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STATESMEN SERIES.

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LORD BEACONSFIELD.

STATESMEN SERIES.

LIFE OF
LORD BEACONSFIELD.

BY

T. E. KEBBEL.

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PREFACE TO THE SERIES.

THE intention of the Statesmen Series is, as its title implies, to comprise a collection of brief biographical studies of the great men who have influenced the political history of the world. Its scope is, therefore, extremely catholic, embracing the ancients and the moderns, continental as well as English statesmen, and including not only those who have shaped our foreign policy and domestic institutions, but also the creators of our Indian and Colonial Empires. And the list of subjects will not be confined to those who have been statesmen in the narrower sense of the term, that is, to ministers of State and members of legislative assemblies. A statesman, according to Dr. Johnson, is "one who is versed in political affairs," and statesmanship is exercised not only by Czars and Popes who act as their own Prime Ministers, but also by constitutional

sovereigns who, though in theory they reign but do not govern, have frequently, as Sir Theodore Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort* shows, brought into action a very appreciable amount of personal authority. Even to modern republics, Thucydides' description of the Athenian constitution in the time of Pericles is invariably applicable — they are ostensibly democracies, but are, as a matter of fact, ruled by their first man. Presidents, therefore, and sovereigns—*rois fainéants* always excepted—will find places in the Statesmen Series.

Though the Series will be comprehensive, it does not pretend to be exhaustive. Completeness of treatment is no doubt desirable in books of reference, the primary object of which is to supply information on points that general reading fails to illuminate, but would be unattainable in a collection of volumes which, though deriving a certain amount of strength from unity, must ultimately stand or fall by the merits of each individual work. Nor is the arrangement in which the volumes are to appear affected at all by any considerations of chronology. Their publication in historical order would, perhaps, have some advantages, but gaps would inevitably occur in the ranks, and the groups would fail to form a picture. The provinces of history and bio-

graphy are, after all, widely different, and the old view of history which regarded it as a string of lives of great men has long since been consigned to the limbo of rejected fallacies.

Political biography has, however, a distinct value and interest of its own ; for if the statesman is the child of his epoch, none the less is his epoch moulded by the statesman ; nor can the relative importance of great social movements be properly understood without an adequate knowledge of the human forces by which they are impelled or controlled. It is the aim of the Statesmen Series to supply that knowledge, in a compact form, and without prejudice to the larger works which, for those who have leisure to consult them, must always contain the most authoritative, because the most detailed, accounts of great political careers. And of incident and interest the lives of great statesmen, as a rule, possess a far greater measure than those of literary men, though less, perhaps, than those of men of action. For if much of a statesman's time is passed in the solitude of the study, much also is passed in the passionate precincts of the Senate and in the hardly less dramatic debates round the council-table.

Within the limits of a well-defined subject,

the selection, then, will be purely arbitrary; and what the Series will lose in continuity of interest it will perhaps be thought to gain in variety. It so happens that the volumes in preparation, as well as that now published, deal with the present century, and may, therefore, be considered to derive a certain amount of additional interest from that quality which it is the fashion to call actuality. They are as follows: *The Prince Consort*, by Miss Charlotte Yonge; *O'Connell*, by J. A. Hamilton; *Prince Gortschakoff*, by Charles Marvin; *Gambetta*, by F. T. Marzials; *Earl Russell*, by Edward Walford; *Lord Palmerston*, by the Editor. Other volumes have been arranged.

L. C. S.

PREFATORY NOTE.

