

1 Idealist Philosophy, Culture and the Gladstones

The Midlothian is usually seen as the first modern political campaign because of how it was conducted as well as its emphasis on humanitarian concerns over local interests. Unremarked, however, is the vital role played by women and the family in liberalism, attested to in the Midlothian campaign by the presence of wife and daughter alongside Gladstone during his speeches. Political historians recognize that Catherine Gladstone was among the first of political wives habitually to appear on the platform with her husband and sons.¹ The importance of Mary Gladstone's public appearances at her father's side, however, remains critically overlooked despite the fact that she was probably the first daughter to appear on stage while a prime minister stumped for public office.

At the time, Mary Gladstone was a celebrity in her own right. She was the home daughter who facilitated her legendary father's travels (he was considered the embodiment of liberalism), appeared with him and was widely represented in newspaper cartoons in the 1870s and beyond. Likewise, Mary had previously joined her mother at prominent charity events such as the opening of the London Hospital's new wing in 1876; Mary joined her mother and Lady Salisbury for the carriage ride along crowded, festooned streets and then onto the dais.² On the Midlothian platform, Mary's presence symbolized Gladstone's paternal style of leadership, suggested the ladies' social work and hinted that Mary had her own role to play. The ruling elite of the day knew the last. They recognized Mary as a talented musician who became her father's secretary in 1876 and, subsequently, one of the five prime ministerial private secretaries in 1881. She was probably the first woman to hold this office.

In fact, the Gladstones' inner circle understood the Grand Old Man's (GOM) second administration as in part a family effort, showing that

¹ Shannon, *Gladstone: Heroic Minister*, 242.

² For the London Hospital, see MG, 5–8.3.1876, MGP/46257, f 25. For cartoons, see, for example, “Gladstone on the Stump,” *The New Gladstone Cartoon* [1880]; “The Braemar Gathering: A Royal Greeting to Mr. Gladstone on the Terrace, Braemar Castle,” *The Penny Pictorial and Family Story Paper*, XV.368 (13.9.1884); “Mr. Gladstone and Party Ascending Ben Madhui, the Second Highest Mountain in Scotland,” *The Penny Pictorial News and Family Story Paper*, XV.369 (20 September 1884; illustrated front page), GG/1721. See also “Portraits of Celebrities,” 297.

politics were in some ways inseparable from the domestic sphere. Early in Gladstone's second premiership, Tennyson's eldest son, Hallam, wrote to Mary: "Yes. we think of you all in the midst of your whirl & worry & 'laborious days,' but the place of power is the place of care. Still with that power _ to do such noble work as your father and mother are doing! What a blessing for you that you all have the strength for the labour!"³ Hallam implies a contrast with his own family, where his mother's illness led to Hallam's abrupt departure from Cambridge in order to assume, in her stead, secretarial duties for Tennyson.⁴ The comment shows Hallam's awareness of the Gladstone women's roles, and also a wider cultural assumption of the family's responsibilities. "[T]he place of power is the place of care" because of Gladstone's attention to the people and also because of the family's literal presence in "the place of power".

The heart of the Liberal Party message was enhancing quality of life and protecting liberties, including the creation of meaningful social relationships. Humanitarian civic bonds began not with capitalism or old feudal power structures, but rather with thoughtfulness expressed among kin. Thus Herbert Gladstone expressed to his sister, Mary, in 1911:

Now a family is like a Cabinet. So long as it has a ruling head it is or ought to be influenced into keeping incompatibilities + weaknesses in the background + by each contributing ~~his~~ when best to produce the best collective result. When the head dies each member becomes more of an individual_ looking at things from the personal point of view. Family loyalty + affection remain but in the ordinary affairs of life the very fact of familiarity ~~me~~ has a tendency to make each member somewhat disregardful of the others [*sic*] feelings.⁵

Herbert awkwardly sought to address how, thirteen years after their father had died, he thought "there is too much 'interference' in the family. [. . .] In the whole course of my life I only remember Father lecturing me twice. H.D. [Harry Drew, Mary's husband] never did. Yet the value of their example, life, + methods in life was incomparable."⁶ Leading by example, Gladstone inspired his family (and, by implication, his Cabinet) to work collectively for the best result.

G.W.F. Hegel, W.E. Gladstone and Thomas Hill Green (Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford) all espoused "paternal principles" regarding national rule.⁷ Green is especially relevant here because of Mary

³ [HT to MG], 6.6.1880, MGP/46244, f 93.

