved by Mr Villiers were negatived by 256 to 236, and the motion adroitly substituted for them by Lord Palmerston in favour of 'unrestricted competition' was carried by 468 against 53, being accepted by the Government. R.

² This related to proceedings with reference to the recent election at Derby. R.

take and offered another in its place, which Clanricarde has taken. He gave Derby the opportunity he wanted of setting himself right with his own party, who, albeit resolved to support him, are smarting severely under his complete abandonment of Protection, and the necessity to which they are reduced of swallowing the nauseous Free Trade pill. He will make the dose more palatable by soothing their wounded pride. Clanricarde went to Ld. Lansdowne and told him what he proposed to do. L. objected, but Clanricarde said he did it individually and would take all the responsibility on himself, on which L. very unwisely ceased to object. His purpose is to take no responsibility on himself.

December 6th.—Ever since the termination of the 'Resolutions' debate the world has been in a state of intense curiosity to hear the Budget, so long announced, and of which such magnificent things were predicated. The secret was so well kept that nobody knew anything about it, and not one of the hundred guesses and conjectures turned out to be correct. At length on Friday night Disraeli produced his measure in a House crowded to suffocation with Members and Strangers. He spoke for five and a half hours, much too diffusely, spinning out what he might have said in half the time. The Budget has been on the whole tolerably well received, and may, I think, be considered successful, though it is open to criticism, and parts of it will be fiercely attacked, and he will very likely be obliged to change some parts of it. But though favorably received on the whole, it by no means answers to the extravagant expectations that were raised, or proves so entirely satisfactory to all parties and all interests as Disraeli rather imprudently gave out that it would be. The people who regard it with the least favor are those who will be obliged to give it the most unqualified support, the Ex-Protectionists, for the relief or compensation to the landed interest is very far from commensurate with their expectations. It is certainly of a Free Trade character altogether, which does not make it the more palatable to them. He threw over the West Indians, and (Pakington, their Advocate, sitting beside him) declared they had no claim to any relief beyond that which he tendered them, viz. the power of refining sugar in bond—a drop of water to one dying of thirst. I think it will go down, and make the Government safe. This I have all along thought they would be, and

every day seems to confirm this opinion. They have got from three hundred to three hundred and fifteen men in the H. of Commons who, though dissatisfied and disappointed, are nevertheless determined to swallow everything and support them through thick and thin, and they have to encounter an opposition, the scattered fractions of which are scarcely more numerous, but which is in a state of the greatest confusion and disunion, and without any prospect of concord amongst them.

The Duke of Bedford came to me yesterday, and told me he had never been so disheartened about politics in his life, or so hopeless of any good result for his party, in which he saw nothing but disagreement and all sorts of pretensions and jealousies incompatible with any common cause, and Aberdeen, whom I met at dinner yesterday, is much of the same opinion. The principal object of interest and curiosity seems now to be whether Palmerston will join them or not. On this the most opposite opinions and reports prevail. Just now it is said that he has resolved not. At all events, if he does, he will have to go alone, for he can take nobody with him, as it certainly is his object to do. But it does not appear now as if there was the least chance of Gladstone or S. Herbert joining him. The D. of B. told me that both Derby and Palmerston were in better odour at Windsor than they were, and that the Q. and P. approve of Pam's move about the Resolutions and think he did good service. Aberdeen also thinks that though the Whigs and Radicals are angry with him, and that his proceeding was unwarrantable, he stands in a better position in the Country, and has gained credit and influence by what he did. Abroad, where nobody understands our affairs, he is supposed to have played a very great part and to have given indubitable proof of great political power.

December 9th. Within these few days the Budget, which was not ill received at first, has excited a strong opposition, and to-morrow there is to be a pitched battle and grand trial of strength between the Government and Opposition upon it, and there is much difference of opinion as to the result. The Government have put forth that they mean to resign if beat upon it. Derby and Disraeli were both remarkably well received at the Lord Mayor's dinner the night before last, and this is an additional proof that, in spite of all their dis-

reputable conduct, they are not unpopular, and I believe, if the Country were polled, they would as soon have these people for Ministers as any others. Nobody knows what part Palmerston is going to take.

December 18th, Saturday.—The last few days have been entirely occupied by the interest of the Budget debate and speculations as to the result. We received the account of the division at Panshanger yesterday morning, not without astonishment; for although the opinion had latterly been gaining ground that the Government would be beat, nobody expected such a majority against them.¹ Up to the last they were confident of winning. The debate was all against them, and only exhibited their weakness in the H. of C. It was closed by two very fine speeches from Disraeli and Gladstone, very different in their style, but not unequal in their merits.

Panshanger, <December> 19th.—Went to town yesterday morning to hear what was going on. Derby returned from Osborne in the middle of the day, and the Queen had sent for Lords Lansdowne and Aberdeen. She had been gracious to Derby, and pressed him to stay on, if it were only for a short time. I saw Pat Talbot,² and from the few words he let drop I gathered that they had already resolved to keep together, and to enter on a course of bitter and determined opposition. Not that he said this, of course, but he said that he had no idea of any new Government that might be formed being able to go on even for a short time, and that they would very speedily be beat out again. The language of the Carlton corresponds with this, and I have no doubt they will be as virulent and as mischievous as they can. It remains to be seen (if a good Government is formed) if some will not be more moderate, and disposed to give the new Cabinet a fair trial.

Clarendon writes me word that the meeting at Woburn (J. Russell, Aberdeen, Newcastle, and himself) has been altogether satisfactory, everybody ready to give and take, and anxious to promote the common cause, without any selfish views or prejudices. Newcastle

¹ The division on the Budget took place on December 16th after five nights' debate, the numbers being—for the Government, 286; against, 305; adverse majority, 19.—*R.*

² The Hon. Wellington Patrick Manvers Chetwynd Talbot (1817–98), eighth son of second Earl Talbot; private secretary to Lord Derby in 1852; Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Lords, 1858–98; married Lady Emma Stanley, only daughter of fourteenth Earl of Derby, 1860; K.C.B., 1897.

particularly reasonable, disclaiming any hostility to J. R., and only objecting to his being *at present* the *nominal* head of the Government, because there is (right or wrong) a prejudice against him, which would prevent some Liberals and some Peelites joining the Government if he was; but he contemplates his ultimately resuming that post, and he (N.) is ready to do anything in place or out. No disposition there to take in Cobden and Bright, but they would not object to Molesworth.

Went over to Brompton just now, and found the Palmerstons there. He is not pleased at the turn matters have taken, would have liked the Government to go on at all events some time longer, and is disgusted at the thought of Aberdeen being at the Head of it. This is likewise obnoxious to the Whigs at Brooks's, and there will be no small difficulty in bringing them to consent to it, if Lansdowne refuses. Beauvale said if P(almerston) had not been laid up, and prevented going to the H. of C., he thinks this catastrophe would not have happened, for P. meant to have done in a friendly way what C. Wood did in an unfriendly one, and advised Disraeli to postpone and remake his Budget, and this advice so tendered he thinks Dizzy would have taken, and then the issue would have been changed and deferred till after the recess. But I don't believe this fine scheme would have taken effect, or that Dizzy would or could have adopted such a course. Beauvale says he is pretty sure Palmerston will not take office under Aberdeen's Premiership; on the other hand, Aberdeen has no objection to him, and is pretty sure to invite Palmerston, if the task devolves upon him. Ellice fancies Lansdowne will decline, and that Aberdeen will fail, and that it will end in Derby coming back, reinforced by P. and some Peelites. The difficulties are certainly enormous, but by some means or other I think a Government will be formed. The exclusions will be very painful, and must be numerous. Derby met Granville and others at the station on Friday, and he said he calculated the new Cabinet could not consist of less than thirty-two men, and many then left out. It will be a fine time to test the amount of patriotism and unselfishness that can be found in the political world.

<December> 21st.—Came to town yesterday morning, heard that the day before (Sunday) a very hostile feeling towards Aberdeen had been prevailing at Brooks's, but no doubt was entertained that the

Government would be formed. In the afternoon Clarendon came to me in his way to the H. of Lords, and told me all that had passed up to that time. On receiving the Queen's summons, a meeting took place between Lansdowne and Aberdeen at L<ansdowne> House, at which each did his best to persuade the other to accept the commission to form a Government. Lansdowne pleaded absolute physical inability, and his friends seem to be quite satisfied that he really could not undertake it. Accordingly Aberdeen gave way, and departed for Osborne (on a reiterated summons) and, after telling the Queen all that had passed between L. and himself, undertook the task. Nothing could be more cordial all this time than the relations between himself and John Russell; but as soon as it became known that Aberdeen was to form the new Government, certain friends of John Russell set to work to persuade him that it would be derogatory to his character to have any concern in it, and entreated him to refuse his concurrence. These were David Dundas and Romilly, and there may have been others. This advice was probably the more readily listened to, because it corresponded with his original view of the matter and his own natural disposition, and it produced so much effect that yesterday morning he went to Lansdowne and told him that he had resolved to have nothing to do with the new Government. Lansdowne was thunderstruck, and employed every argument he could think of to change this resolution. It so happened that he had written to Macaulay and asked him to call on him to talk matters over, and Macaulay was announced while John was still there. Lansdowne told him the subject of their discussion, and the case was put before Macaulay with all its pros and cons for his opinion. He heard all Lansdowne and John had to say, and then delivered his opinion in a very eloquent speech, strongly recommending John to go on with Aberdeen, and saying that, at such a crisis as this, the refusal of his aid (which was indispensable for the success of the attempt) would be little short of treason. John went away evidently shaken, but without pronouncing any final decision. Clarendon then called at L<ansdowne> H<ouse> and heard these particulars, and entreated him to go and see L. John and try his influence over him. C. had the day before given him his opinion in writing to the same effect as Macaulay's. He went, saw him, and repeated all he had before written. John took

it very well, and, when he left him, said, 'I suppose it will be as you wish,' and when I saw C. he seemed reassured, and tolerably confident that this great peril of the whole concern being thus shipwrecked in limine had passed away. After the H. of Lords where I heard Derby's strange and inexcusable speech, we again discussed the matter, when he said John had raised another difficulty, for he said he would not take the F. O., alleging (not without truth) that it was impossible for him or any man to perform the duties of so laborious an office and lead the H. of Commons. John also signified to C. that he should insist on his being in the Cabinet, which C. entreated him not to require. Newcastle (who was there) suggested that John might take the F. O. for a time, and if he found the two duties incompatible, he might give it up, and Clarendon seemed to think this might be done, and at all events he means to persuade John (as no doubt he will) to make up his mind to take it, for his not doing so would certainly be very inconvenient. Should John prove obstinate in this respect, I have no doubt C. will himself be put there.

We talked about the Great Seal, and Senior had been with Lord Lansdowne, who appears to incline very much to getting Sugden to stay if he will, but Senior thinks he will not; certainly not, unless with the concurrence of his present Colleagues, which it is doubtful if Derby in his present frame of mind would give. The Chancellor was at Derby's meeting in the morning, which looks like a resolution to go out with them. It will be a good thing if he will remain, but it will do good to the new Government to invite him, whether he accepts or refuses. We talked of Brougham, but C., though anxious to have Brougham in as President of the Council, thinks he would not do for the Woolsack, and that it will be better to have Cranworth if Sugden will not stay. There is a great difficulty in respect to the retiring pension. There can only be four, and Sugden's will make up the number, so that a fresh Chancellor could have none except at the death of one of the others. The worst part of the foregoing story is, that John will not join cordially and heartily, and it is impossible to say, during the difficult adjustment of details, what objections he may not raise and what embarrassments he may not cause.

There was a meeting at Derby's yesterday morning, at which he told them he would continue to lead them, and he recommended a

moderation, in which he probably was not sincere, and which they will not care to observe. Ld. Delawarr got up and thanked him. Nothing can be more rabid than the party and the ex-ministers, and they are evidently bent on vengeance and a furious opposition. I fell in with Drumlanrig¹ and Ousely Higgins² yesterday morning, one a moderate Derbyite (always Free Trader), the other an Irish Brigadier. D. told me he knew of several adherents of Derby who were resolved to give the new Government fair play, and would not rush into opposition, and O. H. said he thought the Irish would be all right, especially if (as the report ran) Granville was sent to Ireland; but there is no counting on the Irish Brigade, whose object it is to embarrass every Government. If they could be friendly to any, it would, however, be one composed of Aberdeen, Graham, and Gladstone, the opponents of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.

December 22nd, Wednesday.—Went to The Grove yesterday afternoon, found a letter Clarendon had received from Lansdowne in bad spirits enough. He had seen Aberdeen, who had received no answer from John Russell, and A. was prepared, if he did not get his acceptance the next morning (yesterday morning) to give the thing up. L. was greatly alarmed and far from confident J. would agree, at all events, that he would not take the F. O., in which case L. said He (C.) must take it. Nothing could look worse. This morning C. received a letter from Aberdeen announcing that John had agreed to lead the H. of C., but either without office or with a nominal one, and asking C. to take the Foreign Office. We came up to town together, he meaning to accept unless he can prevail on John to take it, if it be only for a time, and he is gone to see what he can do with him. He told me last night that when he was at Woburn last week, the Duke informed him that he had had a confidential communication from Stockmar, asking for his advice, whom the Q. should send for if the Government was beat and if Derby resigned. He had just received this letter, and had not answered it, and consulted C. what he should say. C. advised him to recommend L<ansdowne> and A<berdeen>, and he wrote to that effect. The very morning after the division, just as they were

¹ Archibald William Douglas (1818–58), Viscount Drumlanrig and afterwards eighth Marquess of Queensbury; M.P. for Dumfries, 1847–56; Comptroller of the Household, 1853–6; succeeded his father in the peerage, 1856.

² George Gore Ousely Higgins, M.P. for Mayo, 1847–57.

going hunting, the hounds meeting at the door, a Queen's Messenger arrived with another letter, requesting he would communicate more fully his sentiments at the present crisis. The Messenger was ordered to keep himself secret, and not to let his mission transpire. The D., under Clarendon's advice, wrote a long letter back, setting forth in detail all that had, not long ago, passed about Palmerston and Lansdowne, and his notions of the difficulties and exigencies of the present time. He said that it was evident John could not make a Government, and that he was himself conscious of it.

I had heard recently that the Court had changed their sentiments about Palmerston, and particularly that they were satisfied with his move on Villiers' motion. But C. informed me that, though this latter fact might be true, there was not much difference as to their feelings generally; and that when Derby formed his Government and proposed to H.M. that Pam should be invited, She had said She would not oppose his being in the Cabinet, but never would consent to his being either at the Foreign Office or Leader of the H. of C.; and She then said and has since repeated that no Minister whatever would be able to go on who committed the lead in the H. of C. to P.'s hands.¹

(December) 23rd. It appears that on Tuesday (21st) Aberdeen went to Palmerston, who received him very civilly, even cordially, talked of old times, and reminded him that they had been acquainted for sixty years (since school), and had lived together in the course of their political lives more than most men. Aberdeen offered him the Admiralty, saying he considered it in existing circumstances the most important office, and the one in which he could render the greatest service to the country, but if he for any reason objected to that office, to say what he would have. P. replied that he had no hostile feeling towards him, but they had for so many years been in strong opposition to each other, that the public would never understand his taking office in A.'s Government, and he was too old to expose himself to such misconceptions. And so they parted, on ostensibly very friendly terms, which will probably not prevent Pam's joining Derby and going into furious opposition. In the course of the day yesterday both Clarendon and Lansdowne called on P., and he expressed great satisfaction at Clarendon's appointment to the F.O.

¹ Curious and not true. — G.

In the afternoon I called on Lady Clanricarde, who gave me to understand that Clanricarde was likely to become a personage of considerable influence and power (and therefore worth having), inasmuch as the Irish Band had made overtures to him, and signified their desire to act under his guidance. She said this was not the first overture he had received of the kind from the same quarter; that for various reasons he had declined the others, but she thought at the present time he might very well listen to it; that they were very anxious to be led by a gentleman, and a man of consideration and station in the world. All this, to which I attach very little credit, was no doubt said to me in order to be repeated, and that it might impress on Aberdeen and his friends and colleagues the importance of securing Clanricarde's services and co-operation; and I am the more confirmed in this by receiving a note from the Marchioness in the evening, begging I would not repeat what she had told me.

There was nothing new yesterday in the purlieu of Whiggism, but I think somewhat more of acquiescence, and a disposition to regard this combination as inevitable. The Derbyites quite frenzied, and prepared to go any lengths. Lonsdale told me the party were delighted with Derby's indecent speech in the H. of Lords, which seems to have been rehearsed at his own meeting the same morning; and the other day twenty ruffians of the Carlton Club gave a dinner there to Beresford, to celebrate what they consider his *acquittal*! After dinner, when they got drunk, they went upstairs, and finding Gladstone alone in the drawing-room, some of them proposed to throw him out of the window. This they did not quite dare to do, but contented themselves with giving some insulting message or order to the Waiter, and then went away.

Hatchford, 24th, Friday.—The great event of yesterday was Palmerston's accession to the Government. Lord Lansdowne had called on him the day before, and had, I suspect, little difficulty in persuading him to change his determination and join the new Cabinet. He said he would place himself in Ld. L.'s hands, and yesterday morning I heard (as a secret, though it was speedily published) that he had agreed to take the Home Office. The next thing was Johnny's consent to take the Foreign Office. This he was persuaded to do by Clarendon, who engaged (if he would) to help him in the work, and relieve him

by taking it himself the moment John should find himself unequal to it, and on these conditions he consented. It was settled that Gladstone should be Chancellor of the Exchequer, but Delane went to Aberdeen last night for the purpose of getting him to change this arrangement on the ground of the difficulty there would be about the Income Tax.

The important part of forming the Cabinet is now done, and nothing remains but the allotment of the places. It will be wonderfully strong in point of ability, and in this respect exhibit a marked contrast with the last; but its very excellence in this respect may prove a source of weakness, and eventually of disunion. The late Cabinet had two paramount Chiefs, and all the rest nonentities, and the nominal Head was also a real and predominant Head. In the present Cabinet are five or six first-rate men of equal or nearly equal pretensions, none of them likely to acknowledge the superiority or defer to the opinions of any other, and every one of these five or six considering himself abler and more important than their Premier. They are all at present on very good terms and perfectly satisfied with each other; but this satisfaction does not extend beyond the Cabinet itself; murmurings and grumbings are already very loud. The Whigs have never looked with much benignity on this coalition, and they are now furious at the unequal and, as they think, unfair distribution of places that every Peelite should be provided for while half the Whigs or more are left out. These complaints are not without reason, nor will it make matters better that John Russell has had no communication with his old friends and adherents, nor made any struggle (as it is believed) to provide for them, although his adhesion is so indispensable that he might have made any terms and conditions he chose. Then the Radical (to judge from their press) are exceedingly sulky and suspicious, and more likely to oppose than to support the new Government. The Irish also seem disposed to assume a menacing and half-hostile attitude, and, having contributed to overthrow the last Government, are very likely (according to the policy chalked out for them after the election) to take an early opportunity of aiding the Derbyites to turn out this. Thus hampered with difficulties and beset with dangers, it is impossible to feel easy about their prospects. If, however, they set to work vigorously to frame good measures and remove practical and crying evils, they may excite a feeling in their

favor in the country, and may attract support enough from different quarters in the H. of Commons to go on, but I much fear that it will at best be a perturbed and doubtful existence. Such seems the necessary condition of every Government nowadays, and unfortunately there is a considerable party which rejoices in such a state of things, and only desires to aggravate the mischief, because they think its continuance and the instability of every Government will be most conducive to the ends and objects which they aim at.

London, December 28th.—Delane's remonstrances against Gladstone's being Chancellor of the Exchequer were unavailing, but he says he is not tied up by anything he said about the Income Tax. This will nevertheless be a great difficulty, for Graham and Wood, though not perhaps so much committed as Gladstone, are both against the alteration, which the public voice undoubtedly demands. Last night the new Ministers took their places on the Treasury bench, and Derby and Co. moved over to the opposite side. Aberdeen made his statement, which was fair enough and not ill received, but it was ill delivered, and he omitted to say all he might and ought to have said about Lord Lansdowne, nor did he say enough about John Russell. He said, on the other hand, more than enough about foreign policy, and gave Derby a good opportunity of attacking that part of his speech. Derby was more moderate and temperate than the first night, and made a pretty good speech. He was wrong in dilating so much on what had passed in the H. of Commons, and he made very little of the case of combination; he was severe on Graham and his speech at his election at Carlisle, and Graham heard it all. Nobody else said a word.

The Government is now complete, except some of the minor appointments and the Household. It has not been a smooth and easy business by any means, and there is anything but contentment, cordiality, and zeal in the confederated party. The Whigs are excessively dissatisfied with the share of places allotted to them, and complain that every Peelite without exception has been provided for, while half the Whigs are excluded. Though they exaggerate the case, there is a good deal of justice in their complaints, and they have a right to murmur against Aberdeen for not doing more for them, and John Russell for not insisting on a larger share of patronage for his friends.

Clarendon told me last night that the Peelites have behaved very ill, and have grasped at everything, and he mentioned some very flagrant cases, in which, after the distribution had been settled between Aberdeen and John Russell, Newcastle and Sidney Herbert, for they appear to have been the most active in the matter, persuaded Aberdeen to alter it and bestow or offer offices intended for Whigs to Peelites and in some instances to Derbyites who had been Peelites.¹ Clarendon has been all along very anxious to get Brougham into the Cabinet as President of the Council, and he proposed it both to John and Aberdeen, and the latter acquiesced, and C. thought it was going to be arranged that Granville should be President of the Board of Trade, and Brougham President of Council; but Newcastle and Sidney Herbert not only upset this plan, but proposed that Ellenborough should be President of Council, and then, when he was objected to, Harrowby. They also wanted that Jersey should remain Master of the Horse, Jonathan Peel go again to the Ordnance, and Chandos continue a Lord of the Treasury. With what object they wished for these appointments I have not an idea, but the very notion of them is an insult to the Whigs, and will be resented accordingly.

Lansdowne seems to have taken little or no part in all this. He hooked Palmerston, and, having rendered this great service, he probably thought he had done enough. The Whigs at Brooks's are very angry, and Bessborough told me that he thought his party so ill used, that he had implored Lord John to withdraw even now rather than be a party to such injustice. John seems to have been very supine,² and while the Peelites were all activity, and intent on getting all they could, he let matters take their course, and abstained from exercising the influence in behalf of his own followers which his position and the indispensability of his co-operation enabled him to do. This puts them out of humour with him as much as with Aberdeen and his friends.

We had a great reunion here last night, with half the Cabinet at dinner or in the evening. I told Graham what the feelings of the

¹ Cf. a letter from Lord Stanmore in defence of the Peelites and replying to Greville's strictures. (*The Times*, June 13th, 1887, and also printed in the Appendix to the *Memoirs* of Henry Reeve.)

² It was, however, Lord John who prevented Cardwell, the President of the Board of Trade, from having a seat in the Cabinet, on the ground that there were already too many Peelites in it.—G.

Whigs were. He said they had a very large and important share, the Chancellors of England and of Ireland, etc. etc. etc., and he defended some of the appointments and consequent exclusions on special grounds. They have made Monsell¹ (an Irish Catholic convert) Clerk of the Ordnance (together with some other Irish Catholic appointments) and he said that these were necessary in order to reconquer in Ireland what had been lost by the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and that it was of more consequence to conciliate that large part of the Empire than to provide for the Ansons and the Pagets; and on the same ground he justified the appointment of St. Germans instead of Carlisle as Lord Lieutenant. All this may be very true, but the Whigs left out to make room for these substitutes will not be convinced or pacified by the political expediency which Graham sets forth, nor will such appointments be at all popular here. If, however, they really should be the means of rallying the Brigade to the support of the Government, it may be patronage well bestowed. This makes it however a disagreeable start, and may be hereafter productive of serious consequences. Nothing can be more shortsighted, as well as unfair, than the conduct of the Peelites in trying to thrust their own people instead of Whigs into the offices, for they can only hope to keep their places at all by the zealous support of the whole Whig force, themselves bringing next to nothing in point of numbers, and to encounter such a numerous and compact Opposition will require the zealous co-operation of all who wish well to the Liberal cause, and who are against Derby. Newcastle talked to me last night about Aberdeen's speech, acknowledged its deficiencies, and told me he had told Aberdeen what he thought of it. A. acknowledged it all, said he was so unaccustomed to make such statements, that he had forgotten or overlooked it, and wished he could have spoken it again to repair the omission. They all seem *at present* very harmonious among one another.

After dinner last night John Russell and Charles Wood went off to meet Aberdeen, for the purpose, I believe, of settling some of the arrangements not yet fixed. C(larendon) told me that C. Wood had

¹ William Monsell (1812-94), afterwards first Baron Emly; M.P. for Limerick, 1847-74; became a Roman Catholic, 1850; Clerk of the Ordnance, 1852-7; Paymaster-General, 1866-8; Postmaster-General, 1871-3; created baron, 1874.

been of use in stimulating J. R. to interfere and prevent some of the proposed changes which the Peelites wished Aberdeen to make in the list as originally settled between him and John, and it is very well that he did. It is impossible not to see that John himself, though now willing to co-operate and do his best, has never been hearty in the cause, nor entirely satisfied with his own position; and this has probably made him more lukewarm, and deterred him from taking a more active and decided part in the formation of the Government; and he has been prodigiously disconcerted and annoyed by a very offensive article which appeared in the 'Times' a few days ago, speaking of him in a very disparaging manner. He owned to Clarendon that he had been greatly annoyed, and the more so from the well-known fact that the 'Times' was Aberdeen's paper, and De'ane in constant confidential communication with him. Clarendon spoke to Aberdeen about it and remonstrated strongly. A. said it was shameful, and expressed the greatest indignation against De'ane. 'I have not seen *that fellow*,' he said, 'for several days; but if it will be any satisfaction to J. R. I will engage never to let him into my house again.' Such a reparation however C. did not by any means think it would be advisable to exact.