“I DISAPPROVE of contemporary biography,” Lord Beaconsfield once said to the present writer, “and I dislike being the subject of it.” We may reasonably conclude, therefore, that none of the biographies which appeared during his lifetime owe much to his own communications. They are all in fact founded on materials accessible to the whole world; nor, down to the present time, has his death set free any information not previously known to all who had studied his career, beyond that contained in the highly interesting *Correspondence with his Sister* brought out by Mr. Ralph Disraeli. The time will come when a complete and particular account of the life and times of Lord Beaconsfield will be one of the most interesting as well as one of the most valuable works which can stand upon a statesman’s shelves. Till then we must content ourselves with such provisional and preliminary biographies as, in the case of almost all our great men, precede the one final and authentic narrative which disposes of the subject and clears the field of all competitors. Of intermediate works of this description there are, in the case of Lord

Beaconsfield, only three with which I am acquainted, pretending to the character of regular biographies, one by Mr. Thomas Macknight, published in 1854, one by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, published in 1878, and one, by much the best, by Mr. A. C. Ewald, published in 1883. Beside these, a very clever and appreciative study of Mr. Disraeli, by Mr. George Henry Francis, was republished in 1852 from *Fraser's Magazine*, while the public life of Lord Beaconsfield has been brought out more recently by Mr. Hitchman. A German study of Lord Beaconsfield by G. Brandes, of which a translation was published by Mr. Bentley in 1880, is, I believe, worth reading, and I am sorry that my attention was not called to it till it was too late to consult it for the purpose of the present volume. Of course, of the various pamphlets, memoirs, and quasi-biographical notices of Lord Beaconsfield which have appeared during the last forty years the name is legion, and to give anything like a complete list of them on the present occasion would be impossible. The obituary notices of him which appeared in the principal daily papers contain much interesting matter, and the *Standard* notice was republished by Messrs. Macmillan in a small octavo volume. From the numerous volumes of political memoirs, diaries, and correspondence, of which the last few years have been so fertile, abundant particulars relating to both the public and private life of Lord Beaconsfield are to be collected, especially from the *Greville Journals*, the *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, by Lord Malmesbury, *St. Petersburg and London*, by Count Vitzthum, the *Croker Papers*, and the *Lives* of Lord Palmerston, Lord Melbourne,

Lord Lyndhurst, Bishop Wilberforce, and Mr. Herries, which have all appeared within the last twenty years.

The first complete edition of Lord Beaconsfield's works down to that date, was published in 1853. Another, in ten volumes, appeared in 1857; and a second impression of it in 1870. The Hughenden edition of his tales and novels was published in 1881. A very useful and well-executed edition of the *Letters of Runnymede*, the *Vindication of the British Constitution*, and the *Spirit of Whiggism*, has also been published by Mr. Hitchman. And two volumes of speeches, edited by myself, with explanatory prefaces attached, were issued by Messrs. Longmans in 1881.

T. E. K.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PRÆ-PARLIAMENTARY PERIOD.

1804-1837.

Birth and boyhood—First appearance in print—*Vivian Grey*—Travels on the Continent—Letters to Sarah Disraeli—Entrance into Society—Literary and political activity—Attempts to get into Parliament—Popular Toryism—The *Crisis Examined*—Quarrel with O'Connell—Disraeli's vindication of his public conduct—Relations with Hume—Disraeli and Lyndhurst—Elected for Maidstone p. 1

CHAPTER II.

THE GREAT CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

1837-1843.

State of Parties in 1837—Disraeli's maiden speech—Evidence as to its merits—Position in the House—The Bedchamber plot—The Chartist Petition—Disraeli's marriage—Change in his circumstances—Dissolution of 1841—Disraeli returned for Shrewsbury—Exposition of his views on Protection p. 20

CHAPTER III.

YOUNG ENGLAND.

1843.

Young England Toryism and Conservatism—Disraeli's position—Breach with Peel—*Coningsby*—The Young England creed—Didactic elements in *Coningsby*—Its portraits and types—Tour in the manufacturing districts—*Sybil*—Theme of the novel—Disraeli's political ideal—Young England and the Anglican revival p. 34

CHAPTER IV.

SIR ROBERT PEEL AND FREE TRADE.

1845-52.

First direct attack on Peel—The Post Office scandal—Debate on agricultural distress—Tour on the Continent—Disraeli's economical policy—Fall of Peel's administration—Visit to Belvoir Castle—Disraeli leader of the Opposition—Reconstruction of the Conservative party—Speech on the Burden upon Land—Success of Disraeli's tactics—Social incidents—*The Life of Lord George Bentinck*—The first Derby ministry—Bitterness of the Opposition—Successes of the Government—The London Press—Result of the general election—The Budget—Defeat of the Government.

p. 59

CHAPTER V.