⁴ For the link between ET's and MG's overwork, see [HT to MG], December 1882, MGP/46244, f 113.

⁵ HJG to MG, 17.4.1911, box 1, private collection. ⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ WEG, *The State in Its Relations*, 37.

Gladstone's involvement with a circle of Oxford men and women, meeting at Keble College, who were guided by Green's theories.⁸ Although denied access to Oxbridge learning (she was too old to attend when the ladies' colleges were established at Oxford and Cambridge), Mary was still an inspired contributor to university culture and to the actualization of social theories that developed there. Examining Mary's contribution to liberalism brings to light different facets of the relationship between the Gladstonian state and family, and aesthetics and social work, than emerges from focusing on Gladstone's examination of Aristotle and Plato, or Christian and (to an extent) German thinkers.⁹

This chapter begins with a profile of the Gladstone family. It then sketches the philosophical ideals that underpinned Mary's belief system through her interaction with a group of Oxford Idealists (the *Lux Mundi* party), the vital role that church music played in social politics, and the importance of both to Gladstone. First tracing the climate within which Mary operated means that she and the salon do not feature prominently until later in the chapter, but the context is crucial for understanding what music meant to this liberal circle. For the salon, by definition, is interconnected with social and cultural history. Biographical information about Mary follows, including a brief consideration of how new source materials require us to reassess Mary's role in British intellectual, cultural and political history.

The Gladstone Family

Because my focus is on the fabric of social life among the Gladstones' circle during the late 1870s and early 1880s, it is useful to review what would have been general knowledge about the family during the last quarter of the century. Regarding the GOM himself – or “the People's William” as he was popularly known – this septuagenarian was commonly recognized as a leading Homer scholar, a brilliant economist and a commanding orator who spent his leisure tree-felling on his estate in Hawarden, Wales. According to Robert Rhodes James, Gladstone frightened his opponents and awed his admirers by personality and popularity. His followers largely viewed him “[as] the Liberal Party” and “after Disraeli's departure to the Lords in 1876 he was also the most formidable and experienced Parliamentarian in public life.”¹⁰ By his final retirement, William Ewart

⁸ While Houseman's doctoral dissertation introduced me to the importance of this Keble College connection, I developed the political-aesthetic implications, especially with regard to music.

⁹ See Matthew, *Gladstone: 1809–1874*, 33–6; Bebbington, *Mind of Gladstone*, 54–67.

¹⁰ Rhodes James, *British Revolution*, 19; original emphasis. See also pp 49–50.

Gladstone had become the only prime minister in British history to serve four terms; he was premier for twelve and a half years in total over an impressive span of almost three decades: December 1868–February 1874, April 1880–June 1885, January–July 1886 and August 1892–March 1894.

Gladstone's liberal message included a personal, domestic quality, conveyed in part by the innovation of the statesman speaking on the electoral platform while his wife and daughter "paced round + sat with nosegays on a platform to be gazed at".¹¹ This was Mary's perception of her contribution on the Midlothian stage; she was a subject of the public gaze. Besides presenting Gladstone paternally, the platform message emphasized the GOM's sympathetic awareness of non-elite classes. He may have married into the upper class and counted himself as part of "Society" in the traditional sense of "people who are asked to Court. + [...] representative landowners, the intellectuals generally, + the local leading societies of towns",¹² but Gladstone made clear when speaking to fellow Liverpuddlians in the 1840s and 1870s that he continued to identify with his middle-class origins; his faint Lancashire accent would have testified strongly to this sense of self.¹³ The statesman championed the most humble classes, too. In the words of one of the greatest Liberal minds of the day, Catholic historian Lord John Acton, Gladstone believed that "laws should be adapted to those who have the heaviest stake in the country, for whom misgovernment means not mortified pride or stinted luxury, but want and pain, and degradation, and risk to their own lives and to their children's souls".¹⁴ The working classes responded with unprecedented enthusiasm. Mary noted in her diary in 1887, "An old man said to Miss Sewall, (Helen's Newnham friend) 'God bless 'em all. they treat us as if we were their equals. If there was more did that, there'd be less wickedness in the world, + the poor wd n't envy the rich.'"¹⁵ The family felt that Gladstone's ability to meet the physical and political needs of the people accounted for his mass appeal. Late in his own life, Herbert Gladstone soberly reflected on his father's popularity:

Society affected to scorn him + what his influence was in the mass it is difficult to say.