We are just going down to Windsor, the old Government to give up seals, wands, etc., the new to be sworn in. They go by different railways, that they may not meet. It is singular that I have never attended a Council during the nine months Derby was in office, not once;¹ consequently there are several of his Cabinet whom I do not know by sight—Pakington, Walpole, and Henley. With my friends I resume my functions.

December 29th.—Council yesterday at Windsor. I went down with the *ins*, and we saw nothing of the *outs*, who went by another train and Railway. Palmerston there, looking very ill indeed. They all seem on very cordial terms. Graham told me he had had a very friendly conversation with Palmerston, and was greatly rejoiced at being again united to his old colleague. He acknowledged that it was a great mistake in Aberdeen to have offered the Mastership of the Horse to Lord

¹ When Lord Derby's attention was drawn to the fact that since he came into office Greville never attended Privy Council meetings, he said 'he had not observed his absence, as he never knew whether it was John or Thomas who answered the bell.' (Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, vol. ii. p. 153.)

Jersey. A. has now offered the Steward's place to Carlisle, which he will probably not take, and possibly be offended at the offer. I suppose he has been subjected to pressure from various quarters, but Aberdeen might have made a better selection and distribution than he has.¹

¹ The Cabinet of Lord Aberdeen's Administration consisted of the following Ministers: Earl of Aberdeen, First Lord of the Treasury; Lord Cranworth, Lord Chancellor; Earl Granville, Lord President of the Council; the Duke of Argyll, Lord Privy Seal; Mr Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Viscount Palmerston, Home Secretary of State; the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary for Colonies and War; Lord John Russell (and later the Earl of Clarendon), Foreign Secretary; Sir James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty; Mr Sidney Herbert, Secretary at War; Sir Charles Wood, President of the Indian Board; Sir William Molesworth, First Commissioner of Works; the Marquess of Lansdowne without office.—*R.*

January 5th, 1853. - The elections are all going on well, except Gladstone's, who appears in great jeopardy. Nothing could exceed the disgraceful conduct of his opponents, lying, tricking, and shuffling as might be expected from such a party. The best thing that could happen for him would be to be beat, if it were not for the triumph it would be to the blackguards who have got up the contest; for the representation of Oxford is always an embarrassment to a Statesman, and Peel's losing his election there in 1829 was the most fortunate event possible for him. The only speech of the new Ministers calling for special notice is Palmerston's at Tiverton, which appears to me to conceal an *arrière-pensée*. He spoke in civil, even complimentary, terms of the Derby Government, so much so, that if any break-up or break-down should occur in this, and Derby return, there appears no reason why P. should not form a fresh coalition with them; and it looks very much as if he was keeping this contingency in view, and putting himself in such an attitude as should enable him with some plausibility to join the camp of such a restoration.

Botwood, January 12th, Wednesday. - Came here on Monday; Carnings, Harcourt and Lady Waldegrave,¹ Bessboroughs, Elphinstone, Senior, and the family. Senior talked to me about the Government and Reform, and the danger of their splitting on the latter, and propounded a scheme he has for obviating this danger. He wants to have a Royal Commission to enquire into the practice of bribery at elections and the means of preventing it, or, if possible, to have an enquiry of a more extensive and comprehensive character into the state of the representation and the working of the Reform Bill. We talked it over, and I told him I thought this would not be a bad expedient. He had already spoken to Lord Lansdowne about it, who seemed not averse to the idea, and promised to talk to J. Russell on the subject.

¹ Frances Elizabeth Anne, Countess Waldegrave (1821-79), daughter of John Braham, an operatic tenor; married first in 1839, James Henry Waldegrave, illegitimate son of sixth Earl Waldegrave; married secondly in 1840, seventh Earl Waldegrave (brother of her first husband); married thirdly in 1847, George Granville Harcourt, of Nuncham, eldest son of the Archbishop of York; married fourthly in 1863, Chichester Fortescue, afterwards first Baron Carlingford; a leader of London political society, 1847-79; died without issue.

Senior, when he went away, begged me to talk to Lord L. also, which I attempted to do, but without success, for he seemed quite indisposed to enter upon it.

Badminton, January 14th.—Came here from Bowood yesterday.

Beauesert, Wednesday, 19th.—To town on Saturday and here on Monday; Flahaults, Bessboroughs, Ansons, my brothers and the family. Lord Anglesey and Flahault talk over their campaigns, and compare notes on the events of Sir John Moore's retreat and other military operations, in which they have served in opposing armies. Flahault was A.D.C. to Marshal Berthier till the middle of the Russian campaign, when He became A.D.C. to Napoleon, whom he never quitted again till the end of his career. His accounts of what he has seen and known are curious and interesting. He says that one of the Emperor's greatest mistakes and the causes of his misfortunes was his habit of ordering everything, down to the minutest arrangement, himself, and leaving so little to the discretion and responsibility of his Generals and others that they became mere machines, and were incapable of acting, or afraid to act, on their own judgements. On several occasions great calamities were the consequence of this unfortunate habit of Napoleon's.

London, January 24th.—The D. of Bedford called here this morning. I had not seen him for an age; he was just come from Windsor with a budget of matter, which as usual he was in such a hurry that he had not time to tell me. I got a part of it, however. I began by asking him how he had left them all at Windsor, to which he replied, 'bad, very bad. There has been the devil to pay, but it is a long story and I cannot attempt to enter upon it, as I don't like to tell you only half of it.' In reply however to my pressing him to give me some idea of what he alluded to, I got from him what follows:—There was an article some time ago in the 'Globe,' stating that it was settled John Russell should only hold the seals of the F.O. till the meeting of Parliament, when Clarendon was to take them. This was true, for it had been in fact settled between Aberdeen and John that he should give up his office on the 15th February. Well, it appears that the Queen never was apprised of this arrangement, and they learnt it at Windsor through this article in the 'Globe.' She was very indignant, for She is extremely tenacious of her authority in these matters, and

cannot endure that anything should be settled about her Government without her knowledge and consent. This was one of the points on which Melbourne advised Peel (through me) in 1841. The Prince came into the D. of Bedford's room with the paper in his hand, and made bitter complaints. A great shindy was the consequence. The Queen was angry with Aberdeen and with John, and John was angry with Aberdeen— so angry that he had actually written him a very disagreeable letter, which luckily Clarendon was in time to stop and prevent its being sent. The matter is not yet settled, but the Duke is trying to pacify the parties and set it all right, and he was going from me to John for that purpose. John's excuse was that it was the business of the Prime Minister to inform the Queen, and that he concluded he had done so. The Q., besides resenting her not having been informed, disapproved of the arrangement that on a given day, before Parliament had proceeded to business, J. R. should resign the seals. She said that She should make no objection if any good reason could be assigned for what was proposed, either of a public or a private nature, any reason connected with his health or with the transaction of business, but She thought (and She is right) that fixing beforehand a particular day, without any special necessity occurring, is very unreasonable and absurd. Then they are all very angry with John for an exceeding piece of folly of his, in announcing to the Foreign Ministers, the day he received them, that he was only to be at the F. O. for a few weeks. This, as the Duke said, was a most unwise and improper communication, particularly as it was made without any concert with Aberdeen, and without his knowledge, and, in fact, blurted out with the same sort of levity that was apparent in the Durham letter and the Reform announcement, with both of which he has been so bitterly reproached, and which have proved so inconvenient that it might have been thought he would not fall again into similar scrapes. The Ministers themselves were exceedingly astonished, and not a little annoyed. Brunnow said it was a complete mockery, and they all felt that it was unsatisfactory to be put in relation with a Foreign Secretary who was only to be there for a few weeks.

The Duke told me that the Queen is delighted to have got rid of Derby and his Crew. She felt, as everybody else does, that their Government was disgraced by its falsehood, shuffling and prevarica-

tion, and She said that Harcourt's pamphlet¹ (which was all true) was sufficient to show what they were. As She is very honorable and true herself, it was natural She should deeply feel their conduct, which to a certain degree was degrading to herself. Then She was highly indignant at Derby's speech in the H. of Lords on resigning, so indignant that she wrote him a very strong letter on the subject in which she testified her indignation—a letter which brought Derby down to Windsor to apologise and explain. She heard what he had to say, but let him go without telling him she was satisfied with his explanation.

January 29th, Saturday.—Clarendon came here on Thursday and told me more on the same subject as the D. of B. had spoken to me on. It was by a mere accident that he saw J. R. in time to prevent his writing a letter to Aberdeen, which would very probably have produced a break between them. He called on J. at the F. O., found him in the act of sealing a letter, when he said 'I am glad you are come because I should like to show you a letter I have been writing to Lord Aberdeen; but you had better see that, to which it is an answer.' He then made him go into another room while he received Prince Corsini,² when C. read the letters. Aberdeen's was on the subject of the 'Globe' article and upon John's intended course as to the F. O., in a very friendly spirit of remonstrance and certainly nothing the least offensive or unkind. John's reply was bitter, ill-humoured and disagreeable. C. at once told him he must not send such a letter, and then very frankly told him his opinions in that and other things. They were still conversing when Aberdeen was announced. C. got up to go away, but both begged him to stay. A. then said to J. 'Did you get a letter from me? I thought it better to write to you frankly at once.'—'Yes, I got your letter and had written an answer, but Clarendon says I must not send it, so I have put it back in my pocket.'

¹ William George Granville Venables Vernon Harcourt (1827–1904), grandson of Edward Venables Vernon, Archbishop of York; the family name changed from Vernon to Harcourt, 1830; began writing for the *Morning Chronicle*, 1849; published under the pseudonym 'Englishman' an open letter to Lord Derby, 'The Morality of Public Men,' December 1852, and a second letter with the same title in the *Morning Post*, May 1853; Q.C., 1866; Liberal M.P. for Oxford, 1868–80, for Derby, 1880–95, and for West Monmouth, 1895–1904; Solicitor-General, 1873–4; knighted, 1873; Home Secretary, 1880–5; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1886 and 1892–5.

² Prince Andrea Corsini (1804–68), eldest son of Prince Tommaso; Tuscan Foreign Minister, 1849–53.

They then talked amicably, and C. left them together. He hopes this matter may have no further consequences, but there has been a good deal of unlucky misunderstanding on all sides—Aberdeen, John, Queen. The great mistake seems to have been John's not seeing the Q. herself and explaining his position and intentions (as he wished to do), but for some reason which appears incomprehensible Aberdeen objected to his doing so and undertook to explain it all himself, which he either failed to do or (himself under a mistake) gave her an incorrect account of it. Clarendon thinks he has done some good in clearing up the different misunderstandings with the various parties and setting matters right, but he is much disheartened at the necessity for this having so soon arisen and at the evident indisposition and uncordial feeling of John towards the concern he has joined. He hates his own position, and his discontent is no doubt aggravated by his wife and his own and her belongings; and this bodes ill for the concern.

The Queen is very happy to have got rid of Derby and Co. and to have these back, but she don't like the notion of John's leading the H. of C. without an office, says 'but it is unconstitutional.' C. told her it was he believed 'unprecedented' but not a bit unconstitutional, nor would his ministerial responsibility be at all greater for having a subordinate office with a salary of 2000 or 3000 a year. He thinks he satisfied her of this at last. Lansdowne told C. at Windsor that the Cabinet went on in great harmony hitherto, but were in great perplexity about the Income Tax; Molesworth already become very Conservative.

Yesterday Delane called on me, and gave me an account of a curious conversation he had had with Disraeli. D. asked him to call on him, which he did, when they talked over recent events and the fall of the late Government very frankly, it would seem, on D.'s part. He acknowledged that he had been bitterly mortified. When Del. asked him, 'now it was all over,' what made him produce such a Budget, he said, if he had not been thwarted and disappointed, he should have carried it by the aid of the Brigade whom he had *engaged* for the purpose. Just before the debate, one of them came to him (he did not say which but Delane thinks it was Moore¹) and said, if he

¹ George Henry Moore (1811-70); M.P. for Mayo, 1847-57 and 1868-70; a leader of the Tenant-Right movement in Ireland.

would agree to refer Sh⟨arman⟩Cr⟨awford⟩'s¹ Tenant Right Bill to the Select Committee with the Government Bill, they would all vote with him. He thought this too good a bargain to miss, and he closed with his friend on those terms, told Walpole what he had done, desired him to carry out the bargain, and the thing was done. No sooner was the announcement made than Naas and Napier² (who had never been informed) came in a great fury to Dis. and Walpole, complained of the way they had been treated, and threatened to resign. With great difficulty he pacified or rather silenced them, and he was in hopes the storm had blown over, but the next day he found Naas and Napier had gone to Derby with their complaints, and he now found the latter full of wrath and indignation likewise; for Lord Roden, who had heard something of this compromise (i.e. of the T⟨enant⟩R⟨ight⟩ Bill being referred to Committee), announced his intention of asking Derby a question in the H. of Lords. Added to this, as soon as the news reached Dublin, Eglinton and Blackburne³ testified the same resentment as Naas and Napier had done, and threatened to resign likewise. All this produced a prodigious flare-up. Disraeli represented that it was his business to make the Budget succeed by such means as he could, that the votes of the Brigade would decide it either way, and that he had made a very good bargain, as he had pledged himself to nothing more, and never had had any intention of giving any suite to what had been done, so that it could not signify. He did not succeed in appeasing Derby, who, a night or two after in the Lords, repudiated all participation in what had been done, and attacked the Irishmen very bitterly. Disraeli heard this speech, and saw at once that it would be fatal to the Budget and to them, as it proved, for the whole Brigade voted in a body against the Government, and gave a majority to the other side. He seemed in pretty good spirits as to the future, though without for the present any

¹ William Sharman Crawford (1781-1861); M.P. for Dundalk, 1835-7, and for Rochdale, 1841-52; formed Tenant-Right Association in Ulster, 1846; brought forward his Tenant-Right Bill in 1844, 1847, 1848 and February 1852. The Bill was re-introduced in December 1852 and referred to a Select Committee, but got no farther.

² Joseph Napier (1804-82), afterwards first baronet; M.P. for Dublin University, 1848-58; Irish Lord Chancellor, 1858-9; created baronet, 1867.

³ Francis Blackburne (1782-1867); Irish Attorney-General, 1830-4 and 1841; Chief Justice of Queen's Bench in Ireland, 1846-52; Irish Lord Chancellor, 1852 and 1866; Lord Justice of Appeal in Ireland, 1856-66.

definite purpose. He thinks the bulk of the party will keep together. Delane asked him what he would have done with such a Budget if he had carried it. He said they should have remodelled their Government, Palmerston and Gladstone would have joined them (*Gladstone after the debate and their duel!*); during the intervening two or three months the Budget would have been discussed in the country, what was liked retained, what was unpopular altered, and in the end they should have produced a very good Budget which the country would have taken gladly. He never seems to have given a thought to any consideration of political morality, honesty, or truth, in all that he said. The moral of the whole is, that, let what will happen, it will be very difficult to bring Derby and Dis. together again. They must regard each other with real, if not avowed, distrust and dislike. Disraeli said that Derby's position in life and his fortune were so different from his, that their several courses must be influenced accordingly. It is easy to conceive how Derby, embarked (no matter how or why) in such a contest, should strain every nerve to succeed and fight it out; but the thing once broken up, he would not be very likely to place himself again in such a situation, and to encounter the endless difficulties, dangers, and mortifications attendant upon the lead of such a party, and above all the necessity of trusting entirely to such a Colleague as Disraeli in the H. of C. without one other man of a grain of capacity besides. As it is, he will probably betake himself to the enjoyment of his pleasures and amusements, till he is recalled to political life by some fresh excitement and interest that time and circumstances may throw in his way; but let what will happen, I doubt his encountering again the troubles and trammels of office.

January 30th. Yesterday morning F. Lamb (Ld. Beauvale and Melbourne, with whom both titles cease) died at Bocket after a short but severe attack of influenza, fever, and gout. He was in his seventy-first year. Ly. Palmerston thus becomes a rich heiress. He was not so remarkable a man (in character) as his Brother William, less peculiar and eccentric, more like other people, with much less of literary acquirement, less caustic humour and pungent wit, but he had a vigorous understanding, great quickness, a good deal of general information, likewise well versed in business and public affairs, and a

very sensible and intelligent converser and correspondent. He took a deep and lively interest in politics to the last moment of his life, was insatiably curious about all that was going on, and was much confided in and consulted by many people of very different parties and opinions. He never was in Parliament, but engaged all his life in a diplomatic career, for which he was very well fitted, having been extremely handsome in his youth, and always very clever, agreeable, and adroit. He consequently ran it with great success, and was in high estimation at Vienna, where his Brother-in-law, Palmerston, sent him as Ambassador. He was always much addicted to gallantry, and had endless liaisons with women, most of whom continued to be his friends long after they had ceased to be his Mistresses, much to the credit of all parties. After having led a very free and dissolute life, he had the good fortune at sixty years old, and with a broken and enfeebled constitution, to settle (as it is called), by marrying a charming girl of twenty, the daughter of the Prussian Minister at Vienna, Count Maltzahn. This Adine, who was content to unite her May to his December, was to him a perfect Angel, devoting her youthful energies to sustain and cheer his valetudinarian existence with a cheerful unselfishness, which he repaid by a grateful and tender affection, having an air at once marital and paternal. She never cared to go anywhere, gave up all commerce with the world and all its amusements and pleasures, contenting herself with such society as it suited him to gather about them, his old friends and some new ones, to whom she did the honors with infinite grace and cordiality, and who all regarded her with great admiration and respect. In such social intercourse, in political gossip, and in her untiring attentions, his last years glided away, not without enjoyment. He and his brother William had always been on very intimate terms, and William highly prized his advice and opinions; but as Frederic was at heart a Tory, and had a horror of Radicalism in every shape, he was not seldom disgusted with the conduct of the Whig Government, and used sorely to perplex and mortify William by his free and severe strictures on him and his colleagues. He nominally belonged to the Liberal party, but in his heart he was strongly Conservative, and he always dreaded the progress of democracy, though less disturbed than he would otherwise have been by reflecting that no material alteration could possibly

overtake him. His most intimate friends abroad were the Metternichs and Madame de Lieven, and his notions of foreign policy were extremely congenial to theirs. Here, his connexions all lying with people of the Liberal side, he had nothing to do with the Tories, for most of whom he entertained great contempt. Brougham, Ellice, and myself were the men he was most intimate with. He was very fond of his sister, but never much liked Palmerston, and was bitterly opposed to his policy when he was at the F. O., which was a very sore subject between himself and them, and for a long time, and on many occasions, embittered or interrupted their intercourse; but as he was naturally affectionate, had a very good temper, and loved an easy life, such clouds were always soon dispersed, and no permanent estrangement ever took place. He was largely endowed with social merits and virtues, without having or affecting any claim to those of a higher or moral character. I have no doubt he was much more amiable as an old man than he ever was when he was a young one; and though the death of one so retired from the world can make little or no sensation in it, except as being the last of a remarkable family, he will be sincerely regretted, and his loss will be sensibly felt by the few who enjoyed the intimacy of his declining years.

February 8th.—Yesterday I went to see the unhappy Lady Beauvale, and, apart from the sorrow of witnessing so much bodily and mental suffering, it is really a singular and extraordinary case. Here is a woman thirty-two years old, and therefore in the prime of life, who has lost a husband of seventy-one, who had lost the use of his limbs, and whom She had nursed for ten years (the period of their union) with the probable or possible fatal termination of his frequent attacks of gout constantly before her eyes, and She is not merely plunged in great grief at the loss she has sustained, but in a blank and hopeless despair, which in its moral and physical effects seriously menaces her own existence. She is calm, reasonable and docile, talks of him and his illness without any excitement, and is ready to do everything that her friends advise; but she is earnestly desirous to die, considers her sole business on earth as finished, and talks as if the prolongation of her own life could only be an unmitigated evil and intolerable burthen, and that no ray of hope was left for her of any possibility of happiness or even peace and ease for the future. She is in fact broken-

hearted, and that for a man old enough to be her Grandfather and a martyr to disease and infirmity; but to her he was everything; she had consecrated her life to the preservation of his, and she kept his vital flame alive with the unwearied watching of a Vestal Priestess. She had made him an object and an idol round which all the feelings and even passion of an affectionate heart had entwined themselves, till at last She had merged her very existence in his, and only lived in, with, and for him. She saw and felt that he enjoyed life, and she made it her object to promote and prolong this enjoyment. 'Why,' She says, 'could I not save him now, as I saved him heretofore?' and not having been able to do so, She regards her own life as utterly useless and unnecessary, and only hopes to be relieved of it that she may (as she believes and expects) be enabled to join him in some other world.¹

February 9th.—Yesterday Clarendon told me a curious thing about the Emperor Napoleon and his marriage, which came in a round-about way, but which no doubt is true. John Russell told him, having been told it by Aberdeen, to whom the Queen showed a letter She had received from Leopold, which was to this effect:—Madame de Montijo's² most intimate friend is the Marchioness of Santa Cruz, and to her she wrote an account of what had passed about her daughter's marriage and the Emperor's proposal to her. When he offered her marriage, she expressed her sense of the greatness of the position to which he proposed to raise her, when he said, 'It is only fair that I should set before you the whole truth, and let you know that if the position is very high, it is also perhaps very dangerous and insecure.' He then represented to her in detail all the dangers with which he was environed, his unpopularity with the higher classes, the malveillance of the Great Powers, the possibility of his being any day assassinated at her side, his popularity indeed with the masses, but the fleeting character of their favor, but above all the existence of a good deal of disaffection and hostility in the Army, the most serious thing of all.

¹ She lived, however, and married Lord Forester, en secondes noces.—G.

² Maria Manuela, Countess de Montijo, was the daughter of William Fitzpatrick, American consul at Malaga. Her youngest daughter by her marriage with the eighth Count de Montijo, Eugénie Marie (1826–1920), lived in Paris with her mother after 1834; married Louis Napoleon, January 30th, 1853; died at Madrid on a visit to Queen Victoria Eugénie of Spain.

If this latter danger, he said, were to become more formidable, he knew very well how to avert it—by a war; and though his earnest desire was to maintain peace, if no other means of self-preservation should remain, he should not shrink from that, which would at once rally the whole army to one common feeling. All this he told her with entire frankness, and without concealing the perils of his position nor his sense of them, and it is one of the most creditable traits I have ever heard of. It was, of course, calculated to engage and attach any woman of high spirit and generosity, and it seems to have had that effect upon her. It is, however, curious in many ways; it reveals a source of danger that is not apparently suspected, and his consciousness of it; and it shows how, in spite of a sincere wish to maintain peace, he may be driven to make war as a means of self-preservation, and therefore how entirely necessary it is that we should be on our guard, and not relax in our defensive preparations. I was sure from the conversations I had with Flahault at Beaudesert, that he feels the Emperor's situation to be one of insecurity and hazard. He said that it remained to be seen whether it was possible that a Government could be maintained permanently in France on the principle of the total suppression of civil and political liberty, which had the support of the masses, but which was abhorred and opposed by all the elevated and educated classes. The limbs of the body politic with the Emperor, and the head against him.

February 11th. Parliament met again last night. Derby threw off in the Lords by asking Aberdeen what the Government meant to do, which A. awkwardly and foolishly enough declined to give any answer to. The scene was rather ridiculous, and not creditable (I think) to Aberdeen. He is unfortunately a very bad speaker at all times, and, what is worse in a Prime Minister, has no readiness whatever. Ld. Lansdowne would have made a very pretty and dexterous flourish, and answered the question. John did announce in the H. of C. what the Government mean to do and not to do, but they say he did it ill, and it was very flat, not a *brilliant* throw-off.

February 16th.—C. Wood got out of his affairs pretty well. He was too ill to appear, but Aberdeen made a speech for him in the Lords and J. Russell in the Commons; and he made an apology to the

Emperor in the shape of a letter.¹ It all did very well, and so ended without further trouble.