MR. DISRAELI AND LORD DERBY.

1852-1868.

The *Press* newspaper—Funeral oration over the Duke of Wellington—Divisions in the Cabinet—Mr. Disraeli's irony at its expense—Refusal of Lord Derby to take office—Tactics of the Conservative party in Opposition—The China debate—Defeat of the Palmerston Government—The second Derby Administration—The Ellenborough despatch—The Reform Bill—Resignation of Ministers—The Conservatives in Opposition—Earl Russell's foreign policy—*Church and Queen*—Mr. Disraeli's financial speeches—The career and defeat of Earl Russell's Government—The Reform Bills—Mr. Disraeli leader of the party . . . p. 86

CHAPTER VI.

MR. DISRAELI AS LEADER OF THE PARTY.

1868-1881.

Mr. Gladstone's Irish Resolutions—Mr. Disraeli's speech on the Abyssinian war—General Election of 1868—Mr. Disraeli's speeches in Opposition—Death of Lady Beaconsfield—Refusal to take office

in 1878—Mr. Disraeli Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow—The Conservative reaction—Mr. Disraeli and the masses—The Cabinet of 1874—The Public Worship Regulation Bill—*Sanitas sanitatum*—Social legislation—Educational measures—Ecclesiastical questions—The Royal Titles Act—Mr. Disraeli becomes Lord Beaconsfield—Foreign policy of his Administration—The Eastern Question—The Bulgarian Atrocities—The March Protocol—Declaration of War by Russia—The treaty of San Stephano and its consequences—The Treaty of Berlin—Its results—The The Anglo-Turkish Convention—Peace with Honour—The Afghan war—Unpopularity of the Government—The General Election of 1880—Lord Beaconsfield's last appearances in Parliament—His illness and death—Grief of the nation—The funeral at Hughenden—Visit of the Queen—The Primrose League—Tributes to Lord Beaconsfield's memory p. 115

CHAPTER VII.

STATESMAN AND ORATOR.

Estimates of Lord Beaconsfield's statesmanship—His foreign policy—His domestic policy—Theory of popular government—One opinion of the duties of Conservatism—Lord Beaconsfield's opinion—Changes in his views—Distrust of the middle class—Our territorial constitution—The Irish question—Lord Beaconsfield's ecclesiastical views—The monarchical revival—Idealism of Lord Beaconsfield—Increased power of the minister—Lord Beaconsfield's position as an orator—Specimens of his eloquence—His use of rhetoric—His vein of irony—Famous sarcasms. p. 161

CHAPTER VIII.

LORD BEACONSFIELD AS A MAN OF LETTERS.

Lord Beaconsfield's works—His earlier novels—Plots of *Coningsby* and *Sybil*—*Tancred*, *Lothair*, and *Endymion*—Three prose burlesques—Political writings—Lord Beaconsfield's style. p. 188

CHAPTER IX.

CONCLUSION.

His Public and Private Character—Not an Adventurer—Devotion to Politics—Love of Nature, and of Animals, and of Children—Stories of his early Eccentricities—Life at Hughenden—Popularity in the Neighbourhood—His Scholarship—His Library—Lady John Manners's Reminiscences	p. 206
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A P P E N D I X.

Franchise Clauses 3 to 7 of Reform Bill of 1867, as originally introduced to the House of Commons.

3. Every Man shall be entitled to be registered as a Voter, and, when registered, to vote for a Member or Members to serve in Parliament for a Borough, who is qualified as follows; that is to say:

1. Is of full age, and not subject to any legal Incapacity; and
2. Is on the *last Day of July* in any Year and has during the whole of the preceding *Two Years* been an Inhabitant Occupier, as Owner or Tenant, of any Dwelling House within the Borough; and
3. Has during the Time of such Occupation been rated in respect of the Premises so occupied by him within the Borough to all Rates (if any) made for the Relief of the Poor in respect of such Premises; and
4. Has before the *Twentieth Day of July* in the same Year paid all Poor Rates that have become payable by him in respect of the said Premises up to the preceding *Fifth Day of January*.