But the "multitudes". Yes the influence was wonderful. Yet look on the Midlothian multitude wh. melted in 1892 as the 1885 multitude melted under the H.R. [Home Rule] appeal.

¹¹ MG, 5.12.1879, Diary, MGP/46259, f 46. See also Lawrence, *Electing Our Masters*, 83.

¹² HJG to MG, 3.2.1921, box 2, private collection.

¹³ Cannadine, *Class in Britain*, 89; Jenkins, *Gladstone*, 12.

¹⁴ Acton to MG, 14.12.1880, *Letters of Lord Acton*, 49.

¹⁵ MG, 30.[8].1887–1.9.1887, Diary, MGP/46262, f 61.

[. . .] It was not only the personality wh. drew multitudes but empty stomachs + political needs. At home it was his own influence wh. acted directly on each one of us [. . .] + will last till death. Had his influence told on the multitudes as it told on the family he w^d never have been defeated.¹⁶

Just as Gladstone hoped to reach all classes with his message, in a sense he also represented the geographic spread of the British Isles. His father, born in Scotland, made his fortune in Liverpool shipping and in 1833 purchased Fasque House in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, where William Gladstone visited frequently until his father died in 1851. The statesman resided in London during the parliamentary season, which began in February and officially concluded with the Marlborough House Ball at the end of July.¹⁷ Upon marrying into one of the oldest families in Wales in 1839, Gladstone lived at their family seat in Hawarden, Flintshire, eventually securing it for his heirs. As for Ireland, Home Rule became Gladstone's signature political cause. The last proved divisive within the Liberal Party and problematic to much of the "multitude", but Gladstone, and most of his family, never lost hope that it would prevail.¹⁸ His life experiences thus led him to identify with England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, but embodying all four meant suffering their fissures, too.

Catherine Gladstone supported her husband visibly on the public platform, and she also spearheaded urban and provincial philanthropic work that enacted the family's belief in bettering the conditions of the poor. Her efforts fit the type of social contributions traditionally made by women, but her energetic achievements were truly extraordinary in their range. Together, William and Catherine worked with the House of Charity for Distressed Persons, a residential center to aid upstanding people who experienced hardship.¹⁹ Besides the orphanage for boys that Catherine established in the yard of Hawarden Castle, she was involved with the House of Charity in Soho, Newport Market Refuge in Westminster, an elderly ladies' Home in Hawarden and the Catherine Gladstone Home (Britain's only free convalescent home for the London Hospital's East End patients). In East London, Catherine established soup kitchens and volunteered for the Institution for the Blind, St. Mary Magdalen's Rescue Home in Paddington for young women and their babies, and a Notting Hill preventative home.²⁰ The family

¹⁶ HJG to MG, 3.12.1919, box 2, private collection.

¹⁷ For the Marlborough House Ball, see Hamilton, 27.7.1883, *Diary*, 2: 463.

¹⁸ The exception was Alfred Lyttelton who declared himself a Liberal Unionist after his Uncle William's final retirement.

¹⁹ Hilderley, *Catherine Gladstone*, 66.

²⁰ MG, *Catherine Gladstone*, (1919), 243–50; MG to Stead, 30.7.1888, STED/1/32. See also Masterman in Lee, *Wives of the Prime Ministers*, 158–9.

perceived these significant contributions to social welfare as entwined with Gladstone's life and work. Herbert described:

I dont think Mama's life w^d have been richer if she had read + concentrated. [...] her life was Fathers [*sic*] throughout. All necessary time was given to him from day to day. In other respects what she did was supplementary to his life. His work was on a gigantic scale + necessarily removed from detail work – with some exceptions – among the poor + in + for divinity generally. [...] besides being herself she was Father's wife. She cut out + made his the great life.²¹

Such public cares necessarily impacted private family life. "It is quite true we were all late in developing bents", Herbert prefaced the above observation. "I think it was not altogether inherent, but was really due to the enormous overshadowing influence of the Parents in their respective ways who made all particular impressions seem rather small + uninteresting. Our lives were necessarily to a large extent theirs, + they never saw the danger of this."²² The issue was both parents' absorption in public matters, not media attention, for like most affluent Victorian families, the children largely grew up in the family's country house, and the boys at a preparatory school in Hunstanton, Norfolk, and then at Eton.²³