Yesterday Cowley arrived from Paris. He called on me, and gave me an account of the state of things there and some curious details about the Emperor's marriage and his abortive matrimonial projects. He confirms the account of Louis Napoleon's position set forth in Madame de Montijo's letter. The effect of his marriage has been very damaging everywhere, and the French people were not at all pleased at his calling himself a 'parvenu,' which mortified their vanity, inasmuch as they did not like to appear as having thrown themselves at the feet of a *parvenu*. For some time before the marriage was declared, Cowley, from what he saw and the information he received, began to suspect it would take place, and wrote word so to John Russell. Just about this time Walewski went to Paris, and when Cowley saw him he told him so. Walewski expressed the greatest surprise as well as mortification, and imparted to Cowley that a negotiation had been and still was going on for his marriage with the Princess Adelaide of Hohenlohe² (the Queen's niece, at that time and still with the Queen in England). This was begun by Malmesbury, and the Emperor had regularly proposed to her through her Father. A very civil answer had been sent by the Prince, in which he said that he would not dispose of his daughter's hand without her consent, and that he had referred the proposal to her, and she should decide for herself. The Queen had behaved very well, and had abstained from giving any advice or expressing any opinion on the subject. They were then expecting the young Princess's decision. This being the case, Cowley advised Walewski to exert his influence to stop the demonstrations that were going on between the Emperor and the Montijo girl, which might seriously interfere with this plan. The next day Walewski told Cowley that he had seen the Emperor, who took him by both hands,

¹ Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control, made a speech to his constituents at Halifax on February 3rd, in which he commented in severe language on the despotic character of the Imperial Government of France. The speech was thought to be unbecoming in the mouth of a Cabinet minister, and Sir Charles apologised for it. But Mr Disraeli made it the subject of a fierce attack in the House of Commons.—*R.*

² Princess Adelaide of Hohenlohe (1835–1910), daughter of Prince Ernest of Hohenlohe and Princess Feodorovna, Queen Victoria's half-sister; married Frederick VIII, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenburg, 1856; mother of Augusta Victoria, the first wife of the Emperor William II. Napoleon III made an offer for her hand on December 13th, 1852, and received a refusal a fortnight later.

and said, 'Mon cher, je suis pris,' and then told him he had resolved to marry Mile. de M. However, on Walewski representing the state of the other affair, he agreed to wait for the Princess Adelaide's answer, but said, if it was unfavorable, he would conclude the other affair, but if the Pss. accepted him he would marry her. The day following the answer came: very civil, but declining on the ground of her youth and inexperience, and not feeling equal to such a position. The same day the Emperor proposed to the Empress. Cowley says he is evidently much changed since his marriage, and that he is conscious of its unpopularity and the additional insecurity in which it has involved his position. He thinks him in love with her and that she is wholly indifferent to him. Her manners he describes to be neither graceful nor dignified, and in no way attractive; surrounded with much etiquette, for which she does not seem to have any taste. He believes that from the first he forbade her meddling with politicks, and that she never does interfere.

⟨February⟩ 19th. — Cowley told me something more about the marriage. He saw the Queen on Thursday (17th), who told him all about it. The first step was taken by Morny, who wrote to Malmesbury, and requested him to propose it, stating that the Emperor's principal object in it was to 'resserrer les liens entre les deux pays.' M. accordingly wrote to the Queen on the subject. She was extremely annoyed, and very angry at being spoken to about it, justly considering that the proposal, with the reason given, placed her in a very awkward situation, and that it ought not to have been mentioned to her at all. She accordingly wrote to Derby and signified her displeasure at Malmesbury's proceeding. Derby wrote an answer (which Cowley said was rather impertinent in tone) justifying his Colleague, and saying he could not conceive how there could be any embarrassment to the Queen in what he had done.¹ The result was what has been already stated, but with this difference, that the Queen set her face against it and made the girl refuse, who herself desired no better and, if left to herself, would have accepted the offer. However, nobody knows this, and they are very anxious these details should not transpire. The two accounts I have given of this transaction seem to me to afford a good illustration of the uncertainty of the best authenti-

¹ The Queen's letter to Lord Derby, December 14th, 1852, and an abstract of his reply, are printed in the *Letters of Queen Victoria*.

cated historical statements. Nothing could appear more to be relied on than the accuracy of Cowley's first account to me, and if I had not seen him again, or if he had not imparted to me his conversation with the Queen, that account would have stood uncorrected, and an inaccurate version of the story would have been preserved, and might hereafter have been made public, and, unless corrected by some other contemporaneous narrative, would probably have been taken as true. The matter in itself is not very important, but such errors unquestionably are liable to occur in matters of greater moment, and actually do occur, fully justifying the apocryphal character which has been ascribed to almost every historical work.

The Queen seems to be intensely curious about the Court of France and all details connected with it, and on the other hand Louis Napoleon has been equally curious about the etiquette observed in the English Court, and desirous of assimilating his to ours, which in great measure he appears to have done.

Last night there was the first field day in the H. of C., Disraeli having made an elaborate and bitter attack on the Government, but especially on C. Wood and Graham, under the pretence of asking questions respecting our foreign relations, and more particularly with France. His speech was very long, in most parts very tiresome, but with a good deal of ability, and a liberal infusion of that sarcastic vituperation which is his great forte, and which always amuses the H. of C. more or less. It was, however, a speech of devilish malignity, quite reckless and shamelessly profligate; for the whole scope of it was, if possible, to envenom any bad feeling that may possibly exist between France and England, and, by the most exaggerated representations of the offence given by two of the Ministers to the French Government and Nation, to exasperate the latter, and to make it a point of honor with them to resent it, even to the extent of a quarrel with us. Happily its factious violence was so great as to disgust even the people on his own side, and the French Government is too really desirous of peace and harmony to pay any attention to the rant of a disappointed adventurer, whose motives and object are quite transparent.

(March 16th, 1863. <C. C. G.>)

<End of Additional MS. 41119.>

Sunday, February 20th, 1853.—Disraeli's speech on Friday night was

evidently a political blunder, which has injured him in the general opinion, and disgusted his own party. It is asserted that he communicated his intention to his followers, who disapproved of it, but he nevertheless persisted. The speech itself was too long; it was dull and full of useless truisms in the first part, but clever and brilliant in the last; and his personalities were very smart and well aimed; but there was not a particle of truth and sincerity in it; it was a mere vituperation and factious display, calculated to do mischief if it produced any effect at all, and quite unbecoming a man who had just been a Minister of the Crown and leader of the House of Commons, and who ought to have been animated by higher motives and more patriotic views. This was what the more sensible men of the party felt, and Tom (Baring) the most sensible and respectable of the Derbyites, and the man of the greatest weight amongst them, told me himself that he was so much disgusted that he was on the point of getting up to disavow him, and it is much to be regretted (as I told him) that such a rebuke was not administered from such a quarter. It does not look as if the connexion between Dis. and the party could go on long. Their dread and distrust of him and his contempt of them render it difficult if not impossible. Pakington is already talked of as their Leader, and some think Disraeli wants to shake them off and trade on his own bottom, trusting to his great abilities to make his way to political power with somebody and on some principles, about neither of which he would be very nice. Tom Baring said to me last night, 'Can't you make room for him in this Coalition Government?' I said, 'Why, will you give him to us?' 'Oh, yes,' he said, 'you shall have him with pleasure.'

John Russell, who took leave of the Foreign Office, has had an interview with the Queen and Prince, satisfactory to both. She has been all along considerably annoyed at the arrangement made about his taking the F. O. only to quit it, and his leading the H. of C. without any office, which she fancies is unconstitutional, and then she was irritated at the whole thing being announced in the newspapers without any communication to her. On the other hand John had been provoked at not having been admitted to an audience to her at the beginning, as he had desired and which nobody can tell why Aberdeen did not arrange. The consequence has been some little

soreness on both sides, but this has now been all removed by explanations and amicable communication. The Queen attacked him on the constitutional ground, but here elle l'a pris par son fort, and he easily bowled over her objections. Then she expressed her fear lest it should be drawn into a precedent, which might be inconvenient in other cases, to which he replied that he thought there was little fear of anybody wishing to follow the precedent of a man taking upon himself a vast amount of labour without any pay at all. Then She said that a man independent of office might consider himself independent of the Crown also, and postpone its interests to popular requirements; which he answered by saying that he did not think any Minister, as it was, thought very much of the Crown as contradistinguished from the people, and that he was not more¹ likely to take such a part as she apprehended by holding an office of £5000 a year, from which a vote of the H. of Commons could at any moment expel him. He appears to have satisfied them both, and to be satisfied himself, which is still more important.

February 25th.—The Jews and Maynooth questions have been got over in the H. of C. without much debate, but by small majorities. The most remarkable incident was young Stanley voting with the majority in both questions, and speaking on Maynooth, and well. As he is pretty sure to act a conspicuous part, it is good to see him taking a wise and liberal line. Disraeli voted for the Jews, but did not speak, which was very base of him. Last night I met Tomline² at dinner, who is a friend of his, and told me a great deal about him. He has a good opinion of him, that is, that he has a good disposition, but his position perverts him in great measure. He says he dislikes and despises Derby, thinks him a good 'Saxon' speaker and nothing more, has a great contempt for his party, particularly for Pakington, whom they seem to think of setting up as leader in his place. The man in the H. of C. whom he most fears as an opponent is Gladstone. He has the highest opinion of his ability, and he respects Graham as a Statesman. Tomline told me that his system of attacking the late Sir Robert Peel was settled after this manner. When the great schism took

¹ The sense of this passage seems to require 'less' here instead of 'more.'

² George Tomline, M.P. for Sudbury, 1840-1, for Shrewsbury, 1841-6 and 1852-68 and for Grimsby, 1868-74. Disraeli was his fellow-member for Shrewsbury, 1841-6.

place, three of the seceders went to Dizzy (Miles,¹ Tyrrel, and a third I have forgotten), and proposed to him to attack and vilify Peel regularly, but with discretion; not to fatigue and disgust the House, to make a speech against him about once a fortnight or so, and promised if he would, that a constant and regular attendance of a certain number of men should be there to cheer and support him, remarking that nobody was ever efficient in the H. of C. without this support certain.² He desired twenty minutes to consider of the offer, and finally accepted it. We have seen the result, a curious beginning of an important political career. Now they dread and hate him, for they know he in his heart has no sympathy with them, and that he has no truth or sincerity in his conduct or speeches, and would throw them over if he thought it his interest.

March 1st.—The Government seem upon the whole to be going on prosperously. They have at present no difficulty in the H. of Commons, where there is no disposition to oppose their measures, and an appearance of moderation generally, which promises an easy Session. John Russell has spoken well, and seems to have recovered a great share of the popularity he had lost. Aberdeen has done very well in the H. of Lords, his answers to various ‘questions’ having been discreet, temperate, and judicious; in short, up to this time the horizon is tolerably clear. On the other hand the divisions have presented meagre majorities, and the Government have no *power* in the H. of Commons, and live on the goodwill or forbearance of the several fractions of which it is composed. John Russell is in his heart not satisfied with his present position, and not animated with any spirit of zeal or cordiality, though he is sure to act honestly and fairly the part he has undertaken; but his wife, whose tongue is an unerring index of his mind, says spiteful things when she has an opportunity and evinces an unfriendly disposition towards the Government. There is still a good deal of lurking discontent and resentment on the part of those who were left out, and of the Whig party generally, who are only half reconciled to following the banner of a Peelite Premier; of

¹ William Miles (1797–1878), afterwards first baronet; M.P. for Chippenham, 1818–20, for New Romney, 1830–3, and for East Somerset, 1833–65; created baronet, 1859.

² This anecdote is related on the authority of Mr Tomline as stated in the text. It was mentioned in the lifetime of Lord Beaconsfield, and in justice to him it must be said that he altogether denied the truth of the story.—*R.*

the Malcontents the principal are Carlisle and Clanricarde, who are both in different ways very sore; Normanby is dissatisfied, Labouchere, Seymour, and G. Grey not pleased, but except Clanricarde none have shown any disposition to withhold their support from the Government, or even to carp at them. Aberdeen seems to have no notion of being anything but a *real* Prime Minister. He means to exercise a large influence in the management of foreign affairs, which he considers to be the peculiar, if not exclusive, province of himself and Clarendon. Palmerston at present does not interfere with them at all, but he must do so, if any important questions arise for the Cabinet to decide, and then it is very likely some dissension will be the consequence. There are four Ex-Secretaries for Foreign Affairs in this Cabinet, all of whom will naturally take part in any discussion of moment. Argyll began rather unluckily, running his head indiscreetly against Ellenborough on an Indian petition. He is burning with impatience to distinguish himself, and broke out too soon, and out of season; but he was not unconscious of his error, and it will probably be of use to him to have met with a little check at his outset, and teach him to be more discreet. He spoke again last night, and very well, on the Clergy reserves, when there was a brilliant passage of arms in the Lords, in which Derby and the Bishops of Exeter and Oxford distinguished themselves.

News came by telegraph last night that the dispute between Turkey and Austria is settled, which will relieve us from a great difficulty. If it had gone on, we should have had a difficult part to play, and unluckily the good understanding that was reviving between us and Vienna has all been upset by the late attempt on the Emperor's life, which has thrown the Austrians into a ferment, and renewed all their bitter resentment against us for harbouring Kossuth and Mazzini, to whom they attribute both the *émeute* at Milan and the assassination at Vienna severally.¹ They are no doubt right about Mazzini and wrong about Kossuth, but fortunately for us the first is not in England and has been abroad for some time, and it will probably be impossible to bring any evidence against Kossuth to connect him with the

¹ The Emperor of Austria was stabbed in the neck on February 18th, by Joseph Libeny, on the ramparts of Vienna, fortunately without serious consequences. The <would be> assassin had not the remotest connection with anyone in this country.—R.

Hungarian Assassin. But these troubles and attempts, the origin of which are attributed to men residing here, and, though neglected by the Government, more or less objects of popular favor and sympathy, render all relations of amity impossible between our Government and theirs, and the disunion is aggravated by our absurd meddling with such cases as the Madiai¹ and Murray at Florence and at Rome, which are no concern of ours, and which our Government does in compliance with Protestant bigotry. What makes our conduct the more absurd is that we do more harm than good to the objects of our interest, for no Government can, with any regard to its own dignity and independence, yield to our dictation and impertinent interference. The Grand Duke of Tuscany said that the Madiai would have been let out of prison long ago but for our interference. John Russell's published letter on this subject, which was very palatable to the public, was as objectionable as possible, and quite as insolent and presumptuous as any Palmerston used to write.

Last night the Marquis Massimo d'Azeglio² came here. He was Prime Minister in Piedmont till replaced by Count Cavour,³ and is come to join his Nephew, who is Minister here. He is a tall, thin, dignified-looking man, with very pleasing manners. He gave us a shocking account of the conduct of the Austrians at Milan in consequence of the recent outbreak. Their tyranny and cruelty have been more like the deeds in the middle ages than those in our own time; wantonly putting people to death without trial or even the slightest semblance of guilt, plundering and confiscating, and in every respect acting in a manner equally barbarous and impolitic. They have thrown away a good opportunity of improving their own moral status in Italy, and completely played the game of their Enemies by in-

¹ Francesco Madiai and his wife Rosa were convicted at Florence in 1852 of blasphemy, their offence being the introduction of Bibles into Tuscany and the holding of Protestant services at their house. The British Government brought pressure to bear on the Grand Duke, and eventually in 1853 they were released from prison and banished.

² Massimo Taparelli, Marquis d'Azeglio (1798-1866); excommunicated at the age of 14 for insulting his tutor, a priest; wounded at Vicenza during the Italian rising of 1848; Prime Minister of Sardinia, 1849-52; wrote several novels. His nephew, Victor Emmanuel d'Azeglio, was Sardinian Minister to London, 1850-64; he was sarcastically denominated 'Minimo' in contrast to his uncle.

³ Count Camillo di Cavour (1810-61); Minister of Commerce in D'Azeglio's cabinet, 1850-1; Minister of Finance, 1851-2; quarrelled with D'Azeglio, April 1852, and spent six months in France and England; Prime Minister, 1852-9 and 1860-1; formed alliance with England and France, 1854.

creasing the national hatred against them tenfold. If ever France finds it her interest to go to war,¹ Italy will be her mark, for she will now find the whole population in her favor, and would be joined by Sardinia, who would be too happy to revenge her former reverses with French aid; nor would it be possible for this Country to support Austria in a war to secure that Italian dominion which she has so monstrously abused.

March 3rd.—Aberdeen has gained great credit by making Mr. Jackson, Rector of St. James's, Bishop of Lincoln.² He is a man without political patronage or connexion, and with no recommendation but his extraordinary merit both as a Parish Priest and a Preacher. Such an appointment is creditable, wise, and popular, and will strengthen the Government by conciliating the moderate and sincere friends of the Church.

The Duke of Bedford writes to me about his papers and voluminous correspondence, which he has been thinking of overhauling and arranging, but he shrinks from such a laborious task. He says: 'With respect to my political correspondence, it has been unusually interesting and remarkable. I came so early into public life, had been so mixed up with everything, have known the political chief of my own party so intimately, and of the Tory party also to a limited extent, that there is no great affair of my own time I have not been well acquainted with.' This is very true, and his correspondence, whenever it sees the light, will be more interesting, and contribute more historical information, than that of any other man who has been engaged in public life. The papers of Peel and of the Duke of Wellington may be more important, but I doubt their being more interesting, because the Duke of Bedford's will be of a more miscellaneous and comprehensive character; and though his abilities are not of a very high order, his judgement is sound, his mind is unprejudiced and candid, and he is a sincere worshipper of truth.

For the last few days John Russell has been kept away from the H. of Commons by the death of the Dowager Duchess of Bedford,³ when

¹ Remarkable prediction, verified in 1859.—*G.*

² John Jackson (1811–85); Rector of St James's, Piccadilly, 1853; Bishop of Lincoln, 1853–68; Bishop of London, 1868–85.

³ Georgiana, Duchess of Bedford (1781–1853), daughter of fourth Duke of Gordon; married sixth Duke of Bedford as his second wife, 1803; stepmother of Lord John Russell.

Palmerston has been acting as Leader, taking that post as naturally and undoubtedly belonging to him, and his right to it being entirely acquiesced in by his colleagues of both camps. They say that he has given great satisfaction to the House, where he is regarded with the same favor and inclination as heretofore, and *personally* much more acceptable than Johnny. Cobden dined with J. Russell the other day, and, what is more remarkable, Bessborough told me he met Roden at dinner the other day at the Castle at Dublin, St. Germans and He on very goodhumoured terms. These are striking examples of the compatibility of the strongest political difference with social amenities. Cobden, however, is not in regular opposition to the Government, but in great measure a supporter.

March 10th.—I met Flahault last night, just returned from Paris. He said that he found there a rancour and violence against us amongst all the Austrians, and Russians and Prussians no less, quite inconceivable. He talked to them all, and represented to them all the absurdity of their suppositions and their exigencies, but without the slightest effect; but he found the Emperor in a very different frame of mind, understanding perfectly the position of the English Government, and completely determined to maintain his alliance with us, and not to yield to the tempting cajolery of the Continental Powers, who want him to make common cause with them against us. Such is their madness and their passion, and such the necessity, real or fancied, in which they are placed by the revolutionary fire which is still smouldering everywhere, and their own detestable misgovernment (at least that of Austria, which the others abet), that they are ready to co-operate with France in coercing and weakening us, and to sacrifice all the great and traditional policy of Europe, in order to wage war against the stronghold and only asylum of constitutional principles and Government.

Flahault said that the Emperor has had an opportunity of placing himself in the first year of his reign in a situation which was the great object of his Uncle's life, and which he never could attain. He might have been at the head of an European league against us, for these powers have signified to him their willingness to follow him in such a crusade, the Emperor of Russia and He being on the best terms, and a cordial interchange of letters having taken place between them. But

Napoleon has had the wisdom and the magnanimity to resist this bait, to decline these overtures, and to resolve on adherence to England. Flahault said that he had an audience, at which he frankly and freely told the Emperor his own opinion, not being without apprehension that it would be unpalatable to him, and not coincident with his own views. While he was talking to him, he saw him smile, which he interpreted into a sentiment that he (F.) was too *English* for him in his language and opinions, and he said so. The Emperor said, 'I smiled because you so exactly expressed my own opinions,' and then he told him that he took exactly the same view of what his true policy was that F. himself did. F. suggested to him that, in spite of these civilities they did not, and never would, consider him as one of themselves, and they only wanted to make him the instrument of their policy or their vengeance; and he reminded him that while England had at once recognised him, they were not only in no hurry to do so, but if England had not recognised him as she did, he would not have been recognised by any one of those Powers to this day, all which he acknowledged to be true.

The prevailing feeling against England which Flahault found at Paris has been proved on innumerable occasions. Clarendon is well aware of it, and does his best (but with very little success) to bring the foreign Ministers and others to reason. Madame de Lieven writes to me in this strain, and even liberal and intelligent Foreigners like Alfred Potocki¹ (who has been accused of being a rebel in Austria) writes that we ought to expel the Refugees. At Vienna the people are persuaded that there is some indirect and undefinable participation on the part of the B<ritish> Government in the insurrectionary and homicidal acts of Milan and Vienna, and they have got a story that the Assassin Libeny² had a letter of Palmerston's in his shoe. Unreasonable as all this is, We ought to make great allowance for their excited feelings, for they have a case against us of a cumulative character. It goes back a long way, and embraces many objects and details, and is principally attributable to Palmerston, partly to his doings, and perhaps more to his sayings. They cannot forget that He

¹ Alfred Potocki (1817-89); a Liberal in politics; Austrian Minister of Agriculture, 1867-70; Prime Minister, 1870-1. A great friend of Henry Greville, the diarist's brother.

² Janos Libeny, a Hungarian tailor, stabbed the Emperor Francis Joseph (see p. 407) and was shortly afterwards executed.

has long been the implacable enemy of Austria, that he advised her renunciation of her Italian dominions, and that He and his agents have always sympathised with, and sometimes aided and abetted most of the revolutionary movements that have taken place. Then there was the Haynau affair,¹ and the lukewarmness and indifference which the Government of that day, and Palmerston particularly, exhibited about it; then the reception of Kossuth, the public meetings and his speeches, together with the speeches at them of Cobden and others of which no notice was ever taken, and finally the transaction about Palmerston's receiving Kossuth and his famous answer to the addresses presented to him from Finsbury and (Islington). All these things satisfy the Foreign Governments that we are not only politically but nationally their enemies, and that we harbour their rebellious subjects out of hatred to them, and that we regard with sympathy and a secret satisfaction the plots which they concoct in safety here and go forth to execute abroad. And when they are told that our laws afford these people an asylum, which no Government has the power to deny them, and that Parliament and public opinion will not consent to arm the Government with the powers of restraint or coercion they do not possess, they only explode the more loudly in denunciations against that free and constitutional system which is not only a perpetual reproach, but, as they think, a source of continual danger to their own. So much for foreign affairs.

At home, while the political sky is still serene enough, there are some rocks ahead, and I think the Government in peril from more than one cause. First and foremost there is the Indian question. There is something ominous in the conjunction between a Coalition Government and an India Bill,² and if they don't take care they will get into a scrape. The Opposition is broken and disorganised, and at present there is no disposition on the part of the extreme Liberals to join in any strong measures against the Government; but this is a question on which all the scattered fractions might be made easily to combine, and there are already symptoms of a possible combination

¹ Marshal Julius Haynau (1786-1853); acquired notoriety by his brutality during the suppression of the Italian insurrection, 1848-9, during a visit to Barclay's Brewery in 1849, mobbed and nearly murdered by the indignant draymen; died of apoplexy.

² The allusion is to the Coalition Government of Fox and North, which fell upon the rejection of its India Bill in 1783.

ad hoc in the Indian Committee of the H. of Commons. Lowe¹ is very much dissatisfied with C. Wood, and with the intentions of Government, and even talks of resigning; and the 'Times' is going into furious opposition on the Indian question, and already attacking the Government for their supposed intentions. This, therefore, is assuming a serious aspect. There is besides the Budget and the difficulty of the Income Tax, and these two questions are enough to put them in great perplexity.

The Prince and D. of Cambridge have both been prodigiously riled at what passed in the H. of C. and at the articles in the 'Times' about their Regiments. C. Grey told me he never saw the Prince so annoyed at anything; and the D. of C<ambridge> told me himself what he thought, and imagined the 'Times' had some *spite* against him.²

March 19th.—The question of Indian government and the renewal of the Charter is every day increasing in importance and attracting more and more of public attention. It is a matter of great difficulty for the Government to deal with. They are threatened by enemies, and pressed by friends and half friends, who want them to postpone any measure till another year or two years. They, on the contrary, stand pledged, and think they ought to propose something this year. It presents a field on which the various fractions of hostility and semi-hostility to the Government may meet and combine, and perhaps place them in great difficulty. The Committees are going on taking evidence with the knowledge that the Government will probably not wait for their several reports before proceeding to legislation. Granville has got the management of the Government measures in the H. of Lords, and is working very hard at Indian affairs. Yesterday I met at dinner at Ellice's two able men just arrived from India for the

¹ Robert Lowe (1811–92), afterwards first Viscount Sherbrooke; leader-writer on *The Times*, 1850; Secretary of the Board of Control, 1852–5; Paymaster-General, 1855–8; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1868–73; created viscount, 1880.

² During Lord Derby's Ministry of 1852 Prince Albert was appointed to the colonelcy of the Grenadier Guards and the Duke of Cambridge to that of the Coldstreams. In the discussion in the House of Commons on the Army Estimates on Feb. 28th, 1853, Hume and Ellice reminded the Secretary at War that these positions had been allowed by the Committee on Army Sinecures of 1837 to retain the large emoluments of £3000 and £2000 a year respectively on the understanding that they would be conferred in future as a reward for long and distinguished service. *The Times* commented on the matter somewhat unkindly in two leading articles on March 1st and 2nd.

purpose (partly) of giving evidence, a Mr Halliday¹ and a Mr. Marchmont. They are for maintaining the present system, but with many reforms and alterations; they spoke highly of Dalhousie as a man of business.