4. Every Man shall be entitled to be registered as a Voter, and, when registered, to vote for a Member or Members to serve in Parliament for a County, who is qualified as follows; that is to say:

1. Is of full Age, and not subject to any legal Incapacity; and
2. Is on the *last Day of July* in any Year and has during the *Twelve Months* immediately preceding been the Occupier, as Owner or Tenant, of Pre-

mises of any Tenure within the County of the rateable Value of *Fifteen Pounds* or upwards; and

3. Has during the Time of such Occupation been rated in respect to the Premises so occupied by him to all Rates (if any) made for the Relief of the Poor in respect of the said Premises; and
4. Has before the *Twentieth Day of July* in the same Year paid all Poor Rates that have become payable by him in respect of the said Premises up to the preceding *Fifth Day of January*.

5. Every Man shall be entitled to be registered, and, when registered, to vote at the Election of a Member or Members to serve in Parliament for a County or Borough, who is of full Age, and not subject to any legal Incapacity, and is on the *last Day of July* in any Year and has during the Year immediately preceding been resident in such County or Borough, and is possessed of any One or more of the Qualifications following; that is to say:

1. Is, and has been during the Period of such Residence, a Graduate or Associate in Arts of any University of the United Kingdom; or a Male Person who has passed at any Senior Middle Class Examination of any University of the United Kingdom;
2. Is, and has been during the Period aforesaid, an ordained Priest or Deacon of the Church of England; or
3. Is, and has been during the Period aforesaid, a Minister of any other Religious Denomination appointed either alone or with not more than One Colleague to the Charge of any registered Chapel or Place of Worship, and is, and has been during such Period, officiating as the Minister thereof; or
4. Is, and has been during the Period aforesaid, a Serjeant-at-Law or Barrister-at-Law in any of the Inns of Court in England, or a Certificated Pleader or Certificated Conveyancer; or
5. Is, and has been during the Period aforesaid, a Certificated Attorney or Solicitor or Proctor in England or Wales; or

6. Is, and has been during the Period aforesaid, a duly qualified Medical Practitioner registered under the Medical Act, 1858; or

7. Is, and has been during the Period aforesaid, a Schoolmaster holding a Certificate from the Committee of Her Majesty's Council on Education:

Provided that no Person shall be entitled to be registered as a Voter or to vote in respect of any of the Qualifications mentioned in this Section in more than one Place.

6. Every Man shall be entitled to be registered, and, when registered, to vote at the Election of a Member or Members to serve in Parliament for a County or Borough, who is of full Age, and not subject to any legal Incapacity, and is on the *First Day of July* in any Year and has during the *Two Years* immediately preceding been resident in such County or Borough, and is possessed of any One or more of the Qualifications following; that is to say:

1. Has on the *First Day of July* in any Year, and has had during the *Two Years* immediately preceding, a Balance of not less than *Fifty Pounds* deposited in some Savings Bank in his own sole Name, and for his own Use; or
2. Holds on the *First Day of July* in any Year, and has held during the *Two Years* immediately preceding, in the Books of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England or Ireland in his own sole Name and for his own Use any Parliamentary Stocks or Funds of the United Kingdom to the Amount of not less than *Fifty Pounds*; or
3. Has during the *Twelve Months* immediately preceding the *Fifth Day of April* in any Year been charged with a Sum of not less than *Twenty Shillings* in the whole of the Year for Assessed Taxes and Income Tax, or either of such Taxes, and has before the *Twentieth Day of July* in that Year paid all such Taxes due from him up to the preceding *Fifth Day of January*:

Provided, first, that every Person entitled to vote in respect of any of the Qualifications mentioned in this Section shall on or before the *Twentieth Day of July* in each Year claim to be registered as a Voter; secondly,

that no Person shall be entitled to be registered as a Voter or to vote in respect of any of the Qualifications mentioned in this Section for more than One Place. e