William and Catherine's children did not grow up in a spotlight, but by the Midlothian campaign most late-Victorian Britons could probably list them in order of age: William Henry (Willy), Stephen Edward (Stephy), Agnes, Catherine Jessy (died age five), Mary, Helen, Henry Neville (Harry) and Herbert John. As adults, Willy was a reluctant MP for Chester, Whitby and East Worchester (in succession). Stephen entered the church and Agnes married Edward Wickham, also a man of the cloth and an educator. Helen was an enthusiastic Vice-Principal of Newnham College, Cambridge from 1882 to 1896, and then Warden of the Women's University Settlement in Southwark (now Blackfriars) from 1901 to 1906. Harry went into business, and Herbert was a talented MP for Leeds beginning in 1880, H.H. Asquith's Home Secretary from 1905 to 1910, and first Governor-General of the Union of South Africa from 1910 to 1914. By far the most politically minded of this flock were Herbert and Mary, who continued their shrewd political discussions for a lifetime: during Mary's marriage to Harry Drew (married February 1886), motherhood (Dorothy Drew, born 1890) and widowhood (1910).²⁴ Mary died from a blood clot on 1 January 1927, after hosting one last dinner party at Hawarden Castle with "excellent music".²⁵

²¹ HJG to MG, 15.10.1910, box 1, private collection. ²² *Ibid.*

²³ Mallet, *Herbert Gladstone*, 20.

²⁴ MG to HJG, 1863–1926, GG/948–52; HJG to MG, 28.3.1906–11.1.1926, 2 boxes, private collection.

²⁵ HNG, entries for 1926 and 1927, *Hawarden Events Book*, ed. William Erskine Gladstone, 95.

Media attention to family milestones was a matter of course, and the extended family relationship between the Gladstones and the Lytteltons was well known. In a double wedding ceremony in 1839, sisters Catherine and Mary Glynne had married William Gladstone and George, fourth Baron Lyttelton and fourth Baron Westcote of Hagley Hall, near Birmingham.²⁶ The seven Gladstone children and twelve Lytteltons (eight sons and four daughters) were so much together while growing up that they were almost like siblings, a familiarity that extended to George Lyttelton's second family of three daughters with Sybella Mildmay. As Mary's cousin, Edward Lyttelton, described the 1840s and 1850s, "there was much less change and coming and going in a country house than is the case nowadays", which served to make the frequent, lengthy visits between Hawarden and Hagley likely to foster a special closeness between the young Gladstones and Lytteltons.²⁷ For the boys, residing together at Hunstanton and in the same Etonian house further reinforced cousinly nearness and dearness.²⁸ Evans's at Eton was unique for its library, where boys of all ages congregated to gossip and endlessly debate "the political and literary topics of the day, sometimes not untinged with heat".²⁹ Lord Esher attributed this House characteristic to the Lytteltons, "bred in an atmosphere of fireside dialectics"³⁰ – an upbringing shared with their Gladstone cousins.

In mature years, living nearby to each other during the London season helped family and friends to meet regularly. Cousin Lucy (Lyttelton) Cavendish moved into her London residence at 21 Carlton House Terrace, a few doors down from the Gladstones at number 11. Another near neighbor was Arthur Balfour, future leader of the Conservative Party and an avid concertina player, who lived in a *cul-de-sac* at the end of Carlton House Terrace. Balfour purchased 4 Carlton Gardens in the early 1870s because of its proximity to the Gladstone family and their "music mad" gatherings.³¹ These John Nash terraces were all a short walk from the government buildings. Elegantly located between The Mall and Pall Mall, the Gladstones could see from their windows the Horse Guard's Parade, the garden wall of 10 and 11 Downing Street, and Big Ben. More immediately, the Gladstones were kitty-corner across a small garden from the Athenaeum and two blocks from the Theatre Royal Haymarket.

²⁶ See, for example, Smith, *Life of the Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone*, 1: 105.

²⁷ Lyttelton, *Alfred Lyttelton*, 4. ²⁸ Mallet, *Herbert Gladstone*, 18, 20, 24–6.

²⁹ Reginald Baliol Brett, second Viscount Esher, cited in Gambier-Parry, *Annals*, 172. ³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Editor's notes, *Some Hawarden Letters*, eds. March-Phillips and Christian, 135. AJB remembers 1871 in *Chapters of Autobiography*, 233. Egremont records 1870 in *Balfour*, 30. MG remembers 1872 in her draft memoir of "Mr. Balfour," 1920, MGP/46270, f 188.