March 24th.—As I never see Clarendon now, who is entirely absorbed in the duties of his office, he engaged me to go and dine with him alone yesterday, that we might have a talk about all that is going on, and he told me a great deal of one sort or another. I learnt the state of our relations with France and Russia in reference to the Turkish business, and he gave me to read a very curious and interesting despatch (addressed to John Russell) from Seymour, giving an account of a long conversation he had had with the Emperor Nicholas about Turkey and her prospects and condition, and his own intentions and opinions, which were amicable towards us, and very wise and moderate in themselves, contemplating the dissolution of the Turkish Empire, disclaiming in the strongest terms any design of occupying Constantinople—more than that, declaring that he would not—but supposing the event to happen, not thinking the solution of the problem so difficult as it is generally regarded. He threw out that he should have no objection, if a partition was ever to take place, that we should appropriate Egypt and Candia to ourselves. He seems to have talked very frankly, and he said one curious thing, which was that Russia was not without a revolutionary substratum, which was only less apparent and less menacing than in other parts because he possessed greater means of repression, but nevertheless that the seeds were there. It is lucky Dundas² is a prudent man, and refused to carry his fleet up to the vicinity of the Dardanelles at Rose's³ invitation, or mischief might have ensued. As it is, we disapprove of Rose's

¹ Frederick James Halliday (1806-1901); Provisional Member of Council in India, 1853; Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, 1854-9; K.C.B., 1860; Member of the Council of India, 1868.

² Sir James Whitley Deans Dundas (1785-1862); vice-admiral, 1852; commanded Mediterranean Fleet, 1853-4; G.C.B., 1855.

³ Hugh Henry Rose (1801-85), afterwards first Baron Strathnairn; Secretary of Embassy at Constantinople, 1851; *Chargé d'Affaires* in the absence of Sir Stratford Canning, 1852-3; served in Crimea, 1854-5, and in the Mutiny, 1857-8; K.C.B., 1853; Commander-in-Chief in India, 1860-5; created baron, 1866; field-marshal, 1877. In February 1853 he became so alarmed at Prince Menschikoff's dictatorial behaviour at Constantinople that he summoned the Fleet from Malta on his own initiative, an order which Clarendon countermanded.

proceedings and have approved Dundas's, at the same time ordering him not to move without express orders from home, and moreover Clarendon refused to give Stratford Canning any discretionary authority to send for the fleet¹ which He asked to be entrusted with. C. is much dissatisfied with the conduct of the French Government, who were in a great hurry to send off their Fleet, and they sent orders to sail on the mere report of what Rose had done, and without waiting to learn the result of his application to the Admiral; and they did this, although they knew the despatches were on the road, and that a very few hours would put them in possession of the actual state of the case. Moreover, Cowley moved heaven and earth to induce Drouyn de Lhuys to withdraw the order to sail, but without effect. They persisted in it, after they knew we were not going to stir, and Cowley could not see the Emperor, who he says was evidently avoiding any communication with him. Still very friendly language continues to pass between us, and our Government are inclined to attribute this unwise proceeding to the vanity of the French, their passion for doing something, and above all the inexperience and want of *savoir faire* in high matters of diplomacy of the Emperor and his Ministers. There is not one amongst them who is fit to handle such delicate and important questions, the Emperor, who governs everything by his own will, less than any; and D. de Lhuys, who has been for many years engaged more or less in the Foreign Office, is a very poor and inefficient Minister.

Clarendon told me he had seen Brunnow, and after recapitulating to him all the various causes for alarm, resting on facts or on rumours, especially with regard to Russia and her intentions, he said that our Government had received the word of honor of the Emperor that he had no sinister or hostile intentions, and disclaimed those that had been imputed to him, and that on his word they relied with such implicit confidence that he had not the slightest fear or disquietude. Brunnow was exceedingly pleased, and said that was the way to treat the Emperor, who would be excessively gratified, nothing being dearer to him than the confidence and good opinion of this country, and he said he would send off a Courier the next day, and Clarendon

¹ It was afterwards given.—G.

should dictate his despatch. The instructions given to Menschikoff¹ have been enormously exaggerated, the most serious and offensive parts that have been stated (the nomination of the Greek Patriarch, etc.) being totally false.² I asked what they were, and he said nothing but a string of conditions about shrines and other ecclesiastical trifles. Walewski seems to have done well here, condemning the conduct of his own Government, and not concealing from them his own opinion, and entirely going along with us. It was on Saturday night that the Courier arrived with Rose's and Dundas's despatches, and a few of the Cabinet met on Sunday at the Admiralty to talk the matter over. C. sent for John Russell from Richmond, and he thought it advisable to summon Palmerston to this conciliabule, to keep him in good humour, which it had the effect of doing. There were himself, Pam, J. R., Aberdeen, and Graham. He had written to John on Saturday night, and sent him the despatches; he got an answer from him, full of very wild talk of strong measures to be taken, and a Fleet sent to the Baltic to make peremptory demands on the Emperor of R. This, however, he took no notice of, and did not say one word to Aberdeen about it, quietly letting it drop, and accordingly he heard no more of it, nobody, he said, but me, knowing what John had proposed. I asked him what were Pam's views. He said he did not say much, and acquiesced in his and Aberdeen's prudent and reserved intentions, but he could see, from a few words that casually escaped him,

¹ Prince Alexander Menschikoff (1787-1869); Russian Minister of Marine, 1836; Ambassador at Constantinople, 1853-4; defender of Sebastopol, 1854-5.

² Whilst these pacific assurances were given in London, Prince Menschikoff arrived in Constantinople on March 2nd, and commenced that arrogant and aggressive policy which led in the course of the year to hostilities between Russia and the Porte. It has, however, only recently transpired, by the publication of Lord Malmesbury's *Memoirs* (vol. i. p. 402), that when the Emperor Nicholas came to England in 1844, he, Sir Robert Peel, then Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Aberdeen, then Foreign Secretary, drew up and signed a memorandum, the spirit and scope of which was to support Russia in her legitimate protection of the Greek religion and the holy shrines, and to do so without consulting France. To obtain this agreement was doubtless the object of the Emperor's journey. It bore his own personal signature. The existence of this memorandum was a profound secret known only to the Queen and to those Ministers who held in succession the seals of the Foreign Department, each of whom transmitted it privately to his successor. Lord Malmesbury received the document from Lord Granville, and on leaving office in 1853 handed it to Lord John Russell. This fact, hitherto unknown, throws an entirely new light on the causes of the Crimean War. The Emperor of Russia naturally relied on the support of the very Ministers who had signed the agreement and were again in power, whilst Lord Aberdeen was conscious of having entered into an engagement wholly at variance with the course of policy into which he was reluctantly driven.—R.

that he would have been ready to join in more stringent and violent measures if they had been proposed. His hatred of Russia is not extinguished, but as it was, there was no expressed difference of opinion, and a general agreement. He said he never saw anything like the unanimity and harmony of the Cabinet. No people could go on better together, and he thought perhaps their having previously differed on many things made them go on the better, from the necessity of mutual deferences and compromises. He said he had had a prejudice against Gladstone, but he now liked him very much, and Granville had already told me the same thing. Aberdeen likes his post and enjoys the consciousness of having done very well in it. He is extremely liberal, but of a wise and well-reasoned liberality. As it has turned out, he is far fitter for the post he occupies than Lansdowne would have been, both morally and physically.

The Queen is devoted to this Government, and expressed to Aberdeen the liveliest apprehension lest they should get themselves into some scrape with the India Bill, and entreated he would run no risks in it. Aberdeen, in announcing this one day to the Cabinet, said that the best thing for them to do was to bring forward a measure of so liberal and popular a character as to make any serious opposition impossible. Clarendon agreed in this, and I told him that this had long been my own idea, and that what they ought to do was to throw open the civil and military appointments to competition, and to grant appointments after examination to qualified Candidates, just as degrees are given at the Universities. We passed the whole evening together, talking over all matters of interest, and he told me everything he knew himself.

April 4th.—Went to Althorp last week, and returned for a Council on Friday. After it Graham and I staid behind, when he talked about the Government and their prospects, which he thought pretty good; they were going on in great harmony, and the greater, he thought, because they had originally had such diversities of opinion. This led to a disposition to mutual concession, and feelings of delicacy towards each other. Queen extremely attached to Aberdeen, more than to any Minister she had ever had. John's position anomalous and unsatisfactory, and always a question whether he would not become

disgusted and back out; said that Clarendon was doing admirably—better than he had anticipated.

Lady Lyttelton,¹ whom I met at Althorp, told me a great deal about the Queen and her children; nothing particularly interesting. She said the Q. was very fond of them, but severe in her manner, and a strict disciplinarian in her family. She described the Prince of Wales to be extremely shy and timid, with very good principles, and particularly an exact observer of truth—not clever; Princess Royal remarkably intelligent. I wrote this because it will hereafter be curious to see how the boy grows up, and what sort of performance follows this promise, though I shall not live to see it. She spoke in very high terms of the Queen herself, of the Prince, and of the simplicity and happiness of her private and domestic life.

April 21st.—I have had such a bad fit of gout in my hand, that I have been unable for some time past to write at all, though there has been plenty to write about. The Government has been sustaining defeats in the H. of Commons on detached questions of taxation, much to their annoyance and embarrassment, and which were more serious from the inference to be drawn from them than for their intrinsic importance. They were caused by the meddling and absurd crotchets of some of their friends, and the malignity and unprincipled conduct of their enemies: the first bringing forward motions for reduction of certain items, merely to gratify clients or constituents, and the Tories joining with the Radicals in voting for things which they opposed when they were themselves in office, reckless of consistency or of consequences. But the whole affair was unpleasant, as it displayed strikingly how little authority the Government has over the H. of C., and the difficulty, if not impossibility, of carrying on the service of the Country.

These little battles were, however, of little moment compared with the great event of Gladstone's Budget,² which came off on Monday

¹ Mary, Lady Lyttelton (1813–57), daughter of Sir Stephen Glynne, eighth baronet, of Hawarden; married fourth Baron Lyttelton, 1839; Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Victoria.

² The chief features of the Budget of 1853 were: (1) The progressive reduction of the income-tax from 7*d.* in the £ in 1853; 5 to 3*d.* in the £ in 1857–60, after which date Gladstone proposed to abolish it; (2) the extension of the income-tax to Ireland, as a set-off to the cancellation of the Irish debt incurred in 1847; (3) the introduction of a legacy duty on real property; (4) the abolition of the duties on 123 articles, including soap, and the reduc-

night. He had kept his secret so well, that nobody had the least idea what it was to be, only it oozed out that the Income Tax was not to be differentiated. He spoke for five hours, and by universal consent it was one of the grandest displays and most able financial statements that ever was heard in the H. of Commons; a great scheme, boldly, skilfully, and honestly devised, disdaining popular clamour and pressure from without, and the execution of it absolute perfection. Even those who do not admire the Budget, or who are injured by it, admit the merit of the performance. It has raised Gladstone to a great political elevation, and, what is of far greater consequence than the measure itself, has given the Country assurance of a *man* equal to great political necessities, and fit to lead Parties and direct Governments.

⟨April⟩ 22nd.—Met Gladstone last night, and had the pleasure of congratulating him and his wife,¹ which I did with great sincerity, for his success is a public benefit. They have been overwhelmed with compliments and congratulations. Prince Albert and the Queen both wrote to him, and John Russell, who is spitefully reported to have been jealous, has, on the contrary, shown the warmest interest and satisfaction in his success. The only one of his Colleagues who may have been mortified is Charles Wood, who must have compared Gladstone's triumph with his own failures. From all one can see at present, it promises entire success, though many parts of the Budget are cavilled at. It will be difficult, if not impossible, to find any common ground on which Radicals or Irish can join the Derbyites to overthrow it, and the sanguine expectations which the latter have been entertaining for some time, of putting the Government into some inextricable fix, have given way to perplexity and despondence; and they evidently do not know what to do, nor how to give effect to their rancour and spite. Derby had a great meeting not many days ago, at which he recommended union, and cheered them on in opposition, of course for form's sake, talking of *moderation* and *principles*, neither of which he cares a fig for. Mischief and confusion, vengeance against

tion of the duties on 143 other articles, including tea, butter, cocoa and advertisements. The advertisement tax was afterwards completely removed as the result of an amendment passed in committee.

¹ Catherine Gladstone (1813–1900), eldest daughter of Sir Stephen Glynne, eighth baronet; married William Ewart Gladstone, 1839.

the coalition, and taking the chance of what may happen next, are all that He and Disraeli are bent upon. I met the latter worthy in the street just before the Budget, a day or two previous. He asked me what I thought of the state of affairs, and I told him I thought it very unpleasant, and it seemed next to impossible to carry on the Government at all, everybody running riot in the H. of C., and following their own fancies and crotchets; nor did I see how it could be otherwise in the present state of parties and the country; that since Peel's, which was a strong Government, there had been and apparently there could be none. The present Government was not, and were perpetually defeated, on minor points indeed, but in a way that showed they had no power to work through Parliament. I said of course they would dissolve if this continued, but that Gladstone's Budget might make a difference one way or the other. He scouted the idea of a dissolution, by which, he said, they would certainly gain nothing. Why, he asked, did not the Peelites join us again, as they might have done, and got as good terms as they have now, and then there would have been a strong Government again? As I don't want to quarrel with anybody, I restrained what it was on my lips to say, and merely said 'You could not possibly expect them to join you'—but I did tell him that, even if the present Government could not maintain itself, of all impossible things the most impossible was the restoration of his Government tale quale, to which he made no reply. To be sure, the Protectionist Seceders from Peel have now drunk the cup of mortification, disgrace, and disaster to the very dregs. They are a factious and (as I hope) impotent Opposition, under the wicked and unprincipled guidance of two men who, clever and plausible though they be, are totally destitute of wisdom, sincerity, and truth. They have not only lost all the Protection for the maintenance of which they made such struggles and sacrifices, but they have likewise brought upon themselves the still heavier blow to the landed interest which is going to be inflicted in the shape of the legacy duty. Had they possessed more foresight, and been less violent and unreasonable, this would not have happened to them; for if Peel's original Government had held together, and they had been content to accept his guidance, no Budget would have contained this measure. Schemes might have been devised to lighten their burthens, or to increase the

compensations they really have obtained in other ways; but, be this as it may, they would certainly have been saved from this direct impost, which I doubt if Peel himself ever contemplated, but which he would certainly have spared them if they had not deserted him, nor would his successors have departed from his policy in this respect. But from first to last their conduct has been suicidal in every respect.

May 3rd.—At Newmarket all last week, so know very little more of what has been passing in the world than what I learnt from the newspapers. The Government going on very flourishingly. A capital division in the H. of Lords on the <Canada> Clergy Reserves <Bill>,¹ on which occasion there was a *scene* between Derby and Clarendon, in which both were, to my mind, in the wrong. The whole affair appears in all the newspapers, but what does not appear is the rather absurd termination of it, when after much excitement and strong language interchanged, the belligerents ended by drinking each other's healths in water across the table. The victory in the Lords has been followed up by one still more important in the H. of C. on the Income Tax, which was carried by 71, a great many of the Opposition voting with Government, much to the disgust of their friends. These divisions have filled the Derbyites with rage and despair, and nothing can exceed their depression and their abuse of the Budget and its authors. What vexes and provokes them so much is the ascendancy and triumph of the Peelites. They could endure it in the Whigs, but their hatred of the name and party of Peel is inextinguishable. They have now drunk the cup of mortification to the very dregs; and it is quite certain that they owe their present total discomfiture to their quarrel with Peel, for if they had not chosen to break with him they would probably have been in office at this moment, and certainly they would never have had the legacy duty imposed on them, which nothing but the chain of circumstances, forged principally by themselves, has brought about.

May 15th.—At Newmarket last week, during which the Budget was making its way very successfully through the House of Commons, where Gladstone has it all his own way. The Speaker told me he was doing his business there admirably well. While I was at Newmarket

¹ This was a Bill abolishing the title of the Protestant clergy to certain portions of waste lands in the colony.—R.

came out the strange story of Gladstone and the attempt to extort money from him before the police magistrate.¹ It created for the moment great surprise, curiosity, and interest, but has almost entirely passed away already, not having been taken up politically, and there being a general disposition to believe his story and to give him credit for having had no improper motive or purpose. Nevertheless it is a very strange affair, and has not yet been satisfactorily explained. It is creditable in these days of political rancour and bitterness that no malignant attempt has been made to vilify him by his opponents or by the hostile part of the Press. On the contrary, the Editor of the 'Morning Herald' wrote him a very handsome letter in his own name and in that of the Proprietor, assuring him of their confidence in his purity and innocence, and that nothing would induce them to put anything offensive to him in the paper, and they had purposely inserted the Police report in an obscure part of the paper. It is very fortunate for G. that he was not intimidated and tempted to give the man money, but had the courage to face the world's suspicions and meet the charge in so public a manner.

The Stafford Committee has at length closed its proceedings, after exposures of the most disgraceful kind, which are enormously damaging not only to Stafford himself but to Derby and his Government. The Duke of Northumberland comes clear out of it as to corruption, but cuts a wretched and ridiculous figure, having failed to perform the duties or to exercise the authority of a First Lord while he was at the Admiralty. Disraeli's evidence was nothing but an attempt to shirk the question and involve it in a confusion of characteristic verbiage which only excited ridicule. This affair has done great harm to them as a party, and served to make them more odious and con-

¹ Shortly before midnight on May 10th, while Mr Gladstone was listening to a prostitute in Coventry Street, William Wilson, a commercial traveller, aged 24, came up to the couple and threatened to expose Mr Gladstone, unless he made it 'all right.' Mr Gladstone handed the man over to a constable and appeared at Marlborough Street Police Station next morning to prosecute on a charge of attempted blackmail. The prisoner was sent up to the Old Bailey, where he pleaded guilty, on June 15th, and was sentenced to twelve months' hard labour. Lord Morley, in his *Life of Gladstone*, vol. II. p. 659, says: 'Mr Gladstone directed his solicitors to see that the accused was properly defended. He was convicted and sent to prison. By and by Mr Gladstone inquired from the governor of the prison how the delinquent was conducting himself. The report being satisfactory, he next wrote to Lord Palmerston, then at the Home Office, asking that the prisoner should be let out.'

temptible than they were before.¹ They are now irretrievably defeated, and though they may give much trouble and throw difficulties and obstructions in the way of the Government, it is all they can do. Every day adds to the strength and consistency of the Government, both from their gaining favor and acquiring influence in the country, and from the ruin in which the Tory party is involved, and the total impossibility of their rallying again so as to form another Government. This latter consideration has already produced the adhesion of some moderate and sensible men who take a dispassionate view of affairs and who wish for a strong and efficient Government, and it will produce still greater effects of the same kind.

May 22nd.—Went in the train a day or two ago with Graham and the Speaker, not having seen G. for a long time. Since my friends have been in office I have hardly ever set eyes on them or had any communication with them. G. seemed in excellent spirits about their political state and prospects, all owing to Gladstone and the complete success of his Budget. Never was a Government so united and harmonious, and he thinks their having been so divided in opinion on many subjects heretofore contributes to their harmony, as it makes them mutually tolerant and begets a spirit of concession and compromise. The long and numerous Cabinets, which were attributed by the 'Times' to disunion, were occupied in minute consideration of the Budget, which was there fully discussed, and Gladstone spoke in the Cabinet one day for three hours, rehearsing his speech in the H. of C., though not quite at such length. Said Clarendon was doing admirably. Palmerston he thinks much changed and more feeble, his energy much less, and his best days gone by. Thinks John's position out of office an unfortunate one, and regrets he did not stay at the F. O. or take another; thinks his influence impaired by having none. Talked of a future Head, Aberdeen always ready to retire at any moment, but very difficult to find one to succeed him. I suggested Gladstone. He shook his head and said it would not do; and he was for John Russell, but owned there were difficulties there too. Considered Derby and the Tories irretrievably ruined, their characters so

¹ Charges of misconduct in the department of the Admiralty were brought against Mr Augustus Stafford, who had held office under the late Government. They were investigated by a Select Committee of the House of Commons.—*R.*

damaged by Stafford's Committee and other things; of the grand mistakes Derby had made. Gladstone's object certainly was for a long time to be at the head of the Conservative party in the H. of C., and to join with Derby, who might in fact have had all the Peelites if he would have chosen to ally himself with them instead of with Disraeli; the latter had been the cause of the ruin of the party, and Derby had now the mortification of seeing his Son devoted to him. G. thought that Derby had committed himself to Disraeli (in G. Bentinck's lifetime) in some way that prevented his shaking him off, as it would have been his interest to do. The Peelites would have united with Derby, but would have nothing to do with Disraeli. Bad as the cases were that had come forth at the election committees, that of Liverpool was worse than any of them, and would create a great scandal. Forbes Mackenzie¹ could not face it, and would probably retire; but doubtful if this would prevent an enquiry and exposure, and when boundless corruption appeared at such a place as Liverpool, with its numerous constituency, it was a blow to the representative system itself, and showed the futility of attempts to destroy bribery and improper influence.

May 30th.—Great alarm the last two or three days at an approaching rupture between Russia and Turkey, as, if it takes place, nobody can pretend to say what the consequences may be.² Great indignation of course against the Emperor of Russia, who certainly appears to have departed from the moderate professions which he made to Seymour a short time ago, and the assurances that were given to us and France. But Clarendon, whom I saw yesterday, is rather disposed to give him credit for more moderate and pacific intentions than his conduct seems to warrant. He says that he is persuaded the Emperor has no idea of the view that is taken of his proceedings here, and that he thinks he is requiring no more than he is entitled to; and it is only the other day that Nesselrode congratulated Seymour on the prospect of everything being satisfactorily settled, having no doubt of the Turks accepting the last proposals made to them, a copy of which Nesselrode showed him. Still, though matters look very black,

¹ William Forbes Mackenzie (1807-62); M.P. for Peebles, 1837-52; Lord of the Treasury, 1845-6; elected for Liverpool, 1852, but unseated on petition.

² On May 5th, 1853, Prince Menschikoff presented his ultimatum to the Porte, demanding that the privileges of the Orthodox Greek subjects of the Sultan should be guaranteed by a treaty with the Czar. The Porte rejected the ultimatum, but offered to negotiate. This Menschikoff refused; and on May 21st he withdrew, with the Russian Embassy staff, from Constantinople.

Clarendon is not without hopes of war being averted and some means found of patching up the affair, the Emperor having promised that he will in no case resort to *ulterior measures* without giving us notice of his intention. The difficulty for him now is to recede with honor, as it would be to advance without danger. He has once before receded after to a certain degree committing himself, and he may not chuse to do so a second time. Then he is naturally provoked with the French, who are in fact the real cause of this by their intrigues and extortions about the holy places; and we suspect that he is, besides this, provoked at the Montenegrin affair having been settled by Austria without his having a finger in that pie. All these considerations combined make great confusion and difficulty. Brunnow is in mortal agony, dreading above all things the possibility of his having to leave this country.

The Government continues to go on very well; the Opposition got up a debate on the legacy duties in the H. of Lords the other night, which only served to prove how entirely Derby's influence has declined even there. They had thought themselves sure of beating the Government, but not only were they defeated, but accident alone (people shut out and absent) prevented their being defeated by a considerable majority. The Cabinet is going on in the greatest harmony, and the men who were up to the time of its formation strangers have taken to each other prodigiously. Aberdeen unfortunately wants the qualities which made Lord Lansdowne so good a Leader, and is rather deficient in tact and temper in the H. of Lords as he used to be formerly, when he attacked Lord Grey's Government and Palmerston's administration of foreign affairs always with too much asperity; but in spite of these defects he has not done ill even there, and in the Cabinet he is both liked and respected, being honest, straitforward, and firm, very fair, candid, and unassuming. Granville tells me that of the whole Cabinet he thinks Aberdeen has the most pluck, Gladstone a great deal, and Graham the one who has the least. He speaks very well of Molesworth, sensible, courageous, and conciliatory, but quite independent and plain-spoken in his opinions.

June 1st.—John Russell made an imprudent speech the night before last on the Irish Church, giving great offence to the Irish and the Catholics. He could not help, as leader of the Government, opposing a proposition having for its object the destruction of the Irish Church,

but he might have done it with more tact and discretion, and not in a way to elicit the cheers of the Tories. The Tail will pay him off for this whenever they can. *Quantum mutatus ab illo*, who broke up a Government for the sake of an appropriation clause.¹

Last night Macaulay reappeared in the H. of Commons, and in a speech of extraordinary power and eloquence threw out the Judges' Exclusion Bill.² It was the first time he had spoken, and though his physical strength is impaired he showed that his mental powers are undiminished.