7. A Person registered as a Voter for a Borough by reason of his having been charged with and paid the requisite Amount of Assessed Taxes and Income Tax, or either of such Taxes, shall not by reason of being so registered lose any right to which he may be entitled (if otherwise duly qualified) to be registered as a Voter for the same Borough in respect of any Franchise involving Occupation of Premises and Payment of Rates, and when so registered in respect of such double Qualification he shall be entitled to give Two Votes for the Member, or (if there be more than One) for each Member to be returned to serve in Parliament for the said Borough.

INDEX.

A.

- Aberdeen, Lord, becomes Premier, 84; resigns, 90.
Abyssinian war, the, 117.
"Adullam, the Cave of," 103.
Affghan war, 150-152.
Agricultural distress, speeches on, 61, 62, 71-73.
Agricultural Holdings Act, 132.
Alarcos, 198.
Atroy, Wondrous Tale of, 188, 190.

B.

- Bath Letter, the, 125, note.
Beaconsfield, Lord. *See* Disraeli, Benjamin.
Beaconsfield, Lady. *See* Disraeli, Mary Ann.
Bedchamber Plot, 25.
Bentinck, Lord George, 69, 70; *Life of*, 63, 67, 75-77, 202.
Berlin Memorandum, 188; Congress of, 143-149.
Buckinghamshire, Disraeli returned for, 69.
Budgets. *See inf.* Disraeli.
Bulgarian atrocities, 139.
Bulwer, Lytton, 7, 8.

C.

- Carnarvon, Lord, 110, 111, 129, 142.
Chartists, the, 25, 53, 73.
Church, position of the, 46, 56, 103-108, 130, 134, 173-175.
Church and Queen, 103.
Cobden, Richard, 31, 94.
Coningsby, 22, 33, 37; plot of, 40-46, 192-98; doctrines of, 41-46; characters in, 48, 194-95.
Conservatism, 22, 35, 44, 163-172.
Contarini Fleming, 5, 189.
Cranborne, Lord. *See* Salisbury.
Crimean war, 88-91.
Crisis Examined, the, 11, 200.
Croker, J. W., 48, 75.
Cyprus, acquisition of, 150.

D.

- Derby, Earl of, and Disraeli, 70; declines office, 73; first ministry, 73-84; again declines office, 91; second ministry, 95-101; third ministry, 110-114.
Derby, Earl of (son of above), 95, 109, 110, 129, 142.
Disraeli, Benjamin, birth-place of, 1; education, 2; first appear-

- ance in print, 3; travels, 4, 5; enters society, 6, 7; candidate for Parliament, 8-17; elected at Maidstone, 18; maiden speech, 22-24; marriage, 27; visits the continent, 68; leader of the Opposition, 70; Chancellor of Exchequer, 78; his first Budget, 80-81; second Budget, 83; again leads Opposition, 86; Chancellor of Exchequer (1857), 95; first Reform Bill, 97-100; political isolation, 108; again Chancellor, 110; second Reform Bill, 111-118 and Appendix; Prime Minister, 114; again in Opposition, 119-129; Lord Rector of Glasgow, 125; second Ministry, 129-154; domestic measures, 181-185; becomes Lord Beaconsfield, 185; foreign policy, 186-182, and 162; resignation, 154; last illness, 155; death, 156; funeral, 156; as a statesman and orator, 161-167; as a man of letters, 189-205; personal characteristics, 206-212.
- Disraeli, Isaac, 1, 2.
- Disraeli, Mary Ann, 7; marriage, 27; becomes Lady Beaconsfield, 128; death of, 128; at Hughenden, 211.
- Disraeli, Sarah, 1; letters to, 4-5, 6, 8, 11, 18, 23, 27, 37, 49, 63, 68, 70.
- E.**
- Ellenborough, Lord, 96.
- Edymion*, 154, 196.
- Exchequer, Chancellor of, Disraeli *sa.* See Disraeli.
- F.**
- Free Trade, 59-85.
- G.**
- Gladstone, Mr. 22, 31, 40, 72, 79, 98; his Irish Resolutions, 116; first Ministry, 119-129; second Ministry, 154; on Lord Beaconsfield, 159, 211.
- Globe*, the, Disraeli and, 13-16.
- Granby, Marquis of, 69.
- H.**
- Henley, Mr., 78, 79, 96.
- Henrietta Temple*, 18, 188, 190.
- Hope, Henry, 37.
- Hughenden, 28, 75, 156, 157, 208, 211.
- Hume, Joseph, 8-9, 13, 16-17.
- I.**
- Infernal Marriage*, the 197.
- Ireland, Disraeli on, 59, 172, 182.
- Italian War, the, 101.
- J.**
- Jew Bill, 97.
- L.**
- Lewis, Mrs. Wyndham. See Disraeli, Mary Ann.
- Liverpool Cabinet, the, Disraeli on, 42-48.
- Lothair*, 154, 196.
- Lyndhurst, Lord, 10, 17.