The alliances made by the family through the marriages and careers of the younger generation would also have been a matter of public record. As a group, the extended Gladstone/Lyttelton family worked together for a particular social vision. When Lucy Lyttelton made a love match with Lord Frederick Cavendish, she also acquired the politically minded son of the Duke of Devonshire, a wealthy peer from a prominent Whig family, and the younger brother of Lord Hartington, future Liberal leader in the House of Commons (1875–80). Lucy's sisters, Meriel and Lavinia, married the Talbot brothers Johnny and Edward, the latter of whom became the first Warden of Keble College, Oxford – a Church of England affiliated college established in 1870 after most Oxford colleges had become interdenominational. Edward and Lavinia Talbot also founded Lady Margaret Hall (1878), the first Oxford women's college. In 1884, during Talbot's wardenship, Keble College established Oxford House in Bethnal Green, a denominational version of Toynbee Hall in Whitechapel, begun in the same year. From this house, Keble men could engage in religious, social and educational work in the East End. It predated by three years the first women's settlement in 1887, an organization co-founded by women from the Oxbridge women's colleges.³² Potentially, the Gladstones were involved with the Oxford House initiative. In December 1883, the prime minister stayed at Keble College for twenty-one days. On 27 January 1884, a meeting was held at Keble to set up Oxford House to provide "all forms of religious or social work."³³ In February 1884, Mary recommended Oxford intellectual Henry Scott Holland as Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, where he became highly involved with Oxford House. Similarly, as mentioned before, Helen Gladstone served as Warden of the Women's University Settlement in the early twentieth century. Helen had been involved with this organization even while at Newnham, as was another Vice-Principal of the college, Eleanor (Nora) Sidgwick, who understood that social work was a viable career for her students.³⁴ The Women's University Settlement initiated welfare work for women and children living in slums, including offering very successful Girls' Club classes beginning in 1890. Of the six days of instruction, there were weekly musical drills on Tuesdays and singing on Thursdays.³⁵

Mary likewise dedicated herself to regular charity work, such as volunteering for the Charity Organisation Society (COS). Established in 1869 and aligned with the Poor Law, the COS coordinated charities to "relieve the poor at their own homes" through a system of district committees working

³² Barrett, *Blackfriars Settlement*, 2.

³³ *Keble College Occasional Papers* (1882–83, 1883–84) 17, KCA.

³⁴ Beauman, *Women and the Settlement Movement*, 41, 75; Clough, *Memoir*, 247, 249.

³⁵ Barrett, *Blackfriars Settlement*, 2, 7.

with volunteers who regularly visited homes. The Society was essentially a moral regenerationist organization; it put Idealist philosophies into practice by working for “the cure, as distinguished from the mere alleviation, of distress.”³⁶ In practice, an individual visitor engaged with individuals at home so as to assess their needs, carry out “the plans of help adopted” by the district’s Committee (e.g., withholding aid until children attend school or adults seek work, and providing help to the deserving who would otherwise quietly suffer) and keep written records.³⁷ “[G]entle, earnest, duty-doing souls, well born” were sought as visitors, not least because “gladness of party, ball, and flower show [...] make the step free and joyous”; socializing was preparation for “bring[ing] a gleam of sunlight” into the lives of the destitute.³⁸ Weekly, from March 1871 through the 1872 season, Mary visited one of the earliest participating districts – Lambeth, in London – where her brother Stephen had begun his career at the church of St. Mary the Less (near today’s Vauxhall station).³⁹ Mary described a district visit thus:

To see Miss Gregory + then the district. very satisfactory visits, they were all genial + forthcoming + pulled out their money readily. but there is a tragedy at 115. both M^r + M^{rs} Brown dead within 10 days of each other, (she died today) + 4 little children left desolate + penniless. M^r Canon next door has caught the small pox from sheer fright. poor M^{rs} Bowmont quite spent, + all the neighbours so nice + feeling about it. I was quite touched by the way they have all striven to do some little thing for the wretched family.⁴⁰

Mary established precisely the feeling interaction with individuals that the COS desired. When at home in Wales, Mary visited the district of Sandycroft. By the twentieth century, she was involved with Bishop Creighton House (est. 1908), the Settlement in Fulham and Hammersmith where niece Catherine Wickham was the first Warden and another niece, Christian Wickham, worked in the Infant Welfare Centre.⁴¹

Mary’s closest male cousins within the Lyttelton clan were Alfred and Spencer.⁴² The former was a renowned cricketer before becoming a Liberal Unionist MP, to Gladstone’s considerable dismay. Alfred’s first wife was Laura Tennant, sister to Margot (later Mrs. Asquith). Spencer shared Mary’s musical passion and served with her in the prime ministerial private

³⁶ Bosanquet, *Organization of Charity*, 7, 3. ³⁷ Hill, “Work of Volunteers,” 446, 447.