Senior called on me a day or two ago, just returned from Paris, where he has been living and conversing with all the notabilities (principally of the Liberal party), and he tells me there is but one opinion amongst them, that this Empire cannot last, and they only differ as to the time it may last. Most of them think it will be short. Thiers gives it only a year, Duchâtel alone thinks it will go on for some years. The unpopularity of L. N. increases and his discredit likewise, and as soon as this unpopularity shall extend to the army, it will be all over with him. The Opposition which has sprung up, which has increased rapidly and will increase still more in the *Corps Législatif*, is deemed to be very important and significant, and they think it will be impossible for him to go on with such a body so constituted and disposed, and he will have to decide upon suffering the embarrassment it will cause him, or having recourse to a *coup d'état* and suppressing it, a measure which would be hazardous. There are no fresh adhesions to the Court beyond the half dozen men of rank or name who have already joined it, and who are hated and despised for having done so. While such is the opinion of the people of mark at Paris, they are nevertheless sensible of the danger which would accompany a counter revolution, and of the uncertainty of what might follow, what influences might prevail, and what form of Government be adopted; but they seem generally to think that while in the first instance there would be a succession of provisional arrangements and

¹ The carrying of Lord John Russell's appropriation clause to the Irish Tithe Bill of 1835 caused the fall of Sir Robert Peel's Government.

² A Bill was before Parliament which would have excluded the Master of the Rolls from the House of Commons, he being the only Judge who could sit there. The Judge of the Admiralty Court had already been excluded. Macaulay opposed the Bill with such force and eloquence that he changed the opinion of the House, and defeated the measure. An unusual occurrence. - R.

fleeting transitory governments, it would end in the restoration of the monarchy under Henri V., but that this would not take place by the acceptance and triumph of any divine hereditary right, but must be adopted by the nation and ratified by a national vote.

June 5th, Sunday.—Saw Clarendon on Friday morning for a few minutes; takes a very gloomy view of the Russo-Turkish question, and greatly disgusted at having been deceived by the Emperor; says he is harassed to death with the whole affair, and the multiplicity of business he has besides; has a difficult task to perform, taking a middle position in the Cabinet between opposite opinions and those who are for more stringent measures and those like himself, who are for patience and moderation. Palmerston, in whom his ancient Russian antipathies are revived, for vigour, and as in former times 'leading John Russell by the nose,' he and Aberdeen for moderation; but he is beset by different opinions and written suggestions and proposals, and all this worries him exceedingly. I asked him how the Court was, and he said very reasonable, their opinions being influenced of course by Aberdeen.

He talked with great disgust of John Russell's speech on the Irish Church, how unfair it was as well as unwise, and how reckless of the damage it caused to the Government, and the embarrassing and awkward situation in which he thereby placed many of their supporters. These are the general sentiments with regard to that speech, which was neither more nor less than speaking the Durham letter over again, and, considering what that famous letter cost him, he might have been expected to steer clear of such a scrape. But he is (more than ever) the creature of impulse and of temper, and he seems to have lost a great deal of his tact and discretion, and certainly he is no longer fit to be either Head of a Government or Leader of the H. of C., and perhaps the latter position in such a Government as this suits him still less than the former would. When I came to town yesterday morning I found the Irish had resigned, but an hour afterwards I learnt that they had been induced to remain.¹

¹ The Irish Roman Catholic members of the Government, comprising William Keogh, Irish Solicitor-General, and Monsell and Sadleir, Lords of the Treasury, sent in their resignations as a result of Lord John Russell's speech against the Roman Catholic Church. Lord Aberdeen persuaded them to withdraw their resignations by an assurance that the rest of the Government did not share Lord John's views on this subject.

Charles Wood brought on the India Bill on Friday night in a speech of unexampled prolixity and dulness. There is not yet time to ascertain how the plan is likely to be received, but I suspect it will meet with a great deal of opposition, although, as it is more favorable to the existing interests than was expected, it will very likely pass, as, if Leadenhall Street was to go further, it would certainly fare worse.

St. Leonards, June 7th.—Here for Ascot, lovely place and divine weather. The affair with the Irish has ended as harmlessly as anything so awkward could do. Dog Moore asked some rather impertinent questions in the H. of C. on Monday, which John answered in an easy, nonchalant, jesting manner. The House laughed, nobody said anything, and there it ended, but the Brigade will probably seek opportunities of showing their teeth and of revenging themselves on John. It has been rather mortifying for him, but he has taken it very quietly, and Aberdeen's letter to Monsell was shown to him and received his assent.

The India Bill has been tolerably received on the whole, but C. Wood's speech of five hours was the dullest that ever was heard. The Speaker told C. Villiers that it was the very worst speech he had ever heard since he had sat in the Chair. The French are behaving very well about the Eastern question, and I begin to think that it will in the end blow over, as diplomacy will probably hit upon some expedient for enabling the E. of Russia to do what his real interests evidently point out.

June 13th, Monday.—Came back from Ascot on Friday, met Clarendon on Thursday on the course, who gave me an account of the state of affairs. On Saturday I met Walewski at dinner, and had much talk with him, and yesterday I saw Clarendon again. The great event has been the sailing of our Fleet from Malta to join the French Fleet at the mouth of the Dardanelles, to the unspeakable satisfaction of the French Government, who desire nothing so much as to exhibit to all Europe an entente cordiale with us; and Walewski said to me that, however the affair might end, this great advantage they had at all events obtained.¹ The Emperor (of Russia) will be deeply mortified when he hears of this junction; for besides that it will effectually bar

¹ Orders were sent to Admiral Dundas on June 2nd to sail for the Dardanelles, and the fleet proceeded to Besika Bay, together with the French fleet.—*R.*

the approach of his Fleet to Constantinople, if he ever contemplated it, there is nothing he dislikes and dreads so much as the intimate union of France and England. H. M. is now so greatly excited that nothing can stop him, and he told Seymour the other day that he would spend his last rouble and his last Soldier rather than give way. Still he professes that he aims at no more than a temporary occupation of the Principalities, and renounces all purpose of conquest. The Russian army will therefore certainly march in, and it will be the business of the other Governments to restrain the Turks and prevent a collision, which Walewski thinks they can certainly do.

Austria holds the same language that we do, but will not act. Clarendon sent for Colloredo on Saturday (who never hears from Buol), and set before him in detail all the dangers with which Austria is menaced by the possibility of any war breaking out in the East, and above all by that of France being brought into the Field and in hostility with Austria. In such a case the French would be quite unscrupulous, and excite all the revolutionary spirit, which, though now repressed, is thickly scattered over every part of the Austrian Empire, from Milan to Hungary. Colloredo acknowledged the truth of the representation, and promised to report what C. said textually to Buol.

All now depends on the Emperor himself. If he adheres to his determination not to advance beyond the Principalities, time will be afforded for negotiations, and some expedient may be found for enabling him to recede without discredit, and without danger to his own prestige at home. The French and English feel alike on this point, and are conscious that the Emperor has gone too far to recede. He is pushed on by an ardent and fanatical party in Russia, and is not entirely his own master. Both Governments are therefore willing to make allowance for the exigencies of his position, and to assist him to the uttermost of their power in getting honorably out of the scrape into which He has plunged himself and all Europe.

June 22nd.—The Opposition papers (especially 'Morning Herald' and the 'Press,' Disraeli's new journal) have been making the most violent attacks on Aberdeen and Clarendon, calling for their impeachment on the ground of their conduct in this Eastern quarrel, particularly charging them with having been cognisant of and

approved of Menschikoff's demands, which have occasioned all the hubbub. At last it was thought necessary to make a statement in reply, which was done by the 'Times' on Thursday last. The article was a good one, but contained an inaccuracy, about which Brunnow wrote a long but friendly letter of complaint to Clarendon. The day after this, another article was inserted to set the matter right, with which B. was quite satisfied; but the explanations of the 'Times' failed to stem the torrent of abuse and misrepresentation, and the Tory papers only repeated their misrepresentations with greater impudence and malignity than before. Reeve and I thought it necessary a stop should be put to this, and we proposed to Clarendon to let discussion come on in both Houses, by Layard¹ in one, and Clancricarde in the other, which would afford an opportunity for the only effectual contradiction, Ministerial statements in Parliament. Last night I met him at the Palace, when we talked the matter over. He is still of opinion that it is essential to delay the explanations and put off all discussion till the matter is decided one way or another. He thinks so in reference to the case itself, leaving out of consideration the convenience of the Government; he thinks that any discussion in the House of C. will elicit a disposition for peace à tout prix, which would seriously embarrass affairs, and only confirm Russia in the course she is pursuing. I do not think so, but his opinions are founded on what he hears of Cobden's having said, and on the news of the Peace party. He told me (again) what a task his was in the Cabinet, standing between and mediating between Aberdeen and Palmerston, whose ancient and habitual ideas of foreign policy are brought by this business into antagonism, and he says the difficulty is made greater by Aberdeen's unfortunate manner, who cannot avoid some of that sneering tone in discussion which so seriously affects his popularity in the H. of Lords. He is therefore obliged to take a great deal upon himself, in order to prevent any collision between Pam and Aberdeen. It appears that Palmerston proposed on Saturday last that the entrance of the Russians into the Principalities should be considered a *casus belli*, in which, however, he was overruled and gave way. The

¹ Austen Henry Layard (1817-94); attaché at Constantinople, 1849-51; M.P. for Aylesbury, 1852-7, and for Southwark, 1860-6; Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Feb.-May, 1852 and 1861-6; Ambassador at Madrid, 1869-77, and at Constantinople, 1877-80; G.C.B., 1878.

Cabinet did not come to a vote upon it, but the general sentiment went with A⟨berdeen⟩ and C⟨larendon⟩, and against P⟨almerston⟩. He seems to have given way with a good grace, and hitherto nothing has occurred of a disagreeable character; on the contrary, both C. and Granville tell me Palmerston has behaved very well. C. thinks (and in this I concur) that the country would never forgive the Government for going to war, unless they could show that it was absolutely necessary and that they had exhausted every means of bringing about a pacific solution of the question, and nobody here would care one straw about the Russian occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia.

That all means have not been exhausted is clear from this fact. The Austrians, who are more interested than anybody, have moved heaven and earth to effect a settlement, and the Emperor of R. has himself asked for their 'bons offices' for that end. They have entreated the Turks on the one hand to strike out some *mezzo termine* compatible with their dignity and with their precedent refusals of Menschikoff's terms, promising that they will urge its acceptance on the Emperor with all their force, and on the other hand they have implored the E. to delay the occupation of the Principalities, so that by temporising, mediation, and a joint action and a judicious employment of diplomatic resources and astuteness, it is still possible some mode may be hit upon of terminating the quarrel.

A disagreeable incident has occurred in reference to the Press. On Saturday there was a Cabinet, and on Sunday the Press made a statement of what had passed there in reference to the E⟨astern⟩ question, so nearly the truth, though not quite correct, as to make Aberdeen suspect that it must have been the result of a breach of confidence, and this could only have been from Carlton Garden.¹ Should it be so it is more likely to have been through Lady Palmerston, who is very imprudent, a great frondeuse, and is quite capable of having made revelations to her confidants (Jocelyn, who is *lié* with the Tories, or Fleming, who is a meddling chatterbox), which they either communicated or let out, and of which the Press instantly availed itself. I don't think Palmerston would be a party to this treachery, for he cannot *now* wish to break up this concern and engage in any fresh political speculation. *Non eadem est aetas, non mens.*

¹ The Palmerstons had a house in Carlton Gardens at this time.

July 9th.—For the last fortnight or three weeks little has occurred which is worth noting. The Eastern Question drags on, as it is likely to do. Aberdeen, who ten days ago spoke very confidently of its being settled, now takes a more desponding view, and the confidence he has hitherto reposed in the Emperor of Russia is greatly shaken. Clarendon has long thought the prospect very gloomy, but they are still endeavouring to bring about an accommodation. The question resolves itself into this: what are the real wishes and views of the Emperor? If his present conduct is the execution of a long prepared purpose, and he thinks the time favorable for the destruction of Turkey, no efforts will be availing, and he will listen to no proposals that we can possibly make. If, on the contrary, he is conscious that he has got into a dilemma, and he wishes to extricate himself from it by any means not dishonorable to himself, and such as would not degrade him in the eyes of his own subjects, then, no doubt, diplomatic astuteness will sooner or later hit upon some expedient by which the quarrel may be adjusted. Which of these alternatives is the true one, time alone can show. Meanwhile the expense to which the Turks are put in the wretched state of their finances will prove ruinous to them, and, end how it may, the fall of the Turkish dominion has been accelerated by what has already taken place. There has been a great deal of discussion about bringing on debates on the Eastern Question in both Houses, but all the leading men of all parties have deprecated discussion, and it was finally determined last night that none should take place. Disraeli alone, who cares for nothing but making mischief, tried to bring it on, but in the H. of Lords Derby took a different and more becoming course, and recommended Clanricarde to give it up. Disraeli urged Layard to persevere. Granville told me yesterday that while he lamented that Aberdeen was not a more judicious and conciliating leader in the H. of Lords, and was so inferior in this respect to Lord Lansdowne, he liked him very much, thought he was a very good Prime Minister, and, above all, anything but deficient in political courage, in which respect he was by no means inferior to Palmerston himself.

The Government have been going on well enough on the whole. Their immense majority on the India Bill was matter of general surprise, and showed the wretched tactics of Disraeli and his pupil young

Stanley, as well as the small influence of the former over that party. He could not get one hundred of the Tories to go with him. A few small holes have been made in Gladstone's Budget, but nothing of consequence. Tom Baring, however, told me he thought G<ladstone> had made some great mistakes, and that Graham would have been a better Chancellor of the Exchequer; but this I much doubt. Popularity is very necessary to a Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Graham would never have been so persuasive with the House as Gladstone.

July 12th.—The 'Times' newspaper, always famous for its versatility and inconsistency, has lately produced articles on the Eastern Question on the same day of the most opposite characters, one war-like and firm written by Reeve, the next vehemently pacific by some other hand. This so annoyed Reeve that he requested to be relieved from the task of writing at all upon it and proposed to resign the management of the question to somebody else. The squabble between the Editor and his contributor is of small importance, but it is indicative of the difference which exists in the Cabinet on the subject, and the explanation of the inconsistency of the 'Times' is to be found in the double influence which acts on the paper. All along Palmerston has been urging a vigorous policy, and wished to employ more peremptory language and stronger measures towards Russia, while Aberdeen has been very reluctant to do as much as we have done, and would have been well content to advise Turkey to accept the last ultimatum of Russia, and so terminate what he considers a senseless and mischievous quarrel. Clarendon has had to steer between these two extremes, and while moderating the ardour of Palmerston, to stimulate Aberdeen, and persuade him to adopt a course congenial to public opinion in this country, which, however inclined to peace and abhorrent of war, is not at all disposed to connive at the aggrandisement of Russia, or to submit to the insolent dictation of the Emperor. The majority of the Cabinet have supported Clarendon, and of the two extremes approximate more nearly to the pacific policy of Aberdeen than to the stringent measures of Palmerston. When the two articles appeared in the 'Times,' to which I particularly allude, Clarendon approved of the first, and found great fault with the other, while Aberdeen wrote to Delane and expressed his strong approbation of the second, and his conviction that the public would sooner or

later take the views therein set forth; and Clarendon tells me that he has no doubt Aberdeen has on many occasions held language in various quarters that was not prudent under the circumstances, and was calculated to give erroneous impressions as to the intentions of the Government, and he thinks that the Emperor himself has been misled by what he may have heard both of the disposition and sentiments of the Prime Minister, and of the determination of the House of Commons and the Country at large to abstain from war in every case except one in which our own honor and interests were *directly* concerned.

I had a long talk with C. on Sunday, when he told me that the chances of peace were a little better than they had been, inasmuch as there seemed to be a disposition at Petersburg to treat, and the Austrian Government was now in earnest bringing to bear all their influence on the Emperor to accept reasonable terms of accommodation. Colloredo brought him the copy of a despatch to Petersburg, which he said was excellent, very frank and free in its tone. Austria seems now fully sensible of the danger to herself of any war, which would inevitably let loose the revolutionary element all over the world. C. has drawn up the project of a *Convention* which embraces all the *professed* objects of the Emperor, and which the Turks may agree to; he sent it to Paris, whence Drouyn de Lhuys has returned it, with the full concurrence and assent of the French Government, and it went to Petersburg yesterday. The reception of this proposal will determine the question of peace or war.

July 14th. Granville said to me this morning that Palmerston is beginning to stir up matters afresh. I saw him yesterday morning at Holland House in close confab. with Walewski, with whom I have no doubt he interchanged warlike sentiments, and complained of the lukewarmness of Aberdeen and Clarendon. It is evident that he is *at work*, and probably, according to his ancient custom, in some underhand way in the Press. His flatterers tell him that a majority of the H. of Commons would support *him* and a warlike policy, and though he may wish to believe this, and perhaps does, he will hardly go the length of trying to break up this Cabinet, with the desperate hope of making another Government himself, based on the policy of going to war. Certain newspapers are always asserting that the Cabinet is divided and in dissension, and at the same time accusing it of

timidity and weakness, urging strong measures, and asserting that, if we had employed such long ago, Russia would have been frightened, and never have proceeded to such lengths. But the Government are resolved (and wisely) to avoid war as long as they can, and if driven into it, to have it to show the country that they exhausted all means of preserving peace.

⟨July⟩ 18th, Monday.—At last there appears a probability of this Turkish question being amicably settled. On Saturday Granville came from the Cabinet and told me despatches were just come from Seymour of a more favorable character, and representing the Imperial Government as much more disposed to treat, with a real disposition to bring the negotiations to a successful issue, so that (he said) he (Granville) had no doubt it would end in peace. He added that Palmerston predicted that none of the projects and proposals which have emanated from the different Courts would be accepted at Petersburg, while he thought they all would. Yesterday I saw Clarendon, and found matters were in a still more promising state. After the Cabinet Walewski went to him, and communicated to him very important news (of a later date than Seymour's letters) from Petersburg, which to my mind is decisive of the question of peace. It appears that both France and Austria have been concocting notes and projects of a pacific tendency to be offered to the Emperor. There have been several of these, some done at Constantinople, others at Paris, and hashes up of various proposals. A short time ago the French Government prepared one, which it submitted to ours; Clarendon thought it would not answer, and told them so. They asked whether he had any objection to their sending it off to Petersburg and Vienna and making the experiment. He replied, none whatever, and though he did not think it would succeed, he should rejoice if it did, as, provided the affair could be settled, it did not matter how; and in the meantime he drew up his project of a Convention, which went to Paris, and received the cordial approbation of the Emperor; and this document is now in its way to Petersburg. In the meantime the French project was sent there, Castelbajac¹ took it to Nesselrode, who read it very attentively, and said that he liked it very much, but that

¹ Barthélemy Dominique, Marquis de Castelbajac (1787-1864); lieutenant-general, 1840; French Ambassador at St Petersburg, 1849-54.

he could give no positive answer till he had submitted it to the Emperor. The same afternoon he saw the French Minister again, and told him that he had laid the project before the Emperor, and that H. My. was not only satisfied, but grateful for it 'non seulement satisfait mais reconnaissant,' and that the only reason he did not at once close with it was that his Ally, the Emperor of Austria, had also submitted a proposal, and he did not like to take another from another Court exclusively without previous communication with him. Clarendon thinks that his proposal will be still more agreeable to the Emperor than the French one, and that he will probably end in taking it; nor will there be any difficulty in this, because ours is so fully concurred in by France as to be in fact hers as much as ours.

July 31st.—Having been at Goodwood the past week, I have not troubled myself with politics, either home or foreign, nor have any events occurred to excite interest. The most important matter here has been the division in the H. of Lords on Monday last on the Succession Bill, on which the Opposition were signally defeated. For a long time the Government were very doubtful of obtaining a majority, but their whippers-in were more sanguine at last. Great exertions were made on both sides, the Derbyites whipped up all the men they could lay their hands on, and the Government fetched their Ministers from Paris and Brussels, and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The majority was greater than either side expected, and Derby and his crew were exceedingly disconcerted, and Derby himself much out of humour. When Bessborough went over to him after the division, and said 'Lord Aberdeen wants to know if you will object to the Bill being read a third time on Thursday next,' he pettishly replied, 'The Bill may go to the devil for all I care; I shall take no further trouble about it.'

August 1st.—I saw Clarendon as usual yesterday (Sunday), when he read to me a letter from Seymour, giving an account of his delivering to Nesselrode the Convention which C. sent over, as well as reading to him C.'s private letter, which was a stinging one, but very good. N. said of all the projects he liked that the best, and if it was tendered to them *from Vienna*,¹ he thought it might do as the basis of

¹ The terms of the Vienna note recommended to the Czar and the Sultan in July 1853 by the Vienna Conference were identical with the treaty proposed by Menschikoff in his ultimatum in May.

an arrangement, but he could give no positive answer till he had submitted it to the Emperor. At the Cabinet on Saturday C. read Seymour's letter, when they begged they might see the private letter of his which was alluded to, and he produced and read it likewise. It was generally approved of, but the next day Palmerston wrote a note to C., in which he expressed the warmest approbation of his note, and that he had only refrained from saying all he thought of it at the Cabinet lest *his* approval might make others think it was too strong. He added that he rejoiced that the management of our foreign affairs were in such able hands, and that, in fact, He. (Clarendon) could do and say what Palmerston himself could not have done. It was a very handsome letter, and very satisfactory both to C. personally and as showing that there is no disagreement on the Eastern Question in the Cabinet, or at least between Palmerston and Clarendon, which is the essential point. Their union and friendship are remarkable when we recollect their past antagonism and P.'s jealousy of C., and the persuasion of both himself and Lady P. that C. was always wanting to trip up his heels and get his place. All these jealousies and suspicions were, however, dissipated when Clarendon refused the F. O. last year, since which time they have been the best of friends, and P. was quite satisfied at his having the F. O. With regard to the chances of a pacific settlement, the assurances from Petersburg are all very favorable, but the acts of the Russian Generals in the Principalities are quite inconsistent with them, and between these conflicting manifestations Clarendon is in no small doubt and apprehension as to the result.

(March 17th, 1863. <C. C. G.>.)

<End of Volume I of *Additional MS.* 41120.>

London, August 8th, 1853, Monday.—Ever since last Monday, when Clarendon made a speech in the H. of Lords on which a bad interpretation was put in reference to the question of peace or war, there has been a sort of panic, and the public mind, which refused at first to admit the possibility of war, suddenly rushed to the opposite conclusion, and everybody became persuaded that war was inevitable. The consequence was a great fall in the funds, and the depreciation of every sort of security. So matters remained till the end of the week. On Saturday afternoon I met Walewski, who told me he

had that day received a letter from Castelbajac, informing him that the Emperor had signified his willingness to accept the proposal which was then expected from Vienna, and last night fresh news came that the proposal had arrived, and he had said he would take it, if the Turks would send an Ambassador with it, exactly as it had been submitted to him. This I heard late last night, and Granville considered it conclusive of an immediate settlement. But this morning I went to Clarendon and found him not so sure, and not regarding the pacific solution as so indubitable; there still remain some important matters of detail to be settled, though certainly (he acknowledged) the affair wears a much more favorable aspect, and there is every reason to hope it will all end well. But while this proposal was concocted at Vienna, the Cabinet here (last Saturday week) made some small verbal alterations in it, so that ultimately it will not be presented for the Emperor's formal acceptance word for word the same, and if he wants a pretext to back out of his present engagement, he can therein find one, as he only agreed to take it if it was word for word the same. Then it has not yet been submitted to the Turks, and it is by no means sure they may not make difficulties, or that Stratford Canning may not raise obstacles instead of using all his influence to procure their agreement, so that Clarendon does not consider that we are *out of the wood*, though he expects on the whole that it will end well. If it does it will be the triumph of diplomacy, and a signal proof of the wisdom of moderation and patience. Granville says it will be principally owing to Aberdeen, who has been very staunch and bold in defying public clamour, abuse, and taunts, and in resisting the wishes and advice of Palmerston, who would have adopted a more stringent and uncompromising course. He says Clarendon without Aberdeen's support would not have been able to fight the battle against Palmerston in the Cabinet with success.

August 9th. At Court yesterday, Aberdeen quite confident in the settlement of the Eastern affair, and Brunnow, who was there with the Duchess of Leuchtenberg¹ to see the Queen, very smiling. Clancricarde interrupted Clarendon in the H. of Lords, and made a violent speech. Clarendon answered very well, without committing him-

¹ Grand Duchess Marie, Duchess of Leuchtenberg (1819-76), eldest daughter of Nicholas I of Russia; married in 1839 Duke Maximilian of Leuchtenberg, who died in 1852.

self. The Government are in high spirits at the prospect of winding up this prosperous Session with the settlement of the Eastern Question: nothing else is wanting to their success.

August 11th.—Saw Clarendon yesterday. Nothing new, but he said he fully expected Stratford Canning would play some trick at Constantinople, and throw obstacles in the way of settlement. This seems to me hardly possible, unless he behaves foolishly as well as dishonestly, and it can hardly be believed that his temper and Russian antipathies will betray him into such extravagant conduct. It is, however, impossible to consider the affair as '*settled.*'

Yesterday all the world went to the great review at Portsmouth, except me. It appears to have been a fine but tedious sight, for Granville set off at 5.30 a.m., and only got back at one in the morning.