M.

- Maidstone, elected at, 18.
 Malmesbury, Lord, 78, 95, 110, 129; his *Memoirs*, 78, 92, 208.
 Manchester, Disraeli at, 49, 121.
 Manners, Lord John, 37, 43, 96, 129, 156.
 Marlborough, letter to the Duke of, 158.
 Marylebone, candidature at, 11.
 Maynooth Grant, the, 60.
 Melbourne, Lord, 7, 13, 25.
 Militia Bills, 79, 80.
 Monarchy, position of the, 46, 56, 175-180.

N.

- Northcote, Sir S., 110, 129, 156.

O.

- O'Connell, S., 13, 22.

P.

- Pakington, Sir John, 78, 79, 96, 110.
 Palmerston, Lord, 77, 79, 88; becomes Premier, 91; defeated, 95; again Premier, 102; death of, 108.
 Peel, Sir Robert, 21, 22, and the Bed-Chamber Plot, 24; becomes Premier (1841), 28; attacked by Disraeli, 36, 60-63, and 186; defeated, 67-68.
Popanilla, The Voyage of, 197.
 Post Office scandal, the, 60.
 Press, the power of the, 46.
 Press, newspaper, 86.

- Protection, Disraeli on, 30-33, 62.
 Public Worship Regulation Bill, 130.

R.

- Reform Bills. See *inf.* Disraeli.
Rise of Iskander, 188, 190.
 Royal Titles Bill, 185.
Runnymede, Letters of, 202.
 Russell, Lord John, 77, 79, 82, 88; as Foreign Secretary, 103
 Prime Minister, 108.
 Russo-Turkish War, 140-143.

S.

- Salisbury, Marquis of, 110, 111, 129, 139, 156, 158.
Sanitas sanitatum, 131-32.
 San Stephano, Treaty of, 141, 143.
 Shrewsbury, elected at, 28
 speech at, 30-34.
 Slough speech, the, 96.
 Smythe, Hon. George, 37, 48.
Spirit of Whiggism,
 Stanley, Lord. See Derby.
Star Chamber, the, 3.
 Suez Canal Shares, 150.
Sybil, 22, 25, 26, 202; theme of 51-55; plot of, 193; characters in, 194-196.

T.

- Tancred*, 75, 195.
 Taunton, candidature at, 12.
 "Territorial constitution," our, 65, 168-172.
 Toryism popular, 9, 15-16, 37, 57-58.

V.

Venetia, 18, 188, 191.
Vindication of the British Constitution, the 10, 200.
Vivian Grey, 3, 188.

W.

Wellington, Duke of, Disraeli's
 speech on, 88.
 Westmeath Committee, 121.
What is He? 199.

Whigs, the, Disraeli on. 11, 41
 45-46, 166.
 Wycombe, candidatures at, 8, 10

Y.

Young Duke, 3, 189.
 "Young England," 34-58.

Z.

Zulu war, 153.