³⁸ Hill, *District Visiting*, 6.

³⁹ MG, 7.3.1871, Diary, MGP/46255, f 96; Aitken, *Prime Minister’s Son*, 60–8; MG, 14–22.1.1880, Diary, MGP/46259, f 50; Bosanquet, *Social Work in London*, 30. When Stephen became Rector of Hawarden (1872), Mary stopped visiting Lambeth district.

⁴⁰ MG, 30.1.1872, MGP/46256, f 9.

⁴¹ Frances Balfour, “Mary Gladstone”; Wickham, *Story of Bishop Creighton House*, 2, 9. Also involved were Mary’s daughter, both granddaughters and five great-granddaughters. Rosemary Inge, interview, 2.8.2016.

⁴² MG to Edith Lyttelton, 2.1.1903, CHAN II/3/28; MG, 5.12.1913, Diary, MGP/46265, f 50.

secretariat during Gladstone's second administration. A younger Lyttelton brother, Robert, added significantly to the family's musicality when he married Edith, the daughter of baritone Charles Santley, and a magnificent concert singer "with the divine spark indeed."⁴³ Another prominent sibling was Edward Lyttelton, Master of Haileybury and then the headmaster at Eton, who introduced innovative ideas about music in education.⁴⁴ Finally, Arthur Lyttelton, after preparing under his brother-in-law Edward Talbot at Keble, became the first Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge in 1882, another Anglican college with democratic principles: it was "open to all Churchmen" and communal meals encouraged "simple living and economy", as had been "tried with success at Keble College."⁴⁵

Notably, despite Newnham's lack of a college chapel, Mary found the establishment of Selwyn to be similar to Newnham as well as Keble College.⁴⁶ Newnham's liberalism was shown in the leaders' respect of the beliefs and aptitudes of others.⁴⁷ Thus the devout principal Jemima Clough supported Newnham as religiously unaffiliated, but still encouraged spiritually-minded students to worship elsewhere in Cambridge.⁴⁸ Likewise, in 1879 Clough and the Sidgwicks considered establishing a musical training school at Newnham that went beyond piano practice or the standard examinations in harmony, thorough bass, or the "[t]heory of sound in its application to music"; this willingness attests to a curriculum that was geared toward the education desired by individual women.⁴⁹

This family sketch suggests that my topic can also be understood as an exploration of the social sphere in relation to the tightly bonded institutions of the Church of England, Oxbridge and the government. Elite society would have understood the implications of the strong Gladstone links to Keble, Selwyn and Newnham. Religious sympathy, liberal ideals and blood intimately and complexly bound the family to these new colleges. Most significantly, several of Mary's dearest relations converged at Keble College in the late 1870s, precisely as she was developing her vocational direction. Cousins Edward Talbot and Arthur Lyttelton held theological ideals that Mary espoused too, and they discussed them with other Keble group members such as Mary's friends Henry Scott Holland, John Richardson Illingworth, Robert Ottley and Francis Paget. Harry Drew's undergraduate days at Keble College (1874–8) overlapped with Herbert Gladstone's tenure

⁴³ MG, 28.5.1884, Diary, MGP/46261, f 48. See also MG, 2–7.1.1885, Diary, MGP/46261, f 68; Lyttelton, *Memories and Hopes*, 143, 260–1.

⁴⁴ For music education, see Lyttelton, *Memories and Hopes*, 176–9.

⁴⁵ Brown, *Selwyn College*, 39. ⁴⁶ MG, 4.11.1882 and 5.11.1882, Diary, MGP/46260, f 12.

⁴⁷ Clough, *Memoir*, 207–10. ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 262.

⁴⁹ HG to MG, 2.3.1879, GG/983; "House Rules of 1880/1881" and Diary, North Hall, Newnham College (1864–1919), ff 11, 20, NCA. See also Clough, *Memoir*, 214–15.