August 27th.—Since the 11th absent from town, at Grimstone for York races, then at Hatchford, and since that gouty. While at York the Session closed and with éclat by a speech of Palmerston's in his most flashy and successful style. John Russell gave a night at last for the discussion of the Turkish question, and made a sort of explanation, which was tame, meagre, and unsatisfactory. After some speeches expressive of disappointment and disapprobation, Cobden made an oration in favor of peace at any price, and this drew up Palmerston, who fell upon him with great vigour and success. The discussion would have ended languidly and ill for the Government but for this brilliant improvisation, which carried the House entirely with it. It was not, however, if analysed and calmly considered, of much use to *the Government* as to their foreign policy, for it was only an answer to Cobden, and Palmerston did not say one word in defence of the policy which has been adopted, nor identify himself with it, as he might as well have done. Though there was nothing in it positively indicative of dissent and dissatisfaction, any one might not unfairly draw the inference that, if P. had had his own way, he would have taken a more stringent and less patient course. However, nothing has been made of this, and on the whole his speech did good, because it closed the discussion handsomely, and left the impression of P.'s having cast his lot for good and all with his present colleagues, as is really the case.

The Session ended with a very flourishing and prosperous speech from the Throne, and nothing was wanting to the complete success of the Government but the complete settlement of the Turkish question, which, however, seems destined to be delayed some time longer; for the Turks have refused to accept the Vienna note, unless with some modifications, though these are said to be so immaterial that *we* hope the Emperor will not object to them. But all this is vexatious, because it reopens the whole question, causes delay and uncertainty, and keeps the world in suspense and apprehension. Granville told me that what had occurred showed how much more sagacious Aberdeen had been as to this affair than Palmerston, the former having always maintained that there would be no difficulty with the Emperor, but if any arose it would be from the Turks; whereas Palmerston was always sure the Turks would make none, but that the Emperor would refuse all arrangement.

Sunday, 28th. It seems the Turks (after a delay of ten days from receiving the proposition) sent it back to Vienna, asking for some not important alterations; but immediately after they sent to say they required a stipulation for the evacuation of the Principalities, and guarantees that they should not be occupied again. It is very improbable that the Emperor will listen to such conditions. Nesselrode has all along told Seymour that they mean in fulfilment of their pledges to evacuate, as soon as they have got the required satisfaction, but that it must not be made *a condition*, and entreated him to abstain from any demand which might give an air of compulsion to the act, much in the same way as we have told Nesselrode he must not attempt to make any stipulation about the withdrawal of our Fleet. Clarendon thinks that the Emperor is certain to reject the Turkish terms, and that the Turks are very capable of declaring war thereupon; for in their last communication they said that they were prepared for 'toutes les éventualités,' and He suspects that Stratford has not *bonâ fide* striven to induce them to accept the proffered terms. Their rejection is the more unreasonable because the proposal is a hash-up of Menschikoff's original Note, and that which the Turks proposed in lieu of it, but in which the Turkish element preponderates, so that not only are their honor and dignity consulted, but in refusing they recede from their own original proposal.

The Queen is gone to Ireland, and Granville with her, who is afterwards to attend her to Balmoral. This is new, because hitherto she has always had with her either the Premier or a Secretary of State. Granville is to be relieved when circumstances admit, but at present there is no other arrangement feasible. Aberdeen and Clarendon are both kept in town till this question is settled. Newcastle got leave to go to Clumber for his boys' holidays, and nothing will induce H. M. to have Palmerston. When I heard Granville was to go with her, I thought it so desirable that if possible so marked a slight should not be put on P. that I spoke to Graham about it and suggested to him to speak to Aberdeen and get him to prevail on the Q. to have P. in his turn. He said he thought like me that it was a pity, but he did not believe anything would make her have him at Balmoral, as her antipathy to him was not the least diminished nor her resentment for what She considered his bad behaviour to herself. Her dislike of him is in fact of very long standing, and partly on moral, partly on political grounds. There are the old offences when he was at the Foreign Office, which sunk deep in her mind, and besides this the recollection of his conduct before her marriage, when in her own Palace he made an attempt on the person of one of her Ladies, which she very justly resented as an outrage to herself. Palmerston, always enterprising and audacious with women, took a fancy to Mrs. Brande (now Lady Dacre),¹ and at Windsor Castle, when she was in waiting and he was a guest, he marched into her room one night. His tender temerity met with an invincible resistance. The Lady did not conceal the attempt and it came to the Queen's ears. Her indignation was somehow pacified by Melbourne, then all powerful and who on every account would have abhorred an esclandre in which his colleague and B.-in-law would have so discreditably figured. Palmerston got out of the scrape with his usual luck; but the Queen has never forgotten and will never forgive it.

Charles Villiers told me last night that his influence and popularity in the H. of C. are greater than ever, and if this Government should be broken up by internal dissension, he would have no difficulty in

¹ Susan Sophia, Lady Dacre (1817-96), daughter of first Baron Chesham; married Thomas Crosbie Brand (afterwards twenty-second Baron Dacre), 1837; Bedchamber Woman to Queen Victoria, 1837-42.

forming another, and gathering round him a party to support him. This is what the Tories are anxiously looking to, desiring no better than to serve him, and flattering themselves that in his heart he personally dislikes his Colleagues, and in political matters agrees with them (Tories). They pay him every sort of court, never attack him, and not only defer to him on all occasions, but make all the difference they can between him and the rest of the Government; nor does he discourage or reject these civilities, though he does not invite them, or say or do anything inconsistent with his present position, but he probably thinks the disposition towards him of that large political party enhances his value to his own and increases his power, besides affording to him a good alternative in case anything should happen to break up or separate him from the present Government.

September 2nd.—For the last week the settlement of this tedious Turkish question has appeared more remote than ever, and Clarendon was almost in despair when I saw him a few days ago, and the more because he seemed persuaded that Lord Stratford was at the bottom of the difficulties raised by the Divan. According to the last accounts it would seem that Stratford was not to blame, and had done what he could to get the Turks to comply with the terms of the Conference. At this moment the affair wears rather a better aspect, and my own belief is that it will be settled. It is a great bore that it drags on in this way, creating alarm and uncertainty, shaking the funds, and affecting commerce.

Clarendon was down at Osborne a day or two before the Queen went to Ireland, on which occasion H. M. talked to him a great deal about the last Government and of Derby personally. Nothing can exceed her satisfaction at being delivered from a Government which she felt it was a degradation to the country and to herself to have imposed on her; and her antipathy to Derby and her bad opinion of him seem to be very great. She has heard (I know not how, but she hears everything) of his shabby practices on the turf, and she said that his political conduct was of a piece with his racing. It appears that when Derby went to take leave of her, he told her the Government which was to succeed his would never go on, which was not very becoming, and he was quite ready to do all he could to bring about the accomplishment of his own prediction by thwarting their

measures, if he had been able to do so. He has now betaken himself to his racing and shooting, in which he may find consolation for his many political mortifications; not the least of which must be the part young Stanley, *filius meus dilectissimus*, is playing—closely connected with *Disraeli* and evincing the most Radical propensities. Bright said the other day ‘I think I know what a Radical is, but I have never seen such a one as young Stanley.’ This is very curious, and it will not be uninteresting to watch his progress.

The Duke of Bedford, whom I have seen nothing of for a long time that we have been apart, called on me a few days ago, and talked over the present state of affairs, and the position of John. He said John was now quite satisfied with it, and rejoiced at his own comparative freedom, and his immunity from the constant attacks of which he used to be the object; and he is now conscious that, by the part he has acted in waiving his own pretensions, he has not only not degraded himself, but has greatly raised himself in public estimation and acquired much credit and popularity, besides rendering the country a great service. He is very well with his Colleagues, and gratified at the deference shown him, and the consideration he enjoys in the H. of C. There, however, I know from other sources, all the popularity is enjoyed by Palmerston and by Gladstone, and John has foolishly suffered P. to take his place as leader very often, because he chose to stay away at Richmond, and not come near the House. This was Lady John’s doing, who is the bane of his political existence, however she may contribute to his conjugal happiness.

The Duke took this opportunity of telling me what is now a very old story, but which he said he thought he had never told me before, and I am not sure whether he did or not.¹ It was what happened to him at the time of the formation of this Government last year, of which he was evidently very proud. Just before the Derby Government broke down, and before that reunion at Woburn of which so much was said, the Prince gave him to understand that they should look to him for advice if anything occurred, which they were every day expecting. The D. was at Woburn, and one morning when the hounds met there and there was half the county at breakfast in the

¹ Greville had heard the story before, not from the Duke himself, but from Lord Clarendon; it appears under *December 22nd* (1852), in the diary.

great Hall, word was brought him that there was a messenger from Osborne with a letter for him. He found it was a letter from the Prince, in which he informed him that this was despatched by a safe and trustworthy hand, and nobody was to know of its being sent; that the Derby Government was at an end, and they were anxious for his opinion on the state of affairs, the dispositions of public men, and what course they had better take. The Duke had recently been in personal communication with all the Leaders, with Aberdeen and John, Newcastle, Clarendon, Lansdowne, Palmerston, and others, and he was therefore apprised of all their sentiments and in a condition to give very full information to the Court. He sat himself down and with the greatest rapidity (his horse at the door to go hunting) wrote four or five sheets of paper containing the amplest details of the sentiments and views of these different Statesmen, and ended by advising that the Queen should send for Lords Lansdowne and Aberdeen—as she did. John had already told him he did not wish to be sent for. After this of course he could not resent the advice the Duke gave, but his wife did, reproached him bitterly, and did all she could to set John himself against the Coalition and to persuade him to have no concern with it. The D. defended himself by urging that John had himself expressed his desire not to be sent for. She replied ‘You ought not to have taken him at his word.’ Happily John for once was firm, resisted the conjugal blandishments or violence and acted on the dictates of his own conscientious judgement and the sound advice of his friends. I am not at all sure he did not tell me this and that I have not written it down before.

September 3rd. I dined last night tête-à-tête with Clarendon and heard all the details of the state of the Turkish question, and read the interesting correspondence of Cowley, with his accounts of his conversations with the Emperor, and many other things. Clarendon is very uneasy because he thinks the Emperor Nicholas’ pride will not let him accept the Note as modified by *the Turks*, though he would have accepted the same Note if it had been presented originally by the Conference. This is one danger. The next is one at Constantinople, where there is a strong bigoted violent party for war, and disposed to dethrone the Sultan¹ and replace him by his

¹ Abdul Medjid Khan (1822-61), Sultan of Turkey, son of Mahmoud II, succeeded his father, 1839; introduced European customs into Turkey by the Act of Gul-Hane, 1839.

brother.¹ This Brother (of whom I never heard before) is a man of more energy than the Sultan, and is connected with the fanatical party. The Sultan himself is enervated by early debauchery and continual drunkenness, and therefore in great danger should he by any unpopular measures provoke an outbreak from the violent faction. C. thinks that Stratford has encouraged the resistance of the Divan to the proposals of the Conference, and that he might have persuaded the Turks to accept the terms if he had chosen to do so and set about it in a proper manner; but C. says that he is himself no better than a Turk, and has lived there so long, and is animated with such a personal hatred of the Emperor, that he is full of the Turkish spirit; and this and his temper together have made him take a part directly contrary to the wishes and instructions of his Government. He thinks he wishes to be recalled that he may make a grievance of it, and come home and do all the mischief he can. Westmorland wrote word the other day that Stratford's language was very hostile to his Government, and the Ministers of all the other Powers at Constantinople thought he had actually resigned, and wrote word so to Vienna.

The most important question now pending is what to do with the Fleets. They cannot remain much longer in Besika Bay, and must either retire to Vourla or enter the Dardanelles. The Emperor Napoleon wishes they should enter the Dardanelles, but only just, and not go on to Constantinople; and Clarendon takes the same view, proposing a *mezzo termine*. The Emperor professes an earnest desire for a peaceful solution, and the strongest determination to act in concert with England to the end, and his views seem very sensible and proper. But, notwithstanding this disposition, in which he probably is sincere, there is reason to believe that he is all the time keeping up a sort of secret and underhand communication with Russia, and the evidence of this is rather curious. It appears that he has recently written a letter to the Duchess of Hamilton,² in which he says that he believes the Russians will not evacuate the Principalities, and

¹ Abdul Aziz Khan (1830-76), second son of Mahmoud II; succeeded his brother on the throne, 1861; leader of the Old Turk party until his succession; abdicated May 30th, and committed suicide or was murdered, June 4th, 1876.

² Princess Marie of Baden, Duchess of Hamilton (1818-88), daughter of Charles Louis, Grand Duke of Baden, and third cousin to Louis Napoleon; married eleventh Duke of Hamilton, 1843.

that he does not care if they stay there. This letter the Duchess showed to Brunnow, and he imparted it to Aberdeen, who told Clarendon, but none of the other Ministers know anything of it. Clarendon wrote word of this to Cowley, and told him to make what use of it he thought fit. In the first instance he said something to Drouyn de Lhuys of the Emperor's entertaining views different from ours, which D. repeated to the Emperor, who spoke to Cowley about it, and protested that he had no separate or different objects, when Cowley, without mentioning names, told him what he had heard of his having written. The Emperor made an evasive answer to this, but gave many assurances of his determination to act with us heartily and sincerely. This incident seems to have made a great impression both on Cowley and Clarendon, particularly as both know something more. Cowley says he knows that the Emperor has a private correspondence with Castelbajac, of which Drouyn de Lhuys is ignorant, and Seymour writes to Clarendon that he has observed for some time past a great lukewarmness on the part of the French Minister in pressing the Russian Government, and an evident leaning to them. As the Dss. of Hamilton has no intimacy with Brunnow, it appears very extraordinary that She should communicate to him a letter of the Emperor's, and such a letter, which would be a great indiscretion unless he had secretly desired her to do so; and all these circumstances taken together look very like a little intrigue between the Emperor and the Russian Court, which would also be very consistent with his secret, false, and clandestine mode of conducting his affairs. It is probable enough that he may wish to keep on good terms with Russia and at the same time maintain his intimate connexion with England. That he is bent on avoiding war there can be no doubt, and for very good reasons, for France is threatened with a scarcity, and he is above all things bent on keeping the people supplied with food at not high prices; and for this object the French Government is straining every nerve and prepared to make any amount of pecuniary sacrifice; but the necessity for this, which absorbs all their means, renders it at the same time particularly desirable to maintain peace in Europe.

There never was a case so involved in difficulties and complications of different sorts, all the particulars of which I heard last night; but

the affair is so tangled, that it is impossible to weave it into an intelligible and consistent narrative, and I can only jot down fragments, which may hereafter serve to explain circumstances connected with the dénouement, whenever it takes place. John Russell and Palmerston are both come to town, so that a little Cabinet will discuss this matter. Palmerston is excessively reasonable, does not take the part of the Turks, but on the contrary blames them severely for making difficulties he thinks absurd and useless, but is still for not letting them be crushed. He is on the best terms with Clarendon, and goes along with him very cordially in his policy on this question. Both P. and John seem to agree with C. on the question of the disposal of the Fleet better than Aberdeen, who is always for trusting the Emperor, maintaining peace, and would be quite contented to send the Fleet to Vourla or Tenedos, and would see with regret the more energetic course of entering the Dardanelles. However, there is no chance of any material difference on this score, and I have no doubt, if the question is not settled before the end of the month, the Fleets will anchor within the Straits and there remain.

I was glad to find that the Q. has consented to let Palmerston take his turn at Balmoral, and Aberdeen has informed him that he is to go there. It was done by Aberdeen speaking to the Prince at Osborne, who said he thought there would be no difficulty. The Q. did not like it, but on good reasons being put before her She acquiesced with the good sense it must be owned She generally shows on such occasions, being always open to reason, and ready to consent to whatever can be proved to her to be right or expedient. Clarendon prevailed on Aberdeen to do this, and I may take some credit to myself for having urged it both on him and on Graham.

September 4th.—Went to Winchester yesterday, and fell in with Graham in the train, so we went together and had a great deal of talk, mostly on the Eastern Question. He thinks the E⟨mperor⟩ of R⟨ussia⟩ will not accept the Turkish alterations, and he is very hot against Stratford, to whom he attributes all the difficulties. He has heard that S. has held language hostile to the Government, and he is inclined to think not only that he has acted treacherously towards his employers, but that proofs of his treachery might be obtained, and he is all for getting the evidence if possible, and acting upon it at once, by

recalling him; he thinks the proofs might be obtained through the Turkish Ministers, and if they can be, he would not stop to enquire who might be displeased, or what the effect might be, but to do it at once. He acknowledges, however, that it would not do to act on surmises or reports, and that nothing but clear proofs of Stratford's misconduct, such as will satisfy Parliament, would render such a step justifiable or safe. With regard to the Fleets, he says there is no reason why they should not remain in Besika Bay, and it is a mistake to suppose they could not, and he is very decidedly against their entering the Dardanelles in any case, because it would be contrary to treaty and afford the E. of R. a just *casus belli*; and he maintains that his having (contrary to treaties and international rights) occupied the Principalities affords no reason why we should act contrary to them in another direction. When this question comes to be discussed, his voice will evidently be for not entering the Dardanelles, though he acknowledges that we could not retreat while the Russians remain where they are. He talked a great deal about Palmerston, of whom he has some distrust, and fancied he has been in communication with Stratford, and that he would concur with him in his proceedings, and he expressed great satisfaction when I told him that Palmerston and Clarendon were on the most cordial and confidential terms, and that the former entirely disapproved of the conduct of the Turks (which is that of Stratford) in regard to the Note. He thinks Palmerston looks to being Prime Minister, if anything happened to Aberdeen, but thinks that neither He nor John Russell could be, as neither would consent to the elevation of the other. On the whole, he inclines to the opinion that Palmerston has made up his mind to go on with this Government and his present colleagues, that he means to act fairly and honestly with and by them, and has no *arrière pensée* towards the Tories, though he is not sorry to have them always looking to him, and paying him, as they do, excessive court. It ensures him great support and an easy life in the H. of C., where, however, he says Palmerston has done very little this year, and he don't seem much impressed with the idea of his having gained very considerably there, or obtained a better position than he had before.

September 8th, Thursday. At Warwick since Monday; saw Clarendon on Sunday. Nothing new, but he said he would lay two to one

the Emperor does not accept the modified Note; it will be a contest between his pride and his interest, for his army is in such a state of disease and distress that he is in no condition to make war; on the other hand, he cannot without extreme humiliation accept the Turkish Note. What will happen, if he refuses, nobody can possibly divine. The four Ministers met to discuss the matter, and were very harmonious; Palmerston not at all for violent measures, and C. said he himself was the most warlike of the four. I told him of my journey with Graham and all that he had said. He replied that he knew G. was very violent against Stratford, but that it would be impossible to make out any case against him, as he certainly had read to the Turkish Minister all his (C.'s) despatches and instructions, and he gave the most positive assurances, which it would be difficult to gain-say, that he had done everything in his power to induce the Turkish Government to give way to the advice of the Conference, and whatever his secret wishes and opinions might be, there was no official evidence to be had that he had failed in doing his duty fairly by his own Government; therefore it would be out of the question to recall him.

September 20th.—At Doncaster all last week; saw Clarendon yesterday very much alarmed at the prospect in the East. He thinks it will be impossible to restrain the Turkish war party; he told me that the Conference at Vienna had imparted their Note to the Turkish Ambassador there, and both He and his Dragoman had expressed their entire approbation of it. They had considered this to afford a strong presumption that it would not be unpalatable at Constantinople, and it was not sent there because this would have occasioned so much delay, and it was desirable to get the Russians out of the P(rincipalities) as speedily as possible. The Russian Generals had actually received orders to prepare for the evacuation, which the Emperor would have commanded the instant he heard that the Turks were willing to send the Vienna Note. The Emperor Napoleon has again given the strongest assurances of his determination in no case whatever to separate his policy from ours, his resolution to adhere to the English alliance, and to maintain peace à tout prix, which he frankly owns to be indispensably necessary to the interests of his country. The Austrians are already beginning to hang back from taking any

decided part in opposition to Russia, and while still ready to join in making every exertion to maintain peace, they are evidently determined (if war breaks out) to take no part against Russia, and this disposition is sure to be confirmed by the interview which is about to take place between the Emperors of Russia and Austria.¹

Monday, September 26th.—At Hatchford all last week. Saw Clarendon on Thursday before I went there, and heard that two ships of each Fleet were gone up the Dardanelles,² and that the rest would probably soon follow, as the French were now urging that measure. He was then going to Aberdeen to propose calling together the Cabinet, the state of affairs becoming more critical every hour, and apparently no chance of averting war. The prospect was not the brighter from the probability of a good deal of difference of opinion when they do meet. He showed me a letter from Palmerston, in which he spoke very coolly of such a contingency as war with Russia and Austria, and with his usual confidence or flippancy of the great blows that might be inflicted on both Powers, particularly alluding to the possible expulsion of the Austrians from Italy, an object of which he has probably never lost sight. Meanwhile the violence and scurrility of the Press here exceeds all belief. Day after day the Radical and Tory papers, animated by very different sentiments and motives, pour forth the most virulent abuse of the Emperor of Russia, of Austria, and of this Government, especially of Aberdeen.

October 4th, Tuesday.—Went to The Grove on Saturday, and spent great part of the afternoon on Sunday reading the Eastern Question despatches, printed in a Blue Book to be laid by-and-by before Parliament. On Sunday came Westmorland's account of his interviews with the Emperor of Russia and Nesselrode at Olmütz, which sounded very satisfactory, for the E. was very gracious and pacific, and Nesselrode in his name disclaimed in the most positive terms any intention of aggrandising himself at the expense of Turkey or of claiming any Protectorate, or asserting any claims inconsistent with

¹ The Czar visited the Emperor of Austria in September 1853 at Olmütz, where a note was drawn up by Count Buol and Nesselrode by which supplementary assurances were to be given to the Porte provided the Vienna Note was accepted. England and France, however, refused to accept this note.

² The British vessels were steamers, the 'Retribution' and another. There was at that time only one line-of-battle-ship in each fleet having steam power; all the other vessels of the line were sailing ships.—*R.*

the sovereignty and independence of the Sultan, and moreover signifying his willingness to make a declaration to that effect in such form and manner as might be hereafter agreed upon. All this was very well, and served to confirm the notion that, if some sensible men, really desirous of settling the question, could be brought together, the accomplishment would not be difficult; but the distance which separates the negotiating parties from each other, and the necessity of circulating every proposition through so many remote capitals, and the consequent loss of time, have rendered all conferences and pacific projects unavailing.

Yesterday morning a Messenger arrived, bringing the telegraphic despatch from Vienna, which announced the determination of the Turks to go to war, and that a grand Council was to be assembled to decide on the declaration, news which precluded all hope of adjustment;¹ and yesterday afternoon the further account of the decision of the Council was received. Such of the Ministers as are in town met in the afternoon, and it was decided that all the rest should be summoned, and a Cabinet held on Friday next.

It will be no easy matter to determine what part we shall take, and how far we shall mix ourselves up in the quarrel as belligerents. It will be very fortunate if the Cabinet should be unanimous on this question. Palmerston has hitherto acted very frankly and cordially with Clarendon, but the old instincts are still strong in him, and they are all likely to urge him to recommend strong measures and an active interference. Granville told me last night he thought P. was not at all displeased at the decision of the Turks, and as he still clings to the idea that Turkey is powerful and full of energy, and he is quite indifferent to the danger to which Austria may be exposed, and would rejoice at her being plunged in fresh difficulties and threatened with fresh rebellions and revolutions, he will rather rejoice than not at the breaking out of hostilities. He will not dare avow his real propensities, but he will cloak them under other pretences and pretexts, and give effect to them as much as he can. He has been speechifying

¹ The declaration of the Turkish Council or Divan, held on October 3rd, was to the effect that if the Principalities were not evacuated in fifteen days, a state of war would ensue. To this the Emperor of Russia responded on October 18th by a formal declaration of war. War being declared, the Straits were opened, and, at the request of the Sultan, the allied fleets entered the Dardanelles on October 22nd.—*R.*

in Scotland, where, though he spoke very handsomely of Clarendon, he did not say one word in defence of Aberdeen, or anything calculated to put an end to the notion and repeated assertions that He and Aberdeen had been at variance on the Eastern Question. I find A. feels this omission very much, and it would certainly have been more generous, as well as more just, if he had taken the opportunity of correcting the popular error as to A., after having been reaping a great harvest of popularity at his expense.

P.'s position is curious. He is certainly very popular, and there is a high idea of his diplomatic skill and vigour. He is lauded to the skies by all the Radicals who are the admirers of Kossuth and Mazzini, who want to renew the scenes and attempts of 1848, and who fancy that, if Palmerston were at the head of the Government, he would play into their hands. On the other hand, he is equally an object of the flattery and praise of the Tories, who can't get over their being succeeded by a Peelite Prime Minister; and they cling to the belief that there can be no real cordiality, and must be complete difference of opinion, between Ab. and Pam, and they look forward to the prospect of their disunion breaking up this odious Government, and their coming in again with P. at their head. These are the political chimeras with which their brains are filled, and which make them take (for very different reasons) the same part as the Radicals on the Eastern Question. My own conviction is that both parties reckon without their host. Palmerston is sixty-nine years old, and it is too late for him to look out for fresh political combinations and other connexions, nor would any object of ambition repay him for the dissolution of all his personal and social ties. He will, therefore, go on as he does now, but accept such popularity as is offered him as a means of enhancing his own importance in this Cabinet; and, in the event of any accident happening to it, making his own pretensions available. In his language he is prudent and reserved enough; but his wife is silly, chattering and mischievous, beset by toadies, to whom She talks without measure or discretion according as her passions or her wishes prompt her, and in this way She serves to produce and to propagate the belief that P. is playing a separate game of his own. It does not seem as if his official visit to Balmoral had been very successful. The Queen had him there much against her own will, and however popular he may

be with public meetings, he has not the qualities likely to ingratiate himself with her; and if she suspects him of acting a double part and pursuing separate interests her resentment and dislike will be increased tenfold.

October 6th.—Delane was sent for by Ld. Aberdeen the night before last, when they had a long conversation on the state of affairs, and A. told him that he was resolved to be no party to a war with Russia on such grounds as the present, and he was prepared to resign rather than incur such responsibility. This was the marrow of what he said, and very important, because not unlikely to lead to some difference in the Cabinet, and possibly to its dissolution.

<October> 7th.—Clanricarde called here yesterday morning; very strong against the Government and their policy, and maintaining that if we had joined France and sent the Fleet up when She did, the Emperor of R. would then have receded, as his obstinacy was entirely caused by his conviction that France and England would never remain united, and that nothing would induce the latter to make war on Russia. He said this idea had been confirmed by the language of Aberdeen, who had continually to Brunnow and others, and in his letters to Madame de Lieven spoken of his determination to avoid war —la paix à tout prix. C<lanricarde>, however, himself said he would not declare war against Russia, and we might defend Turkey without going that length. I went and told Clarendon all he had said (in greater detail), and he owned that it was more than probable that Aberdeen had held some such language as was attributed to him, and had been very imprudent therein; indeed, he had more than once had occasion to remonstrate with him upon it. C<larendon> was very uneasy at the prospect of the discussion about to take place, and contemplating as extremely probable the breaking-up of the Government on the question of war. Palmerston has been very reserved, but always on the same friendly terms with his colleagues, and Clarendon in particular; but his wife as usual talks à qui veut l'entendre of the misconduct of the whole affair, and affirms that, if P. had had the management of it, all would have been settled long ago. As matters have turned out, it is impossible not to regret that we were not less moderate and patient at first; for as the course we have adopted has not been successful, it is unfortunate we did not try another, which

might have been more so. But this is judging *après coup*, and nothing is so easy as to affirm that, if something had been done, which was not done, success would have attended it.

October 8th, Saturday. The Cabinet went off very well yesterday, no serious difference of opinion about anything, and a general concurrence both as to what had been done and what ought to be done hereafter. Aberdeen well pleased.

Newmarket, October 12th. This morning I met the D. of Bedford on the heath, who told me he wanted very much to speak to me about certain communications he had received which made him extremely uneasy, and full of apprehension of coming difficulties, threatening the very existence of the Government. It seems that a short time ago Aberdeen imparted to John R. his wish to resign, and to place the Government in his hands. He said that he had only taken his present post because his doing so was indispensable to the formation of the Government, and had always contemplated John's eventually succeeding him, and he thought the time was now come when he might very properly do so. He did not anticipate any insurmountable opposition in any quarter, and he should himself speak to Gladstone about it, who was the most important person to be consulted, and he was in fact only prevented doing so, as he had intended, by not being able to go to Scotland, where he had expected to meet G. Whether A. had spoken to G. since his return to London, the D. of B. did not know. No steps appear to have been taken with regard to Palmerston, nor does it appear that any progress was made in accomplishing this change. The Queen had been apprised of Aberdeen's intentions. Such was the state of things when a short time ago the D. received a letter from John, in which he said that matters could no longer go on as they were, and that there must be some changes; and that very soon he could no longer act without being primarily responsible for the policy of the Government - in other words, without resuming his post of Prime Minister. This is all the D. knows, as John entered into no explanations or details, and he is in total ignorance of the grounds of this brusque determination, and of what can have occurred to produce it. He sees, however, all the difficulties and embarrassments that in consequence of it are looming in the distance, and how very possible it is that the Government may be broken up. All this we very fully

discussed, but without either of us being able to guess what it all means, or what the result will be of John's putting his intentions into execution. Lady John (whose influence over him is very great) writes at the same time in a strain of discontent; and She is particularly provoked at all the compliments and flatteries of which Palmerston has been made the object in Scotland, and is amazed and indignant at his being apparently so much more popular than John.

October 16th, Sunday.—I came to town yesterday morning, and in the afternoon went to the F. O., and saw Clarendon, to whom I imparted what the D. of Bedford had told me. He said he knew it all, Aberdeen having told him what had passed between J. Russell and himself; but having made C. give his word of honor he would not say a word of it to anybody, so he said, 'I would not mention it even to you, to whom I tell everything.' He then, however, went into the whole question, and told me what had passed, which did not exactly agree with the Duke's story. According to C., John went to Aberdeen before Parliament was up, and told him he could not consent to go on in his present position, to which A. replied, 'Very well, you only meet my own wishes, and you know I always told you that I should be at any time ready to resign my place to you.'

Nothing more seems to have taken place at that time, nor till lately, when John went again to Aberdeen, and repeated his determination not to go on; but this time the communication does not seem to have been received by A. with the same ready acquiescence in the proposed change, and some plain speaking took place between them. I infer, but as C. did not expressly say so I put it dubiously, that Ab. had spoken to Gladstone and ascertained that he would by no means agree to the substitution of J. R., and should go with A. if he retired. At all events, while A. told him that he was prepared, if he wished it, to broach the matter to his colleagues, he intimated to him that it was evident he wanted to turn him out, and put himself in his place, but that he (A.) could not agree to retire at this moment, and before Parliament met, and that John had better well consider the step he was about to take, as it would in all probability break up the Government, and asked him if he was prepared to encounter the odium of doing so, more especially as he must remember that He had only consented to form this Government on John's own assurance to

him that He was himself unable to form one. He asked him if he was secure of Palmerston's concurrence in the change he proposed, and he replied that he did not expect to find any difficulty in that quarter. This was the substance of what passed between them, A. being evidently a good deal nettled, and thinking John is behaving very ill. This is Clarendon's opinion also, and he thinks, if J. persists, the Government will be inevitably broken up, for a considerable part of the Cabinet will certainly not consent to have John again placed at the Head of the Government. C. does not believe a word of Palmerston's being a party to it, and he knows that both Gladstone and Newcastle would resign. Graham he is not sure of, but inclines to think he would retire with Aberdeen, especially if A. has any compulsion or ill-usage to complain of. For the moment, however, this storm is blown over, as John has signified to Aberdeen that he does not mean to press the matter again for the present. The Queen, when it was mentioned to her, was anything but approving of or consenting to the change.

In all this matter there is little doubt that John has been instigated by his wife, and She in her turn by Frederic Romilly¹ and probably others of her connexions, and they none of them, John himself included, have sense enough to see that the course he is adopting is quite suicidal, and would be not less fatal to his own reputation and popularity than to the Government he belongs to. He failed as Prime Minister, and no credit attended his Administration, and no regret his fall. The popularity he lost, he in good measure regained by his conduct on the formation of this Government, when he waived his own pretensions, and for the public good consented, after having held the first place, to accept the second; but the world does not know how reluctantly and grudgingly he did this, and how sorely his pride and vanity suffered on that occasion. The position he occupied of Leader of the H. of C. without an office was anomalous, and many thought it objectionable, but He himself insisted on it, and it proved successful. The House of Commons not only accepted it, but were pleased to see a man so eminent eschewing office with its functions and emoluments, and gratuitously devoting himself to the service and the business of

¹ Frederick Romilly, 1810-87; sixth son of Sir Samuel Romilly; M.P. for Canterbury, 1850-2; married Lady Elizabeth Elliot (sister of Lady John Russell), 1848.

Parliament. He became popular again in the House, and would have been more so if he had not chosen to quit the House early every afternoon, and go down to his wife and his nursery at Richmond, leaving Palmerston to do his work, and ingratiate himself with the House. Aberdeen reminded John that this position, which he now found intolerable, was one he had chosen to make for himself; that he had not only declared he could not form a Government, but that every office had been at his disposal, and he had been invited to take the greatest offices, or, if he preferred it, any smaller one, but that he had insisted on holding none. Aberdeen is quite right not to resign now, or before Parliament meets, where he must appear as Minister to defend his own policy.

I expect that John will not renew his demands for some time, if at all; but if he does, this is what will probably take place. The Government will be broken up, John will try to form one and will fail, and the Government will again be constituted minus John. Nobody would, I think, go out with him. This is supposing (which I think certain) that Palmerston would not make common cause with him, but prefer to remain with the rest. There would then remain the great difficulty of the Lead of the H. of C. and the part Palmerston would play; but, dangerous as it would be, it would probably be found necessary to trust him with the lead, most distasteful though it would be both to Aberdeen and to the Queen.

October 18th.—The Emperor of Russia moved Heaven and earth to bring about a new Holy Alliance between himself, Austria, and Prussia, in which he would have succeeded if it had not been for the wisdom and firmness of Manteuffel,¹ who was proof against all his seductions. Austria consented, but only on condition that Prussia did likewise. The King of Prussia would have given way with his characteristic weakness, but Manteuffel would not hear of it, and contrived to keep his master straight. In an interview of two hours between the Emperor and Manteuffel tête-à-tête, the E. employed all the means he could think of to prevail on the Prussian Minister, but all in vain; he refused positively to allow Prussia to depart from her neutrality.

¹ Count Manteuffel was the Prussian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the leading member of the Prussian Cabinet. He was accused of sacrificing Prussian interests to those of Austria at the Conference of Olmütz; but in fact he succeeded in defeating what would have been a very formidable confederacy of the German Powers with Russia.—R.

This had the effect of keeping Austria neutral also, and that of making the Emperor more inclined to peace; but the Turkish declaration of war and peremptory summons to him to quit the Principalities leave him no alternative but that of taking up the gauntlet thus thrown down. Clarendon told me the other day that he is nearly distracted with the trouble and difficulty of the whole affair, and the differences of opinion in the Cabinet—Aberdeen's excessive horror of pushing matters to extremities, and his fear of provoking or offending the Emperor, and on the other hand Palmerston's anxiety to go ahead and plunge into war at once. In a letter this morning from my brother he says 'Lady Palmerston goes crowing on at all the blunders of the Government, and the luck that it is for Palmerston.'

November 2nd.—All last week at Newmarket, during which nothing of moment occurred but the renewed attempts at negotiation, and the consent of the Turks to defer the commencement of hostilities. I saw Clarendon on Monday (day before yesterday) who told me how matters stood, and showed me a despatch just received from Vienna with copy of a very moderate and pacific Note from Nesselrode to Buol, showing that there is every disposition at St. Petersburg to patch matters up. C. told me that he was heartily sick of the whole question, in which the double trouble and difficulty were cast upon him of reconciling the Russians and the Turks and of preserving agreement in the Cabinet, where Aberdeen was always opposing measures of hostility towards Russia, and Palmerston for pushing them forward. He said he steered between the two, and that he and John Russell were more nearly agreed than any of the others; he told me at the same time a characteristic trait of Palmerston. The Turks having determined to plunge into war against the advice of their Protectors, especially against ours, and it having been made known to us that the Sultan and his Ministers were not disinclined to be guided by us, but that they were themselves overruled and driven to this extreme course by *the Grand Council*, it became necessary in C.'s opinion to notify to the Turkish Government that, since they had thought fit to take their own independent course, we should reserve to ourselves the right of acting according to our own discretion, and not consider ourselves bound to be dragged into a war at the heels of the Grand Council, which is an assembly of ruffians and Fanatics, by

whom it would be utterly inconsistent with the dignity of our Crown that our policy should be governed and influenced. It seems too that this is a point on which the Queen feels very strongly, and is exceedingly anxious that the honor and dignity of the Crown should not be compromised. Accordingly Clarendon drew up a despatch to this effect, to which the Cabinet acceded, and Palmerston also, though with some reluctance. However, he not only saw the proposed despatch, but he made some alteration in it with his own hand, thereby of course subscribing to it. Just after this Clarendon went to Windsor, and submitted the despatch to the Q. and P. (Prince); they objected to it that it was not strong enough in their sense, but C. prevailed upon them to waive their objections, and, as it had been agreed to in the Cabinet, to let it go. But before it was gone C. received a letter from Palmerston, strongly objecting to the despatch altogether, and desiring C. to inform *Lord Aberdeen* that he would be no party to such a communication. This was extremely embarrassing. C. spoke to Aberdeen, and afterwards (at A.'s suggestion) informed the Queen what had occurred. H. M. said, 'I advise you not to attach much importance to this communication. I know Lord P. from much experience, and it is probably only an attempt to bully, which, if you take no notice of it, you will hear no more of.' The result justified the Queen's sagacity, for Clarendon sent off the despatch, and at the same time wrote word to Palmerston that he had done so, giving him sundry reasons why he could not do otherwise, to which he received in reply a very good-humoured letter, merely saying that, as it was gone, it was useless to say any more about it, and probably it would do no harm.

There has been talk abroad and discussion in the Cabinet about Parliament meeting. John and Aberdeen both wished Parliament to meet, the first because he is always hankering after the H. of C., the latter because he wished Parliament to decide on the question of peace or war, so that in the one alternative his hands might be strengthened, or in the other he might have a pretext for resigning. But both Clarendon and Palmerston were much against it, and now that there is a fresh prospect of peace, it is rendered more unnecessary and undesirable.

Leopold is here, still uneasy (though less than he was) upon the

subject of his *démêlés* with the Emperor of the French. The cause of them is the libellous publications in Belgium of the French Refugees. They compose the most outrageous attacks of a personal nature on him and the Empress, which they have printed in Belgium, and get these papers smuggled into France, and disseminated among the lower classes, and particularly the Troops. This naturally gives the E. great offence, and Leopold would afford him redress if he could; but the Constitution was made by journalists, and the unrestrained liberty of the Press is so interwoven with the Constitution, that the Legislature itself has no power to deal with the case, nor any power short of a Constituent Assembly. All this Leopold has submitted to his powerful neighbour, and their relations seem to be more amicable; for very civil letters have passed between the two Monarchs, through the Prince de Chimay,¹ whom Leopold sent to compliment the Emperor when he went lately to Lille.

November 10th.—All attempts at settling the Eastern Question by *Notes* have been rudely interrupted by the actual commencement of hostilities. Meanwhile the Notes sped their way, but at Vienna it was deemed no longer possible to settle it in this manner, and that there must now be a regular treaty of peace, the terms of which the Allies might prescribe, and there is now a question of having a Congress or Conference *here*, to carry on the affair. It is, however, difficult to make out what the French are at, and, with all our intimacy, we must keep on our guard against all contingencies on the part of our Imperial neighbour. Nobody knows what is his real motive for sending Baraguay d'Hilliers² to Constantinople. Baring, when I told him of this appointment, said it could be only for the purpose of quarrelling, for he was the most violent of men, and was certain to quarrel with whomsoever he had to deal with. If this be so, his quarrelling with Stratford is inevitable, and it is by no means improbable that L(ouis) N(apoleon) is tired of playing second Fiddle to us, and sends this General there for the express purpose of encountering our superior

¹ Joseph de Riquet, Prince de Chimay (1808-86); originally in the Dutch diplomatic service; Belgian Minister successively at the Hague, Rome and Paris, 1830-41; negotiated the Franco-Belgian Copyright Treaty, 1852.

² Comte Achille Baraguay d'Hilliers (1795-1878); lost a hand in the battle of Leipzig, 1813; for his services in Algeria promoted lieutenant-general, 1843; commanded the French army at Rome, 1849-50; Envoy at Constantinople, 1853-4; in the Crimean War captured Bomarsund and promoted *maréchal de France*, 1854.

influence, and, by the tender of military counsel and aid, to substitute his own for ours.

Reeve is just returned from the East, having spent some time at Constantinople, and came home by Vienna. Stratford treated him with great kindness and hospitality, and talked to him very openly. He says that S. exercises a great but not unlimited influence and controul over the Turkish Government, and of course is very jealous of the influence he possesses; for example, he boasted to Reeve that he had carried a great point, and had procured the appointment of the Candidate he favored as Greek Patriarch, an interference which, if it had been made by the Emperor of Russia, whose concern it is much more than ours, would have excited in us great indignation. Such an exercise of influence and in such a matter, of which the Russians are well aware, is calculated to exasperate them, and it is not unnatural that the Emperor should feel that, if any foreign influence is to prevail in Turkey, he has a better right than any other Power to establish his own. Reeve has a very poor opinion of the power, resources, and political condition of Turkey, and does not doubt the military success of the Russians. He says the corruption is enormous—everybody bribes or is bribed. The Greek Patriarch whom Stratford got appointed had to pay large sums to Redschid Pacha and his Son. The whole State is rotten to the core.

November 12th.—This morning John Russell breaks ground on the Reform plan, by referring his scheme to a Committee of the Cabinet, which is to meet at his house, consisting (besides himself) of Granville, Newcastle, Graham, C. Wood, and Palmerston. I am afraid he will propose a lower franchise, probably £5, in spite of many warnings and the signs of the Times, which are very grave and alarming—nothing but Strikes and deep-rooted discontent on the part of the working classes. I am in correspondence with Ellesmere on the subject, and have sent his letters to John Russell, who does not appear disposed to admit the force of his reasoning against lowering the franchise. This Committee will probably be on the whole favorable to a democratic measure, John from old prejudices and obstinacy, Graham from timidity, Newcastle because he has espoused Liberal principles; Granville will be inclined to go with John, and Palmerston alone is likely to stand out against a democratic scheme, unless

C. Wood should go with him, of whose opinions on the question of Reform I know nothing. Aberdeen is himself a Reformer, but I hear he is resolved not to consent to a £5 franchise. I confess to great misgivings about this project in the present state of the country, and dread the further progress of democratic power. The success of the great Reform Bill and the experiences of twenty years without any of the apprehensions of the Anti-Reformers having been realised, is now in my opinion a source of danger, as it creates an opinion that progress (as it is called) is not only necessary, but perfectly safe. It consoles me for growing old that I shall not live to see the confusion in which this well-ordered State is likely to be involved, the period of peril and suffering it will have to go through, and the reaction, which will restore order and tranquillity at the expense of that temperate and rational freedom, which we alone of all the Nations of the earth are in possession of. I see no reason why, if we chuse recklessly, and without any cause, to cast away the good we enjoy, we should be exempted from paying the penalty which our folly and wickedness would so richly deserve. The above question in all its ramifications is infinitely more important than the Russian and Turkish quarrel, but there is no saying how the former may be indirectly and consequentially affected through the latter by means of the political differences which may arise out of it. Everything now looks black in the political horizon, and the war which has begun between the principals can hardly fail to extend itself sooner or later to the collateral parties.

A breach has taken place between Reeve and the 'Times,' much to my surprise and to his disgust as well as astonishment. They had given his portefeuille of foreign affairs to another man (Woodham I believe) during his absence, and when he returned, expecting instantly to resume it, they would not restore it, alledging that the notoriety of his connexion with the paper and the fact of his having been trumpeted in the newspapers as sent abroad on a mission made his writing inconvenient; and they complained that, while other employés merged their several capacities in the paper, he reserved an individuality and separate independent action, which did not suit them. These excuses he does not accept as the real causes of his dismissal, and there probably is some unavowed cause of their dispensing with the services of so able a writer after a connexion of 13 years.

November 15th.—Yesterday morning met Clarendon on the R⟨ail⟩ W⟨ay⟩, he from Windsor, I from Hillingdon, got into the carriage and went home with him. He told me all he had to tell, of what he had to go through with the conflicting proposals of Palmerston and Aberdeen in the Cabinet: the latter as averse as ever to any strong measures, and always full of consideration for the Emperor; the latter ⟨former⟩ anxious for war, and with the same confidence and rashness which were so conspicuous in him during the Syrian question, insisting that nothing will be so easy as to defeat Russia, and he now goes the length of urging that none of the old treaties between her and the Porte should be renewed. All this jactance, however, does not go much beyond words, for he evinces no disposition to separate from his colleagues or to insist on any course which the majority of the Cabinet objects to.

The Emperor of Russia has taken the unusual step of writing an autograph letter to the Queen. Brunnow, who was rather puzzled, took the letter to Aberdeen, and asked what he was to do with it. A. told him to take it to Clarendon, who sent it to the Queen. She sent it to him to read, and he suggested certain heads of an answer, but did not communicate the letter, nor the fact of its having been received, to any one but Aberdeen. The Queen wrote an answer (in French) and he says a very good one.¹

Cowley has sent him an account of a conversation he lately had with the Emperor Napoleon, in which he said that the condition of France and the rise in the price of provisions, so deeply affecting the working classes, made him more than ever bent upon preserving peace, and he proposed that the Powers should be invited to concur with England and France in drawing up a scheme of pacification and arrangement, which should be tendered to the belligerents, and whichever should refuse to accept it should be treated as an Enemy. C. said that there were many objections to this plan, but he seemed to believe in the sincerity of the Emperor's desire for peace, in spite of the opposite presumption afforded by Baraguay d'Hilliers' mission, and its accompaniment of French officers. He attributes that mission to the wounded vanity of France, and the determination of the Government

¹ The Emperor's letter to the Queen (18/30 Oct. 1853), with her reply and the Emperor's rejoinder, are printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*.

to send some man who shall dispute the influence of Stratford, and assert that of France. The character of Stratford had been fully explained to B(araguay d')H(elliers), and he went, ostensibly at least, with instructions and an intention to act with him in harmony, but this the character of the two Ambassadors will probably render quite impossible.

The Queen told C. an anecdote of Palmerston, showing how exclusively absorbed he is with *foreign* politics. H.M. has been much interested in and alarmed at the strikes and troubles in the North, and asked P. for details about them, when she found he knew nothing at all. One morning, after previous enquiries, she said to him, 'Pray, Lord P., have you any news?' To which he replied, 'No, Madam, I have heard nothing; but it seems certain *the Turks have crossed the Danube.*'

In the afternoon I called on Graham at the Admiralty, and had a long talk with him about the Government and its prospects, and the disposition and intentions of J. Russell and of Palmerston. He is (contrary to custom) very cheerful and sanguine on these points; he was apprised of all that John has said and done, but except on one occasion, just about the time of the prorogation, has had no communication with John himself on the subject. He is now satisfied that John has abandoned his designs, and has made up his mind to go on as he is, and he infers this from his frank and friendly conduct about his Reform Bill, which he has not kept to himself, but submitted to a Committee for the purpose of bringing it before all his colleagues in a very good spirit, and quite willing to have Palmerston on this Committee, from whom the greatest opposition was to be expected. G. said their first meeting had gone off very pleasantly, and Palmerston had urged much less objection than he had expected; he thinks therefore that his own reflexions and his knowledge of the difficulties which would oppose themselves to his purpose have determined John to acquiesce in his present position; nor is he afraid of Palmerston separating himself from this Cabinet, thinking that at his age he will not speculate so deeply for the chance of greater power and a higher place, to be purchased at the certain sacrifice of all his social relations and personal connexions, and he therefore expects Palmerston will conform to the general sentiments and decisions of his colleagues, both

as to foreign policy and to Reform. G. said he approved entirely of John's scheme, and thought his proposed measure good and safe.

November 27th.—Council at Windsor on Friday 25th. Q. by way of being in great grief at the Q. of Portugal's death, though they never saw each other but once when they were children. Heard the particulars of the Reform Bill, which (if there is to be one at all) seems as little mischievous as can be. It seems to have encountered little or no opposition in the Cabinet, and John considers it as having been accepted and settled there. Lansdowne has not pronounced himself positively; but though, no doubt, he dislikes it exceedingly, they think he will not retire upon it, and up to the present time he has indicated no such intention. Graham, who is always frightened, told me on Friday he was very uneasy lest L<ansdowne> should decline to be a party to it.

Palmerston has written a letter to John, strong in the beginning, denouncing the measure as unnecessary and unwise, and complaining of his having originally committed his Colleagues to it, by declaring his own opinion without any previous consultation and concert with them. Then, after criticising the Bill (ably, as I am told), he ends by announcing that he shall consent to it. He sent copies of this letter to Aberdeen and to Lansdowne.

I brought Clarendon from the Station to Downing Street, when he told me that he had begun some fresh attempt at renewing negotiations. The proposal of the Emperor Napoleon (to force terms on the two parties) would not do, but he had sent a proposal of some sort (I could not exactly make out what), which, contrary to his expectation, Buol had agreed to; but he did not seem very sanguine about any result from this beginning. He said nothing could exceed the difficulties of the case, nor the embarrassments of his own position. The Turks are now indisposed to agree to anything, or to make any concessions whatever, and of course the E. of R<ussia> neither will nor can make peace and withdraw, without some plausible satisfaction. Then at home the difficulty is just as great between Palmerston, who is all for going ahead, and wants nothing less than war with Russia, and Aberdeen, who is in the other extreme—objecting to everything, and proposing nothing. John Russell is very reasonable, and agrees almost entirely with him; but whenever he thinks he is going to be

outbid by Palmerston, is disposed to urge some violent measures also. He said he had a regular scene with Aberdeen the other day. After this Note (or whatever it was) had been discussed and agreed to in the Cabinet, and all settled, Aberdeen came into his room, and began finding fault with it, and raising all sorts of objections, when C. out of all patience, broke out: 'Really, this is too bad. You come now, after it has all been settled in the Cabinet where you let it pass, and make all sorts of objections. And this is the way you do about everything; you object to all that is proposed, and you never suggest anything yourself. What is it you want? Will you say what you would have done?' He declares he said all this with the greatest vivacity, being really exasperated. A. had nothing to say, and knocked under. The truth seems to be that the attacks upon him in the newspapers (though they don't know it) are pretty well justified, and very little exaggerated; nor is the idea of Palmerston's real inclination much mistaken. They have by accident very nearly hit upon the truth. Aberdeen, it seems, objects particularly to have any Conference *here*, and if there is to be anything of the kind, it seems likely to take place at Vienna, where, however, somebody would be sent to assist, if not to supersede, Westmorland.

December 10th. The Protocol just signed at Vienna brings the four Powers together again, and Austria not only signed it with alacrity, but Buol told Westmorland, if the E. of R. was found unmanageable, 'Nous irons avec vous jusqu'au bout.' The Turks are now desired to say on what terms they will make peace, and I expect they will reply that they will not make peace at all till the Principalities are evacuated. It seems very doubtful whether this fresh opening will lead to any result between two Powers so impracticable as the Belligerents.

Delane called on Aberdeen whom he had not seen for some time, and came to me from this interview in great annoyance and perplexity. He found the Earl not at all disposed to be talkative or communicative. After some time he said 'What do you think of our Protocol?' D. replied 'I have not seen it. Will you show it me?' He said he would not then, but the contents were generally as had been stated. D. said that it was a step in advance against the Emperor of Russia; to which A. replied 'Not at all—there is nothing in it that the

E. might not himself sign,' and then he went off in a tirade against the 'Times' and its recent articles, of which he bitterly complained; said the Emperor had done nothing wrong or that we had any right to complain of; and talked all the extravagant Anti-Turkish and pro-Russian language, of which he has been so constantly accused and which fully justify the charges and taunts of the Tory and Radical Press, although they don't know how right they are. D. said it was impossible to endure such stuff as this, which was very likely to break up the Government, and at all events the 'Times' would be no party to such sentiments; and he was the more surprised at hearing them because he met Graham on the stairs (when coming away), who, in a short conversation they had, spoke in a totally different tone. I sent him to Clarendon, whom he would find in a very different mind, but sadly bothered by the discordant views of Aberdeen and Palmerston; the one for peace at any price and submission to Russia, the other for immediate war.

The Duke of Bedford has been endeavouring to persuade John to reconsider the franchise in his Reform Bill, and John tells him not to be afraid of its going too low, and that there is more chance of its appearing too niggardly. Aberdeen told Delane it was not yet settled. Meanwhile, the Bill is drawn and (privately) printed. John considers it to have been accepted by the Cabinet, and that he is sure of the acquiescence of the two principal dissentients—Lansdowne and Palmerston. The former went out of town, only saying that he hoped the landed interest would have its due share of influence. Palmerston's letter I have already mentioned; but the other day Lady P. held forth to the Duke against the Bill, and said that it was not settled at all, but was still under the consideration of the Cabinet; from which he infers that P. is still making or prepared to make objections and difficulties. Between Reform and the Eastern Question I think this Government would infallibly be broken up but from the impossibility of another being formed. I am still persuaded Palmerston will not try a new combination, and break with all his old friends and associates for the purpose of putting himself at the head of some fresh but unformed combination. Great as his ambition is, he will not sacrifice so much to it, and risk so much as this would oblige him to do.

Meanwhile John has got into a scrape with the Queen. He was to

have been at Windsor the other day at the Council but did not make his appearance, to the surprise and somewhat the displeasure of the Q. She had asked Aberdeen to explain to her the provisions of the Reform Bill, and he referred her to J. R., who he said was better able to explain them. Accordingly she desired John to attend her for the purpose; and he was to have come to Windsor that day. He absented himself very cavalierly without making any excuse, and she did not at all like it. The D. spoke to him about it, and he said he was better employed at home in drawing up the Bill. The truth is the Q. and John dislike each other and have their mutual complaints to make. She thinks he is neglectful and disrespectful to her; and he thinks She is wanting in graciousness and confidence to him and no longer talks to him as she used to do. Of course when he was her Prime Minister she was obliged to talk to him about everything; and now she does so to Aberdeen instead, whom she infinitely prefers; and having no official obligation and no personal inclination to talk to John, she has very little communication with him, and this mortifies and offends him. He is very imprudent in letting his temper prevail and in giving her umbrage, because as he desires and expects in a few months to be Premier again, it is very essential that he should keep on good terms with her.

December 12th, Monday.—I begin to think that I am after all mistaken as to Palmerston's intentions, and that his ambition will drive him to sacrifice everything and risk everything, in spite of his age and of all the difficulties he will have to encounter. I have said what passed between the Duke of Bedford and Lady Palmerston about *Reform*, and the conversation of Aberdeen and Delane on Saturday evening. This morning the D. of B. came here, and told me he had called on Clarendon on Saturday, when he said to C. that he was very uneasy about Palmerston, and thought he was meditating something, though he did not know exactly what he was at. C. interrupted him—'Certainly, he is meditating breaking up the Government; in fact, he has told me so.' At this moment it was announced that two or three foreign Ministers were waiting to see him, when he abruptly broke off the conference, and they parted. I said, 'Depend upon it, what Clarendon alluded to was not the Reform Bill, but the Eastern Question; and it is on that that Palmerston is making a stir.' The D. said he

thought so too; indeed, he was sure of it, because C. did not trouble himself about Reform, and he had already told him more than once what excessive trouble and annoyance he had had between the widely opposite views and opinions of Aberdeen and Palmerston, and that he had only been able to go on at all from the agreement between John and himself. However, John is to see Aberdeen this morning, and his brother afterwards; and before the day is over we shall learn something more of this disagreeable matter. My belief is that the difference between A⟨berdeen⟩ and P⟨almerston⟩ has arrived at a height which threatens a break up, and that, with reference to this occurring, P. is also going back on the Reform question; that if he does separate from the Government, he may reserve to himself to work *both* questions. But I refrain from further speculations, as in a few hours they will be resolved into certainty of some sort.

Panshanger, December 14th.—It turned out that Palmerston had *struck* on account of Reform, and not (ostensibly, at least) about foreign affairs. John Russell was indignant, and inveighed (to his Brother) against P. in terms of great bitterness, saying he was absolutely faithless, and no reliance to be placed on him. Of this fact these pages contain repeated proofs, but I own I am amazed at his making this flare up on the question of *Reform*. But his whole conduct is inexplicable, and there is no making out what he is at. The news of the Turkish disaster in the Black Sea is believed, but Government will do nothing about it till they receive authentic intelligence and detailed accounts of the occurrence.¹ So Clarendon told Reeve on Monday, but he is disposed to take a decisive part if it all turns out to be true; and yesterday Delane had a long conversation with Aberdeen, who owned that if the Russians (as they suppose) attacked a convoy of transports at anchor, it is a very strong case, and he thought war much more probable than it was a few days ago, and he did not speak as if

¹ On November 30th the Russian fleet from Sebastopol attacked the Turkish squadron in the harbour of Sinope and destroyed it. It was this violent action on the part of Russia that at once decided the British and French Governments to occupy the Black Sea with their fleets. The Russian ships withdrew within the harbour of Sebastopol, which they never left again. I believe that Admiral Dundas and Admiral Lyons proposed to enter the Black Sea at once and intercept the Russian vessels before they could reach Sebastopol, but this proposal was overruled by the French officers, who were disinclined to act until they received peremptory orders from the Emperor.—R.

he was determined in no case to declare it. This does not surprise me, in spite of his previous tone; for he has gone so far that he may be compelled in common consistency to go farther.

{March 17th, 1863. (C. C. G.)}

{*End of Volume II of Additional MS. 41120.*}

London, December 17th, 1853. Yesterday morning the news of Palmerston's resignation was made public. It took everybody by surprise, few having been aware that he objected to the Reform measure in contemplation. I received the intelligence at Panshanger, and as soon as I got to town went to Clarendon to hear all about it. He had been quite prepared for it, P. having told him that he could not take this Bill. C. (Clarendon) says P. behaved perfectly well, and in a very straitforward way from first to last. When he was invited to join the Government, he told Aberdeen and Lansdowne that he was afraid the Reform Bill would bring about another separation between them. When the time arrived for discussing the Bill, and J. R. proposed to him to be on the Committee, he said that he accepted, because, although he saw no necessity for any Reform Bill, and he entirely disapproved of John Russell's having committed himself to such a measure, he would not (as matters stood) absolutely object to any measure whatever, but would join the Committee, discuss it, state all his objections, and endeavour to procure such alterations in it as might enable him to accept it. Finding himself unable to do this with the Committee, he still waited till the measure had been brought before the whole Cabinet; and when he found that his objections were unavailing, and that the majority of his colleagues were resolved to take John's scheme, nothing was left for him but to retire. He said he might have consented to a smaller measure of disfranchisement, and the disposable seats being given to the Counties, but to the extent now proposed, the enlarged *Town* representation, and especially to the proposed franchise, he could not agree; and moreover he said he was not prepared, *at his time of life*, to encounter endless debates in the House of Commons on such a measure. The first time (C. said) he had ever heard him acknowledge that he had *a time of life*. C. showed me a very friendly letter P. had written to him, expressing regret at leaving them, and saying He (C.) had a very difficult task before him, and, 'as the Irishman said, I wish yer Honner well through it.' He has

never hinted even at any dissatisfaction as to foreign affairs as forming a part of his grounds for resigning.

Clarendon said he thought it would ere long be the means of breaking up the Government, and I said so too; but, on reflecting more deliberately upon the matter, I am disposed to take a different view of the political probability, and of the part which Palmerston will play. As I have been so constantly opposed to him, and have both entertained and expressed so bad an opinion of him on a great many occasions, I feel the more both bound and inclined to do justice to his conduct upon this one, in which, so far as I am informed, he really has been irreproachable. The first thing which seems to have suggested itself to everybody is that he has resigned with the intention of putting himself at the head of the opponents of Reform, of joining the Derbyite Party, and ultimately coming into office with Derby, or forming (if possible) a Government of his own. I doubt all this, and judge of his future conduct by his past. If he had been actuated by selfish and separate objects of ambition, and really contemplated transferring himself from the Whig to the Tory party, or setting up an independent standard, instead of breaking with this Cabinet on the question of Reform, he would certainly have done so upon the Turkish war, as he easily could. He would then have gone out amidst shouts of applause; he would have put the Government into an immense difficulty, and he would have reserved to himself to take whatever course he thought fit about Reform. He has acted much more honestly, but less cunningly for his own interest, supposing that he has the views and projects that are attributed to him. Lord Lansdowne is placed in great embarrassment, for he agrees entirely with Palmerston; and if he acts consistently on his own convictions, he will retire too—that is, cease to form a part of the Cabinet. Clarendon expects he will do so.

Hatchford, December 21st, Wednesday.—On Monday when I came to town (from Goodwood, where I went on Sunday) I found a letter from Lady Palmerston, very friendly indeed. She said her Son William had told her what I had said to him about Palmerston and his resignation, which had gratified her. She then went on to explain why he had resigned, and why at this moment instead of waiting; she said he would have accepted a Reform Bill, but wanted John's to be

altered, had proposed alterations, and written to Aberdeen to urge them, and upon A.'s reply that his suggestions could not be taken, he had no alternative but to resign, and he had thought it fairer to the Government to do so at once, and give them time to make their arrangements, than to put it off till the last moment, when Parliament was on the point of meeting. I confess I think he was right in so doing, and I was greatly provoked with the 'Times' for attacking him, twitting and sneering at him, and finding fault with him for his desertion; so provoked that I wrote a letter to the 'Times' (which appeared on Tuesday) with my opinion thereupon.

On Tuesday morning I was surprised at receiving a letter from Lord Lansdowne, entreating I would tell him what was said, and what the state of public opinion about P.'s resignation, giving me to understand that he was as yet undecided what course he should adopt, and should not decide at all events till he had seen the Queen next Friday; he also said that he had been greatly surprised at this happening '*so soon*, whatever might have been the case later, having occurred (marvellous to say) before there had been any decision taken by the Government as such on the whole matter, or any ground for me at least to think that issue would be joined upon it without that apparently essential preliminary.' I wrote to him in reply all I had heard of the reports and notions floating about, and said I hoped his determination would eventually be not to withdraw, and I sent him Lady Pam's letter to me, which I said seemed to me somewhat at variance with his statement, inasmuch as P. evidently considered that the matter was settled. I don't understand, however, why he wrote to *Aberdeen*, if the question was still before the Cabinet, and not yet definitively settled. Assuming Lord L.'s statement to be correct, P. ought to have disputed the matter in the Cabinet, and if overruled there, he might have resigned, and not till then.

Delane went to Aberdeen, and asked him for his version of the affair, when he said at once he had no hesitation in saying that the Eastern Question was the cause and the sole cause of P.'s resignation; that he had all along been opposing what was done, and might have resigned upon it any time for months past, and that but for that question he would have swallowed the Reform Bill. Delane observed, if this was true, P. had acted a very high-minded and disinterested

part. It has been imprudent of the Government Papers to insist so strenuously that P. resigned solely on account of Reform, and that there was no difference on Foreign policy, because this elicited a violent article in the 'Morning Post,' insisting in turn that the E⟨astern⟩ Q⟨uestion⟩ was the real cause of his retirement, and everybody will believe that this was inserted or dictated by himself. It is strange to find myself the Advocate and Apologist of Palmerston, when the preceding pages are brimful of censure of his acts and bad opinion of his character; but, whatever prejudices I may have or have had against him, they never shall prevent my saying what I believe to be true, and doing him ample justice, when I think that he is acting honorably, fairly, and conscientiously. This letter of Lord Lansdowne's has a little shaken my convictions, but still I am struck with the fact of his having refrained from resigning on the E. Q., when by so doing he might have damaged the Government immensely, and obtained for himself increased popularity and considerable power if these were his objects.

Thursday <December> 22nd.—Went to town this morning, called on Lady Palmerston, found her in good spirits and humour, and vastly pleased at all the testimonies of approbation and admiration he has received. She exclaimed with exultation, 'He is always in the right in everything he does,' a position I could not confirm, and which I did not care to dispute. We then talked of the present crisis, when to my no small amazement she said that She saw no reason now why it should not be made up, and he should not remain, that he left the Government with regret, liked his office, and had no wish to quit his colleagues, but could not consent to such a measure as John had proposed. She then recapitulated what she wrote to me, and complained of Aberdeen's having replied to P.'s note in such a style of peremptory refusal, and if he had only expressed regret at the difference, and proposed a fresh reference to the Cabinet, it might have been avoided. Still, she thought if they were disposed to be reasonable it was possible to repair the breach. P. had never had any answer to his letter of resignation, no notice taken of it, nor the Queen's acceptance of his resignation ever conveyed to him. She talked with bitterness of the articles in the 'Times,' and of his resignation having been so hastily published, and said he had all along been very much dissatisfied with

the conduct of the E. Q., and convinced that, if his advice had been taken at first, we should not be in our present dilemma and embarrassing position, and he had only consented to stay in the Government, when overruled in his suggestions, because he thought he could nevertheless effect some good by remaining, and render essential aid to Clarendon. I expressed the strongest desire that the matter might be patched up, and entreated her to try and bring it about. Palmerston was gone out, so I did not see him.

I then went to the Office, and directly wrote to Graham, who was at the Cabinet, begging him to see me, and telling him I had reason to believe P. was not disinclined to stay. Meanwhile Bessborough called on me, and told me all the reports from Marylebone and other parts of the Metropolis, as well as the Country; all represented P.'s popularity to be immense, great enthusiasm about the E. Q., and profound indifference about Reform; and he said there was a report that P. was not unlikely to stay in, and that it was of the greatest importance that he should. He also said that Hayter declared there was no chance whatever of their carrying the Reform Bill in the H. of C., especially if P. headed the opposition to it.

He was hardly gone when Graham came to me. I told him all that had passed between I. y. P. and me, and entreated him to see if something could not be done. He said he himself should be too happy to bring it about if possible, and he had no *personal* ground of complaint, but he did not know how John might be disposed, particularly as P. in one of his letters had spoken in very uncourteous terms of him and Aberdeen. He said it was wonderful how Palmerston (quite unlike most men) was often so intemperate with his pen, while he was always very guarded in his language. In reply to some of the things Lady P. had said, he told me that the difficulty was that P.'s objections went to the *principle* of the measure, and though the details might still be open to discussion, it was impossible they could concede the principles of the measure without dishonor, and this was not to be thought of. That with regard to fresh reference to the Cabinet, P. had stated all his objections to the Cabinet, when they had been considered and overruled, therefore another reference to the *Cabinet* would have been useless. He asked me if P. was prepared to give up his objections. I said I presumed not, but he must understand that I did not know

what he was prepared to concede or require, only what I had repeated, that he was not disinclined still to remain if the matter admitted of adjustment. He said the office was still open, and that the Cabinet then going on was not about filling it up, but entirely on the E. Q. After a good deal of talk we parted, he promising to see what could be done to bring about a compromise and reconciliation.

I then wrote to Lansdowne telling him what had passed, and suggested that, as he is to see the Queen to-morrow, he should make her instrumental to settling this affair, and so the matter stands. I am satisfied that at this moment Palmerston would prefer staying where he is to anything else, present or prospective, and he does not wish to embark in fresh combinations; but it is impossible to say what he may not do under fresh circumstances, and if he is exposed to all the attractions of excessive flattery and the means of obtaining great power; and if this Government should be overthrown, I see no other man who could form one. Derby is in such a deplorable state of health that I don't think he could possibly undertake it, and though P.'s difficulties would be great, they would not be insurmountable, and the very necessity of having a Government, and the impossibility of any other man forming one, would give him great facilities, and draw a great many people from various parties to enlist under him. It is, therefore, of immense importance that there should be a compromise now, for I am much of opinion that if there is not the Government will not be able to go on. What I fear is that, if a negotiation should be begun, the parties will not come to terms, and neither be disposed to make sufficient concessions. Lady P. hinted at Aberdeen's going out, which she said he had always professed his readiness to do, but I gave her to understand that if he did, John would insist on taking his place, which would not, I apprehend, be more palatable to P. than the present arrangement.

Delane came to me this afternoon, and I told him the state of affairs. He said he was satisfied now that the 'Times' had done much mischief by its hasty publication; which I confirmed, and asked him why he had done it. He said it was no use keeping back intelligence which was sure to get out; and as I knew he never did publish what he desired to keep back, and that on this occasion the 'Morning

Chronicle' had published it likewise, so the 'Times' was not alone in the notification.

⟨December⟩ 24th.—Went to town this morning to hear what was going on. Found Granville, who told me there was a negotiation on foot, conducted by Newcastle, who had been to Palmerston yesterday and discussed the matter. P. was to give his answer at twelve to-day; ⟨Granville⟩ did not think any concessions about Reform were to be made to him, and nothing more than an agreement that the whole question should be reconsidered. He was to write a letter, saying there had been 'a misunderstanding,' said he was evidently *dying* to remain, full of interest in foreign politics, and could not bear to be out of the way of knowing and having a concern in all that is going on, and probably by no means insensible to the difficulties of another position, that of being the Leader of an Opposition, and still more to the having to form and carry on a Government should that Opposition be successful. All this I think exceedingly probable. I then went to Clarendon, where I learnt that P. had given his answer, and that he meant to stay. He had written a letter, not exactly such a one as they could have wished, but which must do; and though it was not yet formally settled, it had gone so far that it could not fail now. Both Clarendon and Granville told me John Russell had behaved admirably, which I was glad to hear. G. thinks P. has no rancune against Aberdeen, but a good deal against John Russell. G. said I had made a bad selection in writing to Graham on Thursday about P.'s staying in, as of all the Cabinet he was the man most against him, and most opposed to his return; but Clarendon said for that very reason he was very glad I had addressed myself to Graham, and that I had written him since a strong letter, as I did yesterday, setting forth as forcibly as I could the expediency of a reconciliation and the danger of his separating himself from them, and the infallible consequences thereof.

Walewski has been making a great flare up about the article in the 'Times,' stating that Dundas wanted to pursue the Russian Fleet after Sinope, and that Baraguay d'Hilliers put his veto on the operation. Clarendon assured him the statement was inserted without his privity, and he had nothing to do with it. W. then asked him to authorise a formal contradiction in the 'Globe,' or to let it be officially

contradicted in the 'Moniteur.' C. declined the first, and advised against the latter course. I offered to speak to Delane about contradicting it in the 'Times,' which I afterwards did. He said the fact was true, and he had received it from various quarters, and it was useless to contradict it; but there was no reason the 'Moniteur' should not if they liked, so I sent him to Clarendon to talk it over and settle what was to be done to smooth the ruffled plumage of the French.

On Thursday¹ at the Cabinet the resolution was taken which amounts to war. The French sent a proposal that the Fleets should go into the Black Sea, repel any Russian aggression, and force any Russian ships of war they met with to go back to Sebastopol, using force in case of resistance. He assented to this proposal, and orders were sent accordingly. This must produce hostilities of some sort, and renders war inevitable. It is curious that this stringent measure should have been adopted during Palmerston's absence, and that he had no hand in it. It will no doubt render the reconciliation more agreeable to him. This incident of his resignation and return, which has made such a hubbub not only here but all over Europe for several days, is certainly extraordinary, and will hardly be intelligible, especially as it will hereafter appear that he has withdrawn his resignation with hardly any, or perhaps no, conditions. On looking dispassionately at it, it seems to me P. and Aberdeen have both been somewhat to blame. Lord Lansdowne left town ten days or a fortnight ago, with a distinct understanding, as he affirms, that the question of the Reform Bill was not to be definitively settled till after Christmas, and though he was aware of P.'s objections, he had no idea he would take any decisive step till then. A few days after he was gone to Bowood, P. wrote to Aberdeen, a most unnecessary and ill-judged act. A.—instead of referring in his answer to the above-named understanding, and giving no other answer, replies that he has consulted J. R. and G.,² who think that nothing can be proposed that will remove his objections, and that he agrees with them; on which P. sends in his resignation in a letter described to be brief and peremptory in its tone. All these letters were wrong, and none of them ought to have been written. I see they (his colleagues or some of them) think P. never had really any intention of quitting his post, but (more suo)

¹ Thursday, December 22nd, 1853.

² Lord Granville.

tried to bully a little, not without hopes that he might frighten them into some concessions on the Reform Bill, and meaning, if he failed, to knock under, as he has so often done upon other occasions. I am much inclined to suspect there is a great deal of truth in this hypothesis, being struck by Lady P.'s mildness and abstinence from violence and abuse and the evident anxiety of both of them for a reconciliation, and again by the very easy terms on which he has been induced to stay. No exaction or dictation on his part, but (so far as appears at present) something very like a surrender.

Bowood, December 26th.—Came here to-day through town, where I saw en passant Granville and Clarendon; received a letter this morning from Graham, telling me everything was arranged and P. would stay, which of course I knew long before. Granville said he thought Newcastle had not managed the negotiation adroitly, as he had given P. the means of turning it to his own account by informing him beforehand of the resolution of the Cabinet on Thursday. Clarendon however thought N. had managed it exceedingly well, inasmuch as by his mixture of conciliation and firmness he had got P. to write and withdraw his resignation, without any conditions; indeed, C. considers that P. has virtually acceded to all the provisions of John's Bill to which he had objected. Whether his actions correspond with this idea we shall see hereafter. The letter he has written they say was 'artful and cunning,' but Aberdeen does not appear dissatisfied with it; and as it is a considerable concession in him to write any letter at all, they are right not to chicaner about the expressions. On the whole, I am now of opinion that P. has made a great fool of himself and will be damaged by this proceeding. Nothing could justify his resignation at such a crisis but a case of urgent necessity, and if he really was urged to it by such a necessity, he clearly could not be justified in recalling his resignation five or six days afterwards, finding himself exactly in the same situation as he was in before it. It seems to me that he is certainly on the horns of this dilemma, that he was either wrong in resigning or wrong in returning. I told Lord Lansdowne so, but he did not say much in reply; and I find the language of the place is all favorable to him, which I presume to be from their sympathising in his objections to Reform; and they throw most of the blame on Aberdeen for writing to him the letter he did,

in which no doubt he erred. However, they are all very glad it is made up, and justly think that the less that is said about it hereafter the better. I think now that some steps had been taken towards a reconciliation even before the Thursday when Ly. Pam spoke to me, and the Queen knew on *Thursday* that the reconciliation was highly probable; for she wrote to Lord L. that evening, and told him he need not come to Windsor on Friday, which letter he received just as he was going to set off. The Tories and the Radicals are equally puzzled, perplexed, and disgusted, and do not know what to say. They accordingly solace themselves with such inventions and falsehoods as it suits their several purposes to circulate.

Clarendon received a letter from Cowley (while I was with him) in which he said he sent him a paper which tended to show that the E⟨mperor⟩ of R⟨ussia⟩ was bent upon the destruction of Turkey, and prepared to run every risk, and encounter any Enemy, in the pursuit of that object. This is, I think, very likely; and what is equally likely that, per damna per cædes, and with much danger and damage to himself, he will accomplish the ruin of the Turk. But all speculation must be vague and fallacious as to the results of such a war as is now beginning.

